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Ribemont-sur-Ancre, Ritual Practice, and Northern Gallic Sanctuaries from the Third through First Century B.C.

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PhD in Classics

The University of Edinburgh

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, and has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. The work presented is entirely my own, except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment.

I have published articles related to this thesis in 2016 and 2019, which are attached as appendices. The 2016 article represents preliminary thinking. Accordingly, several of its claims have since been revised. The 2019 article co-authored with Manuel Fernández-Götz was written when this thesis was nearing completion. Its claims and arguments are similar to those made here, but no discussion has been transposed. The 2016 article is now open-access. I have secured permission from Dr. Fernández-Götz to reproduce our article.

Publications

Rose, D. and M. Fernández-Götz. 2019. "Memoryscapes in Late Iron Age northern Gaul: warfare and sacrifice from Ribemont to Titelberg.: In *Enclosing Space, Opening New Ground: Iron Age Studies from Scotland to Mainland Europe*, edited by T. Romankiewicz, M. Fernández-Götz, G. Lock, and O. Büchsenschütz, 175–89. Oxford: Oxbow.

Rose, D.S. 2016. "Lieux de Mémoire, Central Places, and the Sanctuary of Ribemont-sur-Ancre: A Preliminary Look." In *TRAC 2015: Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*, edited by M.J. Mandich, T.J. Derrick, S. Gonzalez Sanchez, G. Savani, and E. Zampieri, 57–75. Oxford: Oxbow.

Signed,

David S. Rose

Abstract

The following thesis addresses the Iron Age origins and development of the northern Gallic sanctuary of Ribemont-sur-Ancre, exploring the material remains of ritual practice it provides in comparison with material from neighbouring sanctuaries and sacred contexts. The material remains fall into three categories: human bones, animal bones, and iron armament, which will be examined individually in three main chapters.

Chapter 1 introduces the questions to be addressed in the thesis and the material under discussion.

Chapter 2 introduces the sanctuary of Ribemont and presents an extended comparison with the sanctuary of Gournay-sur-Aronde and the cult enclosure within the aristocratic residence of Montmartin that will be the basis of the arguments made about Ribemont in Chapters 3–5. Chapter 2 examines the foundation, nature, and development of the installations that defined the sanctuary – the circular enclosure, quadrangular enclosure, and mass grave – and their chronology. It provides context for interpreting the material remains in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3. Human Bones is primarily devoted to discussing the remains of more than five hundred warriors found at Ribemont. The human bones from Ribemont, like the armament, are divided between the three La Tène installations. This massive and unparalleled collection of corpses was subjected to complex, multi-stage ritual treatments, which differed by installation. Corpses were exposed to the elements, dismembered, de-fleshed, and some were built into cubic bone structures within the quadrangular enclosure. Employing comparative evidence from other northern Gallic sites, the chapter argues that human sacrifice, and the processing of corpses on these

sites, was by no means straightforward, and did not correspond to classical authors' portrayals of the Gauls.

Chapter 4. Animal Bones explores banqueting practice within sacred contexts, large scale butchering with the distribution of meat and display of butchering remains, and non-consumption animal sacrifices, arguing that while ritual precepts were shared across multiple sites, each site had its own particular character. The significance of the ritual precepts and displays of remains are also addressed. Non-consumption animal sacrifices are discussed in comparison with the ritual treatments of human corpses, with which they share several commonalities.

Chapter 5. Armament examines the assemblages from the sanctuaries of Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Gournay-sur-Aronde, the two largest collections in northern Gaul, in comparison with each other. The chapter addresses the problems with previous interpretations of the armament from Ribemont, which viewed it as a monolithic collection from a third century B.C. battle near the site. Like the human remains, the armament from Ribemont is divided across the three contexts of the site: the circular enclosure, quadrangular enclosure, and mass grave. While the assemblages from these contexts are largely similar, there are distinct differentiating elements in the nature and disposition of each assemblage. While the majority of the armament does seem to originate from a short conflict period, significant minorities of arms date to the decades before and the centuries after, comprising a collection dating from the third through the late first century B.C. The implications of this continuity will be discussed in comparison with the century-long dedicatory tradition at Gournay. In addition, the ritual mutilation of armament, a significant minority practice at Ribemont, finds parallels in the well-known ritual mutilation of armament at Gournay.

The conclusion (**chapter 6**) provides a synthesis, addressing how the three categories of material remains illustrate the interwoven and multifaceted ritual practice at Ribemont-sur-Ancre and other sanctuary sites in northern Gaul. While Ribemont-sur-Ancre is well-known, its true history and nature in the Iron Age, and the material remains it provides, are poorly understood. This thesis will provide a revised interpretation of the La Tène history, structures, and material from Ribemont in order to address this deficiency. It is hoped that the ritual practices at Ribemont and other Iron Age sanctuaries will be better understood as a result.

Lay Summary

The following archaeological thesis will address the **Iron Age origins and development of the sanctuary of Ribemont-sur-Ancre** in northern Gaul (modern France and Belgium), **studying the physical evidence of ritual practice it provides**. The evidence falls into three categories: human bones, animal bones, and armament (iron weapons and military equipment). They will be examined in three main chapters. The material from Ribemont-sur-Ancre will also be compared with material from neighbouring sanctuaries and sacred places.

Chapter 1 introduces the sanctuary of Ribemont and the questions to be addressed in the thesis.

Chapter 2 introduces the three parts of the sanctuary at Ribemont in the La Tène period (Iron Age): the quadrangular enclosure, mass grave, and circular enclosure. Chapter 2 also introduces neighbouring sites in northern Gaul (northern France and Belgium) whose material will be discussed in Chapters 3–5. This chapter will provide context for the material discussed in chapters 3–5.

Chapter 3 examines human bones. Most of the chapter discusses the bones of more than five hundred warriors that were found at Ribemont-sur-Ancre. They are divided into three groups by the three structures in which they were found. This massive collection of corpses was subjected to complex, multi-stage ritual treatments, which differed by location. Corpses were exposed to the elements, dismembered, their flesh was cut away, and human limbs were used to build bone structures. The chapter will argue that human sacrifice and the processing of corpses on northern Gallic sites was by no means straightforward, and did not correspond to classical authors' portrayals of the Gauls in literature.

Chapter 4 examines animal bones. It will explore banquets at which pigs, sheep, and cattle were eaten, and will argue that while some ritual requirements were shared across multiple sites, each site had its own particular character. The chapter will also discuss animal sacrifices in which the meat was not eaten. They will be compared with the ritual treatments of humans, which were similar in many ways.

Chapter 5 examines the armament from the sanctuaries of Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Gournay-sur-Aronde. The chapter will address the problems the previous interpretation of the armament from Ribemont as a single group collected in the third century B.C. after a battle nearby. In fact, the material is divided between the three Iron Age structures (the circular enclosure, quadrangular enclosure, and mass grave), and dates from the third century B.C. through the late first century B.C. The significance of this continuity will be discussed in comparison with the armament dedications made over decades at Gournay. In addition, the ritual destruction of armament at Ribemont and Gournay will be compared.

Chapter 6 will bring human bones, animal bones, and armament together, exploring their relationship, and their context within the sanctuary of Ribemont, and other sites in northern Gaul.

While Ribemont-sur-Ancre is well-known, its true history and nature in the Iron Age and the material it provides are not well understood. This thesis will present a revised interpretation of the site. It is hoped that the ritual practices at Ribemont and other Iron Age sanctuaries will be better understood as a result.

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Appendix 1.

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Note

The editorial format, bibliographical references and notes, and journal abbreviations used for this thesis follow those outlined in the November 2013 *American Journal of Archaeology* "Author Guide and Editorial Policies".

Chapter 1. Introduction

The following thesis explores the sanctuary of Ribemont-sur-Ancre in the La Tène period. The sanctuary is well known for its extraordinary collection of human bones and armament. Ribemont seems to generally be viewed as a typical, unproblematic sanctuary. A more detailed look at Ribemont's La Tène history reveals the sanctuary to be a complex site with many uncommon, if not unique, features that often prove difficult to interpret. Ribemont's La Tène history is not well known, and is certainly not well understood, given the uneven and incomplete nature of its study.

1.1. Overview of the Study to be Presented

The discussion to follow examines the three categories of ritual remains, human bones, animal bones, and armament, which make up most if not all of the ritual remains on northern Gallic sanctuary and sacred sites. Focus is placed upon considering the nature of the assemblages, their context within their sanctuaries, and the significance of the rituals practiced and relationship between them. In their respective chapters, the ritual remains from Ribemont are compared with other northern Gallic sites to explore how particular ritual practices manifested on individual sites, and broader patterns observable across multiple sites.

Before the ritual remains are considered in chapters 3–5, the next chapter introduces the history of the sanctuary at Ribemont and the date and nature of its foundation, development, and structures. An extended comparison between the installations at Ribemont, and Gournay and Montmartin is then presented to provide a basis for the claims made in chapters 3–5 that the parallels in the structures and ritual remains from these three sites support the argument that, the quadrangular enclosure and the circular enclosure are corollaries to Gournay and Montmartin, respectively.

With this basis for comparison, one is able to convincingly interpret the nature of Ribemont's major installations and the activity they hosted.

Chapters 3–5 compose the main part of the study, examination of the primary categories of ritual remains: human bones, animal bones, and armament from multiple sanctuaries and sacred sites in northern Gaul. The final chapter reconsiders the sanctuary at Ribemont after the arguments made in the course of the study, and summarizes the understandings achieved and some of the remaining questions.

A significant amount of the discussion of Ribemont is devoted to examining information and material that has been documented in excavation reports, but not examined (e.g. the earliest states of the quadrangular enclosure and the significance of its modification and repurposing are addressed in chapters 2 and 3), or exploring unstudied aspects of the studied material (e.g. chapter 5: armament – the typo-chronology and morphology of the armament from Ribemont have been examined preliminarily in Pourrier's and Petit's theses, but neither considered ritual mutilation, which is a major interest of this study). Lastly, some reinterpretations of the material have been proposed where:

1. One disagrees with predominant interpretations (e.g. interpreting the circular enclosure as an existing cult installation rather than a custom-built funerary installation in chapter 2)
2. One wishes to extend or revise others' interpretations (particularly in the case of Fercoq du Leslay who opens many questions when presenting and examining the archaeological evidence, and leaves them to be answered in subsequent studies. One has offered answers here to some of the questions Fercoq du Leslay has proposed.)

3. Or where subsequent evidence calls for modifications of earlier interpretations (e.g. Lejars' interpretation of the arrangement of swords and sheaths in the mass grave requires revision because excavation of the area had not been completed when he wrote his article, and the swords and sheaths uncovered subsequently reveal that their deposit in the mass grave as not carefully arranged as Lejars thought.)

1.2. The Study's Approach

As this thesis was nearing completion, Gérard Fercoq du Leslay published a study that goes a long way toward rectifying the lack of information and understanding of Ribemont.[1] He provided a plethora of information, some of it challenging long-maintained interpretations. One has been able to incorporate some of Fercoq du Leslay's new information into this thesis and develop interpretations that have not yet been proposed for lack of data. However, many questions remain unanswerable at present because of ongoing study of the material remains. Fercoq du Leslay focused upon presenting the archaeological material and correcting some past erroneous interpretations, not on providing an extensive comparison of the three La Tène installations (the circular enclosure, quadrangular enclosure, and mass grave), which one presents in this study. He also intentionally avoided presenting an overarching interpretation of the site and its material, which he indicates is the primary fault of past approaches to the material that has led to misinterpretations:

> Ces études présentent cependant un sérieux écueil, dans le sens où la phase ancienne du site est considérée a priori comme résultant d'un unique événement, en l'occurrence une bataille, et est sensé représenter un moment bien précis dans le temps. Compte tenu de cet a priori, il n'a pas été tenu compte du contexte formel de découverte des objets, ni des éléments qui indiquent que les installations de l'enclos quadrangulaire, à la différence du "charnier", ont

[1] Fercoq du Leslay 2017.

> évolué et connu une fréquentation de longue durée. **En effet, le matériel a été étudié globalement, comme s'il s'agissait d'un lot homogène**.[2] (emphasis added)

This study endeavors to avoid the pitfall Fercoq du Leslay describes by taking a different approach, consisting of:

1. Not attempting to explain the site as a single coherent whole in chronology, structures, or ritual practices, which involves
2. Opening the chronological window to allow several decades of activity and multiple phases of the third century La Tène sanctuary
3. Considering the three La Tène contexts (circular and quadrangular enclosures, and mass grave) separately before exploring the connections between them, rather than assuming all of the material and structures form a coherent whole
4. Allowing lacunae to remain and not seeking to explain away chronological incongruities (detailed below)
5. Acknowledging the sometimes heterogenous nature of the evidence (especially for the human bones and relative chronologies of the enclosures and their elements)
6. Acknowledging the sometimes ambiguous and changeable nature of ritual practices on the site
7. Grounding consideration of the ritual remains (human bones, animal bones, and armament) in their contexts (the circular and quadrangular enclosures and mass grave)

[2] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 194.

This cautious approach has resulted in one presenting multiple proposals for interpretation that are in some cases left unresolved (e.g. the identity of the warriors from the circular enclosure), incomplete reconstructions of ritual activity and ritual structures (e.g. the ritual practice and constructed displays within the eastern interior of the quadrangular enclosure), and incongruency in the picture provided (e.g. the contemporary use period of the circular enclosure and quadrangular enclosure mean that two sacred installations, distinct in nature and use, operated at the same time on the same site for at least a brief period).

Fercoq du Leslay opened many questions about the material and structures at Ribemont in his publications and in one's discussions with him. Even while seeking to address some of the major questions in this thesis, one has attempted to follow Fercoq du Leslay's example by leaving some lines of query unresolved, and opening new considerations. In several places where new information from Fercoq du Leslay's 2017 publication has been incorporated, one has been able to provide complementary and supplemental information from excavation reports (particularly 1982–1986) to further interpretations and present new ideas that Fercoq du Leslay has not yet discussed.

The third century sanctuary at Ribemont truly was a singular and unparalleled sanctuary and sacred site. However, its structures individually, and the rituals practiced within them, find parallels with several other northern Gallic sacred sites that facilitate and further interpretation of Ribemont, and broaden our understanding of La Tène ritual practice in northern Gaul. The strongest and most numerous parallels for Ribemont are found in its counterpart, the sanctuary at Gournay-sur-Aronde. Both serve as exemplary third century B.C. sanctuaries and provide complementary

information about the early development of northern Gallic sanctuaries and sacred sites in the region. They also provide large collections of ritual remains attesting to the various ritual practices the two sanctuaries hosted.

1.3. Chronology of Excavations

Interpretation of the La Tène phases of the sanctuary at Ribemont has been evolving since the striking 1982 discovery of Ossuary 82. A considerable body of material from the eastern interior of the quadrangular enclosure was excavated in the following years (1983–1986) before a three-year hiatus in excavations (1988–1990). Excavations resumed in 1991 with a change of supervision from Cadoux to Brunaux, and the mass grave and remainder of the quadrangular enclosure were explored between 1991 and 2000. Lastly, the circular enclosure was excavated between 2001–2002, before regular excavation ceased in 2003. The chronology of excavations below briefly outlines the yearly discoveries, with finds particularly important to one's study noted:

Table 1.1. Chronology of Excavations at Ribemont from 1982 to Present[5]

1982	Excavation of Ossuary 82 begins.
1983	Excavation area expands south to discover the limits of Ossuary 82, and east to explore the enclosure trench immediately east of the ossuary. Excavation reveals a band of material along the enclosure trench containing various finds (metal, animal bones, ceramics, and coins). The level is dated to c. 40 B.C. South, on the ground level along the ditch, various fragments of human skeletons are discovered (Ensembles 1–7): In Zone 3, a complex deposit of parts of two headless skeletons, and fragments of the thorax of a third (Ensemble 3).

[5] Cadoux 1982; Ricard 2014, 25–45; Haack et al. 2015.

	Animal bones and iron weapons are also found (notably two 3rd cent. B.C. curled sheaths, inv. 83.274–275).
1984	Excavation area expands further southeast and further fragmentary human skeletons are discovered (some of Ensembles 8–11).
1985	Excavation continues east, investigating the enclosure trench and interior of enclosure, extending the 1983 and 1984 zones. Numerous additional human bones and weapons are discovered, along with animal bones and a little ceramic material.
1986	Excavation continues to explore previously uncovered zone. A partial corpse consisting of a thorax with vertebrae in connection, and bones of the lower limbs is discovered (either Ensemble 9 or 11).
1987	Exploration continues along the enclosure trench and beyond it to the east. The Mass Grave and Ossuary 91 are discovered, but not explored.
1988	Excavations are halted by archaeological department and material covered in sand.
1988–1990	Hiatus in excavations
1991	Excavation resumes under Brunaux with the primary goal to revisit area of Ossuary 91, which turns out to be a less well-preserved version of Ossuary 82 with a British WWI trench cut through the middle of the ossuary.
1992	Eastern corner outside of the enclosure, the area of the Mass Grave, is explored. Mass Grave provides significant bone and metal material, and is well preserved, excepting the southeast corner where a Gallo-Roman pit cut into the deposit (likely location from which material to fill Pt-4 was extracted in the 2nd c. A.D.).
1993	Exploration of southern corner of Mass Grave continues. (Metal finds reveal a coherent set dating to the LTC1 period (275/250 – 200/175 B.C.).)
1994	Area is reviewed to determine northern and southern limits of Mass Grave.
1995	H. Duday and B. Boulestin analyze bone material near Ossuary 91.

1996	S. Thoil leads study of deeper levels of Mass Grave over approximately 6m2 area. Finds of numerous small bones of the hands and feet leads Duday to hypothesize the simultaneous deposition of many bodies.
1997	Study of Mass Grave continues, and a section of the enclosure trench is excavated.
1998	Zones 3 and 5 are explored. Portions of more-or-less complete limbs are identified and collected.
1999	Study of Mass Grave is completed. Initial report of Ribemont excavations is published.
2000	Central area of the quadrangular enclosure is explored. In the soil backfill, probably from the southeast corner or possibly the outer periphery of the enclosure, human bones and metal parts are unearthed, which are distributed randomly but evenly across the surface. Two organized structures and a third disturbed structure are identified: Ossuary 2000 (EO 496); EO 497; and EO 498; as well as an ensemble of metal objects (EM 495)
2001	Excavation of the circular enclosure, south of the quadrangular enclosure, is undertaken. Ceramic finds suggest that the enclosure should be dated to the LTB2b period.
2002	Excavation of circular enclosure continues.
2003	A final dig, intended to develop a better understanding of the large temple (from the 2nd c. A.D.), begins late, but is interrupted and never resumes.
2009	The Gallo-Roman temples at Ribemont are published in an excavation monograph.
2014	Survey is conducted to verify the data collected in the excavation campaigns of the 1970s and 1980s. The purpose was to pinpoint the locations of the spaces and structures excavated in 1979, 1994, and 2003, and draft a plan of the facilities. Focus was on the settlement area that developed to the southeast of the La Tène and Gallo-Roman sanctuary in the second century A.D., but the parcel surveyed included a portion of the third century B.C. circular enclosure and first century B.C. trapezoidal enclosure. Accordingly, a topographical survey of parcel S-150, the area to the immediate southeast of the sanctuary, was completed.

1.4. Sources of Data Consulted for the Study

One's study of the sanctuary of Ribemont-sur-Ancre and northern Gallic sanctuaries began with the published material. For Ribemont, the primary texts were the 1999 preliminary report of the excavations at Ribemont, and the 2009 excavation publication. From these publications, I recognized that the La Tène history of the sanctuary at Ribemont had not received nearly as much attention as its Roman history. The early phases of the sanctuary, development of and relationship between the La Tène installations, and the ritual activity had not been examined in depth. The complicated and sometimes contradictory information from the site and the considerable unpublished archival material meant that Ribemont in the La Tène period was not well understood.

As I began to examine the remains of ritual activity at Ribemont – the human bones, animal bones, and armament – and the contexts within which ritual activity was hosted, it became evident that a visit to Ribemont-sur-Ancre was necessary to view the site and consult the archives at the Centre de Conservation et d'Étude. On my first visit in November 2015, I met with Director Gérard Fercoq du Leslay and discussed my questions about the site with him. At our meeting, he provided copies of some of the key studies of the material remains (Méniel 1995; 1998b; Petit 2002; Pourrier 2003) and excavation reports (2000 and 2002). I remained after to consult the archive. Since that time, I have had several conversations with him via email when questions and thoughts about interpretation of the material came up.

During my first visit I also toured the site in Ribemont-sur-Ancre, visited the Musée de Picardie in Amiens, and visited other sanctuary sites in northern France. The Musée de Picardie houses a considerable number of armament pieces and other

artefacts from Ribemont, which enabled firsthand examination. At the other sanctuary sites in northern France, I examined structures, layout, and siting of sanctuaries, and artefacts on display.

Because the focus of my study of Ribemont shifted to the foundation of the sanctuary in the third century and ritual activities hosted at that time, I felt it necessary to return to Ribemont-sur-Ancre in April of 2018 to scan all of the excavation reports available from 1982–2000.[15] I needed to acquire additional data about the few-decade long initial phase of the sanctuary to complete my interpretation of the site. For this study, I was only able to examine the 1982–1985 reports, leaving considerable room for further study of the early phases of the sanctuary at Ribemont.

1.5. Summary of Past Studies

1.5.1. Considerations of Ribemont as a Whole

Brunaux has published several overall considerations of the La Tène material and structures at Ribemont, fitting individual aspects of the material evidence into a comprehensive interpretation of the site as a whole, which he has somewhat revised since the first major publication of the site in 1999. Brunaux's past studies and most recent study, published in 2018, will be addressed in chapters 2–5 while examining the relevant categories of material evidence. Brunaux's approach to the site has been to construct a synthesis interpretation that explains all of the evidence together. He describes the human bone and armament material as a homogenous collection originating from a single event, and reduces the La Tène history of the sanctuary at Ribemont into a brief post-conflict period of activity lasting for only a few years. In his reconstruction, victorious warriors built the La Tène installations and performed

[15] The 1987 and 1994 reports are missing, and there was a hiatus in excavations from 1988–1990.

the ritual treatment of hundreds of human corpses and around 2,500 pieces of armament during this short time before demolishing the circular enclosure, sealing the quadrangular enclosure, and abandoning the site for nearly two centuries with the exception of a few ritual banquets over the former location of the circular enclosure.

Brunaux partially mediates this interpretation in his latest study in 2018, which is addressed in more detail in chapter 2. However, when discussing the primary material from the site, the human bones and armament, Brunaux describes specific aspects of the different assemblages from the three La Tène contexts without differentiating between them. The quotation below reflects this conflation in Brunaux's discussion of the human bones, which leads to misperception of the site because it considers the bones as a single homogenous assemblage. I have annotated a passage from Brunaux's latest study below to illustrate my point. Numbers in brackets refer to the list of annotations, in which I note some of the complexities of the material from Ribemont to illustrate the problem with generalizing the evidence.

> Indeed, most human remains were not discovered in the form of entire skeletons but in fragments: chests, pelvises, limbs, hands, feet, necks, [1] a lot of bones scattered here and there [2]. No cranium was discovered. The cervical vertebrae discovered show that the heads were systematically cut off with a knife from the corpse not yet fully decomposed [3]. An important number of bones bear marks of blows of different natures. These marks can be classified in two categories: those which were indubitably caused during a fight (blows of swords, impacts of spearheads, essentially) [4] and those which are attributable to post-mortem dismemberment [5].[16]

Annotations:

1. Only describes the skeleton fragments in the mass grave and the Ensembles (representing twelve individuals) within the quadrangular enclosure
2. Disconnected long bones make up all of the bones from the circular enclosure, and the overwhelming majority of the bones from the quadrangular enclosures. The notable exceptions to disconnection are the few connected limb fragments in Ossuary 82's bone frame, and the skeleton fragments (from twelve

[16] Brunaux 2017, 82. In his most recent publication, Brunaux writes in English.

individuals) that make up the Ensembles lining the eastern interior of the quadrangular enclosure

3. Only 10% of the cervical vertebrae of the 508 men from Ribemont (MNI) were preserved, 90% of the cervical vertebrae come from the mass grave, and 22% of these display marks connected with decapitation. Less than twenty scattered cervical vertebrae with marks of decapitation were found within the quadrangular enclosure in the preparatory areas. Only the mass grave displays evidence of systematic decapitation.

4. Only a small percentage of the bones from Ribemont bear marks. Bones from the circular enclosure display limited evidence of animal gnawing by rodents. Manmade marks were found on 9.2% of the bones from the circular enclosure, evenly divided between combat wounds and ritual treatment. Ritual treatment included dismemberment, de-fleshing, and repetitive violence (beating) (section 3.2.2). Very few of the bones from the quadrangular enclosure (0.6% from Ossuary 82 and 2.4% from Ossuary 91) bear marks. Only 1.4% of the bones from the mass grave bear marks.[17]

5. Marks of post-mortem dismemberment were only recorded for bones from the quadrangular enclosure.

In his 2018 study, and earlier studies, Brunaux also minimizes the evidence of the ritual mutilation of armament, an important aspect of ritual practice on the site. He comments, "Generally, [weapons] do not present mutilations specific to offerings that can be observed in sanctuaries: they were not ritually bent or twisted. But they show traces of blows, undeniably caused by use, or during battle in this case."[18] One's examination of the corpus has revealed that approximately 18% of the armament from the quadrangular enclosure has been ritually mutilated using the same methods observed at Gournay. Notably, most of the mutilated pieces date to the third century B.C. and are among the massive influx of post conflict material. The undisturbed eastern interior length of the quadrangular enclosure, including Ossuary 82 and the human bone Ensembles, has provided numerous pieces of mutilated armament. Importantly, mutilated armament is integrated throughout Ossuary 82, both in the

[17] Ricard 2017, 202–3.
[18] Brunaux 2017, 82. See also Brunaux 2004.

surviving layers of the bone frame and in its destruction radius. The surrounding area, particularly southeast of Ossuary 82, provides additional finds, most notably a supporting post for a trophy around which two sheaths remained bent at excavation.

Further, the occasion of the site's transformation from La Tène sanctuary and monument to Gallo-Roman sanctuary in the late first century B.C. has provided an important collection of LTD2b armament offerings from auxiliaries in the Roman army, a number of which were ritually mutilated. These local auxiliary veterans were responsible for the construction of the first Gallo-Roman temple and its annex. Among the offerings is a complete helmet found in the quadrangular enclosure trench. Its top was crushed and punctured by a spear butt in a forceful vertical blow. Then its sides were struck multiple times with a square-headed hammer. A trapezoidal *umbo*, crushed with the same hammer, was found only a few meters away.

As noted, Brunaux's partially-revised overall interpretation of the site and its material, and his interpretations of specific aspects of the material will be addressed at length in chapters 2–5, the debates details, and alternative interpretations proposed.

As this study was nearing completion, Fercoq du Leslay published a comprehensive examination of the sanctuary at Ribemont. It has supported my interpretations, some of which were developed in dialogue with Fercoq du Leslay before the publication. Fercoq du Leslay's study has also enabled me to further develop and extend my interpretations of the activity on the site in the third century B.C., primarily by providing new data that was previously buried in the archived excavation reports. Fercoq du Leslay also presented new interpretations, some of which we had discussed, others we had not, further enriching my study.

As an archaeologist, Fercoq du Leslay limits his interpretations and conclusions to data directly drawn from the excavated material. He does not address ritual practice at *great* length, and he keeps his proposals concerning the meaning and significance of the ritual remains conservative, avoiding overarching interpretations that would be prone to assumption and conjecture. Given that ritual practice is my primary interest, my study is complementary to Fercoq du Leslay's work.

1.5.2. Studies of Individual Aspects of the Material Culture from Ribemont

The sequence of the excavation of the three La Tène contexts at Ribemont and the variable analysis of their finds have resulted in an incomplete and rather disjointed study of the material from Ribemont. A few important studies of the finds have been produced over the years, but most of these are unpublished and only accessible at the Centre de Conservation et d'Étude in Ribemont-sur-Ancre. A summary of these studies is presented below, divided into the three categories of finds examined in this study, and then placed in chronological order.

1.5.2.1. Human Bones

The human bones found along the eastern interior of the quadrangular enclosure have been discussed in the initial site report published in *Gallia* in 1999. Brunaux has presented multiple interpretations of the human bones, most notably in his 2004 book, and most recently in his 2017 article. His interpretations are addressed in chapter 3.

Ricard presented the most comprehensive study of the human bones in 2014, systematically cataloging the bones from the three La Tène enclosures at Ribemont. He examined the pathology of bones, marks on the bones, and the contexts from which bones come. Ricard concluded his study by presenting an overall, unified

interpretation of the three La Tène installations, based upon Brunaux's thinking, which described the installations as a two-part facility built after a major battle.[19]

1.5.2.2. Animal Bones

The animal bones have been mentioned in excavation reports (2002 and 2003), and briefly in publications of Ribemont, but only three studies of any depth have been presented: Méniel's study of the horse bones from Ossuary 82, his study of the late La Tène and early Gallo-Roman animal bones found in the fills of the quadrangular enclosure trench, and Fercoq du Leslay's and Lepetz's study of the Gallo-Roman banqueting assemblage from the fill of a well.[20] Méniel's two studies are appendices to excavation reports. A considerable amount of the animal bone material has not yet been studied beyond initial assessments (e.g. the animal bones from the circular enclosure). One has collected all of the data available and examined the animal bones in the context of their enclosures in as much detail as possible.

1.5.2.3. Armament

In 1998, Lejars presented a broad overview the armament from the mass grave, the first results of study of the metal finds. Lejars addressed the structure of the deposit (spatial distribution of the metal finds), and the condition of the finds (organic traces, deformation, and fragmentation). He observed that the metal assemblage from the mass grave is homogenous: coherent in typology and dating to a few decades in the LTC1b period.[21] He also noted that the data from the mass grave is extremely complex, and that it is difficult to reconstruct a coherent image of the assemblage's nature and

[19] Arguments and counterarguments to this proposal are presented in chapter 3.
[20] Méniel 1995; 1998b; Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz 2008.
[21] Lejars (1998a) interprets the few-decade span as reflective of multiple generations of warriors.

significance, particularly when considering the metal finds and the human bones together.[22]

In an annex to the first major publication of the excavations in *Gallia* in 1999, Lejars presented a broad typo-chronological overview of a sample of 410 of the La Tène metal finds from the area of the quadrangular enclosure.[23] The finds Lejars examined dated from the mid-third century B.C. to the late first century B.C. (LTC1a–LTD2b). The contexts from which finds were selected included: the eastern interior of the quadrangular enclosure (Ossuary 82 and the 1983–1987 excavation areas), the upper layers of the quadrangular enclosure trench fill (F-52, the 1983–1987 area and levels), and the eastern exterior of the quadrangular enclosure, including the uppermost levels of the mass grave.

At the time of Lejars' study, only the eastern length (one-quarter of the interior) of the quadrangular enclosure had been excavated, the mass grave had been discovered but not excavated, and the circular enclosure had not been excavated at all.[24] Consequently, Lejars had a limited body of data when composing his article, and did not have the opportunity to consider the complete assemblage from the quadrangular enclosure, or compare it with the material from the mass grave and circular enclosure.

Lejars was primarily interested in the typo-chronological aspects of the armament data, as has been characteristic of all of the armament studies. His discussion of ritual practice was minimal, and he did not explore ritual mutilation in any depth. Ritual mutilation was a minority practice in the quadrangular enclosure and virtually

[22] Lejars 1998a, 243–4.
[23] Lejars in Brunaux et al. 1999b, 241–53. Lejars' study was actually written in 1998 for the triennial excavation report, and his published study is nearly identical to the text in the excavation report.
[24] The remainder of the quadrangular enclosure interior was excavated in 2000, and the circular enclosure in 2001–2002.

absent in the mass grave, so it is to be expected that Lejars did not discuss the limited evidence of ritual practice available at the time.

In her 2002 Master's thesis, Petit presented a detailed typo-chronological analysis of the armament from the circular enclosure, followed by a brief comparison between it and the armament assemblage from the mass grave. Petit's conclusions were in accordance with and cited Brunaux's interpretations: Petit indicated that the weapons from the circular enclosure and mass grave come from distinctly different artisanal traditions, and that they received very different treatments.[25] Citing Brunaux, Petit interpreted the different artisanal traditions as reflecting distinct tribal origins, armament from the circular enclosure belonging to the Ambiani, and armament from the mass grave belonging to the Peri-Amoricians.[26] Regarding their treatment, Petit indicated that the armament from the circular enclosure was subjected to intentional mutilation while armament from the mass grave was not. She also noted secondary mutilations performed on some pieces in the late first century B.C., which, according to Brunaux, were to de-sanctify the enclosure prior to construction of the new Gallo-Roman temple.[27]

In her 2003 Master's thesis, Pourrier examined the corpus of 2,377 iron finds (1,367 were armament) from within the quadrangular enclosure. Her primary (stated) objectives were to provide an accurate, exhaustive inventory through illustrations of the assemblage, and by organizing and presenting the finds typo-chronologically.[28] As she states, time constraints prohibited her from examining specific statistical aspects, ritual aspects (evidence of intentional mutilation), or the spatial distribution of the

[25] Petit 2002, 73–81.
[26] Petit 2002, 81; Brunaux 2003; 2004, 116–24.
[27] Petit 2002, 74–7.
[28] Pourrier 2003, 2.

material, which are the key aspects of interest for this study.[29] Pourrier also only examined the assemblage from within the quadrangular enclosure, and did not compare it to the assemblage from the mass grave, because her study was focused on typo-chronological characterization and classification.[30]

In sum, there have been a few, primarily typo-chronological, studies based on analysis of the morphology of the armament from the three La Tène installations at Ribemont. The evidence of ritual practice, the temporal and physical contexts of finds, and relationships between the three assemblages have not been examined in any significant detail. Fercoq du Leslay comments that the subtle differences between the assemblages in their compositions and chronologies have been overlooked because the material has been studied globally, as if it were a homogenous lot, based on the assumption that all of the third century armament originated from a single battle.[31] In this study, I will consider the armament assemblages separately before exploring the relationship between them in order to avoid the problem Fercoq du Leslay has noted.

1.5.3. Studies of the Sanctuary at Gournay-sur-Aronde

The material from Gournay has been published in a series of volumes, *Gournay I–III*, as analysis of the material has been completed. From the data and ideas presented in them, I developed the primary comparison presented in this study: Ribemont and Gournay as martial sanctuaries of great antiquity with complex histories, which have provided major collections of human bones, animal bones, and armament.

Gournay I explored the various states of the sanctuary at Gournay, and began study of the armament, human bones, and animal bones. *Gournay II* examined shields

[29] Pourrier 2003, 76.
[30] Pourrier could not consider the assemblage from the circular enclosure either, as it was under excavation while she was performing her conservation work and study.
[31] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 194–5.

and spears, presenting a morphological and chronological examination, information on ritual mutilation of the armament, and information on the contexts from which the armament came. In the second half of the study, Brunaux considered the analysis Rapin provided in the first half and proposed a synthesis interpretation of the armament that addressed ritual activity, trophies, and ritual deposits.

At this point, one's ideas about both Gournay and Ribemont began to diverge from Brunaux's interpretations. One significant divergence in opinion concerns the trophies Brunaux believes lined the enclosure trench at Gournay, a question that has been addressed in chapter 5, sections 5.4.3–5.4.4.

Gournay III examined the sheaths from Gournay, presenting a primarily morphological study that established the dating of artefacts quite specifically. It also provided relatively brief considerations of the contexts within which sheaths were deposited and the ritual mutilations to which they were subjected.

As with Ribemont, the primary interest of the studies of Gournay's armament have been to establish chronologies of artefacts based on morphology and typology. Ritual mutilations and ritual practice have received some attention, particularly in *Gournay II*, but one has further advanced interpretation of the artefacts and their contexts, and proposed revisions of some of the proposals and conclusions presented.

1.6. Primary Questions and Uncertainties to be Explored for the La Tène Sanctuary at Ribemont

Some of the major problems involved in the study of La Tène Ribemont include:

1. What were the natures of the quadrangular enclosure, mass grave, and circular enclosure individually? Involving consideration of:
    a. The nature of the physical structures and their development over time
    b. Nature and significance of the ritual remains
2. What was relationship between the three La Tène installations?
    a. Siting and physical relationships (Discussed in chapters 2, 3, and 5)
    b. Relative chronologies and chronological incongruities (e.g. Armament is used for dating the quadrangular enclosure, while ceramic is used for dating the circular enclosure.
    c. Difficulty in establishing nature and sequence of development of installations individually because of lack of evidence or inconsistent evidence
        e.g. i. sequence of the development of the quadrangular enclosure trench, trench lengths, and the timing / sequence of their fills;[32]
        e.g. ii. anatomical assemblages and mutilated armament under Ossuary 82's bone frame;
        e.g. iii. Brunaux suggests the circular enclosure was in use for weeks, while Fercoq du Leslay and this author believe the enclosure was in use for years if not decades.)

[32] Addressed in Cadoux et al. (1986, 10–1) and chapters 2 and 3.

d. Unclear use phases and overlapping use phases of the installations, particularly in the third century epoch

e.g. i. Fercoq du Leslay's revised dating of the quadrangular enclosure creates a contemporary use phase for the circular and quadrangular enclosures, complicating interpretation of their relationship.

e.g. ii. The circular enclosure hosted the funerary treatment of warriors during the same phase that enemy corpses were being ritually processed within the quadrangular enclosure.

3. Ritual practice

a. Function of each enclosure and how functions compare and contrast

b. Did the enclosures function together or in a complementary manner?

c. How do we interpret ambiguous ritual practice that combines elements from the sacrificial, dedicatory, and funerary spheres?

e.g. i. Was the ritual beating of the corpses in the circular enclosure a funerary treatment for comrades, or a permutation of the quadrangular enclosure's ritual processing of enemy corpses to deal with the corpses of high-status enemy warriors?

d. How do we interpret parallels and relationships between ritual remains of the same sort from different enclosures?

e.g. i. Human bones in the circular enclosure are proposed to be comrades while those in the quadrangular enclosure are identified as enemies, but their ritual treatments bear several commonalities (discussed in chapters 3 and 6)

4. How does the ritual activity at Ribemont compare with other northern Gallic sanctuaries and sacred sites, and what are the implications for interpreting the ritual practice at Ribemont? What ritual spheres do Ribemont's practices come from and where and in what contexts do they find parallels?
5. Is it possible to provide a consistent and comprehensive interpretation of La Tène Ribemont without falling into the trap of considering the material as a homogenous collection dating from a single event as Fercoq du Leslay has indicated has been the failing of past studies?

Chapter 2. Introducing the Sanctuary of Ribemont-sur-Ancre

2.1. Overview of the Sites to be Discussed

The next three chapters (chapter 3–5) will examine the human bones, animal bones, and armament from Ribemont-sur-Ancre in comparison with multiple sanctuaries and sacred sites in northern Gaul. This chapter introduces the Ribemont's three La Tène installations and the sanctuary's history and development in order to provide context for the material discussed in chapters 3–5. The siting of the sanctuary and dating of its three La Tène installations, their relative chronologies, their use periods, and the evolution of their structures will be addressed.

Two comparisons follow, the first between the circular enclosure at Ribemont and the cult enclosure (Enclosure 56) at Montmartin, the second between the quadrangular enclosure at Ribemont and the sanctuary at Gournay. One has observed commonalities in the sanctuary structures and their development at Ribemont and Gournay. In the cult enclosure at Montmartin, one finds an installation of the same character (physical parallels and the rituals hosted) as the circular enclosure at Ribemont that aids interpretation of the circular enclosure. Parallels in the ritual activity of the three sites will only be introduced in this chapter, because chapters 3–5 explore the ritual remains in depth individually, and provide extended comparisons between various sites.

Because the most extensive comparisons in this study are between Ribemont, Gournay, and Montmartin, one has devoted some space at the end of this chapter to introducing the latter two sites. The other sites providing comparative material examined in this study are introduced in chapters 3–5 where they are most relevant.

2.2. The Sanctuary of Ribemont-sur-Ancre

2.2.1. Overview and Siting

The sanctuary of Ribemont-sur-Ancre was constructed on a ridge sloping off on three sides into the valley below (fig. 2.1). The valley is believed to have been the site of the conflicts that created the massive collection of human corpses and armament that led to the transformation of the site in the third century B.C. During the Gallic epoch, the sanctuary stood on a relatively steep slope, as the site of the sanctuary was not graded to create a largely level *temenos* area until the Gallo-Roman period.

Based on the topography of the site, the quadrangular enclosure's relationship with the circular enclosure, and the distribution of material around the quadrangular enclosure, one would propose that the quadrangular enclosure was entered on its eastern side. Plans of the quadrangular enclosure in the various publications have consistently suggested an entrance on the south side by their orientation, but the placement has been assumed without a distinct argument in support of a southern entrance.[33] The slope of the site in the third century B.C. (fig. 2.1) was steep enough that the upslope obviated the need for an enclosure trench to close the western length of the quadrangular enclosure trench. The eastern length was 2–3m lower in elevation, and the most direct approach ascending from the valley would have led the visitor directly to the eastern side.

The slope on which the circular enclosure stood was similar, and its eastern entrance, indicated by a gap in the enclosure trench, was positioned to meet the most direct approach up the slope. It seems logical that their entrances would be placed on

[33] Only Brunaux (2017) has specified that he believes the entrance was on the south side, although Fercoq du Leslay has commented that the placement of the entrance is unknown (G. Fercoq du Leslay 2015, pers. comm., 8 December; Fercoq du Leslay 2017).

the same side. The smaller palisade wall extending from the circular enclosure's west side (trench F-520) and contemporary with it may have been constructed as a retaining wall to prevent soil erosion encroaching upon the quadrangular enclosure.[34] One does not wish to exaggerate the retaining wall's significance, but if it were constructed to protect the quadrangular enclosure, it would establish a relationship between the two enclosures at their foundations in the third century B.C.

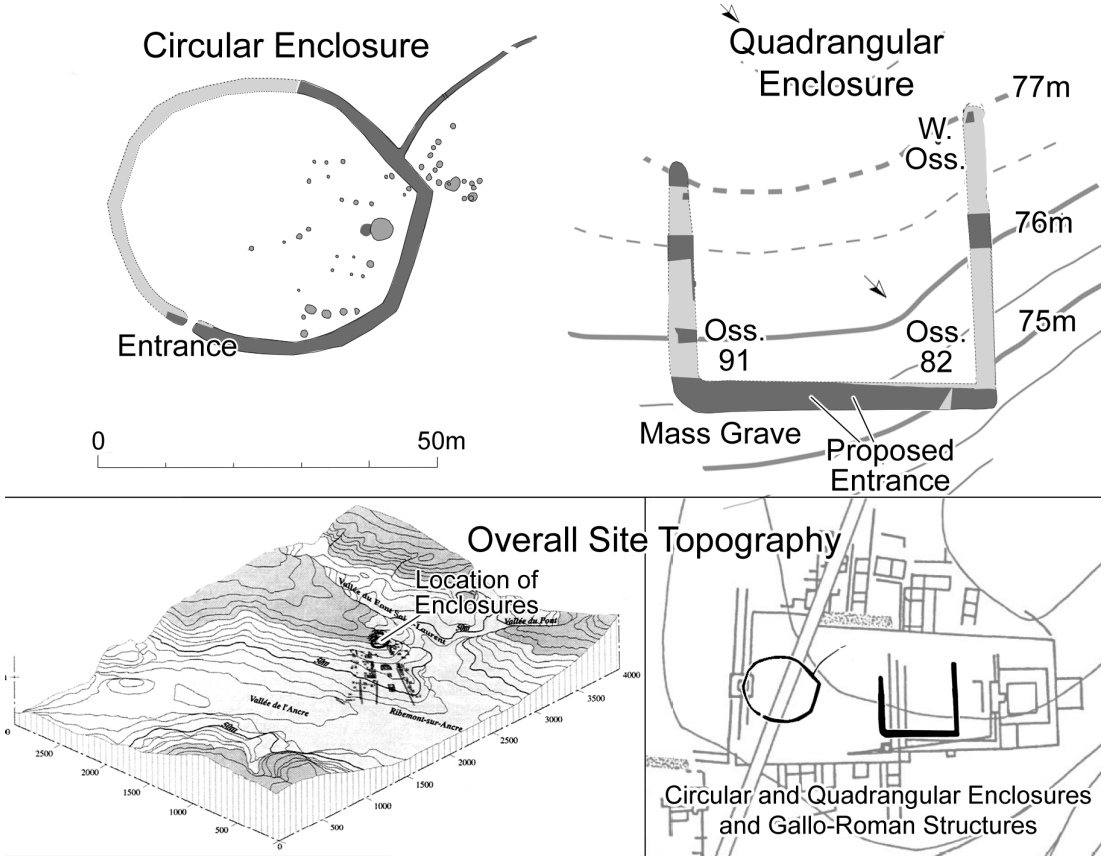

Figure 2.1. Plans illustrating site topography and reorientation of site plan to correspond to an eastern entrance (adapted from Brunaux et al. 2009, 20, fig. 6; Fercoq du Leslay 1996, 192, fig. 2; 2017, 83 and 85, fig. 2)

[34] Brunaux et al. 2001, 40. Fercoq du Leslay (2017, 83 and 147) indicates that the wall's function has not been established. Incidentally, Brunaux et al. (2002, 41) comment that silt is absent on the lower end, indicating that the small palisade served as a retaining wall even if not built for that purpose.

The sanctuary of Gournay was likewise constructed on a slope, and its eastern façade, where the entrance was located, was on the downslope (fig. 2.2). East was by far the preferred direction of entry for sanctuaries in general, 57% of all temples in Fauduet's catalogue, and 28 of the 29 temples catalogued in upper Normandy where Ribemont is located.[36]

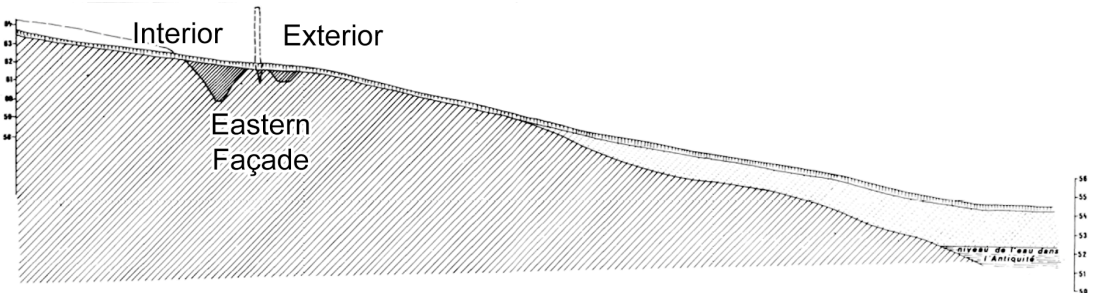

Figure 2.2. Cutaway illustrating Gournay's construction on a slope (Brunaux et al. 1985, 62, fig. 36)

2.2.2. Dating and Interpreting the La Tène Installations at Ribemont

The prevailing interpretation of the La Tène enclosures, proposed by Brunaux, is that they made up a two-part monument (fig. 2.3) constructed by the victors of a major battle that took place in the valley below the site. According to Brunaux, the site was active from c. 250 to 220 B.C. during which the victors erected its structures and carried out a complex ritual treatment of the dead. Brunaux believes that the circular enclosure hosted the funeral treatment of the victors' fallen comrades, and a subsequent commemorative banquet. He believes the quadrangular enclosure hosted a ritual treatment of the vanquished warriors and their weapons, the means by which they were offered to the gods.[37]

[36] Brunaux et al. 1985, 62–3; Fauduet 1993, 112; 2010.
[37] Brunaux et al. 1999; 2009; Brunaux 2004; 2017.

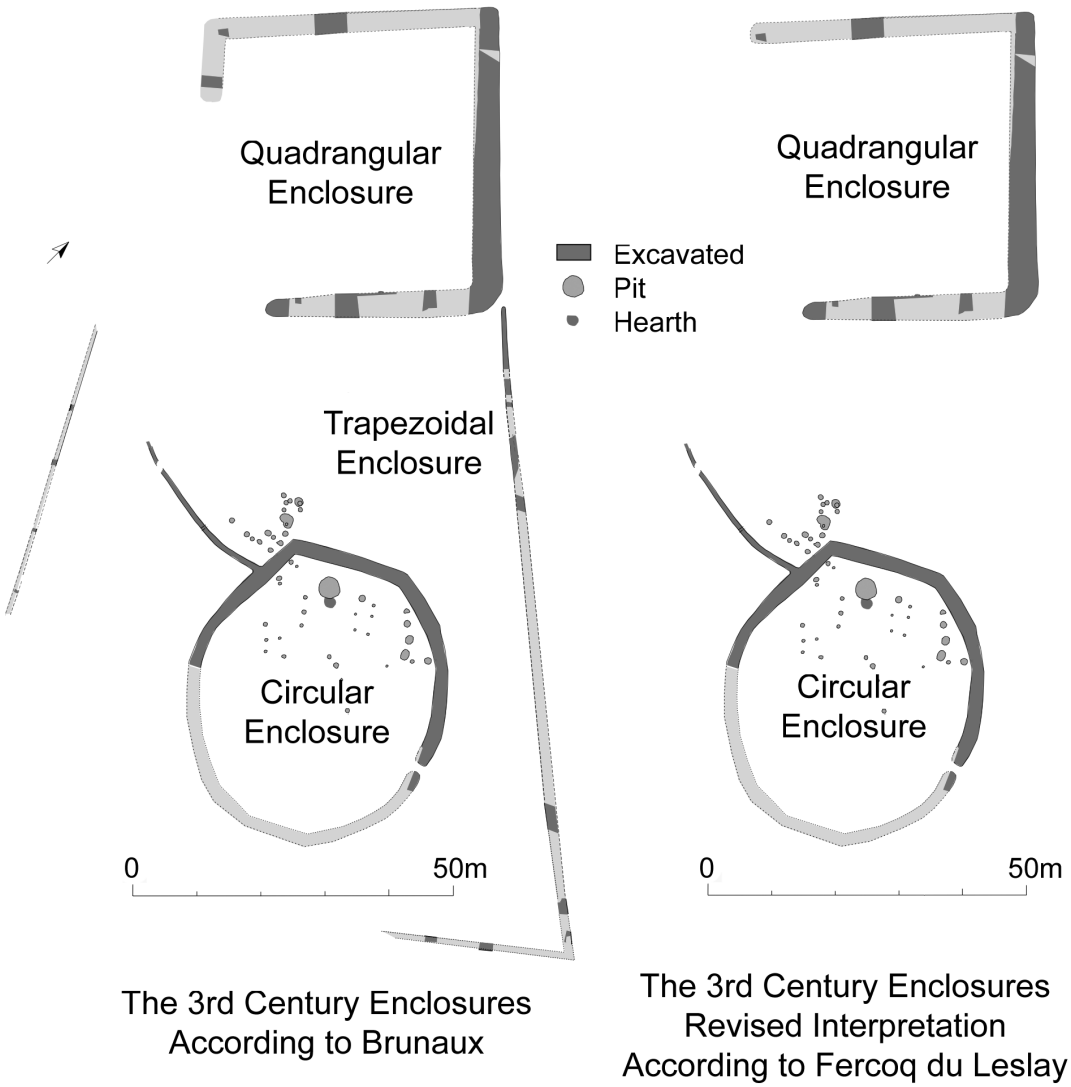

Figure 2.3. Brunaux's interpretation of the enclosures and Fercoq du Leslay's revised interpretation, removing the first century modification of the quadrangular enclosure trench and the first century trapezoidal enclosure (after Haack et al. 2015, 27, fig. 17 & 18)

However, the material remains dating the enclosures make it clear that the site was in use for significantly longer than a few decades. At least a few decades were required to complete the ritual processing of the human remains and armament alone, and considerable time and labor would have been required to construct the installations before the ritual processing could be performed. Further, distinct differences in their

construction and finds mark the enclosures as discrete facilities that should be considered separately, not the single major installation that has been proposed.

The shape of the quadrangular enclosure, the ritual pits at its corners, and the sacred grove at its center bear commonalities with several mid-La Tène sanctuaries, notably Gournay. These features suggest that the quadrangular enclosure was not a unique war monument, but instead an early sanctuary. While the circular enclosure and quadrangular enclosure were contemporary, the enclosures were distinct in nature and purpose. To characterize them as a single, two-part facility constructed after a major battle ignores their earlier foundation dates, particular purposes, and the initial ritual activity on the site. The evidence indicates that the quadrangular enclosure served as a sanctuary for decades before the massive influx of battlefield material in the LTC1b, and that the circular enclosure was a cult enclosure built to serve local warriors.[38] In a recent publication, Brunaux has allowed that the quadrangular enclosure may have been created a short time before the battle, but still views the two installations as two parts of a single facility.[39]

Fercoq du Leslay has recently proposed revisions of the dating of the foundation, relative chronologies, and use period of the quadrangular enclosure, which have significant implications for its interpretation individually, and for interpretation of its relationship with the mass grave and circular enclosure. Firstly, Fercoq du Leslay proposes that the foundation of the quadrangular enclosure and the beginning of ritual activity date to the beginning of the third century B.C. (LTC1a). Second, he argues

[38] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 194–6.
[39] Brunaux 2017, 84–5.

that the quadrangular enclosure was in use continuously from its third century foundation through its late first century B.C. decommissioning.[40]

Fercoq du Leslay bases these proposals upon finds within the quadrangular enclosure of LTB2–LTC1a armament, and LTA–LTB and LTB1–LTC1 (fourth–third century B.C.) pottery, LTC2–LTD2 armament, radiocarbon dating of bones, and stratigraphies associated with the quadrangular enclosure and mass grave (fig. 2.4). Fercoq du Leslay's study is ongoing, but evidence and arguments supporting his proposals, expanding upon them and developing them further, are offered in this and subsequent chapters.

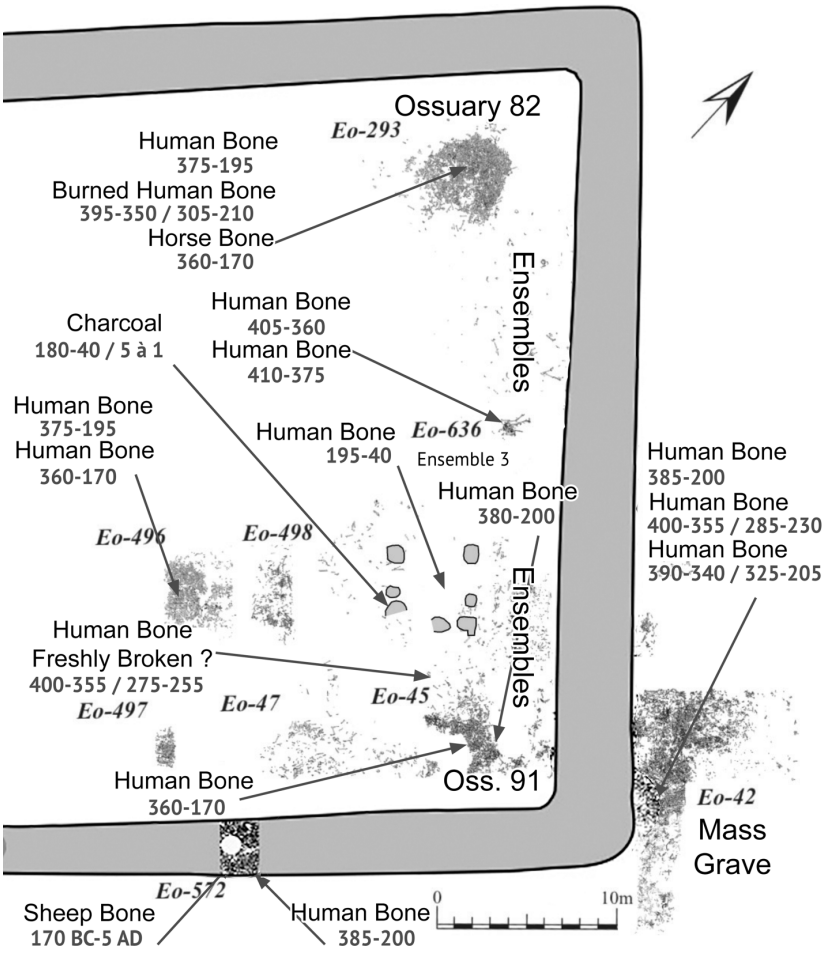

Figure 2.4. Bones used for radiocarbon dating (after Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 198)

[40] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 194–6.

Fercoq du Leslay indicates that the residual presence of fragments of armament and ceramics of the LTB period could be interpreted as testimony of an initial period of use for the quadrangular enclosure before the massive influx of bodies and armament in the LTC1b period. Analysis of my corpus of iron finds supports Fercoq du Leslay's proposal for an earlier phase of activity. The corpus records a limited number of uncertainly dated LTB2 finds and a minority of LTC1a finds. Activity at the time was considerably smaller scale, given that LTC1a armament makes up approximately 7% of the corpus.[41] Fercoq du Leslay adds that, in this case, the circular and quadrangular enclosures had a contemporary phase of operation.[42] He does not address the implications of a closely contemporary, if not simultaneous, foundation of a cult enclosure and a sanctuary beside each other on the same site, as his focus and interests differ from one's own.

When presenting his hypothesis, Fercoq du Leslay indicates that the indices are tenuous, and presently, the date cannot be fixed with confidence. Nonetheless, he notes that, given the evidence attesting to a phase within the quadrangular enclosure preceding construction of the ossuaries' bone frames, the hypothesis for an earlier dating should not be dismissed. The reused postholes at the centers of the later bone frames indicate that in the quadrangular enclosure's initial phase, imposing posts stood at its interior corners. Fercoq du Leslay adds that it is likely, albeit not certain, that the enclosure trench is contemporary with the posts.[43]

Fercoq du Leslay's argument for continuous use of the quadrangular enclosure is based upon dated ceramic, armament, and other iron finds, and stratigraphies from

[41] Estimate based upon one's catalogue of armament.
[42] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 210.
[43] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 95. (The only reason for uncertainty is the lack of chronological indicators.)

the fill layers over the third and first century B.C. ossuaries within the quadrangular enclosure.[44] He indicates that the quadrangular enclosure has provided LTC2–LTD2 (third–first century B.C.) armament covering the entire period for which Brunaux has argued that the quadrangular enclosure was entirely abandoned and left untouched.[45]

One's own corpus of iron finds supports Fercoq du Leslay's proposal: While most of the material dates to the LTC1b (or LTC1 without greater specificity) there are minorities of armament covering the entire period of "abandonment". The small number of pieces dating to the period, and their limitation to the interior of the quadrangular enclosure, indicate that the site was considerably less active during the period, but not wholly abandoned. There was a slight increase in dedications within the quadrangular enclosure in the LTD1 period, reflecting an increase in activity in the early first century B.C., preceding Roman conquest.[46] One's corpus displays a spike in LTD2b finds contemporary with the site's transformation, and several of the finds come from special contexts associated with the quadrangular enclosure's decommissioning in the late first century B.C.

Strikingly, Fercoq du Leslay argues that based on radiocarbon dating of human bones within the quadrangular enclosure that the ritual treatment of corpses continued during the second and first centuries, not only armament dedications.[47] He notes that the results are preliminary, and study has just begun. Given time constraints, and the preliminary nature of the data, one was not able to consider re-dating the ossuaries, which are discussed in chapter 3. This revision would not significantly affect

[44] See chapter 3 for discussion.
[45] Brunaux 2004; 2017.
[46] The brief increase in activity relates to a deepening of the southwest corner of the quadrangular enclosure trench and deposit of items there.
[47] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 196–8.

arguments made in this study. In brief, Fercoq du Leslay believes that the ossuaries and ensembles within the quadrangular enclosure are the remains of decades of continued and regular ritual treatment of human corpses, and that the ritual practices in the third century were not a one-off after a major battle. Fercoq du Leslay's new proposal would correspond with Løvschal and Holst's description of post-conflict ritual practices establishing new ongoing ritual practices.[48]

With the revised dating of the quadrangular enclosure as early as the beginning of the third century B.C., one would argue that the quadrangular enclosure in the LTC1b period was an existing sanctuary, modified and repurposed to process a large influx of battlefield material.[51]

[48] Løvschal and Holst 2018, 28.
[51] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 194 & 206. Most recently: Brunaux 2017.

2.3. The Quadrangular Enclosure at Ribemont compared to Phase 1 of the Sanctuary at Gournay

The quadrangular enclosure originally consisted of a trench with imposing posts at its interior corners and probably an interior berm (fig. 2.5).[52] It was similar in structure to Phase I of the sanctuary at Gournay (fig. 2.6) as comparison of their features and ground plans demonstrates:

Table 2.1. Comparison of the Characteristics and Features of the Quadrangular Enclosure at Ribemont and Phase I of the Sanctuary at Gournay[53]

	Ribemont, Quad. Enclosure	**Gournay, Phase 1**
Enclosure	Three-sided quadrangular enclosure open on the west side with irregular northern and southern sides 37m and 48m long, with an exterior area of 2,000m^2 and interior of 1,850m^2	Quadrangular enclosure with 44.5m long eastern side, 37m northern side (other sides incomplete), with an exterior area of 1,700m^2 and interior of 1,200m^2
Entrance	East	
Trench	3.5m wide, 2.5m deep with V profile	1.8m wide, and 2m deep with U profile
Structure	Trenched enclosure with internal berm	
Interior features	4 posts in interior corners, each proposed to be at least 3m tall, set in 30cm, 1m deep postholes; posts later extracted to create ritual pits	5 posts and 2 ritual pits arranged in a cross with perpendicular arms at the center of the enclosure, closely aligned to the cardinal directions

[52] The arranged postholes and pits find comparata at other sites (Brunaux et al. 1985, 91–2; 2003, 7–13). Compacted soil at the base of the posthole of Ossuary 82 attest to the posts' original seating (Cadoux 1984, 3; Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 91).

[53] Ribemont information from Brunaux et al. 2002, 4; Cadoux 1984, 63; Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 90. Gournay information from Brunaux et al. 1985, 62–3, 67, 88–90.

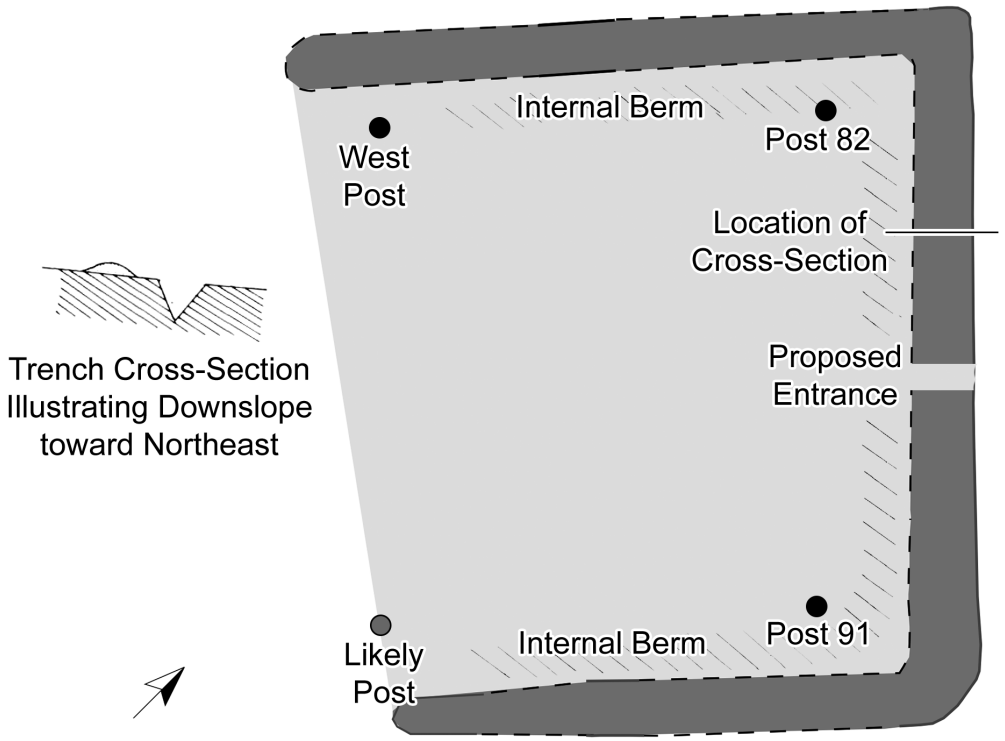

Figure 2.5. Illustration of the initial phase of the quadrangular enclosure at Ribemont (adapted from Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 142)

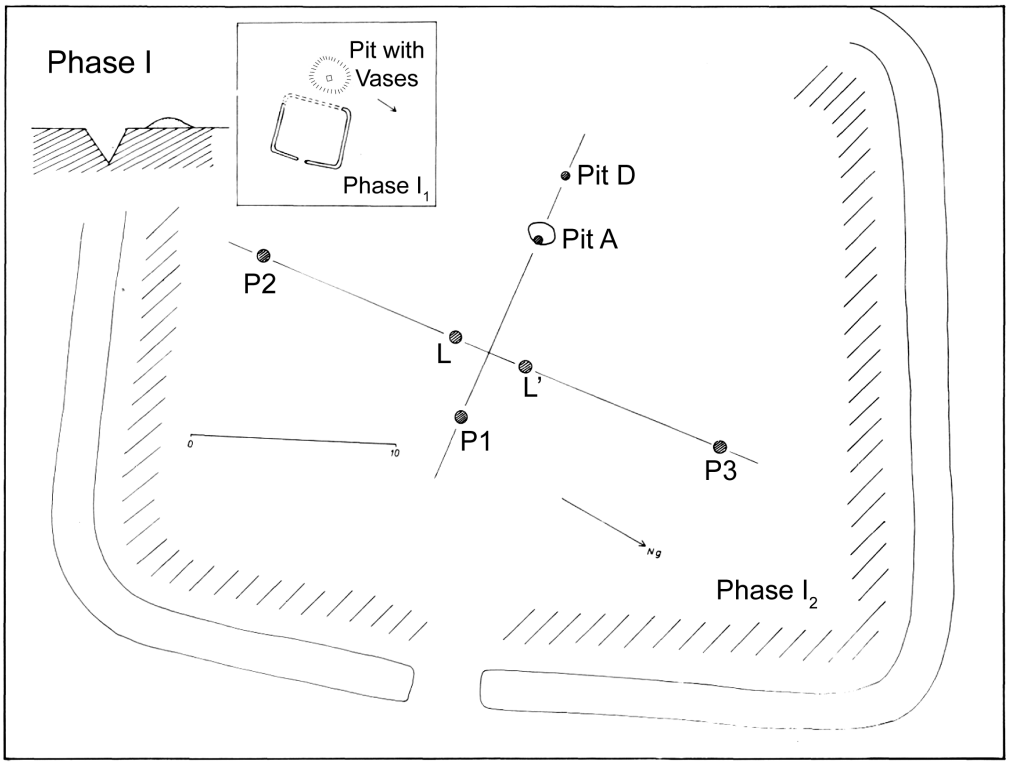

Figure 2.6. Illustration of Phase I of the Sanctuary at Gournay (after Brunaux et al. 1985, 95, fig. 59)

Given this information, we may conclude that logistically and labor-wise, creation of the quadrangular enclosure at Ribemont and Phase I of the sanctuary at Gournay were comparable. Consequently, it seems unlikely that the quadrangular enclosure was a post-conflict installation constructed quickly after the battle, nor that it was only intended for a brief use to process the battlefield remains.

The sanctuary at Gournay continued to develop in subsequent phases, the fully-matured sanctuary ultimately far surpassing the quadrangular enclosure at Ribemont in complexity and monumentality. The reason for this difference seems to be a consequence of Gournay's near century of continuous occupation and regular activity before its first abandonment. At Ribemont, activity was concentrated in a limited timespan of a few decades before the site was largely abandoned and activity was minimal until the LTD2b period.

After an indefinite period, in the LTC1a, the posts were extracted, and the post-conflict ritual processing of human and horse remains and armament began. Most of the men and horses were exposed to decay then dismembered, their limb fragments built into cubic bone frames above the empty postholes.

Ossuary 82 (fig. 2.7), in the northeast corner, is the best preserved of the bone frames and illustrates their structure: The ossuary consists of a 1.65m^2 cubic bone frame constructed out of human and horse remains around a posthole reused from the sanctuary's initial phase. The bone frame survives to a height of 40cm, although it would have been significantly taller in the third century, potentially a cube 1.65m tall, judging from the dense radius of bones surrounding it. The radius of destruction, spreading on average 5m outward from the central core, represents the collapse of the

upper layers of the bone frame.[54] After the bone frame was completed, the central ritual pit was used to cremate bone material of the same types as were used to construct the bone frames.

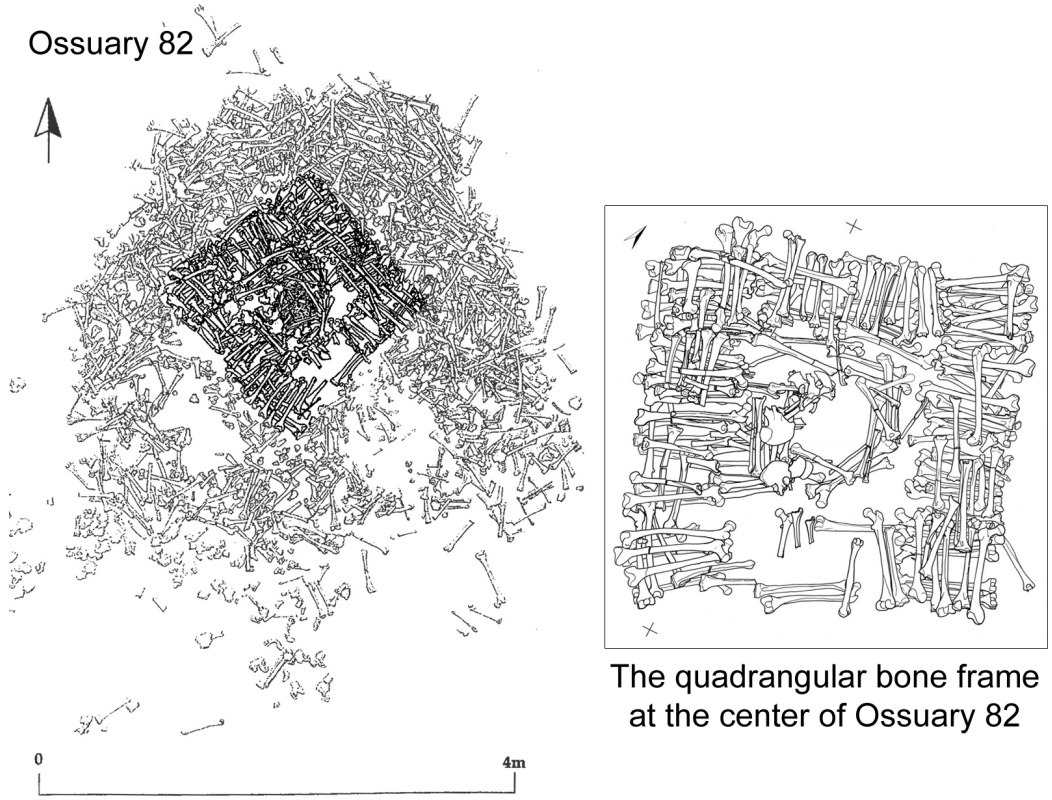

Figure 2.7. Plan of Ossuary 82 and detail of the bone frame at its center (after Brunaux 2004, 117, fig. 53 and Ricard 2014, 30, fig. 11)

Construction of the bone frames in the interior corners of the quadrangular enclosure, and creation of a display of human and horse remains and mutilated armament along the eastern interior were the final developments of the quadrangular enclosure. Further discussion of the bone material is left for chapter 3.

[54] Cadoux 1984, 61–5; Brunaux et al. 1999a.

2.4. The Circular Enclosure at Ribemont

2.4.1. Chronology of the Circular Enclosure

Fercoq du Leslay confidently dates the foundation of the circular enclosure to the LTB2 period (c. 275–260 B.C.) based upon pottery found in its enclosure trench.[56] Early fibulae and ironwork also support the dating.[57] The archaic forms of some pieces suggest armament from the circular enclosure may date to the LTB2 period, but this interpretation is uncertain.[58]

The circular enclosure's period of use, from its foundation to its decommissioning, is debated. Brunaux's latest proposal is that the warriors "were probably [exposed] for a few weeks, until there was nothing but bleached bones".[59] In previous excavation reports and publications, Brunaux has argued that the palisade only stood some weeks or months from the time of its construction before it was demolished.[60] Fercoq du Leslay has expressed doubt that the enclosure was used for such a brief period, arguing for a few-decade-long period of use.[61] Exposure of the warriors' corpses would have required at least a few years for the corpses to fully skeletonize.[62] The weathering on the bones, lack of joint relationships, absence of small bones, and dominance (71.8%) of long bones of the limbs, suggest to this author that they were exposed for decades. See chapter 3 for discussion.

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[56] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 194–7; Chaidron and Fercoq du Leslay 2013, 221–2.
[57] Brunaux et al. 2001, 49.
[58] See chapter 5 for discussion.
[59] Brunaux 2017, 85.
[60] Brunaux et al. 2001, 35; 2004, 120; 2009, 25–30.
[61] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 205. Previously, when dating the foundation of the quadrangular enclosure after the circular enclosure, G. Fercoq du Leslay (2015, pers. comm., 8 December) has proposed that the circular enclosure was used for a few decades before construction of the quadrangular enclosure.
[62] Barker et al. 2017; Carr and Knüsel 1997.

2.4.2. Structure of the Circular Enclosure at Ribemont

The circular enclosure was an imposing installation, consisting of a 5–6m tall palisade wall, which enclosed an area of approximately 1,800m^2 (fig. 2.8). The palisade wall was covered in wattle-and-daub, carved, and painted. A smaller foundation trench extending from its northwest side (F-520) supported a smaller palisade retaining wall.[64] The enclosure was entered through a small door on the east side, indicated by a 1m gap in the enclosure trench. Within the enclosure was large ritual pit and hearth, possibly a small structure (2m by 6m), and a small area paved with flint blocks (no more than 100m^2).[65]

All material related to the circular enclosure comes from its enclosure trench, of which only the northern half has been excavated to date (fig. 2.8). It has provided ceramics, animal bones, fragments of flint, sandstone, painted wattle-and-daub, and the bones of at least thirty men, accompanied by armament. The finds were distributed along the entire excavated length of the enclosure trench, but concentrated most heavily around the enclosure's features: the ritual pit and hearth, and the entrance.[67]

[64] Brunaux (2017, 86, fig. 8.6) incorrectly reconstructs trench F-520 as a path, and places the entry on the northwest side at the junction between F-520 and F-431 where there is no break. The stratigraphies between F-520 and F-431 are continuous as well.
[65] Brunaux et al. 1999; 2002, 15–56; 2009, 11–37; Brunaux 2004, 120; 2017, 81; G. Fercoq du Leslay 2015, pers. comm., 27 July.
[67] Brunaux et al. 2001, 35. Distribution maps of the various types of finds from the circular enclosure trench may be found in their respective chapters.

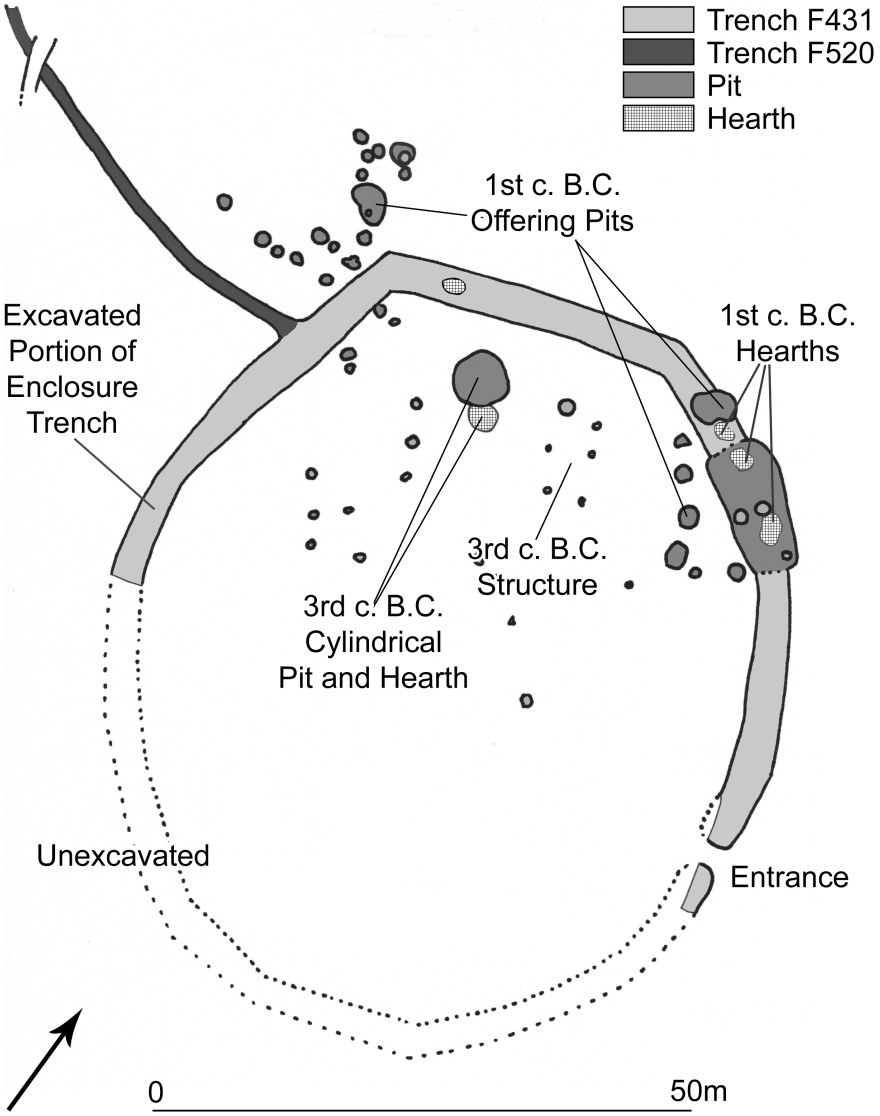

Figure 2.8: The circular enclosure at Ribemont (adapted from Brunaux et al. 2002, 22, fig. 31)

Brunaux and Fercoq du Leslay both believe that the circular enclosure was established on the site by local warriors in the third century B.C. in order to host a funerary treatment of a group of fallen comrades. I believe that the circular enclosure was initially established as a cult installation where local warriors gathered, which was repurposed to host the aforementioned funerary treatment. I believe this is the case because the circular enclosure was founded in the LTB2b, a few decades before the LTC1b influx of material when the corpses of comrades and enemies were brought to

the site, and because the circular enclosure's structure and the ritual activity it hosted parallel those of the cult enclosure at Montmartin (Enclosure 56).

The shape of the circular enclosure, evidence of ritual treatment of the warriors and armament buried in its trench, and evidence of banqueting have led excavators to conjecture the enclosure served a funerary function. It would imitate late Bronze Age to La Tène A period funerary enclosures and tumuli in necropoleis.[68] The relevant necropoleis for Ribemont include Aulnay-aux-Planches, Villeneuve-au-Châtelot, Le Terrage and La Croissette of Acy-Romance, and others.[69] However, none of the funerary enclosures at these sites are of comparable size (most are 15–25m in diameter), and none served as foundation trenches for palisade walls like the circular enclosure; they were all open trenches.[70] There is also a gap between the cessation of the construction of circular funerary enclosures in the region's necropoleis from the Hallstatt C1–C2 to the LTA, latest LTB2. The circular enclosure at Ribemont was founded in the LTB2b. Circular enclosures appeared again in the region in the LTC1a (second half of the second century) through the LTD (first century B.C.), but none of the later enclosures were comparable in size or complexity to Ribemont's circular enclosure.[71]

In turn, dependent on how we identify the warriors buried in the enclosure trench, at the influx of material in the LTC1b, the circular enclosure was either repurposed to provide a funerary treatment for fallen comrades, or remained a cult enclosure and was used for a ritual destruction of enemy warriors' corpses.[72]

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[68] Brunaux 2017, 88; Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 210.
[69] Lambot 1991, 69; Lambot et al. 1994, 216, 228, and 234–41; Lepage 1975, 10.
[70] Lambot 1991, 67–9; Lambot et al. 1994, 216, 234–41.
[71] Lambot et al. 1994, 100–5, 200, and 208–11.
[72] Haack et al. 2015, 26.

In the first proposal, I concur with Brunaux and Fercoq du Leslay that the circular enclosure hosted a funerary treatment in the LTC1b, but argue that it was constructed as a cult installation initially and served as such for years before it was used for funerary purposes. For the second proposal, I allow that the warriors from the circular enclosure may be identified as enemy warriors, making their treatment ritual rather than funerary. In this case, I would argue that the circular enclosure would have retained its initial purpose as a cult installation when it was used to perform a ritual treatment of enemy remains. In any case, the ritual treatment of the warriors corpses at Ribemont closely parallels the treatment of human remains at Montmartin and Gournay, which has been identified as either ritual treatment or human sacrifice, as chapter 3 will explore.

2.4.3. Comparison of the Circular Enclosure at Ribemont with Enclosure 56 at Montmartin

Given the commonalities in its physical structures and, more importantly, in the material evidence of ritual practice its enclosure trench has provided (human and animal bones, ceramics, and armament), one would identify the circular enclosure at Ribemont as a cult installation similar in design, purpose, and use to the cult installation at Montmartin. The siting and physical structures will be compared first. A summary of the material from the two installations' foundation trenches to illustrate commonalities and differences in the material will follow. The parallels between the human and animal bones and armament introduced will be explored at greater length in subsequent chapters.

Because identification of the circular enclosure at Ribemont as a cult installation of the same sort as Enclosure 56 at Montmartin has not been proposed in

any other studies, a brief characterization of the nature and implications of this interpretation will be provided. Continued consideration is left to chapters 3–5 and final comments to chapter 6.

The cult installation at Montmartin (Enclosure 56) consisted of a 5m palisade wall enclosing an area of approximately 5,000m^2. Only the area near the entrance and palisade wall were used, as the land sloped away behind them (fig. 2.9). The cult installation was built to host gatherings of local warriors, presumably warriors from both the aristocratic family occupying the residence and additional warriors who dwelled in the surrounding and also frequented the sanctuary at Gournay.

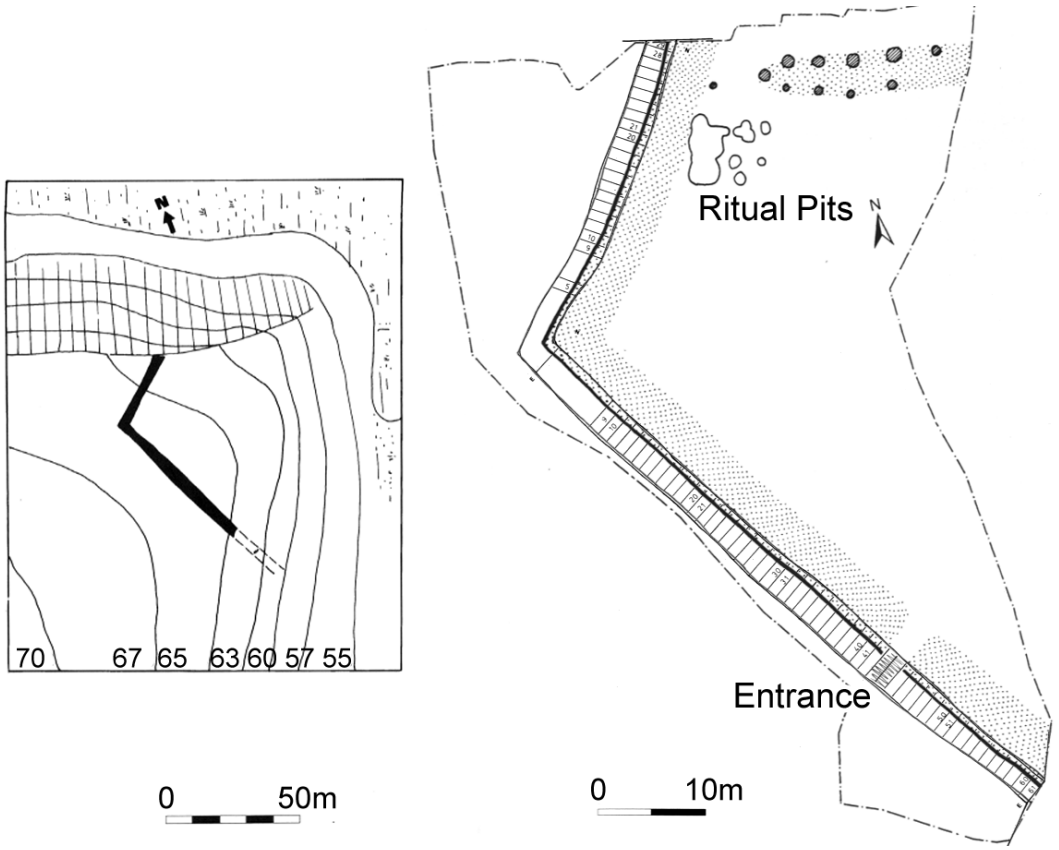


Figure 2.9. Topography and plan of the cult installation at Montmartin (Enclosure 56) (after Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 108, fig. 90, 111, fig. 94, 179, fig. 160)

Enclosure 56 is particularly useful as comparative evidence for the circular enclosure, because the construction and nature of its palisade wall (fig. 2.10) are well understood. They provide a good idea of how the demolished palisade at Ribemont would have appeared, given the several parallels in their material remains (Table 2.2).[74] Additionally, the palisade wall's foundation trench at Montmartin has provided finds of the same sort as the circular enclosure at Ribemont.

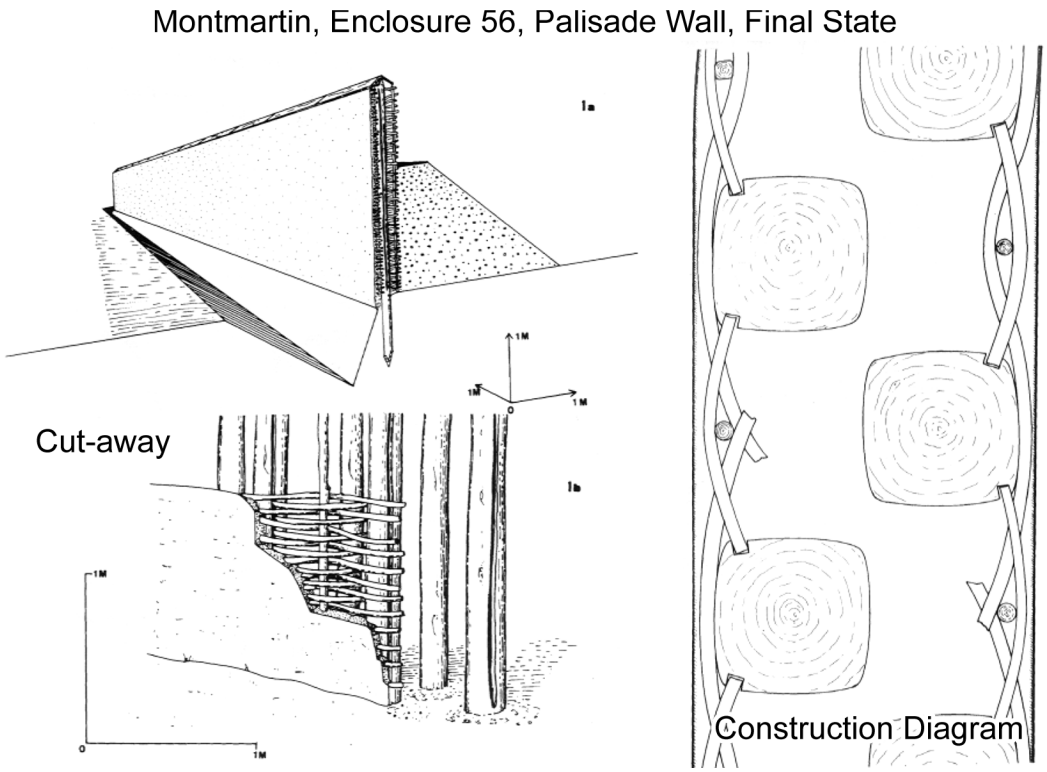


Figure 2.10. Reconstruction of the palisade wall of the cult installation at Montmartin (after Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 117, fig. 102)

[74] Fercoq du Leslay in Brunaux and Méniel 1997.

Table 2.2. Comparison of the Characteristics and Features of the Circular Enclosure at Ribemont vs. Enclosure 56 at Montmartin[75]		
	Ribemont, Circular Enclosure	Montmartin, Enclosure 56
Enclosure Dimensions	40m x 60m ellipse, composed of linear segments of variable length	Northern branch 30m long, roughly perpendicular eastern length at least 61m (originally 100m)
Entrance	Due east; 1m gap in trench for door	West, facing residence; 2m gap in trench for door
Interior Dimensions	Approximately 1,800m^2	5,000m^2
Wall Height	5–6m	5m
Total length of Palisade Wall	approximately 200m (measurement of adjoining trench segments)	approximately 130m
Thickness	Unknown	50cm
Foundation trench	2m deep with V-profile (60–65°) with semi-circular section at bottom of trench (25–30cm diameter) where posts were set into the soil	440 posts 20–30cm in diameter set vertically 0.9m into ground; exterior open enclosure trench 1m deep, 4.5m wide
Wattle-and-daub surface	Carved, textured, and painted in ochre, white, and black	Smoothed and shaped with tools, textured, hand-worked decorations affixed, painted with yellow and white; 490m^3 of daub
Interior Features	Ritual pit with hearth, pit. 3.3m in diameter, 2m deep, vertical walls; Possible minor structure (indicated by postholes)	2 Ritual pits (Pit 99) perfectly cylindrical 2m depth, 0.9–1.9m diameter, enlarged twice to 1.3m, then 1.9m; (Pit 57) cylindrical, 2.6m diameter and depth; covered with protective structure
Additional Interior Features	6 postholes, 3m east of ritual pit and contemporary with it, form 2m by 5m rectangle: a shed or small hall	Small shrine built over the offering pits featured 3 states, first approx. 5m square, second 4.2m square, third 6m by 3m rectangle

[75] Ribemont data from Brunaux et al. 2001, 34–38; 2002, 26; 2003, 61–2; Brunaux 2004, 120. Montmartin data from Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 108–22; 189–93; 231–2.

One is aware that physical similarities in the structures at Montmartin and Ribemont may well be coincidental. The purpose of this comparison is not to highlight parallel data, but to illustrate how the similar designs of the two structures create similar private gathering places. The second point to be made concerning the physical structures of the two enclosures is that it seems highly unlikely that the investment of labor and resources required to build the circular enclosure at Ribemont would have been made for a temporary structure, particularly not one to be used for only a few weeks or months, has been proposed.[76] The comparative height, extent, and complexity of the palisade walls for the circular enclosure at Ribemont and Enclosure 56 at Montmartin indicate that material and labor required for construction of the two installations would have been roughly equivalent, as was the case in the comparison of the quadrangular enclosure at Ribemont to phase 1 of the sanctuary at Gournay presented above.

Brunaux and Méniel describe the palisade wall at Montmartin as creating a 'magical fortress' for the warriors who gathered within the enclosure, and serving the practical purpose of concealing their activity from outside view. They comment further, saying, 'Thus, **functions other than those related to worship must have taken place within the enclosure to have justified its construction and monumentality**… Political, religious, and military meetings were not incompatible' (emphasis added).[77] The same may be said for the circular enclosure at Ribemont.

I do not believe that the circular enclosure was simply or initially constructed as a ritual space to process material from the battlefield. The nature of the construction

[76] Brunaux et al. 2001, 35; 2004, 120; Brunaux 2017, 85.
[77] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 235–6.

of its palisade wall points to a facility intended to be used for years to decades. Its parallels with Montmartin indicate the circular enclosure was a cult gathering place before its post-conflict use. Comparison of the activities hosted within Enclosure 56 at Montmartin and the circular enclosure at Ribemont illustrates how the two facilities hosted parallel cult practices:

Table 2.3. Comparison of the Activities Hosted within the Circular Enclosure at Ribemont vs. Enclosure 56 at Montmartin[78]

		Ribemont, Circular Enclosure	Montmartin, Enclosure 56
Human Bones	Ritual Treatment	Dismemberment, de-fleshing and beating performed on fresh corpses	Human cranial remains dismembered, de-fleshed, tongues removed, skulls split open; fresh remains
	Exposure Nature and Interval	Long exposure interval, continuing to skeletonization and weathering; limited access to bones by animals	After dismemberment, spines placed in enclosure trench and left exposed, crania mounted
	Final Deposition	Long bones collected and buried in foundation trench with all remains; concentrations of all remains near ritual pit and entrance	Crania and mandibles concentrated in one-third of enclosure trench; axial and appendicular bones spread along remainder of trench; two groups only minimally overlapping
Animal Bones		Banqueting remains: Predominance of pig bones; bear butchering marks, confirming they are consumption remains	Banqueting remains: 75% pigs in the area behind the ritual pit and hearth, and bones are meat cuts
Armament Dedication		Residual battlefield assemblage; insufficient to supply the warriors buried in the trench, therefore relationship between armament and human remains is indeterminate	Minor practice, some pieces mutilated; relationship between armament and human remains is indeterminate

[78] See chapters 3–4 for references.

Brunaux and Méniel describe the human cranial fragments and armament found in the upper fills as tertiary deposits (fig. 2.11 and 2.12). Their initial contexts, like Ribemont, would have been where the corpses were left to decay, either inside the enclosure or nearby. The secondary context would have been mounting of crania and armament on the outer surface of the palisade wall, because they do not display evidence of exposure to fire, and the burned wattle-and-daub fragments from the palisade wall were deposited over them. These two details indicate that the crania and armament were removed from display before the palisade wall was burned.[79] They would have then been either deposited in the trench outside the palisade wall, or deposited in a safe location while the wall burned and deposited after.

Crania and armament were only found along one third of the length of the enclosure trench (fig. 2.11 and 2.12), closest to the entrance, and none were found in the remaining two-thirds, particularly not near the ritual pit within the enclosure where banquets were hosted.[80] Presumably, crania and armament were on display on either side of the entrance at Montmartin like the crania, armament, and cattle bone displays at Gournay.

[79] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 236–8.
[80] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 238.

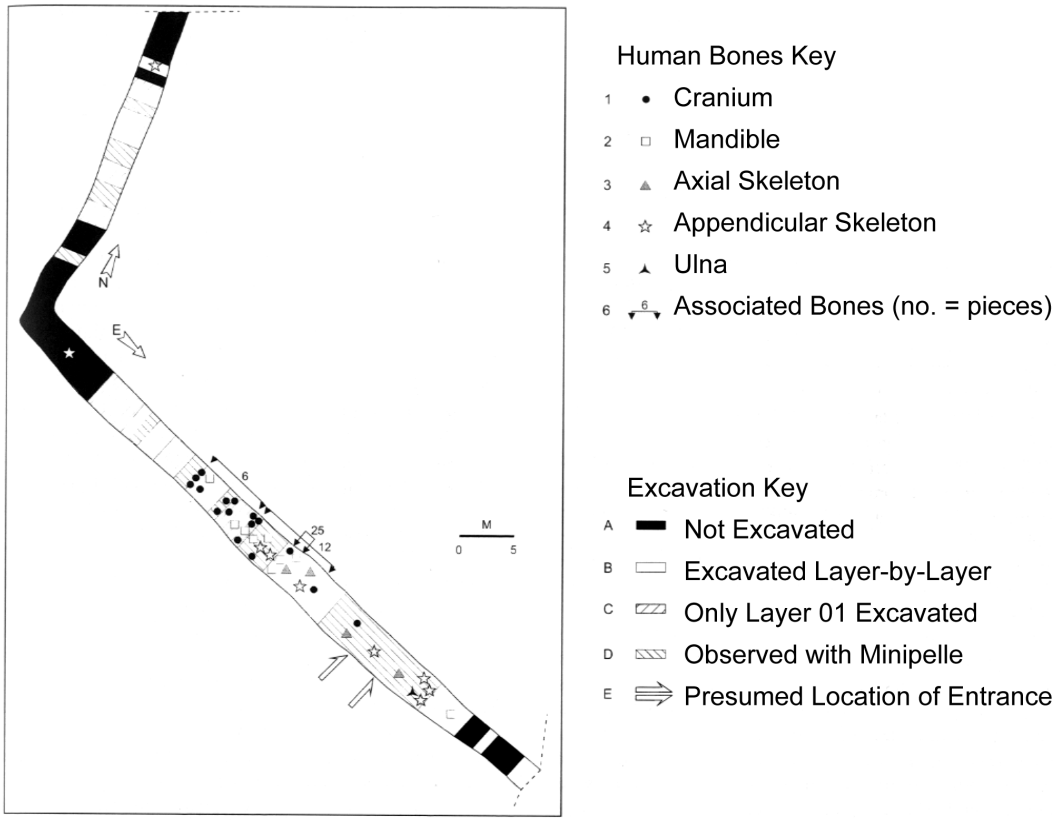


Figure 2.11. Distribution of human bones in the trench at Montmartin (after Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 173, fig. 156)

The animal bones (fig. 2.12) come from pigs, sheep, and cattle primarily, with a high percentage of pigs. Pig bones make up approximately 75% of the animal bones in the few-meter length of trench behind the ritual pit.[81] This concentration indicates that pigs were consumed in ritual banquets within Enclosure 56 according to the same pattern as banqueting sanctuaries. Ceramic finds from the fill include banqueting vessels, and date the pit to the La Tène C1 period.[82] Thus, it seems that communal banqueting and the ritual treatment of human remains were practiced at Montmartin within an enclosure of a design very similar to the circular enclosure at Ribemont.

[81] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 231–2.
[82] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 189–90.

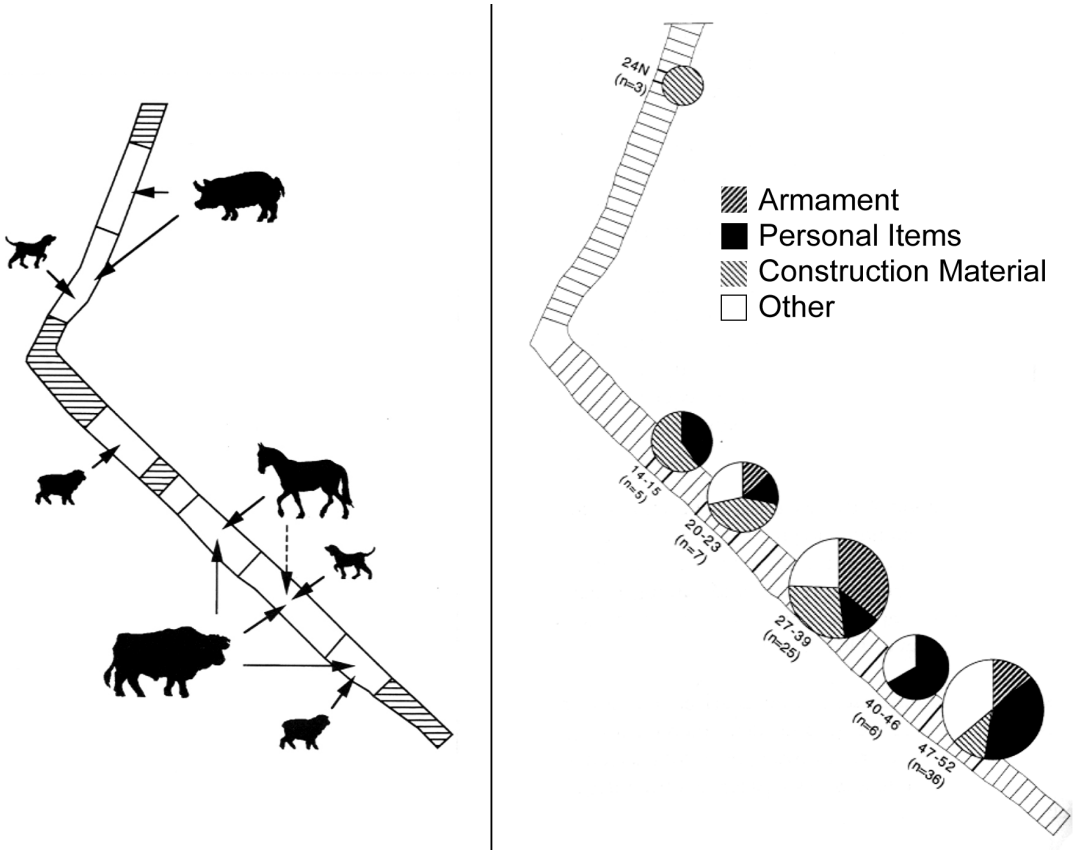


Figure 2.12. Distribution of animal bones and armament in the trench at Montmartin (after Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 175, fig. 158 and 176, fig. 159)

The evidence from the enclosure trenches of the palisade walls at Montmartin and Ribemont indicates that they were both destroyed by intense, intentionally-set and sustained fires. Wattle-and-daub only survives in high-intensity fires that burn over a protracted period of time.[83] At Montmartin, the extent of fired daub and fact that some vertical posts were consumed by the fire entirely indicate a long and intense blaze. Fercoq du Leslay indicates that the fire at Montmartin must have been maintained by the addition of combustible material along the entire length of the wall, because the wood frame does not provide adequate fuel for such a fire.[84] After the fire completed its work, the remaining parts of the wall were dismantled and all the remains were

[83] Brunaux et al. 2001, 34; 2002, 37.
[84] Fercoq du Leslay in Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 121.

deposited in the enclosure trench. The nature of the wall's destruction and burial of its remains with the ritual remains indicate that the burning of the palisade wall at Montmartin was an intentional, systematic destruction.

After destruction of the palisade wall at Montmartin, the remains of earlier ritual activity were deposited in the upper fill of the palisade's foundation trench and the ritual pit within the enclosure, and numerous fragments of fired wattle-and-daub were deposited over them.[85] The ritual remains include human and animal bones, ceramics, and armament, and do not display evidence of exposure to fire. Fercoq du Leslay attributes the wall's destruction to the inhabitants of Montmartin, because the ritual remains were removed from the wall prior to its destruction and they and the remains of the wall were deposited in the trench to protect them from damage. Brunaux and Méniel suggest that invaders may have put the residence and its cult enclosure in jeopardy, inciting the residents to destroy the enclosure themselves, rather than allow the invaders to do so.[86]

The finds from the fill of the circular enclosure's trench indicate that a parallel process was employed to destroy the circular enclosure at Ribemont. Significant quantities of baked wattle-and-daub were found in the trench along with sandstone, flint blocks, and chalk displaying evidence of fire exposure. Lastly, the armament from the circular enclosure displays unusual corrosion (reddish oxidation), not otherwise paralleled, and warping and curling of the edges, which does not seem to have a mechanical origin (e.g. bending with pliers) but reflects exposure to heat.[87]

[85] Brunaux and Méniel 1997.
[86] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 236–8 and 248.
[87] Brunaux et al. 2002, 34–7.

2.5. The Mass Grave at Ribemont

2.5.1. Nature and Context

The final third century B.C. installation, the mass grave, is located just outside the quadrangular enclosure on its southeastern side. It covers an irregular 35m^2 area along the outer edge of the quadrangular enclosure trench (fig. 2.13) and consists of a compacted 30–40cm thick layer of human bones and armament which rest on the third century B.C. ground surface (fig. 2.14).[93] Ricard estimates the pile of corpses may have originally been up to 1m thick before compaction. The human bones retain extensive anatomical connections, but complete skeletons are rare. They are more accurately described as corpse fragments, and their extent and preservation state vary. The mass grave provides a good sized armament assemblage (MNI of 294), although it is a residual collection, as will be discussed in chapter 5.

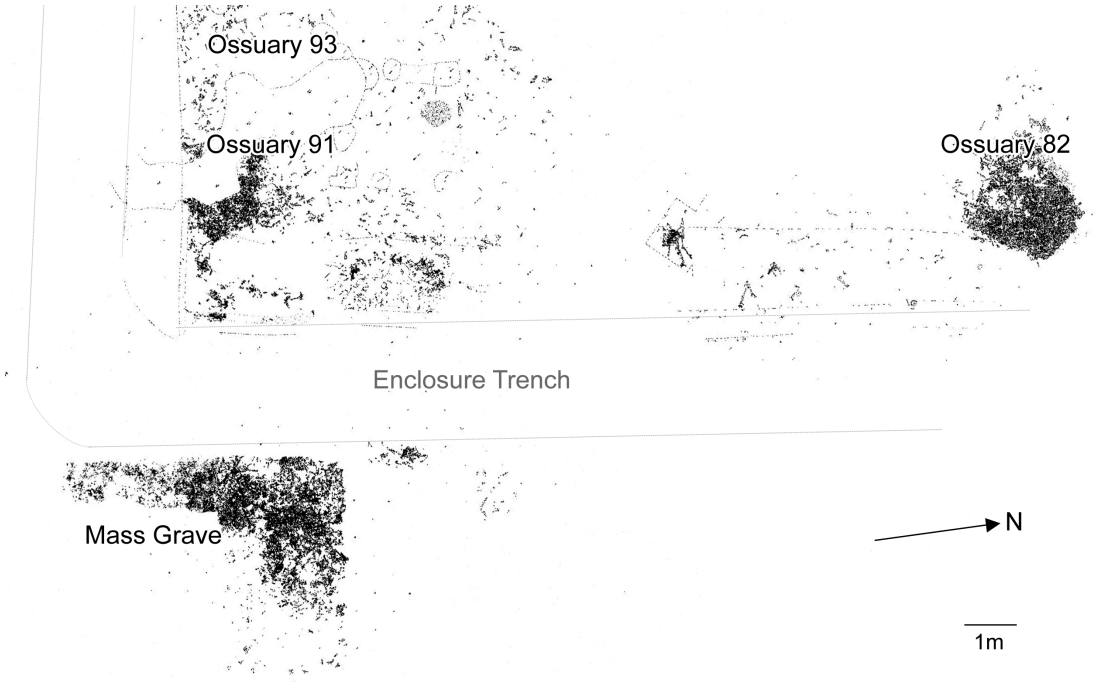


Figure 2.13. Plan of the eastern length of the quadrangular enclosure showing the location of the mass grave (after Ricard 2014, 47, fig. 26)

[93] Petit 2002, 21; Ricard 2014, 48, 217–21.

Figure 2.14. Photograph of the mass grave, illustrating the mixture of bones and armament (Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 108)

The mass grave is part of a broad spread of material 2–3m wide to the immediate east of the quadrangular enclosure (fig. 2.13). I believe that the material originally lined the entire length of the quadrangular enclosure (approximately 55m) and continued around its southeast corner to line the southern side as well (fig. 2.15). The continuous spread of material along the trench was interrupted and partially destroyed 16m north of the mass grave by an *exedra* of the Gallo-Roman portico. The same material continues north of this interruption, but it is sporadic and minimal because the area was highly disturbed in the Gallo-Roman period.

The mass grave's western side was directly intersected by Gallo-Roman porticos constructed in the second century A.D., closely following the outline of the La Tène quadrangular enclosure trench. The porticos destroyed most of the mass grave's original western edge. Where it survived, the edge was a gently undulating limit running parallel to the edge of the quadrangular enclosure trench, approximately

0.5m away.[94] The lack of a sharp edge indicates that the material did not abut a structure, and thus that the mass grave must have formed after the quadrangular enclosure trench was excavated. The mass grave's southeastern corner was also cut away in the Gallo-Roman period by a pit excavated to secure material to fill a nearby well.[96] In total, one estimates that approximately half the original extent of the spread of material along the quadrangular enclosure's eastern edge survived.

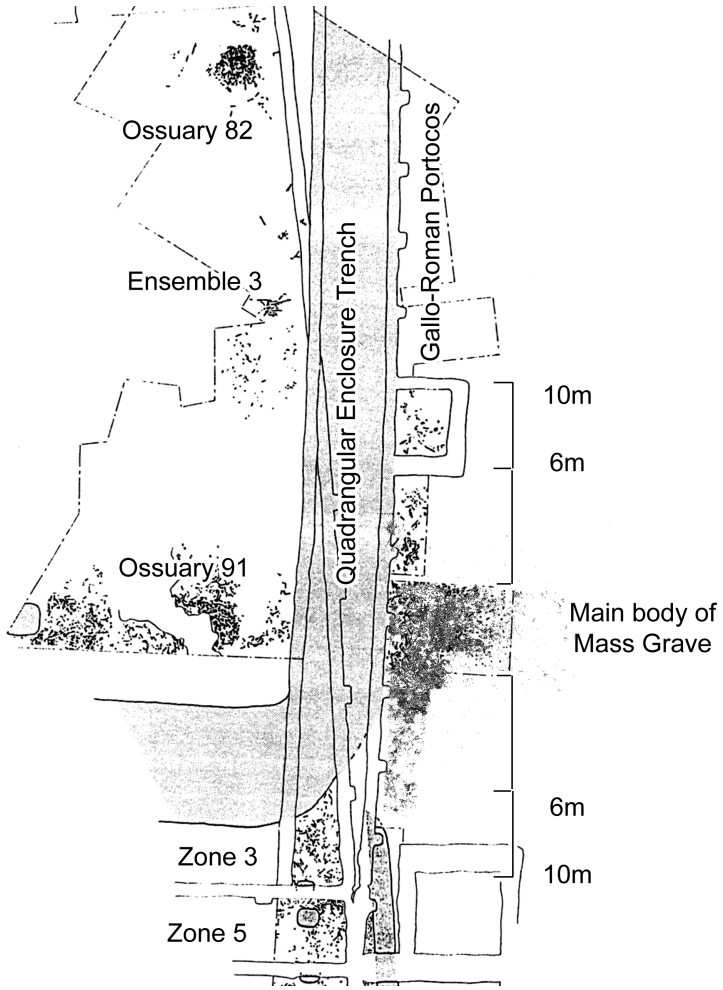


Figure 2.15. Plan of the eastern edge of the quadrangular enclosure illustrating spread of material north of the main body of the mass grave (adapted from Brunaux et al. 1995, Schema de Repartition des Gisements d'Os Humain LT C1 et C2 and Ricard 2014, 49, fig. 28)

[94] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 192–3; G. Fercoq du Leslay 2018, pers. comm. 1 June.
[96] Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz 2008, 206.

2.5.2. Reconstructions of the Mass Grave

Brunaux initially proposed that the mass grave represented the collapse of an elevated display of headless enemy corpses in full armament (fig. 2.16). He argued that the corpses were suspended upright and left to decay in the open air. Brunaux described the display as a public monument to commemorate the Ambiani's victory, to demonstrate their prowess in order to deter future attacks, and to lay claim to the land.[97] His interpretation has remained the most widely known, although considerable doubt for its accuracy has been expressed since its proposal.[98]

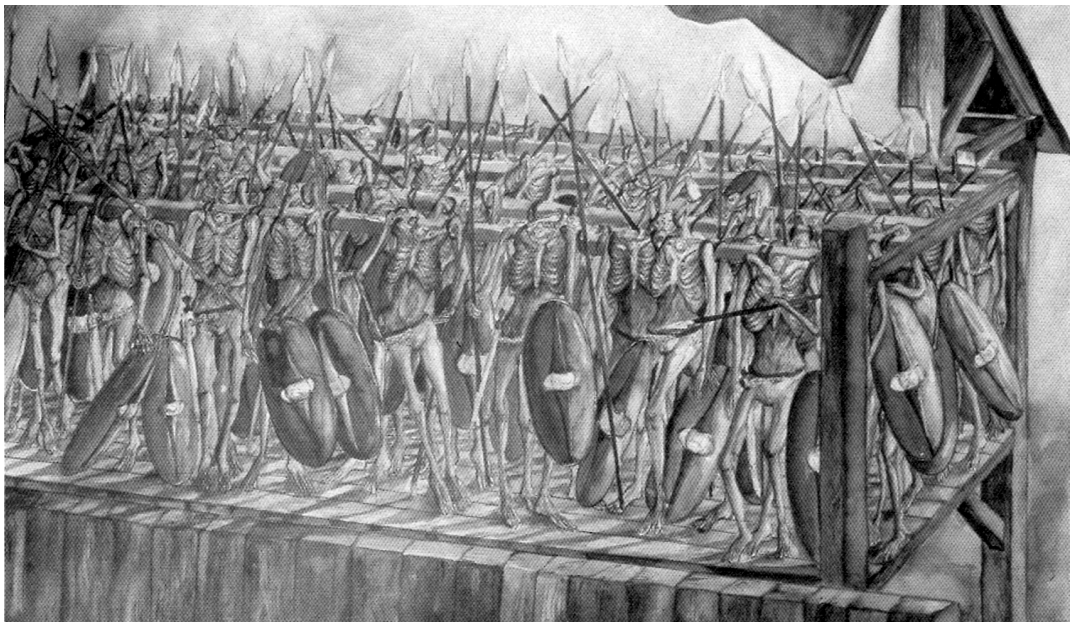


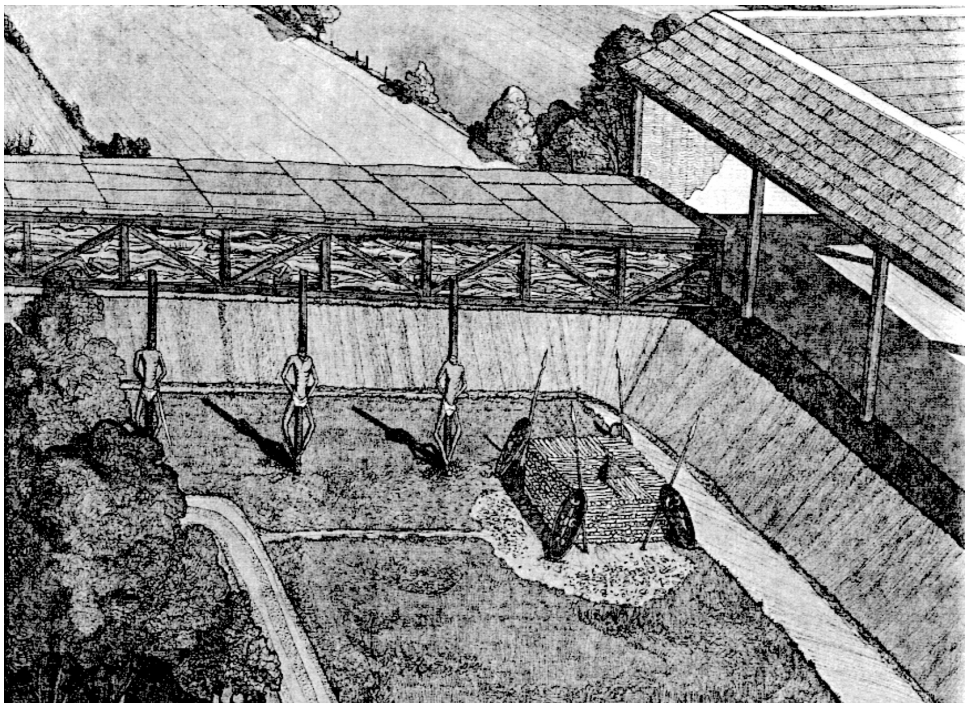
Figure 2.16. Brunaux's initial, well-known interpretation of the mass grave (Goudineau 2006, 108)

One significant flaw is the lack of associations between skeleton fragments and armament. The mass grave provides only one instance of a possible association: The left hand of a forearm was found in functional position behind a shield *umbo*. This association is what suggested to Brunaux that the warriors in the mass grave were fully outfitted when displayed. In his publication of the mass grave, Duday commented that

[97] See Brunaux et al. 1999 and Brunaux 2004, 106–18 for Brunaux's arguments.
[98] Most recently, Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 206. See also Krausse 2006.

the association may have been coincidental, particularly given the fact that the hand and *umbo* lay on the leg of the same individual.[102]

Brunaux has recently proposed a revision to his interpretation (fig. 2.17), reimagining his display structure as a large rectangular box into which corpses and their armament were thrown without order.[103] He envisions the box (50m long, 4m wide, and around 1.5m tall) as extending along the entire eastern exterior edge of the quadrangular enclosure. He conjectures that another two boxes of the same sort originally lined the northern and western sides as well (fig. 2.18), closing the enclosure on all sides except the south where he places the entrance.[104] Brunaux also reconstructs the trapezoidal enclosure, not built until the mid-first century B.C., as a propylaeon of sorts for the third century B.C. quadrangular enclosure.



[102] Duday 1998, 119.
[103] Brunaux 2017, 83; Ricard 2014, 211–8.
[104] Brunaux 2017, 82.

Figure 2.17. Brunaux's revised interpretation of the mass grave and quadrangular enclosure (Brunaux 2017, 83, fig. 8.5)

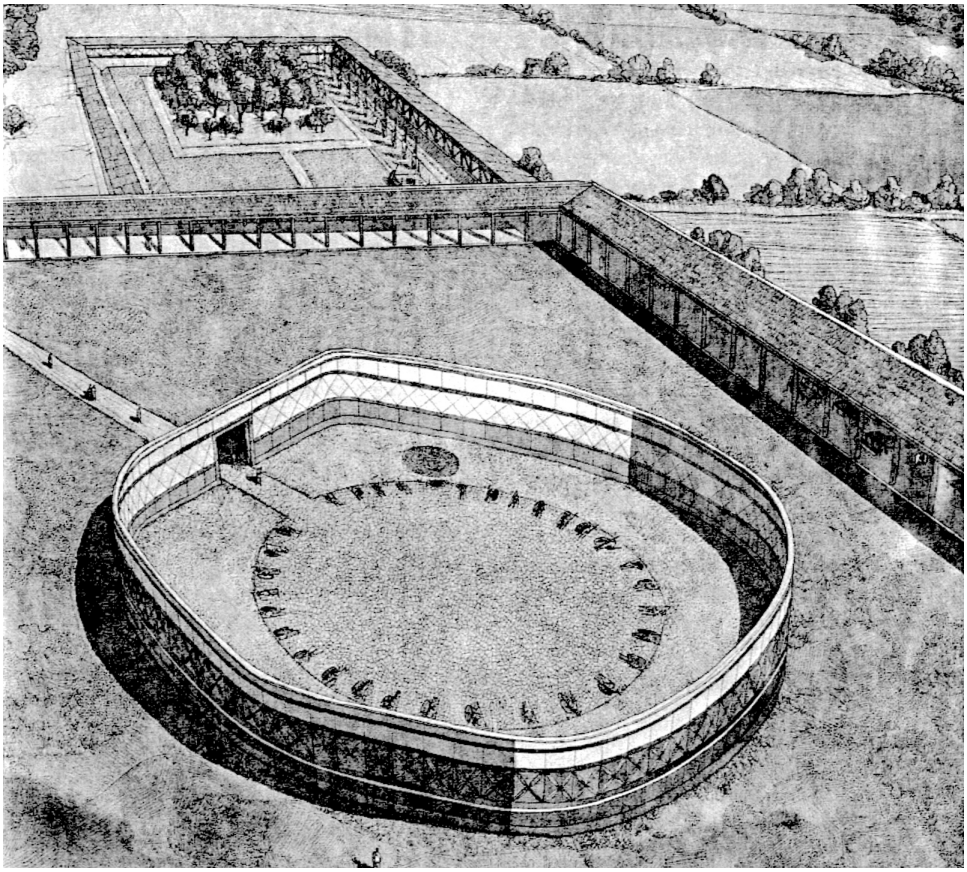


Figure 2.18. Brunaux's revised interpretation of the circular and trapezoidal enclosures in relationship to the mass grave and quadrangular enclosure (Brunaux 2017, 86, fig. 8.6)

The primary problems with both proposed reconstructions are:

1. Architecture and Ground Plan: The mass grave does not truly have a rectilinear shape and the evidence is insufficient to reconstruct massive architectural boxes. The human remains and armament form a disorganized collection of material gathered into two piles on the ground surface.

Fercoq du Leslay indicates that the only material elements testifying to architectural features for the La Tène period are iron staples from demolition of ancient wooden structures. A layer of ash in the trench may be related. Fercoq du Leslay indicates, "Les arguments en faveur de telles installations, malgré qu'ils soient

recevables, sont fragiles et ne peuvent suffire à en démontrer l'existence, bien qu'elle puisse être soupçonnée avec raison."[105] Architectural installations are possible, but the evidence is insufficient to prove their existence.

2. As will be discussed in chapter 3, the human remains in the mass grave are skeleton fragments of widely varying size, not entire headless skeletons. Skeleton fragments are freely intermixed, and the largest fragments are partial torsos.
3. As will be discussed in chapter 5, the armament assemblage is likewise residual and largely disorganized. It is also vastly insufficient to equip the 114 (MNI value) warriors whose remains were found in the context. In addition, the arrangement of armament displays only the most basic organization, and its organization is unrelated to the skeleton fragments.
4. Associations between armament and human remains are random. A particularly illustrative example is a foot and lower leg, which lay on top of a sword in sheath (fig. 2.19). There are numerous other examples of the random intermixture of armament and human remains in the mass grave like B/C11 (fig. 2.20).

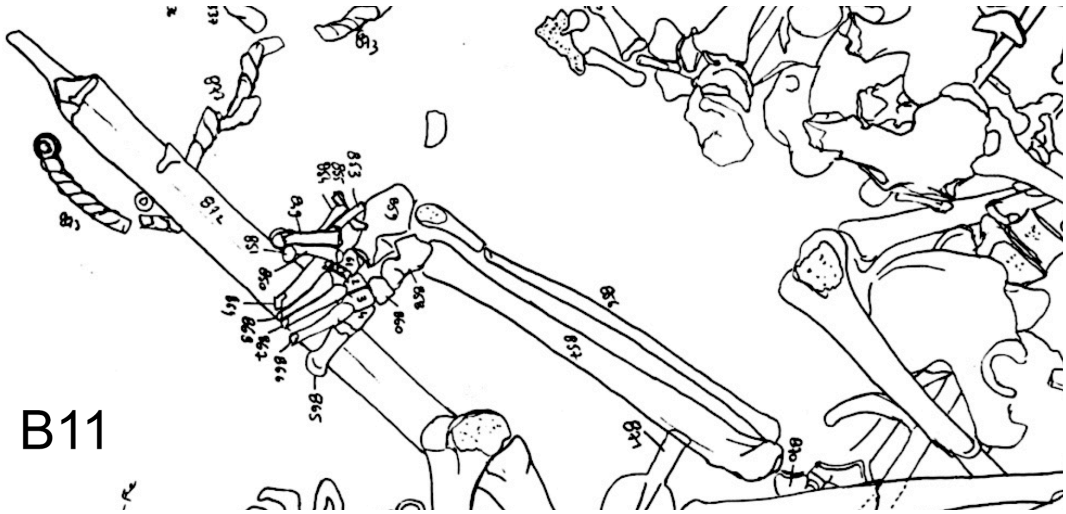


Figure 2.19. Square B11 of the mass grave (Brunaux et al. 1995, Plans)

[105] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 162.

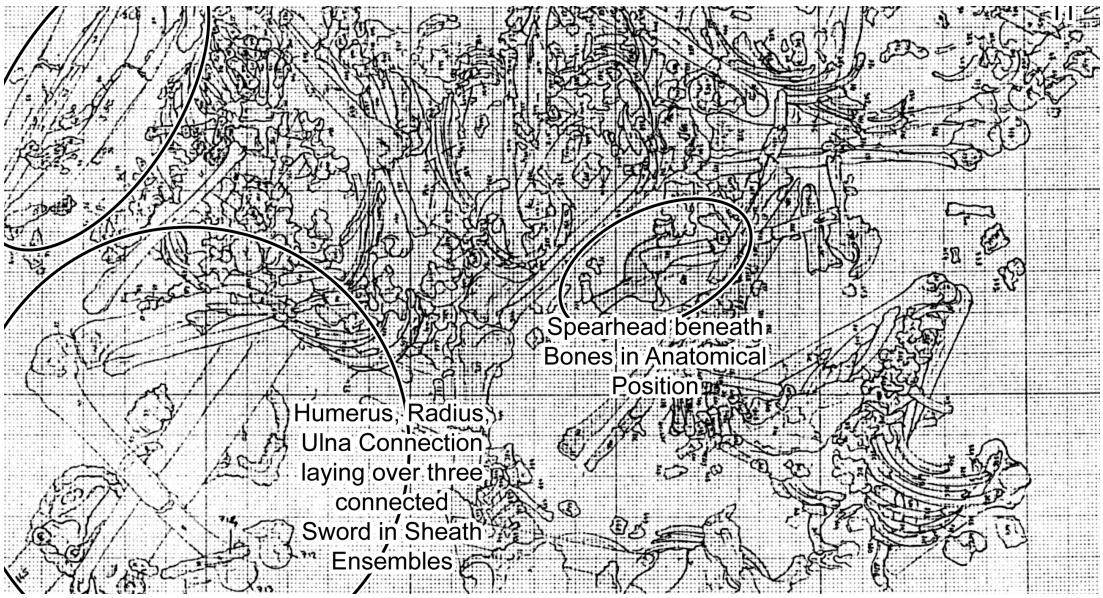


Figure 2.20. Square B/C11 of the mass grave (Brunaux et al. 1995, Plans)

Fercoq du Leslay recently addressed the stratigraphic relationship between the quadrangular enclosure and the mass grave (fig. 2.21), which makes it clear that the mass grave was simply a pile of human remains and armament on the ground surface.[108] A key aspect of the stratigraphic relationship is that the armament and human bones composing the mass grave *outside* the quadrangular lie upon the same third century ground surface as the armament and human bones *inside* the quadrangular enclosure, just higher on the slope.[109] There is very little stratigraphic evidence because the Gallo-Roman porticos that cut into the western side of the mass grave have largely obscured or totally destroyed the La Tène stratigraphies in the area, making it difficult to identify the relationship between the interior and exterior contexts of the quadrangular enclosure and mass grave.

[108] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 192–3; G. Fercoq du Leslay 2018, pers. comm., 1 June; Ricard 2014, 218–9.

[109] The *elevation* differs because of the downslope of the ground level in the third century B.C.; and the interruption of the quadrangular enclosure trench makes interpretation more difficult.

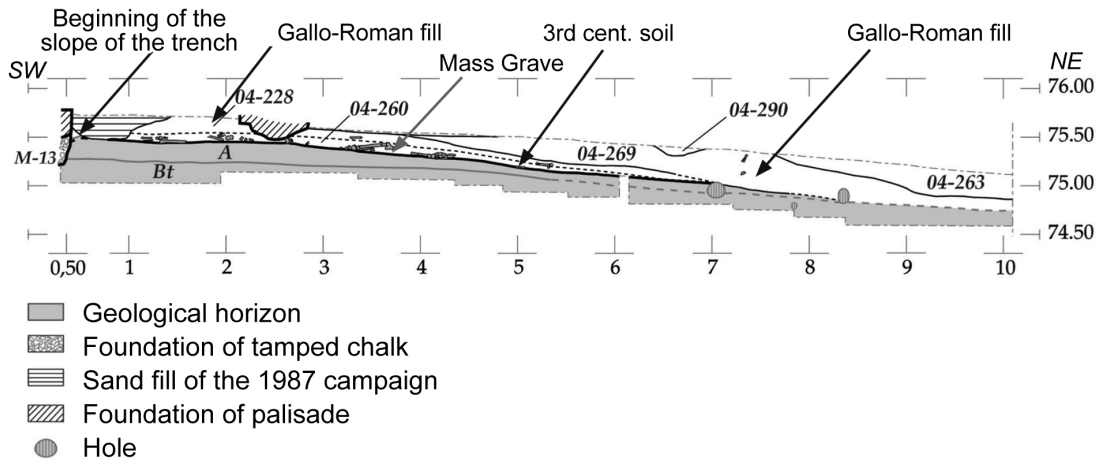


Figure 2.21. Stratigraphic diagram illustrating the relationship between the quadrangular enclosure trench, Gallo-Roman porticos, and mass grave (Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 193)

Overall plans of the mass grave create the false impression that it has a straight northern edge (fig. 2.22). However, the apparent straight-line termination on the north side is not the end of the material, but the edge of the excavated area. One's closer examination of the excavation plans revealed that the northern edge is irregular, even in the areas where material is most highly concentrated, and that the material extends northward beyond the excavation limit.[110] The human bones and armament are concentrated heavily only from A/B15–E/F15. One's reexamination of plans of the mass grave revealed that the material forms two main piles, occupying roughly circular areas in A–D 10–12 and B–E 13–15 with material growing distinctly less concentrated at their edges (fig. 2.22).

[110] Brunaux et al. 1995, Plans.

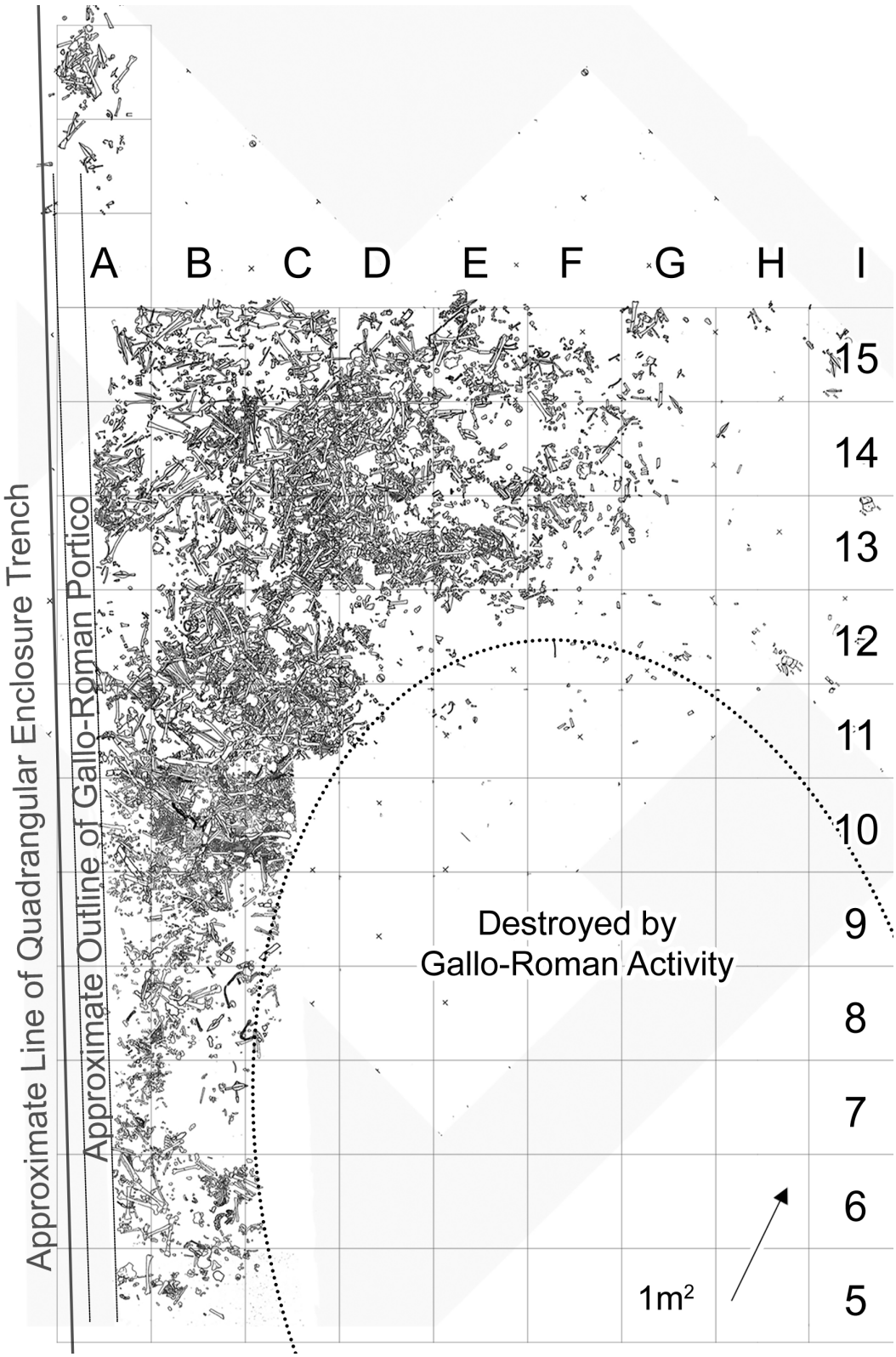


Figure 2.22. Plan of the mass grave (adapted from Ricard 2014, 49, fig. 28)

Regarding Brunaux's proposal for an architectural display structure, iron construction materials were found in a first century demolition deposit (discussed in chapter 5) and a layer of charcoal was found in the trench. They may attest to a structure, but we cannot determine its nature from the evidence. The only structural remains in the area are the trapezoidal enclosure's mid-first century B.C. fence, a short line of first century B.C. postholes in the quadrangular enclosure trench, and the Gallo-Roman porticos, the last of which may have suggested a structure to Brunaux.[111]

Fercoq du Leslay has considered and refuted key parts of Brunaux's latest reconstruction of the mass grave.[112] He noted that Brunaux's latest interpretation depicts a portico on the south side of the quadrangular enclosure (fig. 2.17), but it dates to the first and second centuries A.D., not the third century B.C. Fercoq du Leslay also objects to Brunaux's reconstruction of a line of headless corpses suspended upright along the eastern interior of the quadrangular enclosure (fig. 2.17). These considerations will be addressed in detail in chapter 3.

2.6. First Century B.C. and Early Gallo-Roman Activity at Ribemont

After the demolition of the circular enclosure's palisade wall and deposit of the construction materials and ritual remains in its foundation trench, the area of the circular enclosure became a ritual gathering place, continuing to host communal banquets and receive dedications sporadically in the second and first centuries B.C.[113] Several pits and hearths (fig. 2.23), containing cremated animal bones and banqueting

[111] Brunaux et al. (1999a, 196) seems to indicate as much. For the postholes, see Brunaux et al. 1998, v. 1, 13–4 and Brunaux et al. 2002; 2003, 10. The fence was built to connect the quadrangular enclosure with the area over the circular enclosure, which had hosted banqueting activity since the beginning of the first century (Brunaux et al. 2002; 2009; Haack et al. 2015; Fercoq du Leslay 1996; 2017).
[112] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 194–6.
[113] Haack et al. 2015, 28.

vessels, found along the edge of the circular enclosure and immediately north of it attest to this activity.

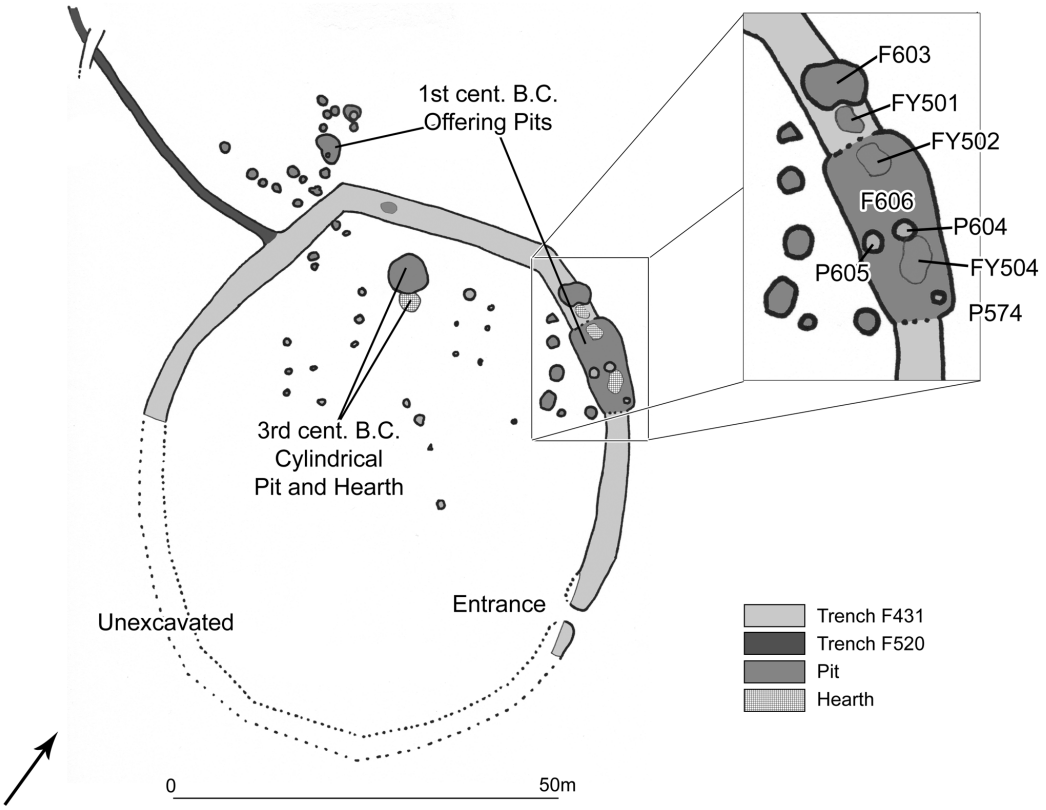


Figure 2.23. Plan of the circular enclosure illustrating the cluster of first century B.C. pits (adapted from Brunaux et al. 2002, 22, fig. 31)

The banqueting and dedications may be interpreted as rituals of ancestor worship, directed at the warriors buried in the enclosure ditch. They reflect a change of the circular enclosure's meaning for the local community from a warrior gathering place that hosted both cult and funerary rituals to a *herôon*. This change of meaning was nonetheless consistent with the enclosure's initial use, first as a warrior gathering space that hosted cult practice, and then to provide a funerary treatment of comrades. The *herôon* would have been imagined as the locale connected with the illustrious progenitors of the community, and perhaps with the establishment of the community's territorial claim secured through battle, and commemorated by the human bones and

armament displays beside and within the La Tène installations.[114] Whatever the real identity of the individuals interred in the circular enclosure had been, it was their perceived identity and status as ancestors that were important to granting the place sanctity.

In the LTD period (late second to early first century B.C.), the trapezoidal enclosure was constructed, encompassing the area of the circular enclosure, and connecting it to the quadrangular enclosure (fig. 2.24).[115] The trapezoidal enclosure represents a formalization of the existing gathering place over the original location of the circular enclosure, which had been used for banqueting and weapon dedication periodically since the third century B.C. Some armament dedications found in the later Gallo-Roman fill layers are also dated to this period based on their typology, indicating dedicatory activity in the first century B.C.[116]

[114] Rose 2016.
[115] Brunaux et al. 2009, 25; G. Fercoq du Leslay 2015, pers. comm., 25 July; Haack et al. 2015, 26.
[116] Viand et al. 2008.

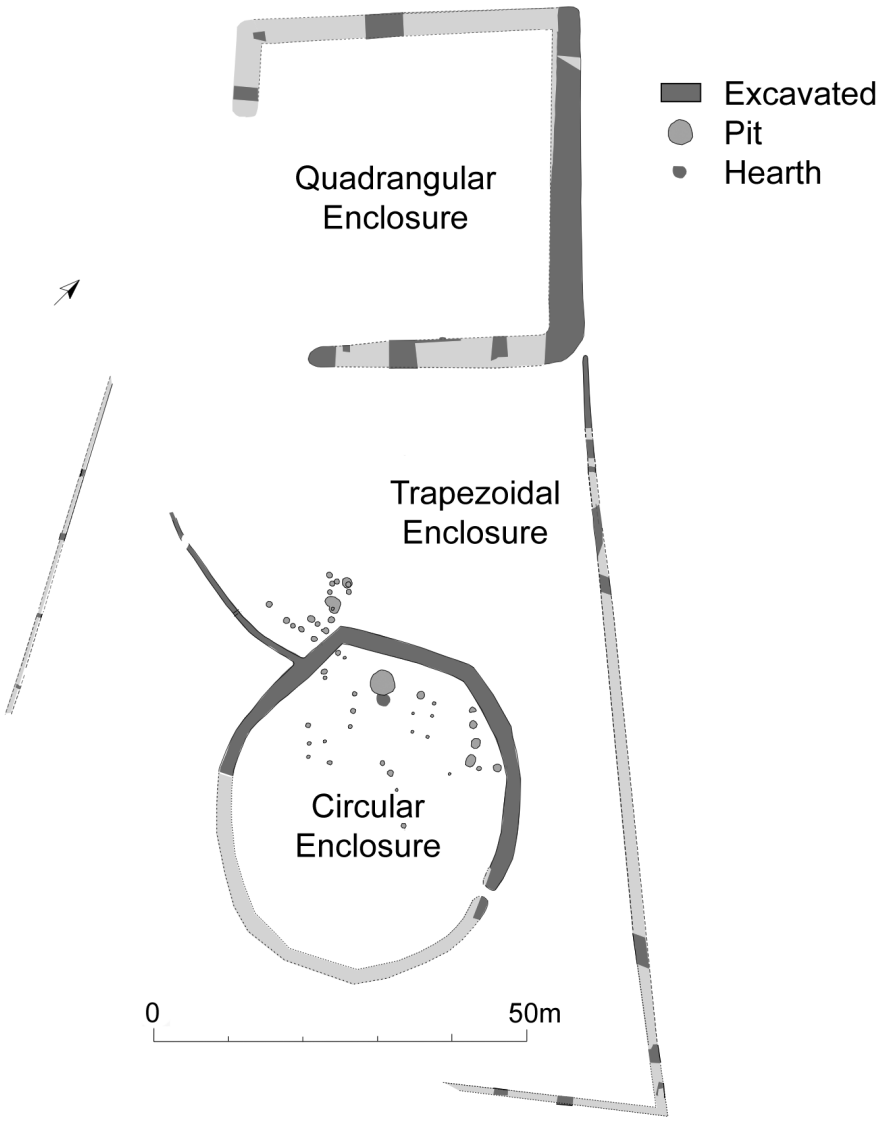


Figure 2.24. Site plan with trapezoidal enclosure (after Haack et al. 2015, 27, fig. 17 & 18)

The site seems to have experienced an increase in activity during the conquest epoch, continuing through the end of the first century B.C., as the ceramics, animal bones, and coins dating to the period suggest.[117] Around this time, the site may have been particularly attractive to the local community, because it represented the bellicose ideology of the northern Gauls. The local community may have viewed their illustrious

[117] Brunaux et al. 2001, 15–8; 2002, 3–13, 49–54; 2003, 7–13; 2009, 25; Brunaux 2004.

ancestors as idealized models, or even the community's protectors against Roman invasion.

The site of Ribemont-sur-Ancre remained a significant symbol even after Roman conquest. Its continuing importance to local and regional identity led the local community to return to the site and carefully dismantle the La Tène installations in the second half of the first century B.C. A banquet was hosted beside the circular enclosure to commemorate the occasion. The third century B.C. ossuaries within the quadrangular enclosure were dismantled, relocated, and partially reconstructed. The third century armament on the ground was collected, some relocated with the bones, the rest buried in the quadrangular enclosure trench with new armament and tool dedications. Then, the soil was graded to cover the bone and armament material and level the site in preparation for new construction. A Gallo-Roman sanctuary consisting of a *fanum* temple and its annex building was built shortly after in the early first century A.D. Through this transformation of the site, the La Tène period warrior sanctuary and monument was preserved in the Gallo-Roman religious landscape – notably *without* losing its martial associations.

2.7. The Sanctuary of Gournay-sur-Aronde

2.7.1. Gournay as Archetype and its Assemblage

As one of the first northern Gallic sanctuaries discovered, and because of its antiquity and monumentality, the sanctuary at Gournay has become the archetypal Gallic sanctuary. The unprecedented number, diversity, and quality of the metal weapon and equipment finds it has provided, and the dramatic mutilations to which they were subjected have established the sanctuary as the bellwether for the interpretation of Gallic weapon dedications and the practice of intentional mutilation.

The enclosure at Gournay occupies 1,700 m^2 and has an interior area of 1,200 m^2 (fig. 2.25).[118] In its mature La Tène state (Phases 3–5), the sanctuary consisted of a palisaded enclosure trench, surrounding a proto-temple: a roofed structure covering the central ritual pit. The enclosure at Gournay is somewhat smaller than, but comparable to Ribemont's quadrangular enclosure, which has an inner surface area of 1,850 m^2.[119]

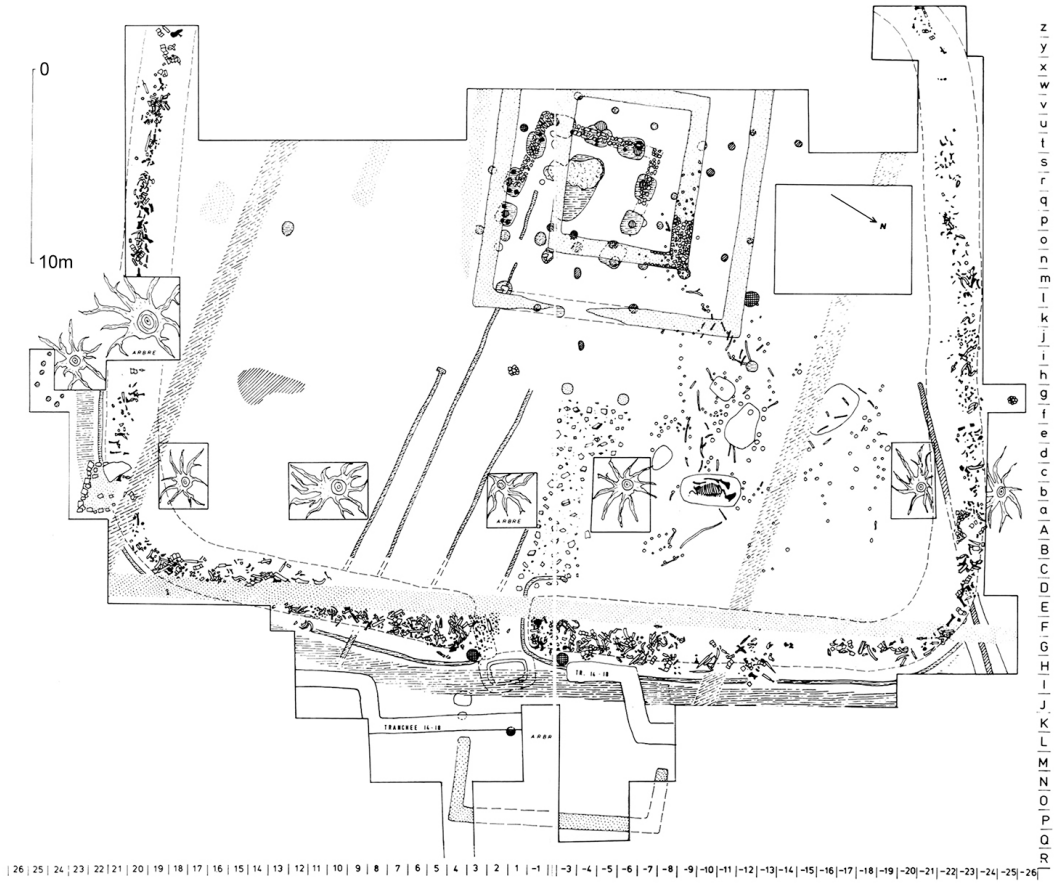


Figure 2.25. Plan of the enclosure at Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunaux 1985, 60, fig. 35)

Gournay's enclosure trench has provided approximately 2,000 metal finds (1,500 of which were armament) and approximately 2,800 animal bones, the remains

[118] Brunaux et al. 1985, 63.
[119] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 136; Petit 2002, 21; Pourrier 2003, 9-10; Ricard 2014, 48–50. Ribemont and Gournay also provide comparable numbers of animal bones and armament finds, as discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

of multifaceted ritual practices observed on the site for a century. The typo-chronology of the armament, relatively evenly distributed from c. 280/260 BC to c. 180/160 BC, and layering of finds on either side of the entrance demonstrate that dedications were made regularly from Gournay's foundation to its first period of abandonment.[121]

The sanctuary at Gournay was founded beside an existing feature: a ritual deposit of a group of vases in a rectangular pit, cut into a late fourth century B.C. *tumulus* (figs. 2.26 and 2.27).[122] The choice to found a sanctuary on the site was an appropriation of the earlier monument, following the pattern of founding sanctuaries over places of memory of various types.[123] While no human remains were found, the deposit may well have been funerary in nature, because its dimensions and contents parallel those of graves at Clemency, Lamadelaine, La Croizette, and Thugny-Trugny, among others.[124] Further, the deposit was placed within a *tumulus*, and the ceramic vessels were carefully arranged in a manner similar to grave deposits.[125]

Figure 2.26. Reconstruction of the vase deposit at Gournay (redrawn from Brunaux et al. 1985)

[121] Brunaux et al. 1985, 71 and 125; 1999, 250–2; Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 47, 115, and 180–1; Lejars 1994, 9–11. See chapter 4 for discussion of the animal bones.
[122] Brunaux et al. 1985, 53–9.
[123] Poux 2012, 162; Rose 2016, 57, 69–73; Nouvel and Barral forthcoming; Fernández-Götz 2014b.
[124] Brunaux et al. 1975, 28; Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 139; Lambot et al. 1994, 26–9, 126–30; Metzler-Zens et al. 1999; Fernández-Götz 2014a, 196–7.
[125] Fernández-Götz 2014a, 187–91.

The excavators at Gournay have proposed that either the human bones were lost when the center of the deposit was heavily damaged later in its history (fig. 2.27), or that the vase deposit might have been a cenotaph.[126] Even if the deposit was not a funerary monument, it was certainly ritual in nature, and the *tumulus* marked the site as a place of memory in the landscape.

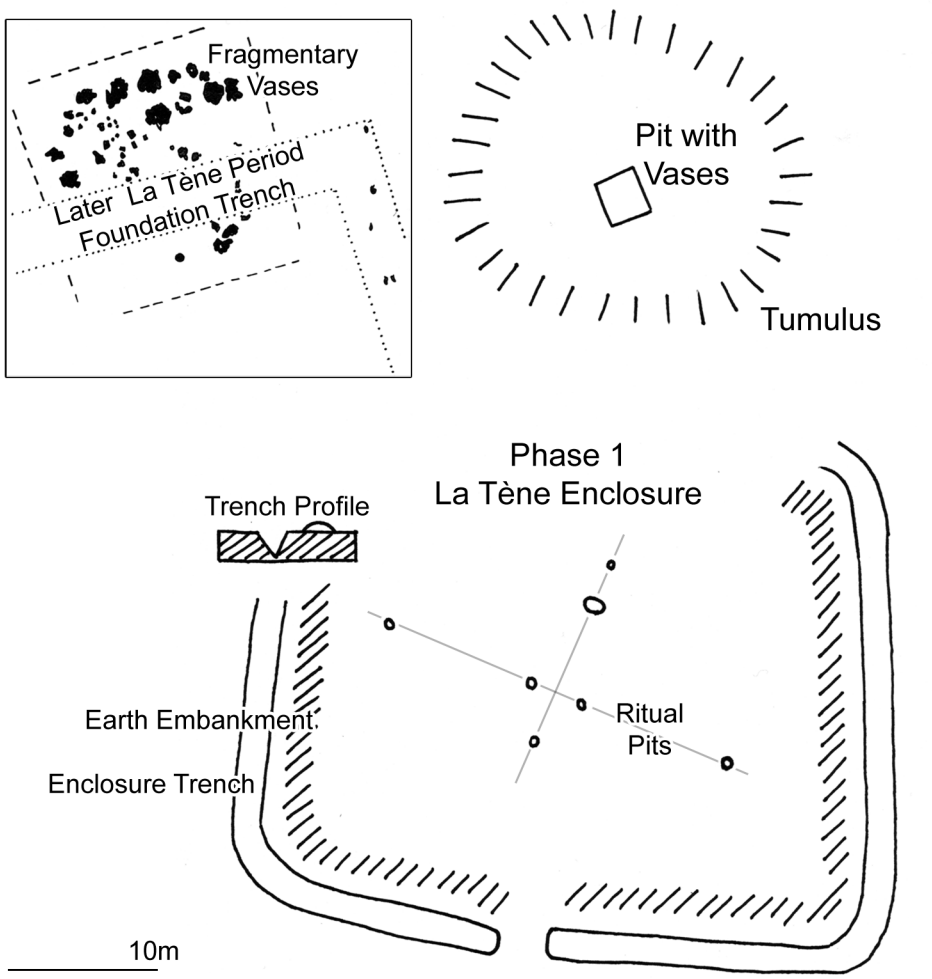


Figure 2.27. Plan of the vase deposit and its relationship with Phase 1 of the sanctuary at Gournay (redrawn from Brunaux et al. 1985)

[126] Brunaux et al. 1985; 2003, 15.

2.7.2. Ribemont vs. Gournay

Ribemont and Gournay are frequently cited as characteristic northern Gallic sanctuaries and compared with each other and other sanctuaries as representative martial sanctuaries. However, both have idiosyncratic natures, and there are significant differences between them. Major similarities include their antiquity, importance to surrounding regional communities, and large-scale, almost industrial, treatment of human corpses and animal sacrifices. Both also provide thousands of pieces of armament, tying them to the warrior ideology of northern Gaul. The same types of armament, subjected to parallel ritual mutilations, were found at the two sites.

While of similar antiquity, Ribemont and Gournay have profoundly different use phases, as their armament assemblages illustrate. At Gournay, founded in the late fourth century B.C., armament typologies reflect a consistent number of offerings made over a century of continuous occupation and activity during which Gournay served as the primary regional sanctuary for the Bellovaci. At Ribemont, armament typologies reflect small-scale dedicatory activity beginning in the LTC1a (early third century B.C.). This early activity was followed by a massive influx of armament and human remains from multiple conflicts over the course of a few decades in the LTC1b period. After the post-conflict high-use phase, activity returned to minimal, although armament dedications continued to be made and the ritual treatment of human remains was still practiced continuously until the site's reoccupation and transformation in the second half of the first century B.C.[127]

[127] See chapters 2 and 3 for discussion and citations.

2.7.3. Gournay and Montmartin

The sanctuary of Gournay and the aristocratic residence of Montmartin are only 3km apart (fig. 2.28), and they served a common population of Bellovaci who occupied the area. The two sites hosted closely paralleled ritual activity, and it is believed that the aristocrats who lived at Montmartin participated in the ritual activity and possibly the construction and functioning of the sanctuary at Gournay.[128] The aristocratic residence of Montmartin was located on a flat spur of land, and featured a cult installation on its downslope. Only the cult installation, Enclosure 56, is of interest to this study.

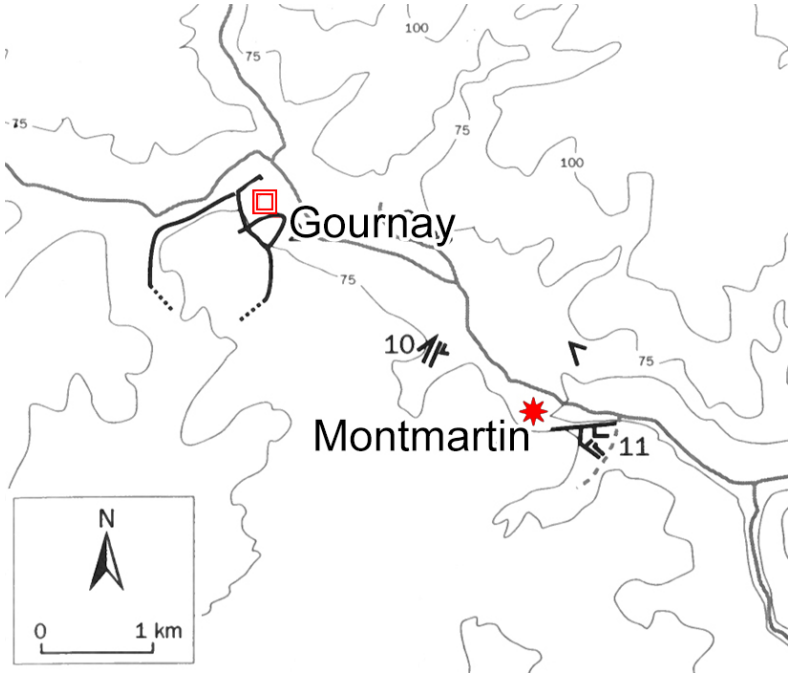


Figure 2.28. Location of the Sanctuary of Gournay and Aristocratic Residence of Montmartin (Adapted from Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 13, fig. 3)

Brunaux and Méniel make a point to describe Enclosure 56 as a "cult installation" rather than "sanctuary" or "place of cult" in order, as they say, to avoid the impression that Enclosure 56 was predominantly used for religious purposes. They

[128] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 232–4.

argue that the enclosure's role in cult activity was secondary to its political and social function of hosting warrior gatherings for the family dwelling at Montmartin and their warriors who dwelled in the surrounding area. [129] I believe that these purposes are interrelated and inseparable.

The sanctuary at Gournay and the aristocratic residence at Montmartin (including Enclosure 56) were founded at the same time in the late fourth to early third century. However, their use periods do not overlap. Cult activity at Montmartin did not begin until the sanctuary at Gournay was first closed in the first century B.C. As Brunaux and Méniel describe it,

> À l'évidence à la fin de La Tène C2, aux environs de 120 av. J.-C., un ensemble de pratiques rituelles concernant les armes, les corps humains, le sacrifice des bovidés cesse à Gournay. It paraît se poursuivre au moins en partie à Montmartin. One ne doit pas pour autant en conclure que l'installation cultuelle de Montmartin a replacé celle de Gournay, nous avons vu, avec suffisamment d'arguments, que leur nature est foncièrement différente.[131]

Thus, the activity previously hosted at Gournay only continued in an attenuated manner at Montmartin: Armament dedications were of the same types as before (mainly swords and sheaths) and the mutilations to which they were subjected were the same as those practiced at Gournay. However, the volume of items dedicated at Montmartin do not compare to the assemblage at Gournay: 4 swords and/or pieces, 8 sheaths and/or pieces, 2 spearheads, 3 butts, and 2 *umbones* and/or fragments from Montmartin versus 1,500 pieces of armament from Gournay.[132]

In addition, the same ritual manipulations of human heads and decayed limbs were performed at Montmartin as at Gournay. Cattle sacrifices did not continue, as is to be expected from the very different nature of the sanctuary at Gournay and the cult

[129] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 231.
[131] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 236.
[132] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 151–4.

installation at Montmartin. Pig and sheep bones and ceramics found in the palisade wall's foundation trench attest to the hosting of small-scale banquets at Montmartin.

Brunaux and Méniel's comment that Montmartin did not replace Gournay, because their natures are fundamentally different, is apt. Enclosure 56 at Montmartin was a cult installation where warriors gathered for private ritual practice, and presumably for social and political purposes as well. The sanctuary at Gournay was a public sacred space that hosted regular cattle sacrifices, armament dedication and mutilation, and some banqueting, serving as a central place and territorial marker for the Bellovaci.

Chapter 3. Human Bones

3.1. Introduction

Many parallels may be found in the ritual treatment of human bodies across various sanctuaries and sacred sites in northern Gaul. In the broadest sense, what they share are complex, multi-stage treatments commonly involving an initial stage of exposure to decomposition, followed by manipulation of the remains, and concluding with deposition in a secondary context. The nature of the ritual treatment, sequence of rituals, and final deposition vary according to site, but they follow various systematic, and often formulaic, practices observed across multiple sites in northern and northeastern Gaul. The sites discussed in this chapter include the sanctuaries of Ribemont-sur-Ancre, Fesques, and Gournay-sur- Aronde, the sacred spaces of the settlements of Acy-Romance and Montmartin, and briefly the recently discovered post-conflict site of Alken Enge. Selected other sites will be mentioned in the course of discussion, but only briefly noted, given the constraints of this study. Most of the discussion in this chapter will concentrate on Ribemont, as it provides the most complex and extensive collection of human bones. Comparisons of the material from Ribemont with that of other northern Gallic sites are found throughout, and the latter section of the chapter is devoted to exploring the comparative material in greater depth.

Analysis of the human bones involves study of the ritual treatment of corpses, where they were deposited, and how they fit into the other ritual practices carried out at the sites. While the ritual treatments varied considerably from site to site, many have chthonic associations, and many include exposure of the body for extended periods of time before further ritual treatment. Some of the rituals certainly represent human sacrifice, like the exposure of corpses outside of the sanctuary of Fesques, and the

young men buried beside the main temple building at Acy-Romance. Others walk the line between ritual and funerary treatments, like the warriors from the circular enclosure at Ribemont. As will be seen, the varying ritual treatments of corpses on northern Gallic sites fit into common traditions of interacting with corpses. However, the complex, multifaceted, and multiple different ritual treatments observed at Ribemont do not directly correspond with practices on other sites. A significant amount of improvisation seems to have occurred in the ritual practice at Ribemont during its period of heightened activity in the LTC1. It was presumably in response to the high-arousal situation caused by the conflict or series of conflicts that provided most of the human remains and armament found on the site. In the conclusion of this chapter, one will employ Løvschal and Holst's post-conflict response model to reconcile and interpret the discordance in ritual practices.[134]

It can prove difficult to differentiate between dedicatory and funerary ritual treatments of human bodies on sanctuary sites, because they share several common practices (e.g. exposure, dismemberment, manipulation of the remains). To make matters more complicated, Ribemont may feature both ritual and funerary treatments in its two La Tène installations, the quadrangular and circular enclosures, respectively. Funerary rituals are referenced throughout the chapter, but one has only been able to discuss them individually briefly in this chapter's Appendix II (section 3.9).

[134] Løvschal and Holst 2018.

3.1.1. Overview of the Human Bones from Ribemont-sur-Ancre

The bones of over five hundred men have been found at Ribemont-sur-Ancre, an assemblage unparalleled in the Gallic world.[135] Most were robust young adults, warriors killed in battle and subjected to complex ritual treatments in the three third century B.C. installations on the site, the circular enclosure, the quadrangular enclosure, and the mass grave. The warriors from these contexts make up three distinct but related assemblages that were subjected to different ritual treatments.[136] The warriors' identities and the nature and significance of the ritual treatments to which they were subjected are highly debated between Brunaux, Fercoq du Leslay, and other scholars. One will first outline interpretations of the overall nature of each of the assemblages and their contexts. Then, one will examine each individually in detail, addressing the various interpretations proposed. Finally, one will present a synthesis interpretation, that attempts to reconcile the complexities of the various and differing ritual treatments of human remains within the three enclosures at Ribemont.

The warriors from the circular enclosure were fallen comrades given a multi-stage funerary treatment prior to demolition of the enclosure's palisade wall and their burial in its foundation trench. Their funerary treatment included intimate interaction and dramatic engagement with their fresh corpses through dismemberment, de-fleshing, and ritual beating. They were also exposed for months to years during which they skeletonized, their bones weathered, and small bones were lost bones before the surviving bones were collected and deposited in the circular enclosure trench at the

[135] The MNI for the site, based on right femora, is 508. There are a limited number of juveniles and older individuals among the human bones, but they are very uncommon (Ricard 2014, 198–201).
[136] See chapter 2 for discussion of the enclosures.

enclosure's demolition. A funerary banquet, hosted after the exposure period, marked the conclusion of the ritual.

The funerary treatment of the warriors within the circular enclosure is difficult to interpret, because it was particularly violent and parallels the treatment of human sacrifices on other sites. It also shares commonalities with the ritual manipulation of enemy warriors' corpses in the quadrangular enclosure, which one identifies as a dedicatory treatment through which the warriors' corpses were offered to the gods. Consequently, one will consider the possibility that the men from the circular enclosure were high-status enemy warriors dedicated to the gods through a multi-stage ritual treatment.

The warriors from the quadrangular enclosure were enemy dead, brought from the battlefield to the site, and exposed in preparatory areas beside and within the enclosure. Corpses and corpse fragments were left to decay in the preparatory areas until they were reduced to bones and ligaments. They were then dismembered and select bones and limb fragments, most commonly lower limbs, were used to build bone frames over the empty postholes at the quadrangular enclosure's interior corners. The postholes had been repurposed as ritual pits, and additional bones of the same types were crushed and cremated within the pits. Select ensembles of human remains in articulation (e.g. a coxa and legs, length of spine, left lower leg, etc.) were left on the ground within the enclosure on its east side. Most seem to have been leftovers from the construction of the bone frames, but at least two headless corpses were suspended upright as part of a display of armament and human remains along the eastern interior. The display in the eastern interior will be discussed in both this chapter and chapter 5.

The mass grave is composed of the partial remains of more than a hundred decapitated enemy warriors who were collected with their armament in a large concentration of material just outside the quadrangular enclosure. The prevalent interpretation has been that corpses were decapitated, then collected from the battlefield and deposited *en masse* and left to decay, not subjected to any further ritual treatment.[137] However, after comparison of the assemblages from the quadrangular enclosure and mass grave, and Fercoq du Leslay's recent comments and publication, one would propose that the mass grave was not static, nor a distinct deposit differentiated from the quadrangular enclosure interior. Instead, one will argue that there was an exchange of material between the two contexts connected with the construction of bone frames for the ossuaries and the eastern display area within the quadrangular enclosure.

Fercoq du Leslay describes the movement as one-way, the mass grave composed entirely of material rejected from the quadrangular enclosure.[138] I believe that the mass grave was a preparatory area, like the interior of the quadrangular enclosure, and that material moved in both directions. Consequently, I will propose that the mass grave collected the raw material from the battlefield, served as a preparatory area, and collected excess material not needed for construction of the bone frames. At the conclusion of the main ritual activity within the quadrangular enclosure, I believe the mass grave became a display deposit of piled human remains and arranged armament.[139]

[137] Ricard 2014; Brunaux et al. 1999; Brunaux 2004; 2017.
[138] Cadoux et al. 1986, 10–1 in particular and G. Fercoq du Leslay 2018, pers. comm., 1 June.
[139] For discussion of the armament, see chapter 5.

The bone assemblage from the circular enclosure trench will be considered first, as it may predate the quadrangular enclosure and mass grave, and the circular enclosure is most certainly a discrete, albeit contemporary, installation. The bones from the quadrangular enclosure will then be discussed, addressing the individual ossuaries within the enclosure first, then exploring the nature and significance of the whole. Lastly, the assemblage from the mass grave will be examined with attention to the relationship between the activities hosted within the quadrangular enclosure and mass grave as reflected in the bone assemblages from the two contexts.

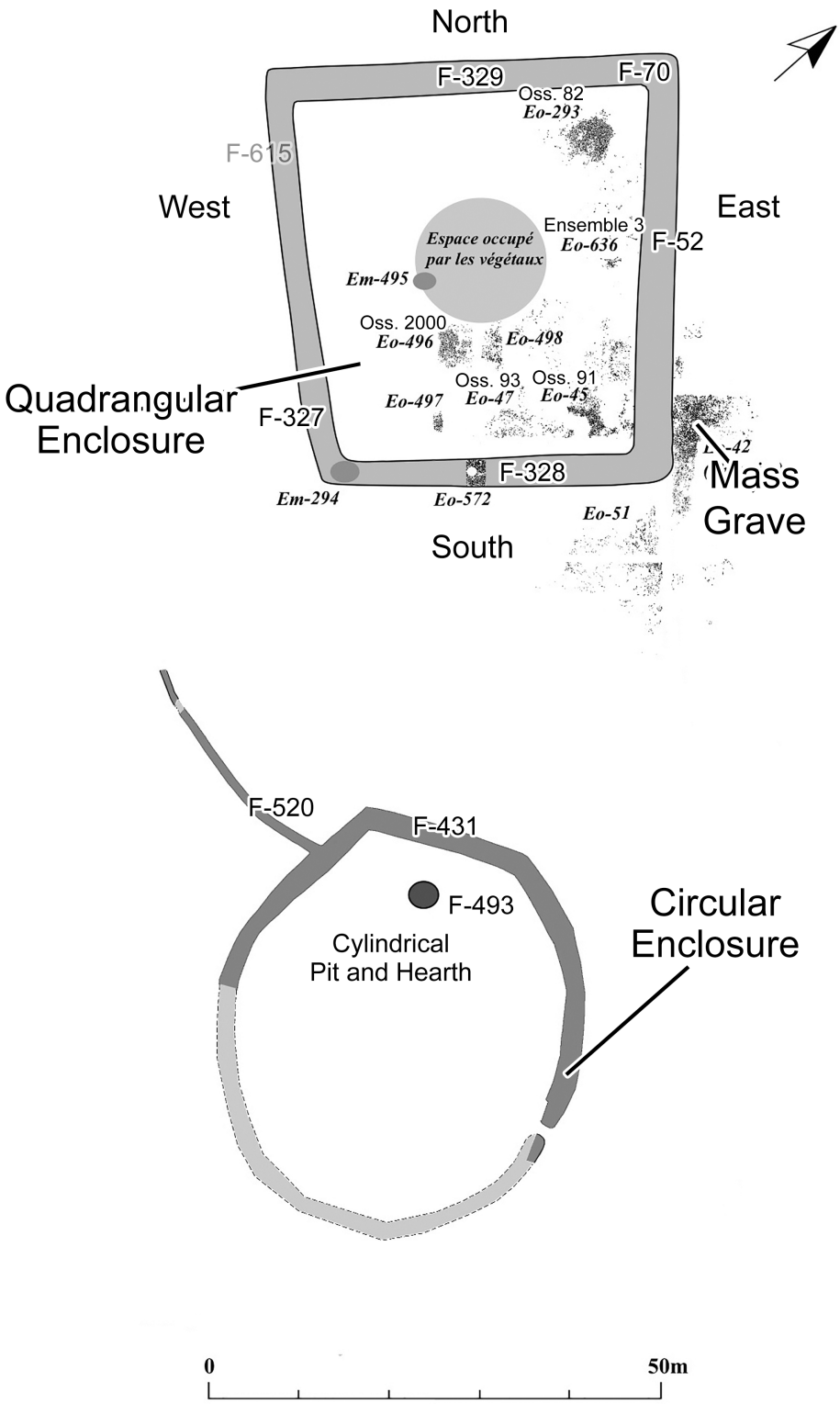


Figure 3.1. The La Tène Enclosures at Ribemont (after G. Fercoq du Leslay, Conseil départemental de la Somme)

3.2. Human Bones from the Circular Enclosure at Ribemont

3.2.1. Overview

The human bone assemblage from the circular enclosure consists of 392 bones (MNI of 226 bones) from at least 30 men (MNI based on right tibiae), and is dominated by long bones and coxae (15%), evenly split between upper (39.4%) and lower (41.2%) long bones.[140] Six cranial fragments, extremely rare in the bone material from Ribemont, may be added to this number.[141] Analysis of the long bones' length, circumference, and health has suggested that the men interred there were high status warriors, as they were tall (over 1.70m), robust, and free of significant pathology. Ricard and Brunaux describe them as 'professionals of war'.[142]

Only the northern half of the enclosure trench has been excavated, so Brunaux doubled the MNI of thirty men to estimate that the trench contains a total of fifty to sixty individuals.[143] Given the extremely unequal distribution of bones along the circular enclosure trench, this method may not be the most reliable. Bones (and all material) are highly concentrated around the enclosure's two features: the ritual pit (F-493) with conjoined hearth (FY-503), and the entrance on the enclosure's east side. Given that the enclosure does not appear to have any other features, we can expect that the bones in the unexcavated southern half are not as numerous as the northern.

[140] Data from Brunaux et al. 2002, Annex IV and Ricard 2014, 199, 260–1.
[141] A total of 21 fragments of cranial vaults and 10 mandible fragments have been found at Ribemont, out of a total of 22,976 bones (Ricard 2014, 8).
[142] Ricard and Brunaux 2009, 167–8.
[143] Brunaux 2004, 114–22.

3.2.2. Sky Burial and Marks on the Bones

Marks on the bones are considerably more common in the circular enclosure than any other context on the site: 9.2% bear marks, in comparison with 0.6% in Ossuary 82, 2.4% in Ossuary 91, and 1.4% in the mass grave.[144] They appear on 35.2% of humeri, 15.3% of femora, and 26.9% of tibiae, the three largest and most frequently occurring of the long bones. Marks are divided between combat wounds, damage incurred during ritual treatment (including dismemberment, de-fleshing, and methodical beating), and animal gnawing. Unfortunately, the figures above only include manmade marks. Ricard did not catalogue the marks of animal gnawing, and only commented about the manmade marks sporadically. Consequently, one has not been able to inventory the marks.

Figure 3.2. Left, Brunaux's depiction of bird-pecked bones from the circular enclosure. Right, the same bones illustrating rodent gnawing (Brunaux 2004, 121, fig. 57; Ricard 2014, 196, fig. 261)

[144] Data from Ricard 2014, 202–3.

Figure 3.3. Right humerus with animal gnawing and dismemberment marks (020280) and femur with rodent gnawing from the circular enclosure (011178) (Ricard 2014, 128, fig. 124 & 195, fig. 260)

Brunaux believes that the warriors from the circular enclosure were exposed in a sky burial ritual: laid in state with their weapons on a flint pavement inside the circular enclosure, and left for carnivorous birds to consume their flesh.[145] He has described the sky burial as a multi-stage process with larger carrion birds consuming the flesh and viscera in a few hours, followed by smaller scavenger birds completing the work over a longer period. Brunaux identifies the puncture marks on the epiphysis of some long bones and the penetration to the spongy bone (fig. 3.2) as extensive pecking of these smaller scavenger birds.[146] According to Brunaux, after a few weeks to years of exposure, when the bones were bare and weathered, they were collected for interment.[147]

We may be sure that the warriors from the circular enclosure were exposed as part of their funerary treatment, given the dominance of long and large bones, weathering evident on the bones, and the marks of animal gnawing.[148] However, the evidence does not support Brunaux's description of a sky burial. The difficulty arises in two areas:

[145] Brunaux 2004, 118–24, especially 122; Brunaux 2017, 85; Brunaux et al. 2009, 25–6.
[146] Brunaux 2004, 122.
[147] Brunaux 2004, 122; 2017, 85.
[148] Craig et al. 2005, 166; Ricard 2014, 261.

1. Brunaux interprets the animal marks on the bones as reflecting extensive long-term pecking by aerial predators when they are, in fact, minor gnawing by terrestrial scavengers.
2. The numerous manmade marks on the bones, which are connected with dismemberment, de-fleshing, and repetitive violence, which might raise doubts to the identification of the warriors as comrades, are not brought into consideration.

One will first address the animal marks, considering the evidence presented by Ricard in his examination of the bones, then comparing the animal marks on the bones from Ribemont with those from Alken Enge. Subsequently, one will consider the two interpretations of the manmade marks on the bones:

1. Brunaux and Fercoq du Leslay's proposal that the warriors in the circular enclosure should be identified as comrades given a funerary treatment, consisting of exposure, a funerary banquet, demolition of the enclosure, and burial of all of the remains in the trench
2. The possibility that the warriors from the circular enclosure were the high-status enemy warriors who led the enemy force whose remains filled the quadrangular enclosure and mass grave.

In discussion of the second, one will consider the parallels between the ritual treatment of the enemy warriors from the quadrangular enclosure with those from the circular enclosure at Ribemont. Subsequently, parallel practices on other sites, most notably the treatment of warriors within cult enclosure at Montmartin (Enclosure 56), will be considered. The difficulty we encounter in attempting to determine the identity of the warriors from the circular enclosure is that the dismemberment, de-fleshing, and

beating performed on their corpses finds parallels in the treatment of enemy corpses at Ribemont, and in the treatment of human sacrifices at other sites.

Figure 3.4. Mastication marks from a carnivore on a humerus from the circular enclosure (Ricard 2014, 194, fig. 258)

Ricard, who examined the taphonomy of the human bones from Ribemont extensively, characterized the animal marks on the bones as generally quite modest, and identified the marks that Brunaux described as bird pecking as, in fact, the teeth marks of terrestrial scavengers.[149] Ricard notes that birds leave few if any traces on bones, because they are generally the first to approach the corpse, and they peck at the most easily accessible areas of the body, consuming the flesh.[150] Canines likewise would have consumed the flesh, and a humerus from the circular enclosure (fig. 3.4) bears the marks of a carnivore's teeth.[151] When skeletonization was well advanced, rodents came to feed on the fat-rich areas of the bones. Ricard interprets penetration of the epiphysis (fig. 3.2, right), as the gnawing of rodents in search of bone marrow.[152]

[149] Brunaux 2004, 118–24; Brunaux et al. 2009, 25–6; Ricard 2014, 194–7, 213.
[150] Ricard 2014, 194.
[151] Ricard (2014, 197) indicates that bones bearing marks only make up a modest proportion of the corpus of bone material, suggesting that the corpses were relatively well protected.
[152] Brunaux 2004, 122; Ricard and Brunaux 2009, 171; Ricard 2014, 194.

The small furrows within the damaged parts of the bones, and shallowness of the damage in most instances (figs. 3.2 and 3.3) reflect a narrow and shallow scraping away of the bone surface, as we would expect from the small jaws of rodents.

Alken Enge, a parallel post-conflict site dated to the late first century A.D., provides comparative evidence that supports interpretation of the animal marks on the bones from the circular enclosure at Ribemont as the gnawing of terrestrial scavengers. Like Ribemont, Alken Enge was the site of a major conflict followed by ritual treatment of human remains. After the battle's conclusion, corpses were left on the battlefield for six to twelve months before the remains were collected. During the exposure interval, animals approached the remains, leaving toothmarks on 18.7% of the bones – with femora (39% of toothmarks), tibiae (22%) and humeri (21%) most affected.[153]

The excavators at Alken Enge have defined multiple categories of toothmarks left by carnivore gnawing on bones (fig. 3.5): pits caused by the tips of animal teeth, punctures caused by penetration of the teeth through the cortical into the interior bone, furrows caused by prolonged gnawing on the ends of long bones by rodents or canines to access the marrow, and scoring, typically linear, parallel scrape-marks on the shafts of long bones produced by the abrasion of teeth.[154] All of these marks find exact parallels on the bones from Ribemont: pits and furrows (fig. 3.2 and 3.4 vs. 3.5b–c), scorings (3.3 vs. 3.5d). Of particular note, the punctures of the cortical on the tips of long bones from Ribemont (fig. 3.2, left), which Brunaux identified as deep peck-marks, match punctures in the bones from Alken Enge caused by the tips of carnivores'

[153] Holst et al. 2018, 5923.
[154] Mollerup et al. 2016, 820–3.

teeth. The excavators of Alken Enge also indicate that none of the marks identified were attributed to carrion birds, although they allow birds could have removed small bones from the site.[155]

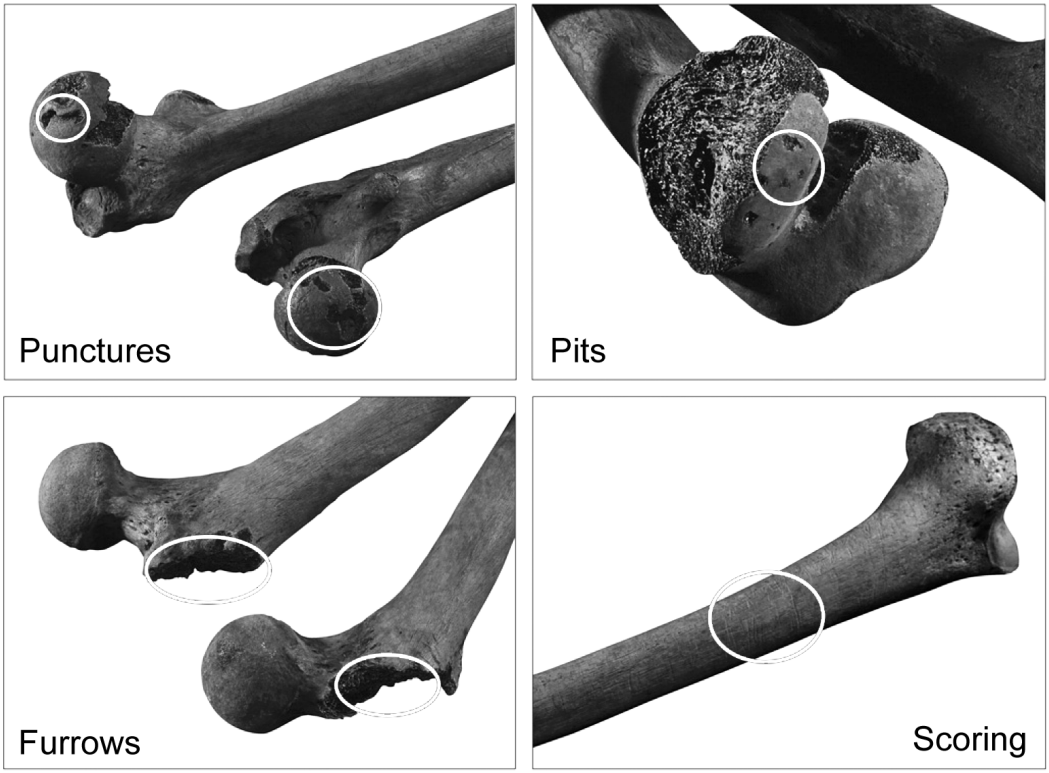


Figure 3.5. Illustration of marks on the bones from Alken Enge (Mollerup et al. 2016, 822, fig. 2)

The rarity of larger carnivore toothmarks, and limitation of most damage to furrowing of the epiphysis by rodents on the bones from the circular enclosure at Ribemont reflect less frequent and less pronounced damage by animal gnawing than what has been observed at Alken Enge. These reductions are consistent with the fact that the corpses from Ribemont were exposed in a protected context: within the palisaded enclosure. However, all of the types of marks left on the bones by terrestrial scavengers at Ribemont find parallels at Alken Enge. The complete loss of anatomical

[155] Mollerup et al. 2016, 821.

connections and weathering of the bones at Ribemont indicates a longer exposure interval than Alken Enge, potentially years or a decade long.

The bones from the circular enclosure at Ribemont also bear manmade marks, evenly split between combat wounds (19 bones) and ritual treatment (17 bones). Ritual treatment of bones includes dismemberment (8 bones), de-fleshing (6 bones), and repetitive violence (3 bones).[156] As noted above, 35.2% of humeri and 15.3% of femora bear manmade marks, a considerably higher percentage than all other contexts on the site, and rare even in northern Gaul where the ritual treatment of human remains is attested at multiple sites. (See section 3.5.)

Dismemberment may be identified by sharp marks attesting to blows applied with the considerable force required to sever muscles and release bones from their attachments (fig. 3.6 & 3.7). Multiple blows are often found in the same area where the muscle and ligament connections are denser. The sectioning of muscle has been identified on 4 femora and 6 humeri. A left humerus (020174) bears marks reflecting sawing to cut the muscles of the arm, and five notches on another (020344) correspond to blows applied to the most muscular part of the arm. Similar marks were found on the bones from Gournay attesting to separation of the limbs from the trunk, and removal of the flesh in some cases.[157]

[156] Data from Ricard 2014, 121–69.
[157] Brunaux et al. 1985, 156–8.

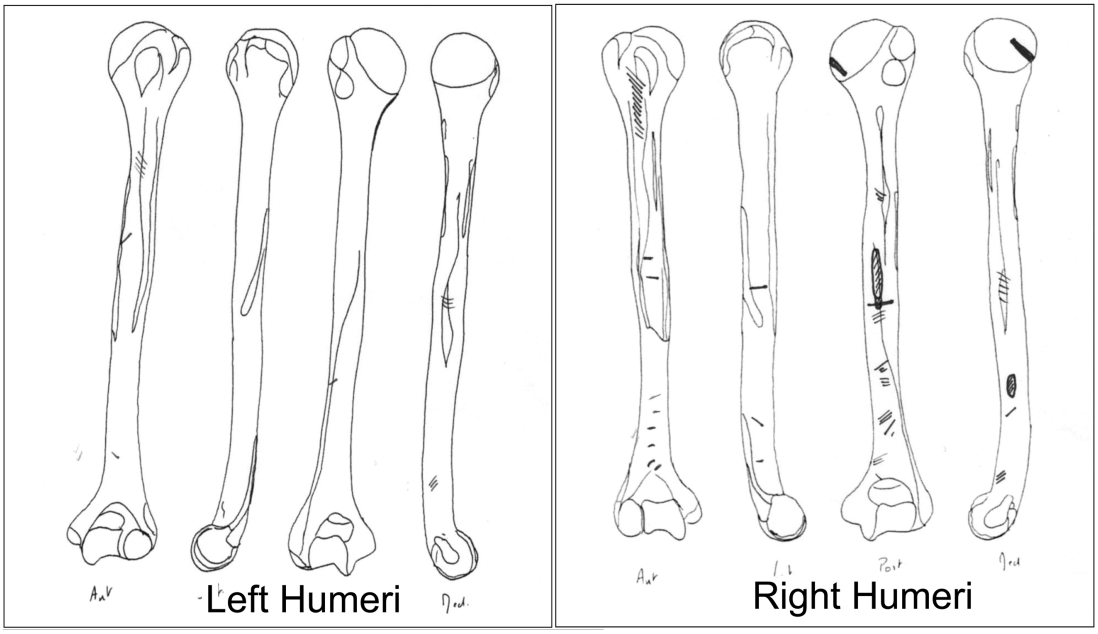


Figure 3.6. Humeri with the marks of multiple blows from the circular enclosure at Ribemont (after Ricard 2014, 151, fig. 176, 119, fig. 101)

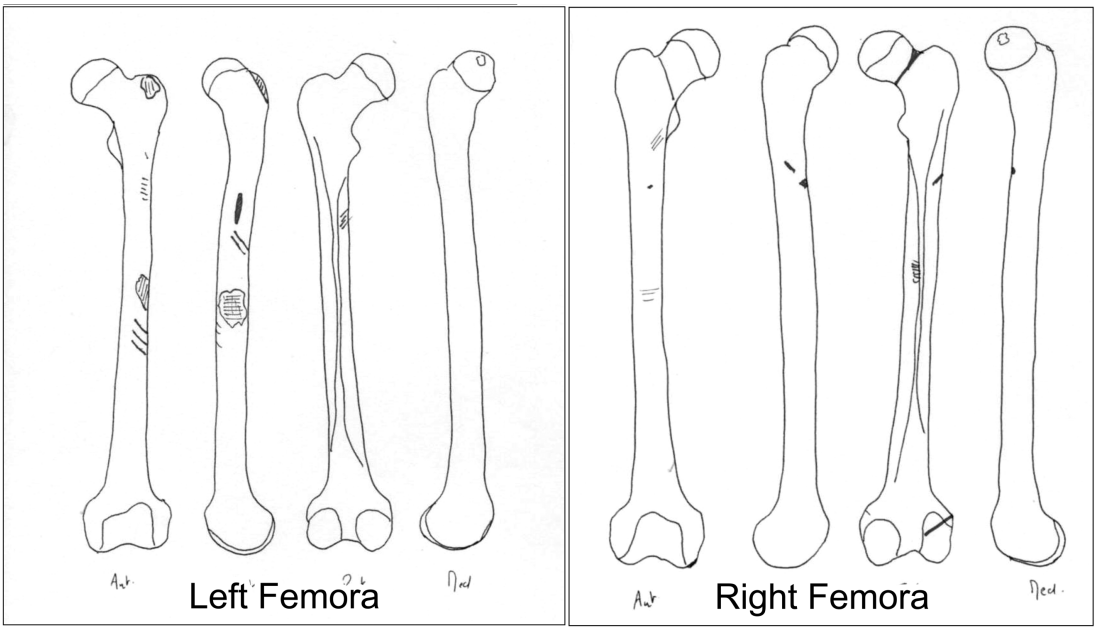


Figure 3.7. Femora with the marks of multiple blows from the circular enclosure at Ribemont (after Ricard 2014, 150, fig. 175, and 120, fig. 102)

De-fleshing may be identified by striations on the bone where the knife blade scraped away the soft tissue, and by notches created when the knife slipped and caught in the bone, producing marks like those on a right tibia (010881). A humerus (020326)

(fig. 3.8) bears more than twenty parallel marks on its shaft caused by a knife cutting the proximal insertions of the muscle in what seems to be a combination of dismemberment and de-fleshing.

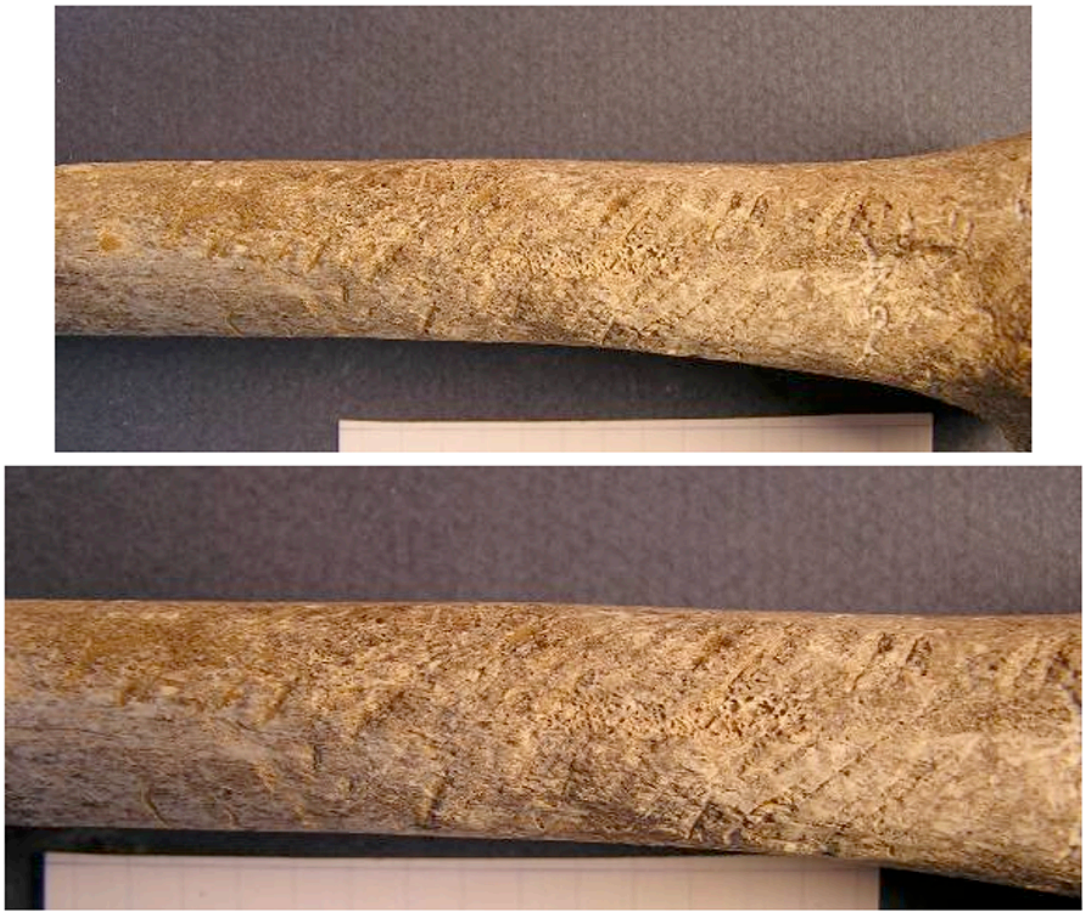


Figure 3.8. Dismemberment and de-fleshing marks on a right humerus (020326) from the circular enclosure (Ricard 2014, 128, figs. 125 & 126)

Evidence of repetitive violence is the most difficult to identify and interpret, because repetitive marks were often created during dismemberment and de-fleshing, requiring they be ruled out before identifying marks as repetitive violence. Repetitive violence is typically distinguished by multiple parallel blows in locations where blows would not have been necessary to section muscle or remove flesh.[158] A tibia from the

[158] Ricard 2014, 150–5.

circular enclosure (010890) (fig. 3.9) bears eleven deep notches applied perpendicularly to the bone, precise repetitive gestures performed with a sword on a supine corpse with no practical purpose. Several tibiae bear the same marks.[159]

Tibia (010890) with marks of repetitive violence

Figure 3.9. Tibia with the marks of repetitive violence (after Ricard 2014, 166, fig. 205–6)

Two coxae from the circular enclosure bear puncture and impact damage caused by a spear point and butt (fig. 3.10). The first, bears six perforations on the anterior side of the iliac wing and two shallow mirrored cuts in the sciatic notch, which seem to have been caused by repetitive violence.[160] The perforations were caused by the point of a spear, the cuts by the slipping of the spear across the bone as it was thrust forward. Given the density of flesh in the area, it seems likely that these marks were inflicted on the remains of a body after it had been dismembered and the flesh cleared.

Similar marks have been identified on a coxa from Alken Enge, which Løvschal and Holst categorized as ‘intentional damage and trauma infliction’. Their

[159] Ricard 2014, 167.
[160] Ricard 2014, 136–7.

definition of the category suggests that the trauma infliction was performed on enemies and human sacrifices, not as a funerary treatment.[161] In addition, a left coxa (020144) from the circular enclosure bears a circular depression that Ricard notes could be a mark left by a spear butt.[162] It is noteworthy that these coxae from the circular enclosure are two of only four coxae from the site bearing marks, and a spear was used to inflict damage on both.

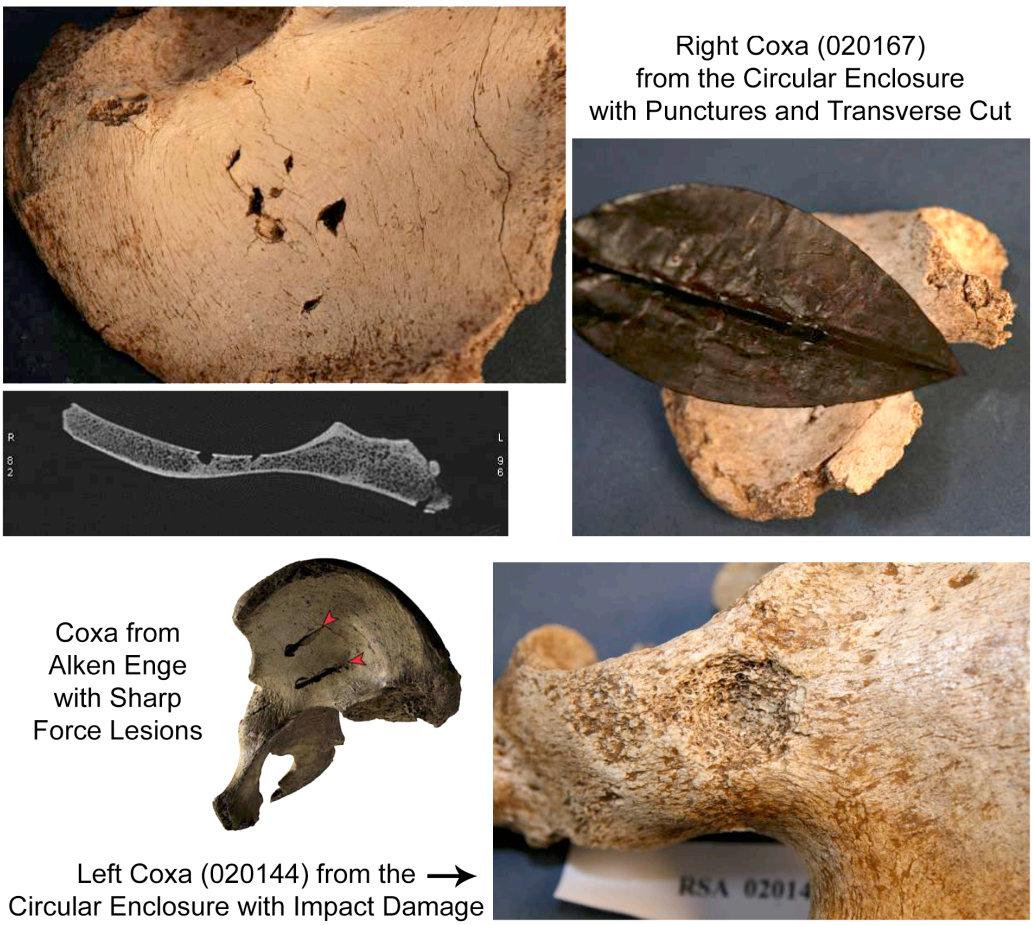


Figure 3.9. Marked coxae from the circular enclosure and coxa from Alken Enge with parallel damage (after Ricard 2014, 136, fig, 142 & 143, 137, fig. 146 & 147 and Holst et al. 2018, 5924, fig. 5)

All of these ritual treatments must have been performed while the warriors' corpses were relatively fresh, because significant violence was required to dismember

[161] Løvschal and Holst 2018, 32.
[162] Ricard 2014, 137.

them. The marks illustrate forceful blows applied to sever muscle, and considerable stripping of muscle and flesh. Løvschal and Holst describe a sensory confrontation while handling partially-skeletonized corpses at Alken Enge involving smells and liquids and the sounds of smashing crania.[163] The circular enclosure at Ribemont would have provided an even more intense experience with the sound and shock of dismemberment, de-fleshing, and the beating of *fresh* corpses rather than decayed remains (as at Alken Enge). It is curious that the warriors' corpses were dismembered and de-fleshed *prior* to being exposed, given that the outcome of exposure is loss of joint articulations and flesh. Perhaps stripping away the flesh was a purification ritual, similar to cremation, so that the bones became bare more quickly. The warriors performing the treatment could also have been aware that bare bones survive better than bones bearing flesh when they are exposed or buried.[164]

Fercoq du Leslay indicates that the treatment of the warriors' remains in the circular enclosure is far removed from the usual funerary practice in the region, where cremation had become widespread from the beginning of the third century B.C. He continues to identify the warriors as comrades, and proposes that the ritual violence may indicate a specific funerary practice reserved for warriors, but does not elaborate further. He notes parallel practices in high-ranking settlements in the same geographic area, observed by Pinard, including managing the decomposition of human bodies, the recovery of bones, exposure, and the absence of ritual burial. He concludes by indicating that the topic needs further study.[165] The treatment of the warriors from the circular enclosure differs from archaeologically-attested funerary treatments at

[163] Løvschal and Holst 2018, 36.
[164] Mollerup et al. 2018, 826.
[165] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 210–11.

Clemency and Goeblingen-Nospelt, which include exposure rituals, discussed in section 3.5.1. In these cases, the bodies were exposed to decay on temporary platforms without prior treatment, and were left until the funerary preparations were complete. They were then cremated, and the bones and ash remaining after were buried.

For individuals identified as comrades, the warriors from the circular enclosure received a violent ritual treatment that thoroughly destroyed their bodies, involving dismemberment, removal of muscle and flesh, and ritual beating prior to exposure of the remains to the elements to complete their decay. If we continue to identify the warriors from the circular enclosure at Ribemont as fallen comrades of a victorious force, we must interpret the violent and thorough destruction of their bodies as a positive, respectful engagement with the corpses, not a denigration of the bodies of defeated enemies.

Difficulty in interpretation arises when comparing this ritual treatment with that given to the enemy warriors whose corpses were dismembered to construct the bone frames and display area within the quadrangular enclosure. What then is the difference between the ritual treatments of comrades and enemies? The only evident difference is that the corpses within the quadrangular enclosure were exposed and left to decay for some time *prior* to their ritual treatment, while the corpses in the circular enclosure were ritually treated *then* exposed to complete their decay.[166]

Krausse indicates that mummification, dismemberment, and cremation of human remains, and the mutilation of weapons, are all practices typical of mid- to late-La Tène burial customs in the Treveran area, and indicates that it seems reasonable to

[166] This question is considered further in the conclusion of this chapter and in the conclusion of the study, chapter 6.

expect a comparable practice in northern France.[167] Armit has suggested that post-mortem beating and dismemberment involve intimate interaction with the corpse, and would not be a treatment given to an enemy, but a comrade.[168] However, as has been seen at Ribemont (within the quadrangular enclosure and in the mass grave) and Alken Enge, beating and dismemberment were indeed performed on enemy corpses. One is aware of the chronological and geographic distance between Ribemont and Alken Enge, which limits the reliability of parallels drawn.

At Gournay or Montmartin, marks on the human bones directly paralleling those on the bones from Ribemont's circular enclosure have been found, introducing the difficulty of differentiating between which ritual treatments should be considered funerary, and which sacrificial. The difficulty arises that, for Gournay and Montmartin, Brunaux has interpreted similar marks as ritual gestures, possibly human sacrifice, and indicated that it is difficult to see a funeral treatment in them.[169] At Gournay and Montmartin, heads were separated from their trunks, skin and muscle cleared, tongues removed, mandibles torn away, skulls opened at the foramen magnum or by breaking away the basioccipital, faces separated from the rest of the skull at the coronal suture, and brains removed. The marks paralleling those at Ribemont are found on the long bones. They attest to dismemberment and stripping of muscle and soft tissue.

Subsequently, the two groups of bones were deposited separately. At Gournay, the skull (basioccipital) fragments and cervical vertebrae produced by these manipulations were deposited at the ends of the enclosure trench among the cattle bones, while long bones were scattered without order along its length.[170] At

[167] Krausse 2006, 364.
[168] Armit 2016.
[169] Brunaux and Méniel 1998, 236–8.
[170] Brunaux et al. 1985, 152–61; Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 237.

Montmartin, crania were deposited in a protected location, either within the enclosure or mounted on its wall, while spines and long bones were subjected to the elements in the trench outside the enclosure.[171] Given the identification of the warriors from the circular enclosure at Ribemont as comrades, the absence of their crania must be explained by separate display or deposition, rather than decapitation and removal of their heads as trophies, as was performed on enemy corpses.

Brunaux and Méniel claim that the individuals represented by the human remains from Gournay came to the site complete, were decapitated onsite and their corpses manipulated, and their heads were prepared for display beside the entrance where they were to be mounted.[172] The frequency of cephalic pieces in the assemblage, their state of preservation, and distribution of cephalic bones in the enclosure trench at Montmartin indicate a parallel practice there. Among the 38 bones from Enclosure 56 at Montmartin, there are 14 cranial fragments (MNI of 5 individuals), 8 mandible pieces (MNI 7), and an axis vertebra (C2).[173] The cranial remains display weathering from a more or less long exposure to the elements and come from the upper fill layer. Post-cranial remains were only briefly exposed and come from all layers of the enclosure trench. The weathering on the cranial bones and their late deposition in the trench indicate that they were retained aboveground for some time before burial, possibly mounted on the palisade wall.[174] The cranial fragments were almost exclusively confined to a 10m stretch of the enclosure trench beginning approximately

[171] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 116–7, 238.
[172] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 237.
[173] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 172, Table XIII.
[174] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 175.

5m northwest of the entrance. Boulestin and Duday indicate that additional finds lost to later erosion may have originally been clustered around the entrance.[175]

The funerary ritual reconstructed from the archaeological evidence from the circular enclosure at Ribemont only corresponds loosely with Brunaux's description of a sky burial, which is based upon his amalgamation of the literary and artistic sources and the evidence from Ribemont.[176] If the ritual was a funerary treatment, I believe it was modeled after the funerary treatment given to high-status warriors consisting of exposure, followed by cremation, manipulation of the remains in some cases, and burial of the remaining bones and ash.[177] This funerary ritual was practiced at nearby and roughly contemporary necropoleis discussed in Appendix II to this chapter (3.9).

It seems most likely that local warriors appropriated their existing cult space, the circular enclosure, after the death of their comrades in battle to provide them suitable honor through an elaborate funerary treatment, subsequent banquet, and armament dedication.[178] In these actions, they followed the general outlines of funerary rituals observed in the region.

However, the treatment of the warriors differed from typical funerary rituals in several elements:

1. Communal funerary treatment for multiple warriors instead of a single aristocratic burial

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[175] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 176.
[176] See the appendix of this chapter for discussion of the sources and refutation of Brunaux's claims about them.
[177] Lambot et al. (1996, 332–3) indicate cremation was the rule at this time, although some bodies were still buried. All of the burials from the three necropoleis of Acy-Romance, a total of 136 individuals, were cremations. After cremation, select bones were placed in graves, often in urns. The bones come from various parts of the body, and there is no obvious preference for particular bones (Lambot et al. 1994, 182 and 333).
[178] The banquet remains and armament are discussed in chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

2. Human remains were not cremated, as was the rule in the region at the time. (Although the intentional destruction of the enclosure by fire could be described as a correspondent / congruent treatment.)
3. The armament deposited with the warriors was a residual assemblage, vastly insufficient to have supplied the thirty or more warriors buried in the enclosure trench. Consequently, it is not clear whether the weapons were the remains of deceased's personal armament, an armament dedication made to accompany the warriors, or previous dedications made during the circular enclosure's earlier use phase as a cult enclosure. (The cult enclosure at Montmartin provided a similarly-residual or minor assemblage of armament, interpreted there as periodic dedications.[179])
4. Once the ritual treatment was complete, the warriors' bones were deposited in the enclosure trench with the animal bones, ceramics, and demolition material as ritual discards, not interred in a tomb chamber or a grave, nor or deposited in a separate location in the trench.

3.2.3. Sandstone Blocks Found Near the Circular Enclosure as *Sêmata*

Brief note should be made that Brunaux has interpreted a group of sandstone blocks (fig. 3.11) from the area as anthropomorphic stelae, representing seated warriors with bare chests. In Brunaux's interpretation, the blocks would have served as *sêmata* (σήματα) for the warriors interred in the circular enclosure trench.[180] (Brunaux uses the term colossus (κολοσσός), but the definition he quotes 'not an image, but a double' corresponds with *sêmata*.)

[179] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 151.
[180] Brunaux et al. 1999, 213–8; Brunaux 2004, 122-3; 2018, 87.

Figure 3.10. Sandstone blocks from Ribemont with vaguely anthropomorphic form, as illustrated by Brunaux (2004, 123, fig. 58) (left) and Fercoq du Leslay (2017, 147, fig. 2) (right)

Brunaux believes that the stelae were erected shortly after the demolition of the circular enclosure in the third century B.C., following its former outline, and that they continued to mark the location of the warriors' interment until the late first century transformation of the site.[182] Fercoq du Leslay indicates that this interpretation is unlikely, based on the blocks' appearance and find contexts: He comments that 'only one looks anthropomorphic with some imagination', and that several of the blocks 'come from Gallo-Roman stratigraphic layers, and have an uncertain association with the circular enclosure'.[183] Some were found in the foundations of the first Gallo-Roman temple several meters north, and the others only 'near' the circular enclosure.

Regarding the blocks' appearance, Fercoq du Leslay recently noted that the stones are naturally bulbous, with the implication that they were not carved to resemble bare torsos.[184] To illustrate his point, Fercoq du Leslay pictures the same stone that Brunaux pictured (fig. 3.10) from a more forward angle, revealing that the angle at

[182] Brunaux et al. 2002; Brunaux 2004, 123; 2018, 87.
[183] G. Fercoq du Leslay 2015, pers. comm., 27 July.
[184] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 147.

which Brunaux pictured the stele falsely gives the impression of a muscular torso. Fercoq du Leslay does allow that the stone evokes a human silhouette, but notes that all of the stelae were only roughly cut, and no others appear anthropomorphic. They also vary in height from 40cm to 1.3m tall, 40–50cm deep, and 30–60cm wide, with too much variance and many too small to have been monumental sculptures of warriors.[185]

A minor piece of evidence may shed light on the true nature of the sandstone stelae: Remnants of sandstone have been found in a number of pits of uncertain purpose inside the outline of the circular enclosure. Fercoq du Leslay proposes that the stelae may have been placed in them to mark the place of the warriors' interment after the enclosure's demolition.[186] Otherwise, the only marker we may confidently expect would be an outline created by the sunken ground surface after the soil fill of the circular enclosure trench settled. Fercoq du Leslay has suggested that traces on the ground or scattered objects may have marked the location, although these would surely have only been partially visible if present.[187]

In addition to the practical evidence from the site arguing against interpreting the blocks as *sêmata*, there is also the fact that Iron age Gaul lacks a tradition of figural funerary monuments like *sêmata*. *Sêmata* were generic images of and substitutes for the deceased, placed as grave-markers in Greece. While their appearance was generic, *sêmata* were identified as specific individuals by inscriptions, like the *sêma* of Phrasikleia, a *kore* sculpture c. 540 B.C., which bears the identifying inscription:

[185] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 147.
[186] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 147.
[187] G. Fercoq du Leslay 2015, pers. comm., 8 December.

"σεμα Φρασικλείας".[188] While we do not expect inscriptions in pre-Roman Gaul, the difficulty with Brunaux's argument is precisely the lack of inscriptions:

Anthropomorphic sculptures, in the rare cases where they were found in Gaul were, as a rule, generic. The stone sculptures of warriors found at cult places in Roquepertuse and Entremont in southern France are generic representations that refer to long-dead heroes or ancestors in a general sense, not to particular individuals.[189] There is also the difficulty that, at Ribemont, commemorative sculptures of the warriors would have been excessive and unwarranted, as the warriors would not have been heroized to the level of ancestors, which would have required the observance of cult, so shortly after death. Cult practice in the area of the circular enclosure in the form of food offerings did not start until the first century B.C.[190] The simplest interpretation, that the large rough-cut blocks were set upright to mark the former location of the circular enclosure, seems most likely. With the date and relative chronology of the circular enclosure still uncertain, the date of the blocks' erection remains unknown, but seems likely to have been shortly after demolition of the circular enclosure in the third century.

3.3. Human Bones from the Quadrangular Enclosure at Ribemont

3.3.1. Overview

The quadrangular enclosure (fig. 3.11) at the height of its development in the third century B.C. consisted of a three-sided trench, open on the west side, containing three or four ritual pits at its interior corners surmounted by cubic bone frames.[191]

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[188] Epitaph *IG* I^3 II 1261; Lee 2004. *Korai* were generic sculptures of young women dedicated at sanctuaries and placed above graves. Most lack inscriptions.
[189] Armit 2012; Haeussler 2010.
[190] See chapter 2 for discussion of the sequences, and chapter 4 for discussion of banquets hosted.
[191] Chapter 2 addresses the various states of the quadrangular enclosure and the sequence of its development.

Displays of human remains and armament lined at least the eastern length of its interior, if not the northern and southern lengths as well. Only the eastern length preserves third century B.C. contexts and material *in situ*, which has led to it being the focus of discussion of the third century features of the quadrangular enclosure.

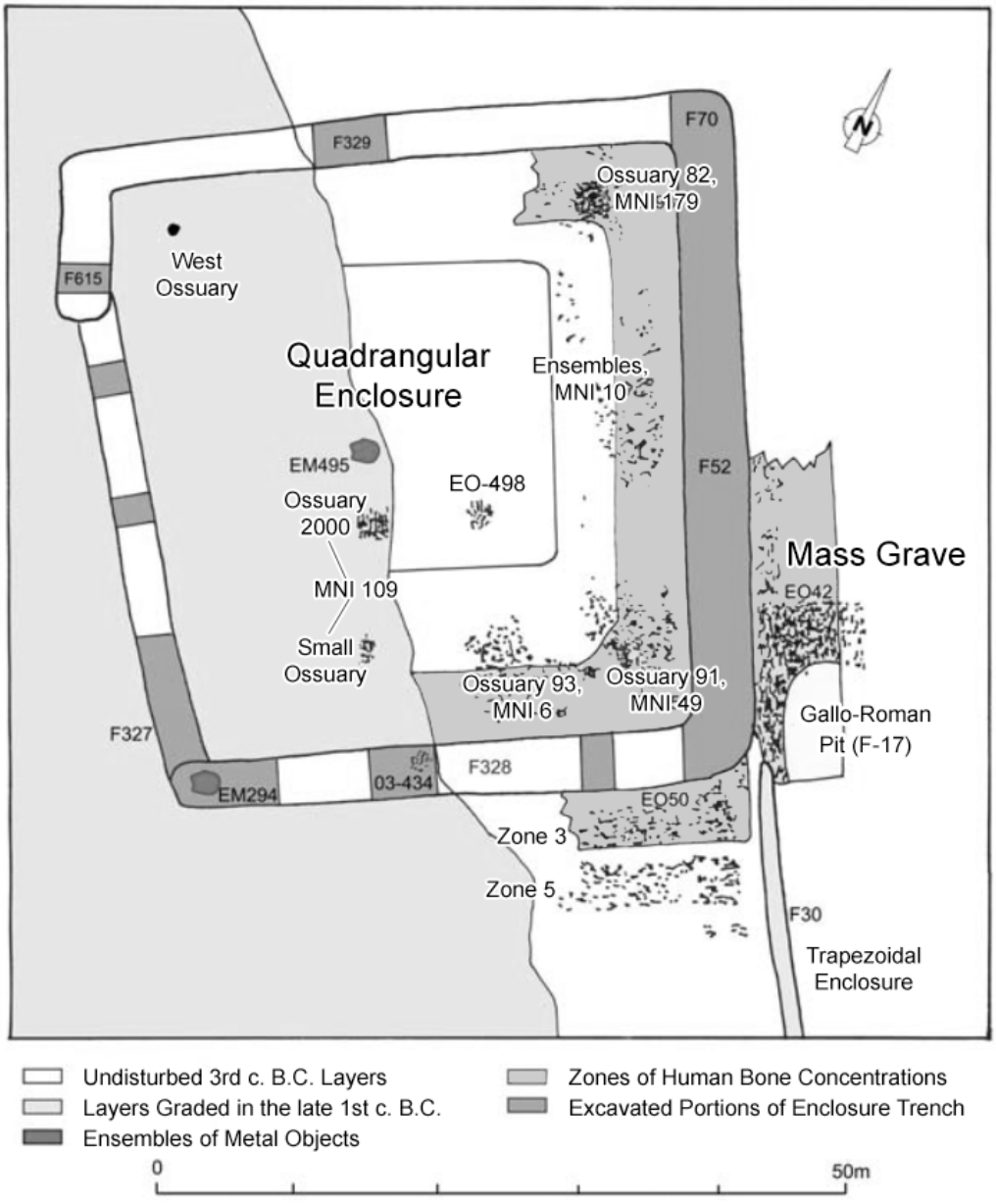

Figure 3.11). Plan of the quadrangular enclosure with MNI values of ossuaries indicated (modified from Brunaux et al. 2003, 7, fig. 4)

The quadrangular enclosure seems to have facilitated the complex ritual treatment of over three hundred warriors' corpses.[192] The identity of the warriors; the nature and meaning of their ritual treatment; the chronology, nature, and sequence of the various bone structures; and the relationship between the warriors in the quadrangular enclosure with those in the mass grave are all debated. The question of the warriors' identity, whether they were comrades or enemies of the victorious warriors who constructed the installations, is at the center of the interpretation of the quadrangular enclosure, because it is key to how we interpret the ritual treatment the warriors received.

Brunaux has identified all the men in the quadrangular enclosure and mass grave as enemy warriors whose decapitated corpses were collected and brought from the battlefield. The primary (and sensible) method of identifying warriors as enemies has been whether or not they were decapitated. At Ribemont, there is a sitewide near-absence of crania, extreme shortage of cervical vertebrae, and the mass grave provides evidence of a systematic practice of decapitation with 21.7% of the cervical vertebrae and 20.8% of the clavicles bearing marks connected with decapitation.[193] Brunaux proposes to interpret these two pieces of evidence together as indicating a systematic practice of decapitation in both the mass grave and quadrangular enclosure.[194]

While one concurs that the mass grave featured a systematic decapitation practice, this is by no means the case for all of the warriors from within the quadrangular enclosure, particularly not the majority whose limbs were used to construct the bone frames of the ossuaries. All of the ossuaries' bone frames, those

[192] Cadoux 1984; Brunaux et al. 1999; 2009; Brunaux 2004; 2017; Ricard 2014; Fercoq du Leslay 2017.
[193] Ricard 2014, 203.
[194] Brunaux 2004; 2018; Brunaux et al. 2009.

constructed in both the third and first centuries B.C., consist nearly exclusively of long and large bones and coxae, typically with a greater percentage of long bones of the lower limbs. Consequently, the absence of crania from the ossuaries does not so much indicate that the warriors whose remains were used in the bone frames were decapitated on the battlefield and their headless corpses brought to the quadrangular enclosure, as that limb and pelvis fragments were selectively collected from corpses for use in the bone frames.

Decapitation is only attested within the quadrangular enclosure in a limited number of cases: on the cervical vertebrae of the two skeletons from Ensemble 3, those of the largely-complete skeleton composing Ensemble 12, and a few additional cervical vertebrae in the preparatory area (‘zone de débitage’ or ‘butchery zone’) on the western fringes of Ossuary 91. Ensemble 9 may also be an instance of decapitation, as the torso fragment, consisting of a nearly complete spine with clavicles, scapulae, and partial left and right ribs in articulation is missing its cranium, which we would expect to have survived given the preservation of most of the upper body.[195] In short, decapitation is only associated with the anatomical ensembles lining the eastern interior and the processing areas west of Ossuary 91 (Ossuary 93 and the butchery zone). None of the bone frames themselves nor their destruction radii have provided cervical vertebrae in the first place, much less evidence that decapitation was practiced.

[195] Ensembles are discussed at length in section 3.2.3.3 below.

3.3.2. The Ossuaries within the Quadrangular Enclosure

3.3.2.1. Overview

The interior of the quadrangular enclosure contains two sets of ossuaries, original third century B.C. installations created during the peak of the sanctuary's activity in the LTC1b, and first century ossuaries and collections of bones built out of third century bone material during decommissioning of the La Tène facilities. The first two third century ossuaries, Ossuaries 82 and 91, were located on the northern and southern ends of the undisturbed eastern length; and the third, the West Ossuary, is a partially-surviving ritual pit in the west corner. Ossuary 82 is the best preserved of the third century ossuaries, and it facilitates interpretation of Ossuary 91 and the West Ossuary, both of which were heavily damaged. The first century ossuaries and collections of bones occupy the central and southwestern areas of the enclosure. The best preserved and most structured of the first century ossuaries is Ossuary 2000, and it illuminates the nature of the first century activity. Each of the ossuaries will be discussed in turn.[196]

3.3.2.2. The Third Century Ossuaries

Ossuary 82 (fig. 3.12) is composed of a ritual pit (the posthole of the removed post) filled with cremated bone material, and surmounted by a partially intact cubic bone frame. The bone frame was constructed from 2,026 human bones and 122 horse bones, laid parallel and stacked in perpendicular layers to create a hollow cube 1.65m square.[197] Within the cube, at its base, long bones were set in a circular pattern and coxae were placed over them to create a frame around the lip of the ritual pit. The

[196] Brunaux et al. 1999a; Pourrier 2003, 11; Ricard 2014. Fercoq du Leslay (2017) has recently proposed an earlier dating for these ossuaries, but, by his admission, the evidence is tenuous, and one did not have sufficient time to consider it here.
[197] Cadoux 1984, 53; Méniel 1995, 5–6; Ricard 2014, 8.

interior and exterior walls of the bone frame may have been stabilized by mud to increase durability.[198] Only the five lowest layers survive (a height of 40cm). The surviving base of the bone frame was surrounded by a dense destruction radius extending 3–5m from the center of the ossuary. The destruction ring was formed by the collapse of the upper levels of the bone frame later in its history, either due to weathering or intentional destruction.[199]

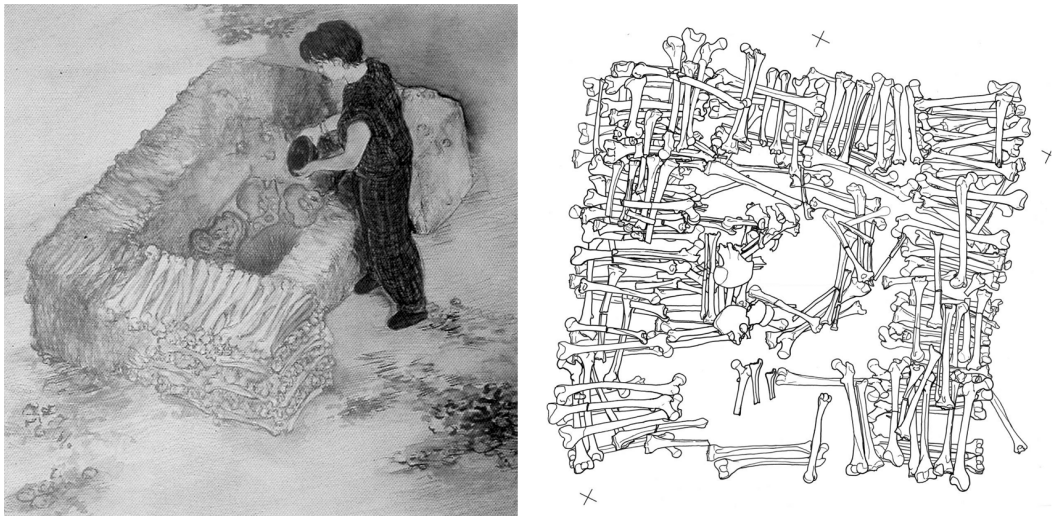

Figure 3.12. Reconstruction of the bone frame of Ossuary 82 and drawing of surviving layers (after Brunaux 2006, 109 and Ricard 2014, 30, fig. 11)

Ossuary 82 was built almost exclusively (94.3%) from isolated long bones and articulated limb fragments with a strong preference for lower limb bones (70.7%). Femora, tibiae, and humeri dominate the bones, with one-third to one-half as many corresponding patellae and foot bones after adjustment for anatomical representation. Vertebrae and ribs are almost entirely absent.[200] Several of the bones in the surviving layers of the bone frame preserve anatomical connections with slight spaces between

[198] Brunaux et al. 1999a, 202; 2006, 109; Ricard 2014, 26.
[199] The occasion and date of the collapse are debated. See Cadoux 1984, 61–5; Brunaux et al. 1999a, 202; Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 92 & 166.
[200] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 93.

them, indicative of lost organic material.[201] Cadoux noted that there were fourteen assured connections with at least a tibia and fibula grouped, sometimes including a kneecap or part of a foot, eight complete or partial feet, and a scapula-humerus association. He also noted that the bones of the hands and feet were primarily large bones and phalanges of the feet.[202] The horse bones accompanying the human bones were primarily equine hind legs, among which a tibia-calcaneus-phalanges connection was preserved.[203] The corpses must have been in an advanced state of decay when they were dismembered, only held together by ligaments, because there are very few marks on the bones that indicate tools were used to sever the joints.[204]

Counts of Bones from Ossuary 82 (MNI Values)					
Bone	Left	Right	Indet. or N/A	Total	Percentage
Crania				0	0.0%
Humerus	114	119		233	17.2%
Radius	7	26		33	2.4%
Ulna	13	28		41	3.0%
Femur	148	**179**		327	24.1%
Tibia	159	147		306	22.5%
Fibula	37	42		79	5.8%
Coxa	41	31		72	5.3%
Patella	52	44		96	7.1%
Scapula	3	2		5	0.4%
Sacrum			1	1	0.1%
Hands	4	9		13	1.0%
Feet	83	69		152	11.2%
Total	696	661	1	1358	100.0%
MNI of 179 warriors on the basis of right Femora					
Add 2–3 vertebrae and 2 rib fragments to these values (Cadoux 1984, 68)					

Figure 3.13. Bone distribution for Ossuary 82 (data from Ricard 2014, 260–1)

[201] Brunaux et al. 2000, 19–21; Ricard 2014, 403
[202] Cadoux 1984, 68–9; Fercoq du Leslay 1996, 204; Brunaux et al. 1999a, 196–8; 2009.
[203] Cadoux 1984, 68. The horse bones will be discussed in chapter 4.
[204] Brunaux et al. 1999a, 204; Ricard 2014, 184.

A ritual pit, 30cm in diameter and 1m deep, containing two hundred liters of cremated bone was found at the center of the bone frame (fig. 3.14). It was a posthole in the sanctuary's first phase. Only an initial assessment of the material has been provided by Cadoux, who describes the bone as charred, highly fragmented, and mixed with charcoal. He also commented that the bones from the ritual pit were of the same types as the unburned bones from the remainder of the ossuary: human and horse long bones.[205]

Thus, the material in the ritual pits is directly associated with the bone frames above them. Once the bone frames were complete, more of the same material was broken, cut, and crushed before being thrown into the ritual pits for cremation.[206] The cremated bones represent a step further in the thorough destruction of the corpses beyond the dismemberment performed to acquire material for the ossuaries' bone frames.

Ossuary 82 was one of three or four such ossuaries constructed in the corners of the quadrangular enclosure in the third century B.C. Two others, Ossuary 91 and the West Ossuary, were partially preserved. Each displays different commonalities with Ossuary 82, as will be seen, and which assure us that the bone frames over Ossuary 91 and the West Ossuary, now heavily damaged and lost respectively, were originally the same as Ossuary 82's bone frame.

[205] Cadoux 1984, 66.
[206] Cadoux et al. 1982, 30; Fercoq du Leslay 1996; Brunaux et al. 1999a.

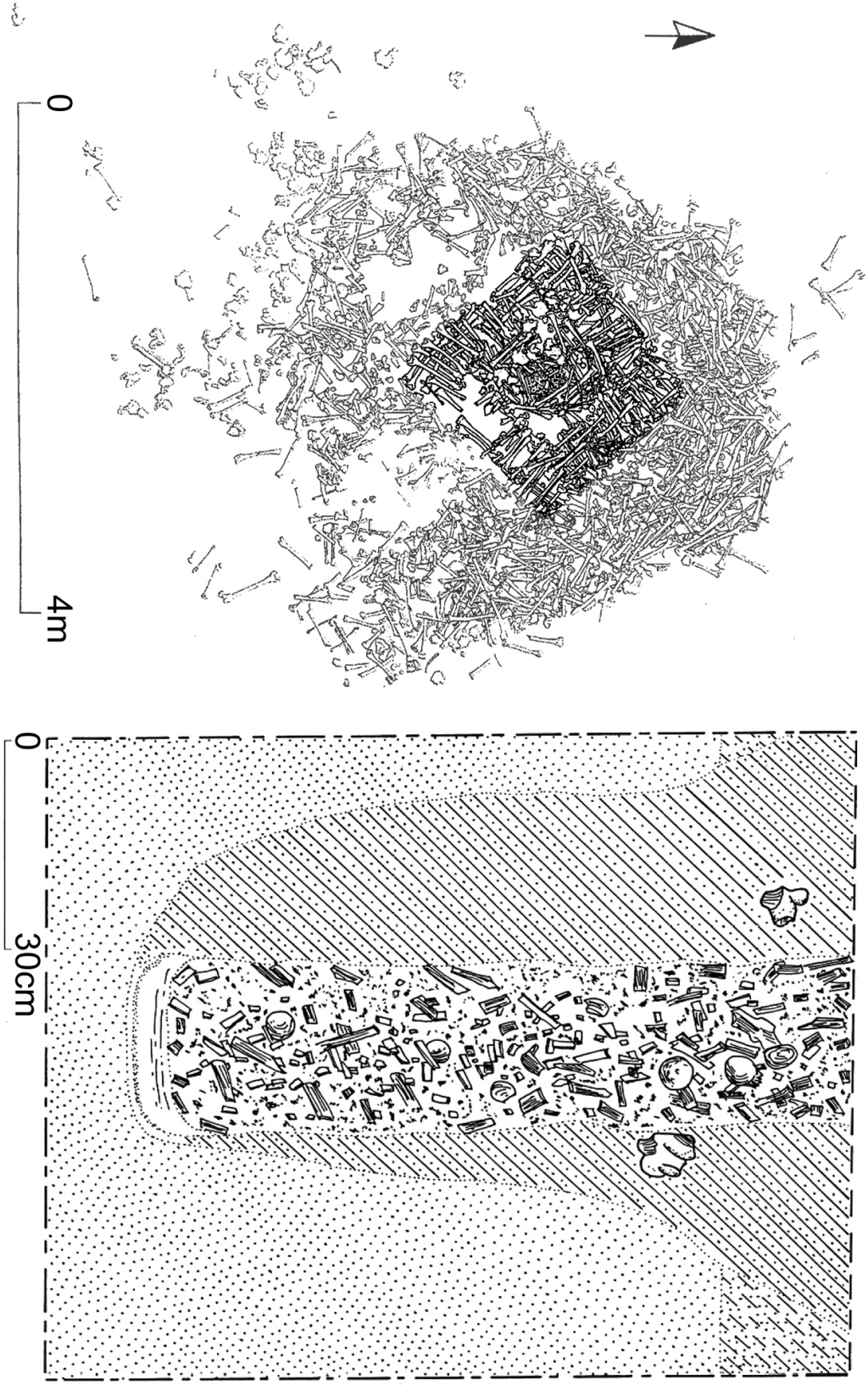

Figure 3.14. Ossuary 82 and section of the ritual pit at its center (after Brunaux 2004, 117, fig. 53; Brunaux et al. 1999, 204, fig. 26)

Ossuary 91's entire ritual pit and most of its bone frame were destroyed by a WWI British trench (fig. 3.16). Only the two northeast corners, containing three layers of stacked bone, survived. They are displaced, spread over 2.50m length, instead of 1.65m sides of Ossuary 82's bone frame.[208] About a third of the bones that made up Ossuary 91's bone frame seem to have remained in place when the ossuary was damaged, and they are more fragmented than the bones from Ossuary 82: The MNI of human bodies from Ossuary 91, on the basis of right femora, is 49, and the ossuary has provided 398 bones – the corresponding values for Ossuary 82 are a MNI of 179 and 1,358 bones.[209] The two ossuaries' bone distributions by type are very similar (fig. 3.16). Consequently, we may interpret Ossuary 91 as Ossuary 82's damaged counterpart.

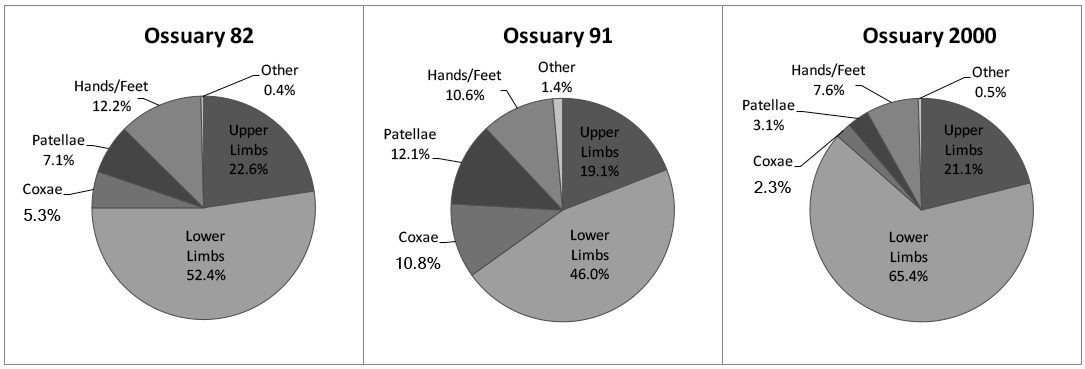

Figure 3.15. Bone distribution for the key ossuaries within the quadrangular enclosure (counts not adjusted for anatomical frequency)

[208] Brunaux et al. 1991, 19.
[209] Counts from Ricard 2014, 8, 43–5.

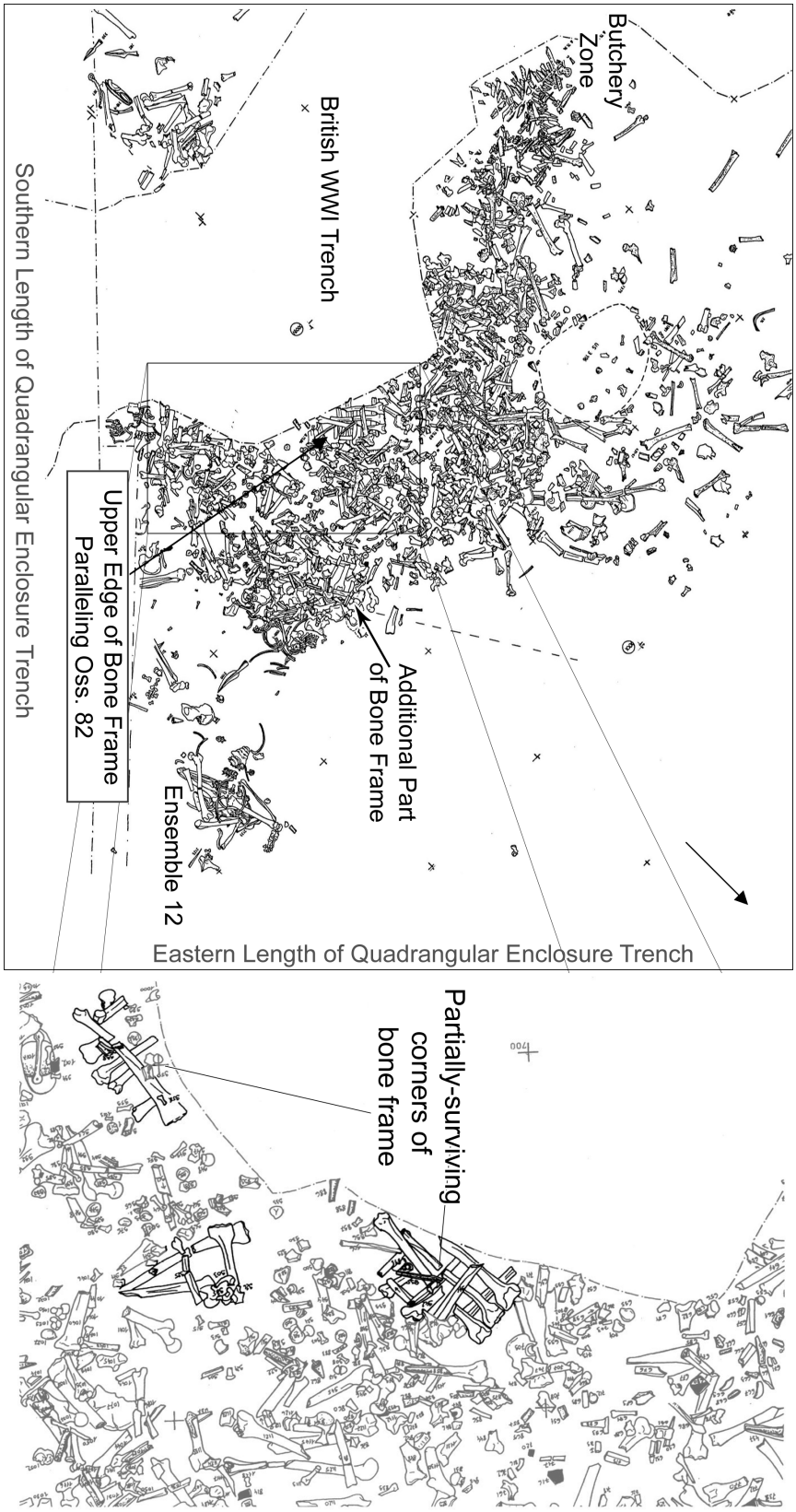

Figure 3.16. Ossuary 91 and surroundings (adapted from Ricard 2014, 36, fig. 17 and Fercoq du Leslay 1996, 201, fig. 8)

The West Ossuary, a cylindrical pit in the quadrangular enclosure's western corner, occupies a topographical position perfectly symmetrical with the ritual pit of Ossuary 82, at the same distance from the edges of the enclosure trench, indicating that it is a parallel feature.[214] Its dimensions (30cm diameter, 65cm depth) are similar to those of Ossuary 82's ritual pit (30cm diameter, 1m depth). One believes that the discrepancy in depths is explained by the soil grading in the first century B.C., which lowered the ground level in the western corner. The upper third of the West Ossuary's ritual pit must have been shaved off at that time, reducing its depth. The West Ossuary's pit contained the same material as Ossuary 82's pit: cremated human and animal bones, primarily fragmented long bones and charcoal.[215]

View of the emptied West Ossuary from above

Cross-section of the Post-hole in the Center of the West Ossuary

Figure 3.17. Photographs of the excavation of the West Ossuary (after Brunaux et al. 2003, 12, fig. 8)

[214] Brunaux et al. 2003, 7–13.
[215] Brunaux et al. 1999a, 203–4; 2003, 11–2.

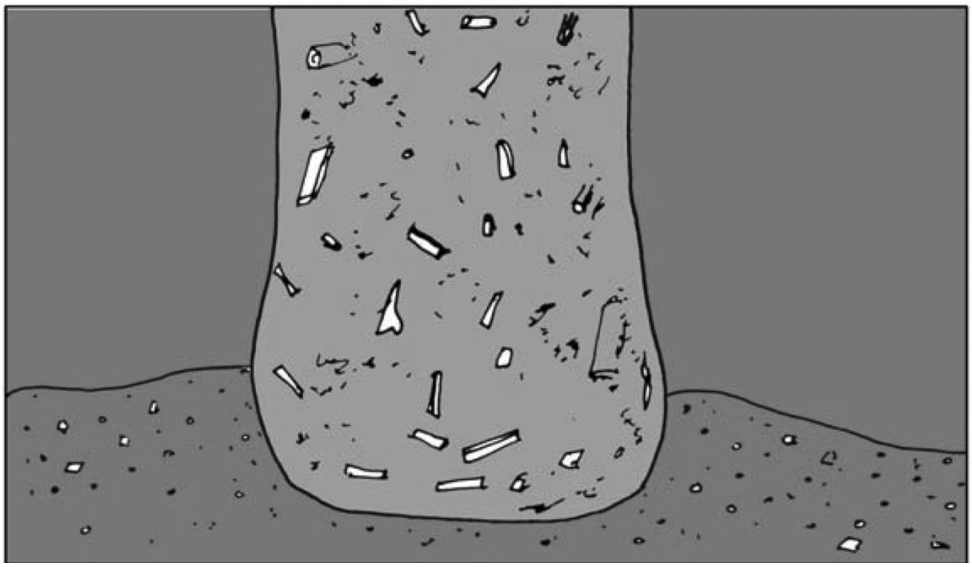

Figure 3.18. Cross-Section of the West Ossuary's post-hole (after Brunaux et al. 2003, 11, fig. 7)

The West Ossuary does not preserve its bone frame. However, as will be detailed in the next section, one believes that the West Ossuary's bone frame was dismantled in the first century B.C. prior to the soil grading, its bone material moved to the southwestern part of the enclosure, and then reconstructed into Ossuary 2000.

3.3.2.3. The First Century Ossuaries

During the late first century B.C. transformation of the site, multiple ossuaries were constructed in the central and southern parts of the quadrangular enclosure interior. They were built from third century bones relocated from the western side of the enclosure where the elevation was lowered. They are dated to the first century by the LTD2 armament, fibulae, and ceramics mixed with the third century material.

The most significant of the first century ossuaries is Ossuary 2000 (fig. 3.19 & 3.20), because its structure and bone distribution closely correspond to those of third century Ossuaries 82 and 91. I believe that Ossuary 2000 was built from the bones of a dismantled third century bone frame and intentionally modeled after it. The bone frame in question would be that of the West Ossuary or of the conjectured fourth

ossuary. Close examination of Ossuary 2000, particularly the photograph of the partially excavated ossuary, reveals the distinct structuring of its different parts.

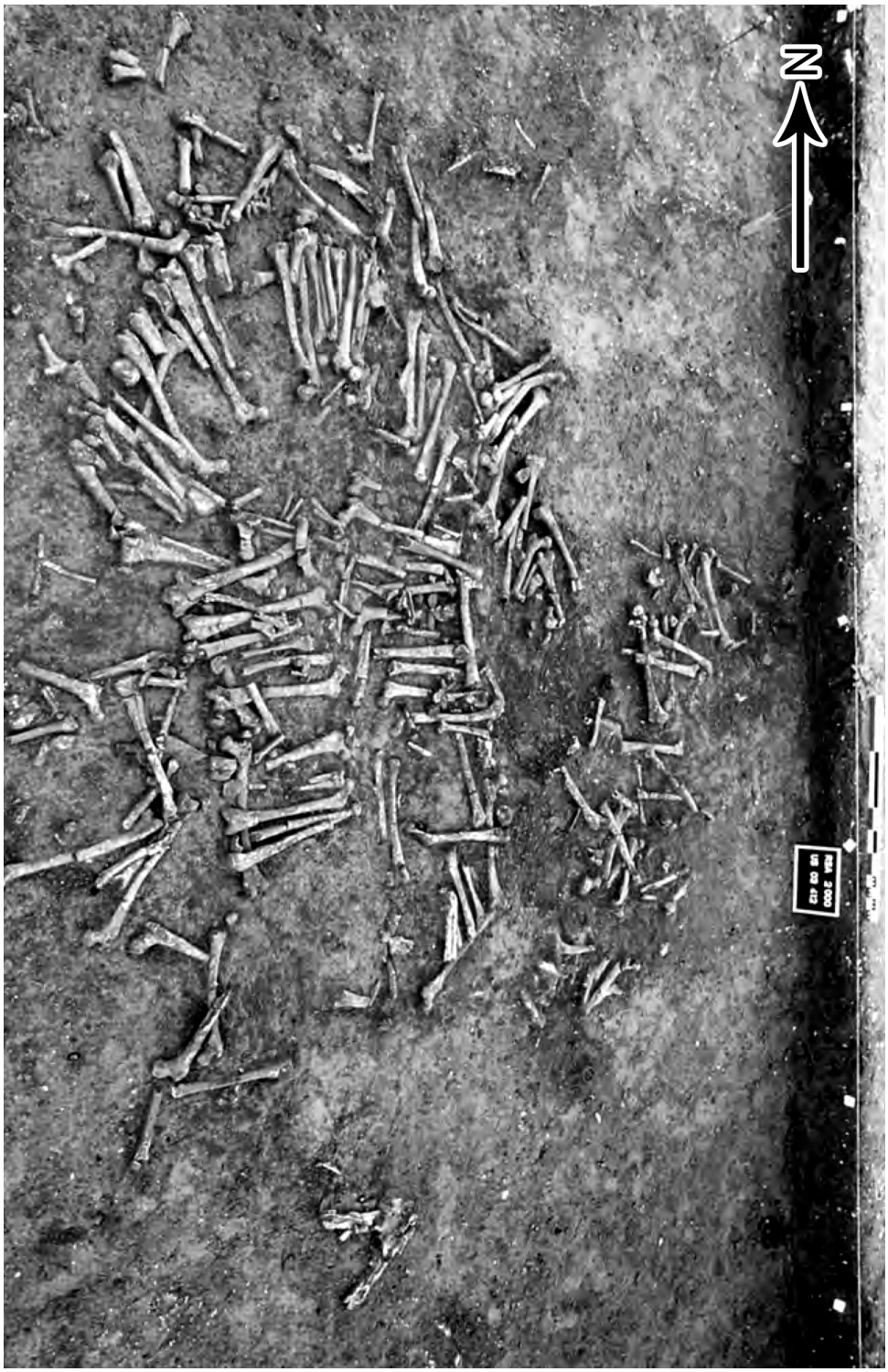

Figure 3.19 Photograph of lower layers of Ossuary 2000, illustrating the structuring of bones at its center (Fercoq du Leslay et al. 2011, 96, fig. 23)

An arrangement of bones clearly intended to recreate the cubic bone frame of Ossuary 82 (or one of the other third century ossuaries) was found at the heart of the sanctuary (fig. 3.20). Long bones, primarily femora, were laid parallel in two columns from northwest to southeast. Parts of the bone frame feature layers of perpendicularly crossed bones, paralleling Ossuary 82's bone frame, stacked to two, three, and, exceptionally, four levels. The arrangement measures 1.50m wide and 1.70m long, approximately the same size as the bone frame of Ossuary 82 (1.65m square).

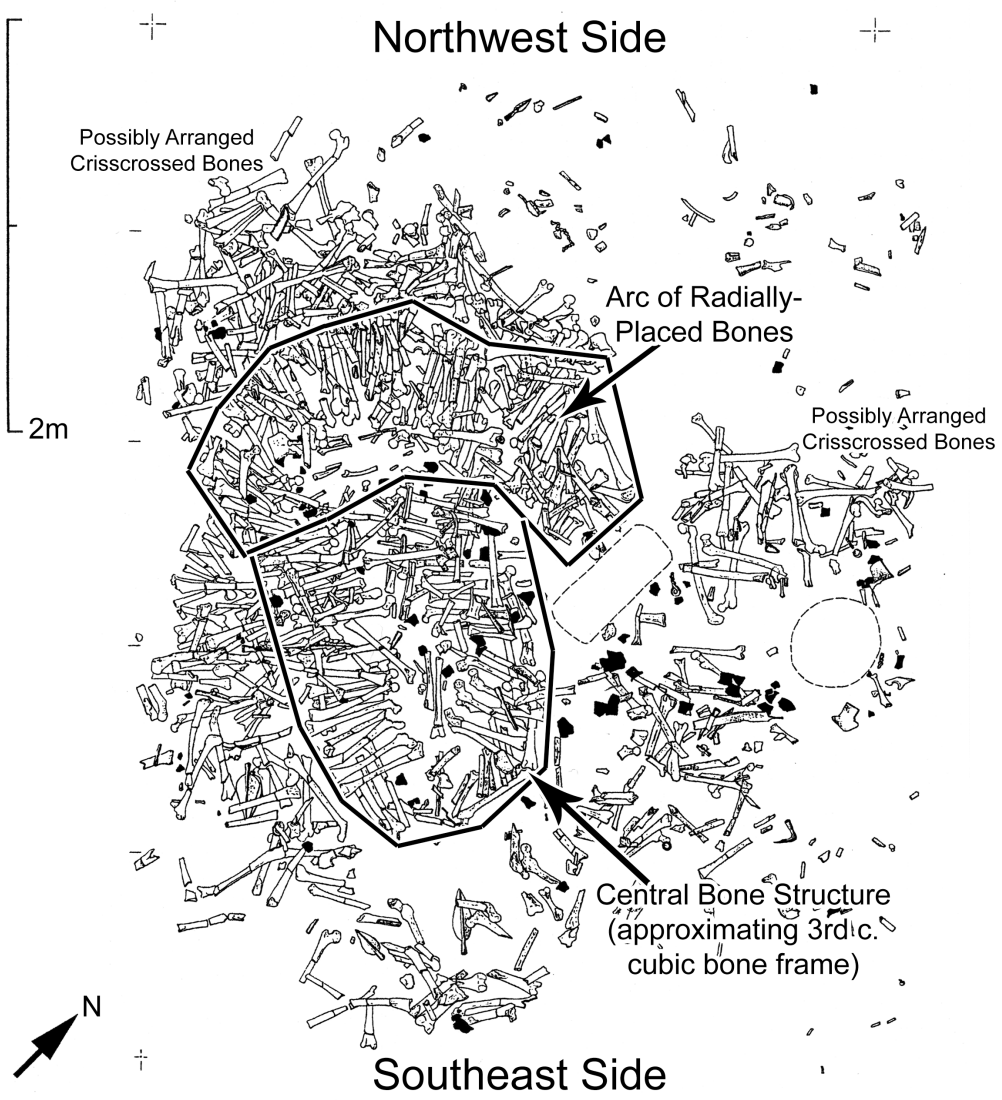

Figure 3.20. Ossuary 2000 with central bone structure, northern and western radius of bones, and circumference of scattered bone (adapted from Brunaux et al. *2000, fig. 12)*

Bones were laid around the central arrangement of Ossuary 2000 in two radii flanking it on its northwest and southeast sides.[217] The radius on the southeast side is small, only the width of the two columns, which turn inward to create an apsidial closure. The radius was laid over a line of bones outlining the structure's circumference. On the northwest side, the two columns transition into a large radius of bones that extends outward and around the central structure. Like the central structure, the arc of bones is composed primarily of femora. Additional bones are piled around the central arrangements without evident order, although some on the east side may be crisscrossed in the manner of the third century B.C. ossuaries' bone frames.

Brunaux has remarked that the radial scatter of bones on the northwest side of Ossuary 2000 strangely resembles the radius of destruction surrounding the bone frame of Ossuary 82. This resemblance lead him to propose that Ossuary 2000, built during the first century B.C., was modeled after the appearance of Ossuary 82 in its partially-collapsed state. He believed that Ossuary 82's bone frame collapsed before the first century B.C.[218]

The columns of bones have an open space between them, corresponding to the opening at the center of Ossuary 82's bone frame, which framed the pit beneath. However, Ossuary 2000 lacks the essential component of a central pit filled with cremated bone splinters. Excavators did note a limited number of cremated bones, ash, and coxae among the bones in Ossuary 2000.[219] The cremated bones and ash must have come from the West Ossuary's ritual pit, the upper third that was sheared off during the first century grading of the terrain. This exposed material would have made

[217] Brunaux et al. 2000, 19; Cadoux 1984, 66.
[218] Brunaux et al. 2000, 19–20.
[219] Brunaux et al. 2000, 19; Ricard 2014, 51.

its way into Ossuary 2000 with the relocation of the West Ossuary's bone frame and movement of the soil. The coxae would have come from the interior of the bone frame, where they had been placed in a ring around the lip of the ritual pit presuming the structure of the West Ossuary paralleled that of Ossuary 82.[220]

Ossuary 2000's bone frame and radial arc of bones were built primarily out of femora stacked closely together, indicating that the bones were dry and disconnected at the time of its construction. Femora must have been selected because they were easily stackable. Only three instances of bones in anatomical position have been found, all at the base of the ossuary, making their association with it uncertain. (They may have lain on the ground surface before Ossuary 2000's bone frame was constructed over them.)[221] In contrast, Ossuary 82's bone frame frequently contained bones in anatomical connection, and patellae and small bones of the hands and feet were included in its bone frame, indicating it was built from partially-decayed limbs. These small bones would not have been able to be included in Ossuary 2000's bone frame because they would have lost their ligament connections when the bone frame was dismantled in the west corner.

The bone distributions of Ossuaries 82, 91, and 2000 are similar overall, with Ossuary 2000 displaying important subtle variances in its bone distribution reflective of the nature of its construction. All three ossuaries are dominated by long bones of the limbs with elevated percentages of femora, tibiae, and humeri, the largest and most robust of the long bones.[222] They also provide minorities of coxae, patellae, and bones of the hands and feet (primarily feet). These minorities are all weaker in Ossuary 2000

[220] Cadoux 1984, 67.
[221] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 164.
[222] Data from Ricard 2014, 212.

because it was built out of dry bones relocated from the western side of the interior. The disassembly and relocation process would have severed anatomical connections in the source bone frame and resulted in the loss of small bones.

I believe that Ossuary 2000 was not simply constructed of bones taken from the western side of the quadrangular enclosure in a general sense, but that it was constructed from the West Ossuary's bone frame specifically. I believe that the West Ossuary's bone frame was dismantled in the first century B.C. in order to clear the ground surface in preparation for lowering the elevation of the western corner, and that it was reconstructed into Ossuary 2000. The builders would have dismantled the bone frame carefully, with attention to its structure, so that they could build the best imitation of a third century bone frame. I concur with Brunaux that Ossuary 2000 was modeled after a partially-collapsed bone frame, although any of the third century bone frames could have been the model, not necessarily Ossuary 82.

Ossuary EO-498, beside Ossuary 2000, does not preserve any structuring of its bones except for a radius of long bones on its southern side, because it was heavily damaged by later Gallo-Roman construction (fig. 3.21). Its bones are considerably more fragmentary than those of Ossuary 2000, a number fractured in place under the weight of a wall built over it in the Gallo-Roman period.[223] The surviving radius of long bones in EO-498 closely resembles the arrangement of bones on the southern side of the bone frame of Ossuary 2000. In both cases, for the first layer, bones were arranged end-to-end in an arc that outlined the circumference of the bone frame. Then they were covered with bones laid perpendicularly in a radial pattern. In both cases,

[223] Ricard 2014, 51. Walls M-308 and M-462 of the first century A.D. temple were built over ossuary EO-498. See Brunaux et al. 2000, Nomenclature des principales structures gallo-romaines.

the bone structures were built primarily out of femora. Their width is also the same, approximately 1.20m. The radius of long bones in EO-498 is roughly symmetrical with that of Ossuary 2000, suggesting that originally, the two ossuaries were built in relationship to each other. However, because EO-498 was so heavily damaged, no additional points of comparison survive.

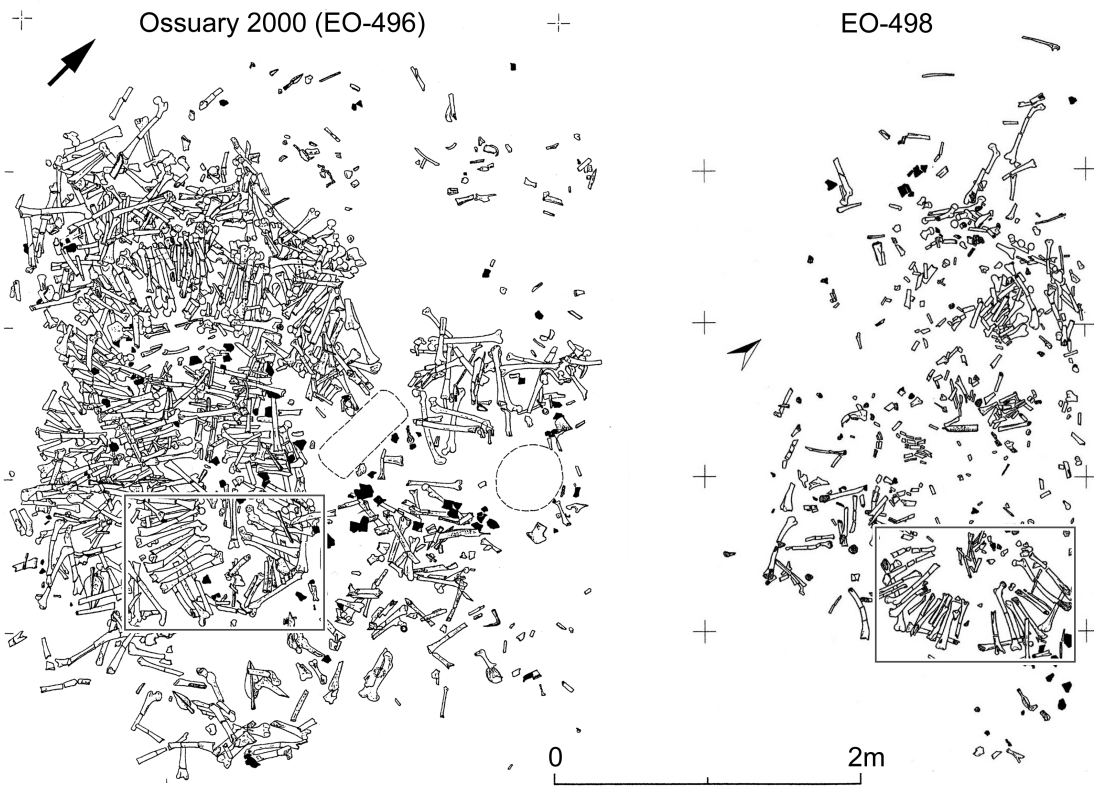

Figure 3.21. Ossuary 2000 and EO-498 placed in topographical relationship (Rectangular outlines indicate common structuring.) (after Brunaux et al. 2000, fig. 12)

While there are significant numbers of crisscrossed bones in Ossuary 2000 and a limited number in EO-498, reminiscent of the dense latticework of perpendicularly-crisscrossing layers in Ossuary 82's bone frame (fig. 3.22), strong radial patterns in the arrangement of their bones set them apart. Brunaux believes that the builders modeled their reconstruction of Ossuary 2000 on the appearance of Ossuary 82 in its

partially-ruined state in the first century B.C.[225] To Brunaux, the radial arrangements indicate that the first century B.C. builders did not fully understand the structure of Ossuary 82's bone frame when they sought to reproduce it in Ossuary 2000.[226]

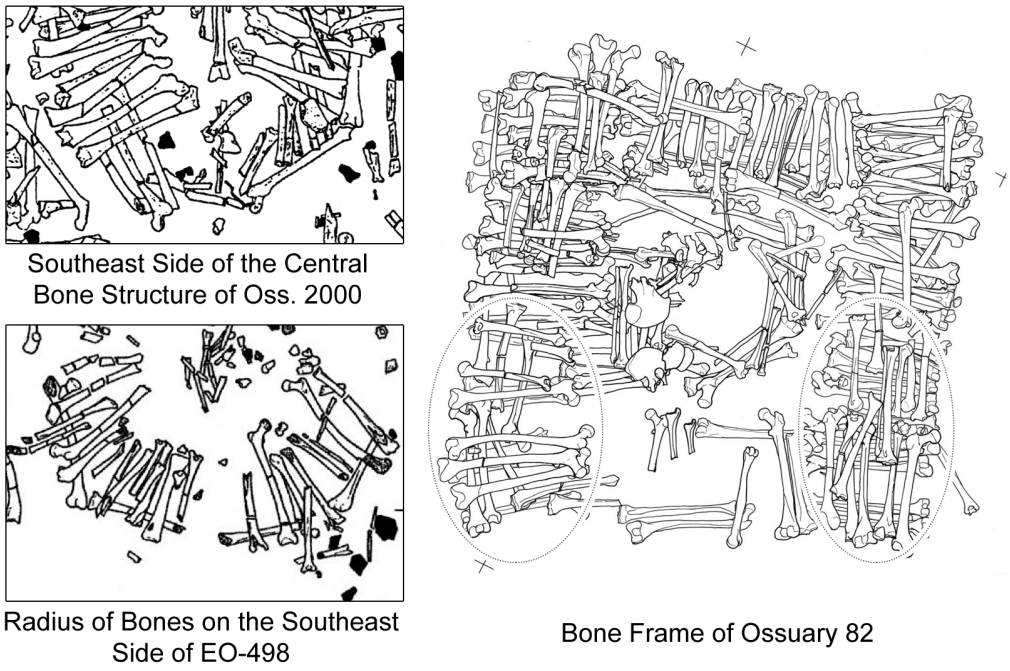

Figure 3.22. Details of the southern sides of Ossuary 2000 and EO-498 and the bone frame of Ossuary 82 illustrating the significant interweaving of crisscrossed bones (adapted from Brunaux et al. *2000, fig. 12 and Ricard 2014, 30, fig. 11 and 44, fig. 25)*

Nonetheless, the effort of carefully relocating the material and building an imitation of the original structure reflects the builders' reverence of the third century B.C. sanctuary and an interest in preserving the past even whilst preparing to build a new sanctuary in an entirely different tradition.

The final two first century ossuaries are Ossuary 93 and the Small Ossuary. Ossuary 93 is located to the west of Ossuary 91 in a significantly disturbed area, and consists of a rather haphazard scattering of human and horse bones across the ground

[225] As discussed elsewhere, Ossuary 82's bone frame may have still been intact in the first century B.C., precluding it serving as a ruined model.
[226] Brunaux et al. 2000, 19.

surface (fig. 3.23).[227] The ossuary is simply a concentration of bones, not a built structure.

The material Ossuary 93 provides is associated with the butchery zone beside it and with Ossuary 91. Like the other ossuaries, most of the bones in Ossuary 93 are long bones, particularly those of the lower limbs, and some bear marks connected with dismemberment, like a left humerus (932003) with eight parallel grooves where the triceps insertions were cut to disarticulate the elbow.[228] This material indicates that Ossuary 93 is part of the preparatory area that supplied material for Ossuary 91's bone frame, and associates Ossuary 93 with the butchery zone beside it (fig. 3.23).

The Small Ossuary (EO-497), located approximately 8m southeast of Ossuary 2000, collects approximately four hundred items. Most are small scale: fragmentary human and horse bones, iron finds of same types and dating (LTC and LTD2) as those from the other ossuaries, and other commonly-encountered fragments. The ossuary does not have built elements, but is not without structure. Its material is constrained to a roughly rectangular area 1m by 2.25m, and some bones on its south side are arranged parallel to one another. As noted above, this structuring and 13 large nails found in the ossuary led to its interpretation as a litter used to transport material from the enclosure's west side.[229] It seems reasonable to conclude that the Small Ossuary collected the remains left on the ground after the main relocations of material from the western side of the enclosure interior, and was abandoned at the conclusion of the clearing activity just before the ground was graded and it was covered in soil.

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[227] The only possible exception to this assertion is the small group of cut bones to the west of Ossuary 91. Excavators have proposed to identify the area as a location where bones were prepared for cremation within the ritual pits of Ossuaries 82, 2000, and the West Ossuary.
[228] Ricard 2014, 111–12.
[229] Brunaux et al. 2000, 21–2.

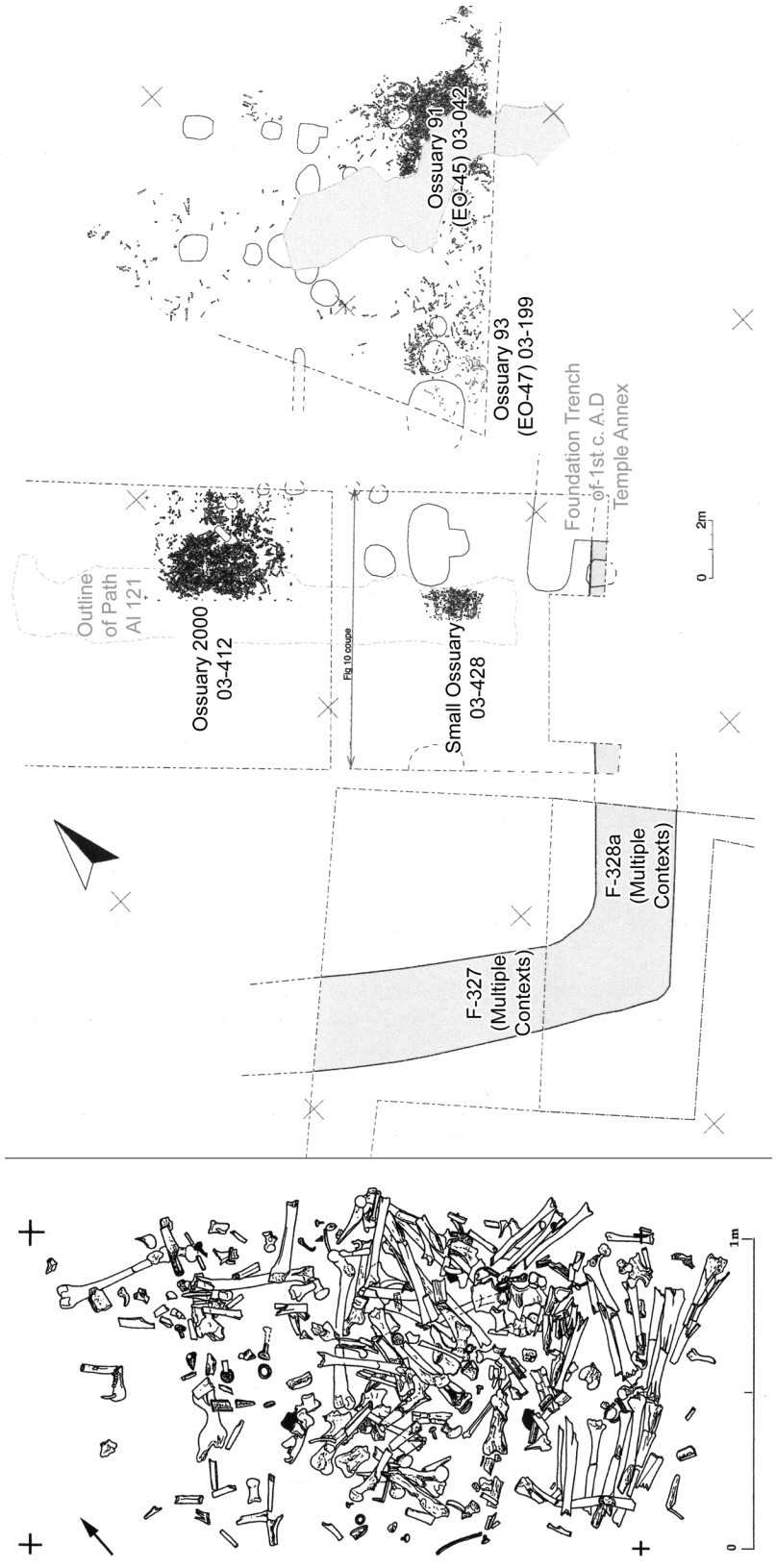

Figure 3.23. The Small Ossuary (EO-497) (left) and the ossuary in context (after Brunaux et al. 2000, figs. 11 and 13)

3.3.3. The Bone Ensembles along the Eastern Length of the Quadrangular Enclosure

In addition to Ossuaries 82 and 91, the undisturbed third century eastern length of the quadrangular enclosure interior contained fourteen ensembles of human bone, spread across the space between the ossuaries, and continuing past Ossuary 91 to the edge of the enclosure trench (fig. 3.24).[233] Excavators defined ensembles based on groups of bones retaining their anatomical connections (e.g. Ensemble 2 is composed of two lower limbs in connection, Ensemble 7, a length of spine). For the discussion below, one has also included all of the loose bones around the anatomical connections as part of the ensembles in order to more completely capture the character of the bone material brought into the enclosure and contextualize the ensembles in the overall spread of material.[234] One believes that the distinction between bones in anatomical connection and the loose bones beside them is artificial, leading us to ignore bones that might suggest larger or more complete corpse fragments are contained within the ensembles. A more comprehensive view will illustrate better the completeness of the corpses brought into the enclosure for use as construction material.

[233] Seventeen ensembles were discovered in total, but Ensembles 15–17 were located beside Ossuary 2000, and are not related to Ensembles 1–14 (Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 86 and 95).
[234] Brunaux (et al. 1999, 204) note that small, isolated bones were found across the ground surface, but their mixture with ensembles makes it difficult to analyze their spatial distribution.

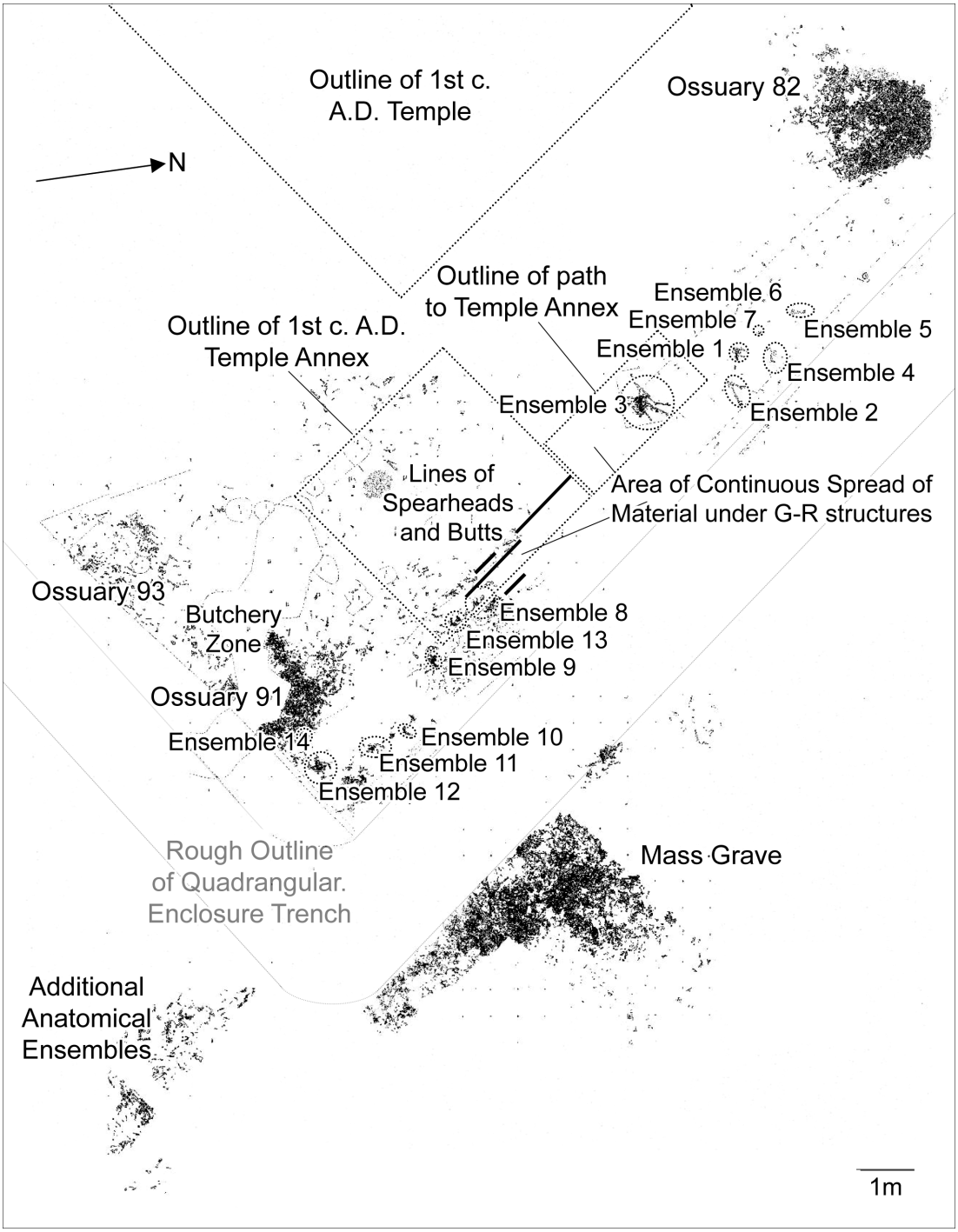

Figure 3.24. Interior of quadrangular enclosure with Ensembles 1–14 and other features indicated (adapted from Ricard 2014, 47, fig. 26)

The ensembles are part of a broad spread of partially-decayed limbs and other corpse fragments, loose bones, and armament along the ground surface between Ossuaries 82 and 91. They are divided into two groups 1–7 and 8–14 by a disturbance

area. Originally, the ensembles were part of a continuous display area along the eastern length of the quadrangular enclosure, which was heavily damaged by the construction of the Gallo-Roman temple annex and its path in the first century A.D. (fig. 3.18). Lengths of third century ground surface beneath the Gallo-Roman foundations cover the apparent gap in material, preserving the spread in the form of crushed bone and armament fragments.[235] We can reasonably expect that additional ensembles of bones in anatomical connection covered the space, but were broken apart, crushed, and displaced in the Gallo-Roman period. Only material beneath the soil surface or caught up in the Gallo-Roman foundations survived, like the lines of spear butts and human and horse bones across the space between the northern and southern ensembles.[236]

The northern ensembles (Ensembles 1–7) (fig. 3.25) were found in a sparse scattering of bone and armament material southeast of Ossuary 82, making each ensemble appear discrete and isolated. With the exception of Ensemble 3, the northern ensembles are composed of considerably more fragmentary body parts than the southern ensembles.

The concentration of bone material and armament around the southern ensembles (Ensembles 8–17) is denser (fig. 3.26), which led one to expand the scope of bones that are considered part of an ensemble to include the disconnected bones around them. An inventory and description of the ensembles that includes both the bones in anatomical connection and the loose bones beside them is provided below.[237] Armament finds in direct association with ensembles have also been included in the inventory.

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[235] Cadoux et al. 1985, 37–8.
[236] See chapter 5 for discussion.
[237] Descriptions below are based on observation, with details like left and right sides, from Ricard (2014, 211) and Fercoq du Leslay (2017, 86–9).

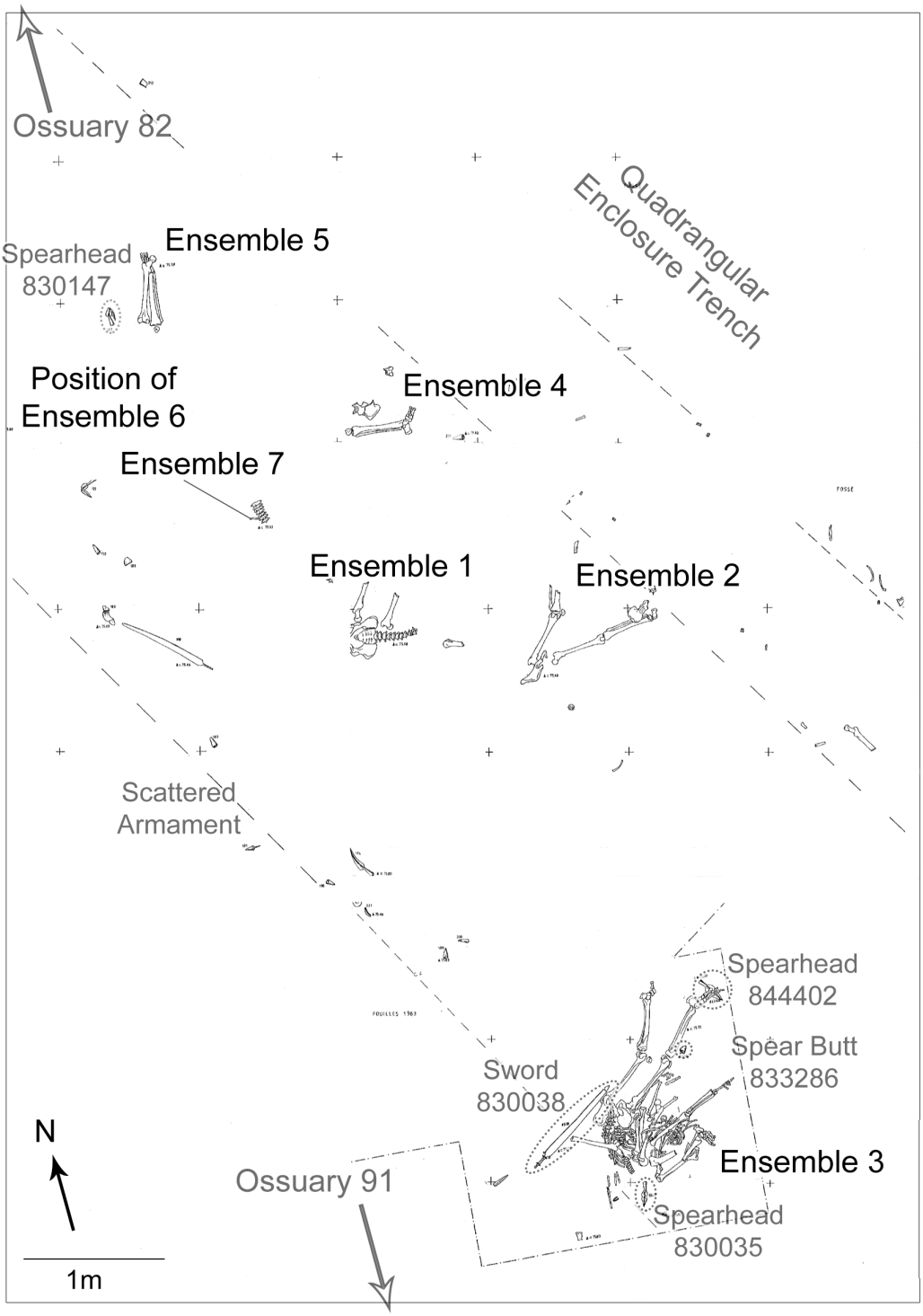

Figure 3.25. The northern ensembles (after Ricard 2014, 32, fig. 13) (Ensemble 6, a line of phalanges, is not visible on the plan)

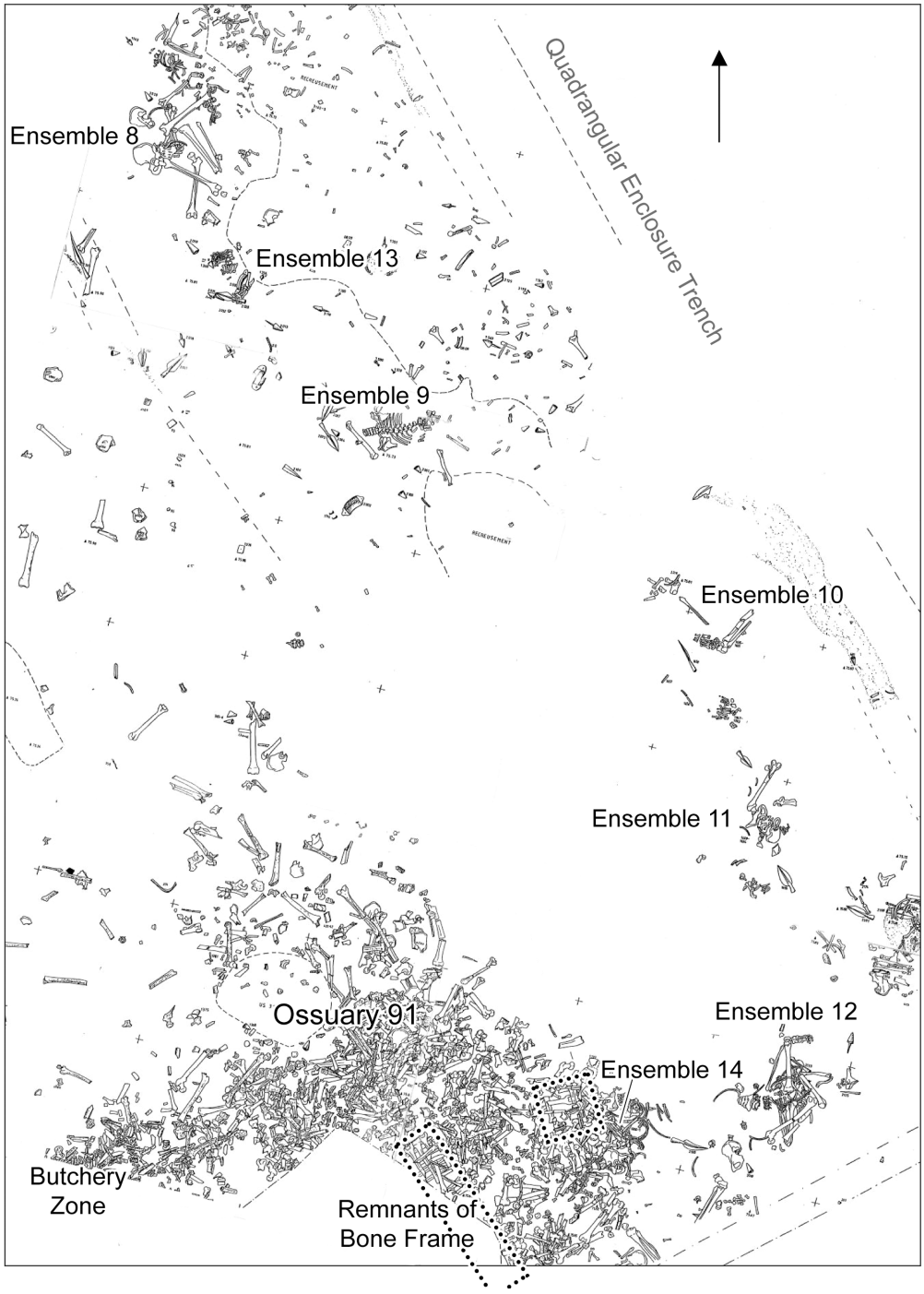

Figure 3.26. The southern ensembles (Ensembles 8–17) (after Ricard 2014, 210, fig. 268)

Inventory and Description of Human Bone Ensembles and Surrounding Material

Ensemble 1. Lower half of spine (T8–L5), sacrum, and two coxae in anatomical connection; upper halves of right and left femora immediately beside them

Ensemble 2. Two lower limbs in connection with coxa fragment; one of the lower limbs has only tibia and fibula ends, not the complete bones

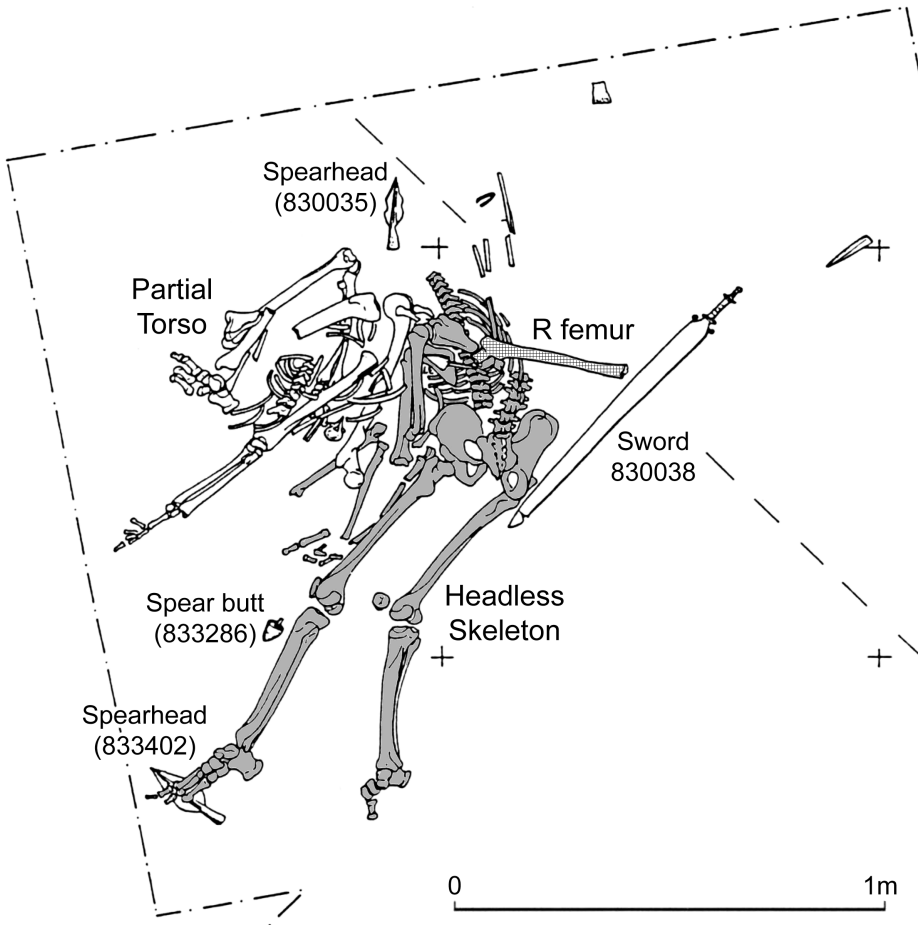

Figure 3.27. Ensemble 3 and associated armament (modified from Brunaux et al. 1999, 189, fig. 12)

Ensemble 3. Three individuals, consisting of, from top to bottom:

a. Right femur

b. Complete skeleton minus head and C1–3 vertebrae

c. Portion of chest with 9 vertebrae (C4–T5), ribs, scapular belts, and upper limbs, preserving anatomical connections between vertebrae and ribs, and scapulae and upper limbs

d. Associated with a complete sword (830038), 2 spearheads (830035, 844402), and a spear butt (833286), all dated to the LTC period (third century B.C.)

Ensemble 4. Right lower limb with tibia, fibula, and foot (without phalanges) in connection; coxa fragment beside

Ensemble 5. Left lower limb in forced position (femur parallel to fibula, tibia, and foot) with only a few phalanges missing; found immediately beside mutilated spearhead (830147) with the tip bent upon itself

Ensemble 6. (Not visible on plan) Aligned phalanges of right foot

Ensemble 7. Section of spine (T10–L3)

Ensemble 8. Two femora, two coxae, sacrum, tibia and fibula in articulation, humerus or third femur, humerus, partial humerus in articulation with radius and ulna, scattered vertebrae, metatarsals and phalanges, fragmented ribs; beside fragmented humeri (?)

Ensemble 9. Nearly complete spine with partial right and left ribs in articulation, and connected to scapulae and clavicles (?), a humerus (?), metacarpals or phalanges, and numerous other fragmented bones; beside two spearheads, five spear butts, and two *umbones*

Ensemble 10. Right lower leg with tibia, fibula, tarsal, metatarsal, and some phalanges in connection; immediately beside collection of metatarsals and phalanges, and a spearhead

Ensemble 11. A few lumbar vertebrae, a sacrum, two coxae, and right femur in articulation, posterior face upward; two spearheads and an additional pile of bones and spearheads about 1m southeast

Ensemble 12. Largely complete skeleton, missing its cranium, first two cervical vertebrae, one arm, one lower leg and foot, and some ribs.[239] Additional parts found nearby may be associated.

Ensemble 12 is in a complex position of chest beneath the legs, evoking the collapse of a corpse hanging upside down.[240] When the corpse collapsed, and thereafter, some parts may have become separated from the main group of remains, and settled farther afield. The figure below (fig. 3.28) illustrates the parts of the skeleton found in Ensemble 12, and those in the surrounding area. There does seem to be some complementarity between the parts missing from Ensemble 12 and bones in anatomical connection and loose bones found nearby.

Ensemble 14 (fig. 3.29), a left forearm, was found 1m west of Ensemble 12, and might be the skeleton's missing arm. While part of the destruction radius of Ossuary 91, Ensemble 14 seems more likely to be associated with Ensemble 12 than the ossuary, as it lays on the fringes and anatomical connections are extremely rare within Ossuary 91. While the arm in Ensemble 14 conveniently provides Ensemble 12's missing arm, the right leg in connection beneath it might rule out association between the two, as Ensemble 12 has both femora.

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[239] Ricard 2014, 75.

[240] Ricard 2014, 211. Ricard expresses uncertainty in this interpretation, because, as he notes, the small bones of the feet weren't disconnected. This is true for the right foot, but the left foot is not part of the core of the ensemble. A tibia and fibula and scattered phalanges were found beside the ensemble, and may be the missing left lower leg and foot. And there is no reason to exclude the possibility that the individual was suspended by only the left foot.

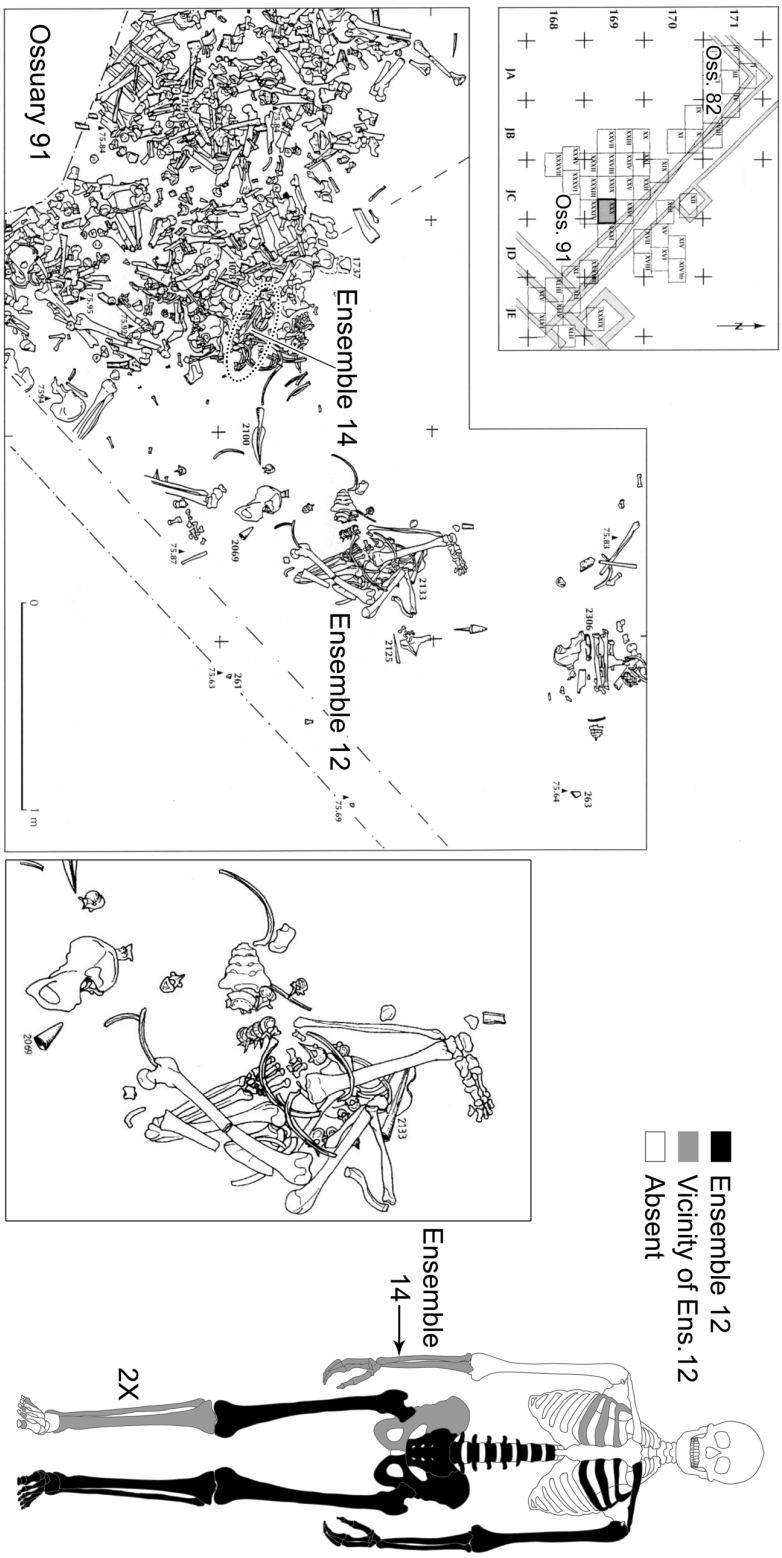

Figure 3.28. Ensemble 12 in context and individually, and diagram of the parts of the skeleton present (modified from Brunaux et al. 1999, 190, fig. 13; Fercoq du Leslay 2000, 134, fig. 19; and Mariana Ruiz Villarreal, public domain)

Figure 3.29. Ensemble 14 on the eastern fringes of Ossuary 91 (Ricard 2014, 37, fig. 18)

Ensemble 13. Two feet in articulation lying flat on the ground near dislocated skeleton parts (Ensemble 8), indicate individual in vertical position[242]

Ensemble 14. Two superimposed partial limbs, a right leg beneath a left forearm with bracelets still in place

a. Right leg (femur, tibia, and fibula) with coxae beside

b. Left forearm (humerus head, radius, ulna, metacarpals, and phalanges)

Ensembles 15–17. Uncertain

One was unable to identify Ensembles 15–17 with certainty, but Fercoq du Leslay's latest publication indicates they are all associated with Ossuary 2000 and EO-498 in the center of the enclosure.[243] One must be the arm fragment (humerus-radius-ulna) on the ground at the base of Ossuary 2000. Like the bones in anatomical

[242] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 207.
[243] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 89, 164–8.

association beneath Ossuary 82's bone frame, the arm fragment is not part of, and probably predates, Ossuary 2000. Two other minor anatomical ensembles are associated with Ossuary 2000, and two with EO-498.

Ricard calculates a MNI of ten individuals for Ensembles 1–12 based upon left femora.

Brunaux has recently proposed that the ensembles were part of independent displays of headless corpses suspended on poles, evenly spaced along the interior edge of the quadrangular enclosure. He describes them as prisoners of war, ritually sacrificed after the battle at Ribemont.[244] Using Diodorus' description of Gauls in Greece, Brunaux identifies the men in the ensembles as the most attractive and virile of the prisoners, and the rest of the bones from within the quadrangular enclosure as the primary bulk of the enemy casualties.[245]

In his recent study, Fercoq du Leslay allowed that corpses were suspended upright along the pit, but asserted that the spatial distribution of the ensembles cannot be interpreted. He also indicated that there is only evidence of a single post along the trench (a few meters southeast of the edge of Ossuary 82's bone scatter), although he did allow there may have been additional posts set on the ground, evidence of which was not preserved. Fercoq du Leslay leaves the question open and does not provide an overall interpretation of the ensembles. He describes them only as the remains of the final stage of a ritual sequence whose initial stages are missing.[246]

I believe that the ensembles are material left over from the construction of the ossuaries' bone frames. The sizes of the corpse fragments, indicated by the anatomical

[244] Brunaux 2017, 86.
[245] Critical analysis of the references to Gauls in Classical literature and refutation of Brunaux's interpretations are provided in this chapter's appendix.
[246] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 88–9, 209.

connections within the ensembles, vary significantly. Most are quite minor, defining very incomplete parts: pelvises, legs, feet, and partial limbs (Ensembles 5, 11, etc.), and there are numerous lacunae in the surrounding loose bones, preventing reconstructions of complete or largely-complete skeletons. A few ensembles make up larger parts of the skeleton (Ensembles 1 and 9, and the chest portion in Ensemble 3), but only two headless skeletons were found (in Ensemble 3 and Ensemble 12).

No correlation has been found between the bones missing from the ensembles and those present in the ossuaries. In fact, the bones most frequent in the ensembles – long bones of the lower limbs and coxae – are the same bones most frequent in the ossuaries. One would identify the ensembles not as a source of material for the ossuaries, for which they are vastly insufficient, but leftovers of the transfer of corpse fragments from outside the quadrangular enclosure into the staging space between Ossuaries 82 and 91. Only select parts of corpses (lower limbs, pelvises, and upper limbs) would have been brought into the enclosure, rather than complete or largely complete corpses, because the leftovers, which became the ensembles, are the same kind of bones as those used in the bone frames. The general lack of organization in the placement of the ensembles, and even within the ensembles themselves, supports their interpretation as leftover material.

Partially-decayed corpse fragments would have been brought to the staging space between Ossuaries 82 and 91, and sampled from there to construct their bone frames. The precise manner in which material was secured for and brought into the quadrangular enclosure and built into the bone frames has not yet been resolved. One can imagine two possibilities for use of the staging space: A mass of corpses could have been brought in at once, piled in the staging space, and limbs sampled from it for

the bone frames before the remainder of the corpses were rejected to the mass grave. This possibility seems impractical, as the interior would have been overcrowded with insufficient room for manipulation of the corpses and movement between Ossuaries 82 and 91 while building their bone frames. Alternatively, selections of material, e.g. the limbs of twenty individuals, could have been brought into the enclosure in waves, each new group following after the last had been used. In either scenario, the bones scattered along the eastern length would be leftover material after the completion of the bone frames.

A comment by Fercoq du Leslay might indicate that the influx of material into the quadrangular enclosure in waves is likely: In describing the mass grave, Fercoq du Leslay comments that the variable weathering and preservation of anatomical connections of the human remains in the mass grave indicates that the material accumulated over the course of a few decades, originating from multiple conflicts.[247] Periodic ritual processing of material within the quadrangular enclosure, sampled from the mass grave, would logically follow periodic deposits in the mass grave after victories in battle. Outside the enclosure to the south is another concentration of bone material and armament, including bones in anatomical connection, which must have been another preparatory area.[248]

The positioning of the corpses in Ensembles 3 and 12, the flat feet of Ensemble 13, and the evidence of posts found on the eastern interior of the quadrangular enclosure suggest that at least some corpses were suspended upright on posts. This activity might indicate displays of upright corpses along the trench. Alternatively,

[247] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 206; G. Fercoq du Leslay 2018, pers. comm., 1 June.
[248] There was not sufficient space to discuss this area. See Ricard 2014, 211–3 and Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 191–5.

corpses may have been suspended simply to facilitate removal of limbs for the ossuaries' bone frames.

Notably, the two places the evidence suggests that posts were erected are near Ossuaries 82 and 91. The remains of two postholes were found a few meters southeast of Ossuary 82. The first (P3) was part of a trophy, the second (P4) is unattributed. While no postholes have been found in the immediate surroundings of Ensembles 3 and 12, the positioning of the skeletons in the two ensembles suggests they were suspended. A post would have been required to hang the corpse in Ensemble 12 upside down.[249] The headless skeleton in Ensemble 3 split into two parts at the thorax, which Fercoq du Leslay indicates may have been due to local pressure exerted by a suspension system (like a rope) holding the corpse upright.[250] The skeleton seems to have collapsed haphazardly over the partial torso beneath it. The association of the complete skeleton with a dismembered corpse fragment in Ensemble 3 suggests that the upright skeleton was unharvested building material, rather than a display of a corpse upright.

One is inclined to identify the individual in Ensemble 12 as an enemy warrior because he was suspended upside-down. However, the meaning of many of the Gallic ritual treatments of the dead remain obscure and contradict modern preconceptions. For example, the warriors from the circular enclosure, identified as comrades, were subjected to a violent dismemberment and de-fleshing of their fresh corpses. To modern eyes, this treatment would suggest antipathy for the deceased. Consequently, suspension of the corpse in Ensemble 12 may not have been denigratory.

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[249] Posthole P3, containing the remains of the wooden post, was found about 3m southwest of Ossuary 82, following the line of *umbones* on that side. Posthole P4 is located about 1m south of P3 (Identified on Cadoux et al. 1983, Ribemont 1983, Plan d'Ensemble)

[250] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 88.

However, the skeleton composing Ensemble 12 is missing its cranium and first two cervical vertebrae, and its C3–C7 vertebrae bear the marks of various striations of uncertain origin. Preparation for decapitation seems likely. These details do more convincingly identify the skeleton as that of an enemy warrior. Decapitation is a notable Gallic treatment of defeated enemies and in common practice in the mass grave at Ribemont.[251]

3.3.4. Evidence of Decapitation in the Ensembles

The evidence of decapitation among the Ensembles supports identification of all the individuals represented as enemy warriors. Both skeletons from Ensemble 3 are missing their C1–C3 vertebrae in addition to their skulls, and their surviving cervical vertebrae bear the marks of a sharp blade used for decapitation. The marks on the partial torso from Ensemble 3 provide rare evidence attesting to separation of the head from the neck.[252] Ensemble 12, a largely complete skeleton, is missing its cranium and first two cervical vertebrae, and its C3–C7 vertebrae bear marks attesting to preparatory work before decapitation. Ensemble 9, a large torso fragment, is also missing its head, although information about marks on its vertebrae was not available. These instances are spread along the entire eastern length, tying the Ensembles together, and arguing for a common identification of the individuals they represent.

Eight more cervical vertebrae bearing marks connected with decapitation were found in the area north of Ossuary 91 among Ensembles 9–12. One of these (930115, a C3 vertebrae) attests to separation of the head from the neck through an anterior

[251] See section 3.2.4.
[252] Ricard and Gandia 2012; Ricard 2014, 68 & 183.

approach. Four more cervical vertebrae were found west of Ossuary 91 in the preparatory areas there, the 'butchery zone' and Ossuary 93.[253]

Given the proximity of the ensembles and ossuaries, the preparatory areas to which both are connected, and their similar bone distributions, one might extend the identification to suggest that the warriors in Ossuaries 82 and 91 were also enemy warriors. By further extension, the warriors represented by the remainder of the human bones within the quadrangular enclosure could all be identified as enemy warriors. However, one hesitates to identify all of the more than 300 individuals (in a total of more than 7,000 bones) within the quadrangular enclosure as enemy warriors on the basis of fewer than 20 cervical vertebrae.[254] Further, the cervical vertebrae were found in the ensembles and preparatory areas, not within the surviving parts of the ossuaries' bone frames, or their destruction radii. As noted above, Brunaux identifies all the warriors within the quadrangular enclosure as enemy corpses.

A few details of the method of decapitation performed on the skeletons from Ensemble 3 sets them apart from most of the other cervical vertebrae from the site bearing marks. First, an anterior approach between the C4–C6 vertebrae was used for both, when the preferred method for decapitation on the site was a posterior blow between the C1 and C2 vertebrae.[255] The anterior approach required the neck to be resting on a block or table with the head in extension, so the viscera, lateral muscles, and, finally, the vertebrae could be cut through.[256] A similar process was observed at Gournay on the C3 vertebrae of a C1–C3 ensemble (2802). Three shallow incisions

[253] Data from Ricard and Gandia 2012 and Ricard 2014, 167.
[254] Ricard and Gandia 2012; Ricard 2014, 198. The MNI for human bones within the enclosure is 322, although the MNI values of individual ossuaries suggest a figure well over 350 (Ricard 2014, 168; Brunaux et al. 2003).
[255] Ricard 2014, 68 and 183.
[256] Ricard 2014, 183.

and a fourth shearing cut were found on the posterior vertebral process, attesting to sawing through the flesh, and a sharp blow to sever the head once the spinal nucleus was reached.[257]

The partial torso from Ensemble 3 bears anterior shearing blows on its C4–C6 vertebrae, which cut away the uncinate processes of all of the vertebrae. The first two sets of marks, between the C3/C4 and C5/C6 vertebrae, reflect two failed attempts to sever the head stopped by the upper articular parts. The third cut, between the C3/C4 vertebrae, was successful, shearing through the upper vertebral body of the C4 vertebra and carrying the head away.

The headless skeleton from Ensemble 3 bears multiple marks on its C4–C6 vertebrae (fig. 3.30). Two grooves on the upper articular parts of the C4 vertebra illustrate a failed posterior approach to decapitate the corpse between C3 and C4. Two further attempts were made on the anterior side, the first through the C4/C5 space, and next, through the C5/C6 space, shaving off the uncinate process of both the C5 and C6 vertebrae, and the left upper articular part of the C5 vertebra.[258] These cuts precisely correspond to the two anterior blows to the cervical vertebrae observed on the chest portion. Direct evidence to confirm decapitation is not found on the vertebrae of the headless skeleton, as it was on the partial torso, but the absence of the skull and C1–C3 vertebrae from an otherwise complete skeleton confirms implicitly that decapitation was successful.

[257] Brunaux et al. 1985, 151.
[258] Ricard and Gandia 2012, 60–1.

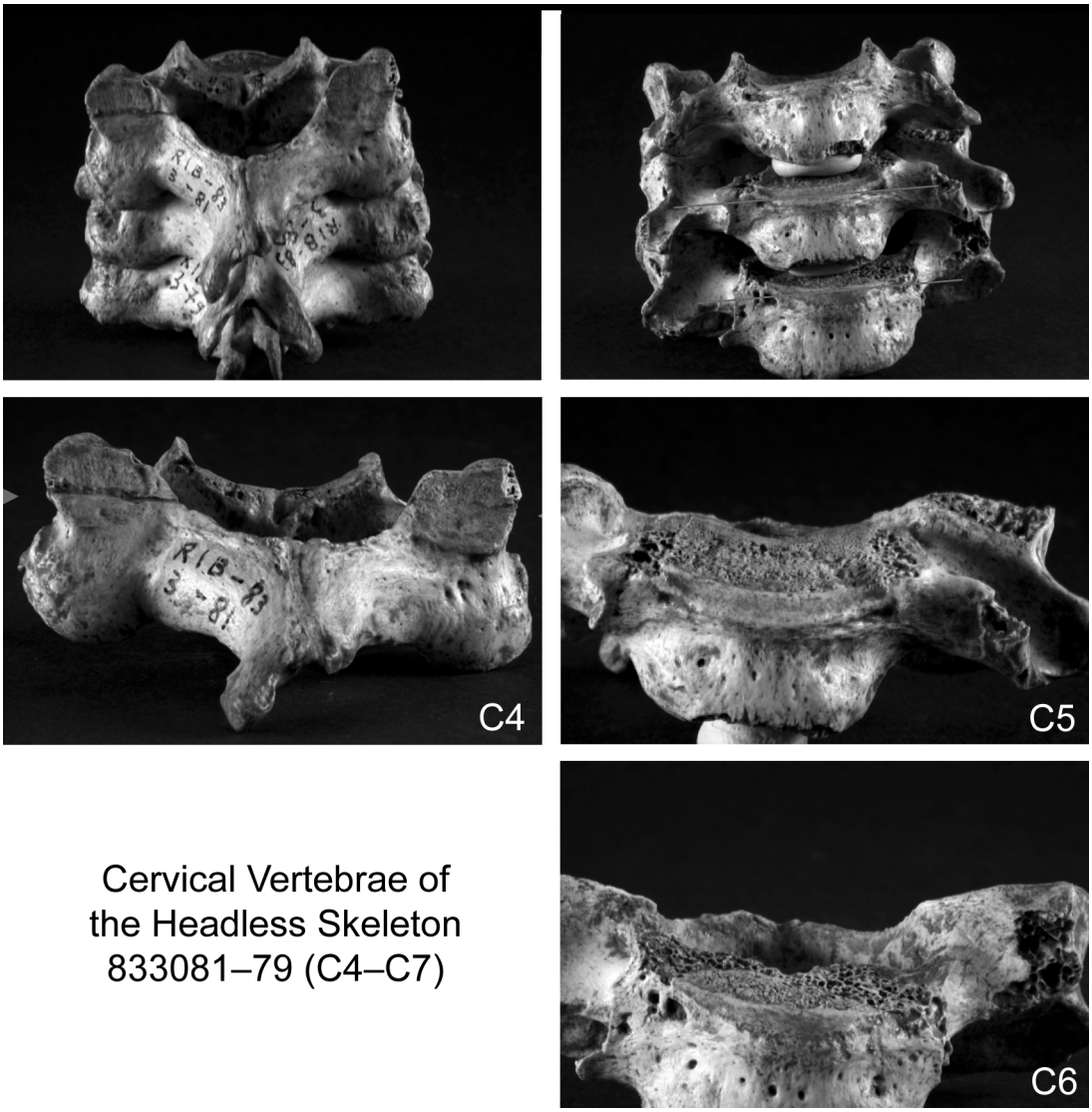

Figure 3.30. Cervical vertebrae of the headless skeleton (modified from Ricard 2014, 74, figs. 18–22)

The need for processing facilities to perform the decapitations of the two corpse fragments in Ensemble 3, and additional corpse fragments from within the quadrangular enclosure, reinforces the argument that the eastern length was a preparatory area in prior to, or in addition to, being a display area.

3.4. Human Bones from the Mass Grave at Ribemont

3.4.1. Overview and Nature of the Mass Grave

Immediately outside the quadrangular enclosure is a special deposit (fig. 3.31), a 30–40cm thick layer of 13,288 human bones and 296 pieces (MNI) of armament, which has been dubbed the 'mass grave'.[261] It contained the partial remains of at least 114 warriors (MNI based on right calcanei), who Ricard describes as robust males in their prime, between 15 and 40, with 20% at least 30 years old.[262]

The structure of the mass grave has already been examined in chapter 2. In brief, Brunaux reconstructs the mass grave as a large wooden box into which the corpses of enemies and their armament were thrown.[263] Fercoq du Leslay instead characterizes the mass grave as an unstructured, residual collection of corpse fragments and armament deposited on the third century ground surface.[264]

After examination of the plans and photographs of the mass grave (fig. 3.31), I would largely concur with Fercoq du Leslay, but propose some adjustments: What is currently defined as the northern half of the mass grave (A–I 15–10) seems to this author to be two piles of material on the ground, each approximately 3m in diameter, centered on C11 and D14. What is defined as the southern half (A–C 10–5) seems to be part of the band of material 2–3m wide lining the entire eastern exterior edge of the quadrangular enclosure (continuing north of the mass grave), which wraps around its southern exterior edge as well (see section 2.5).

[261] Counts from Ricard 2014, 8 and Petit 2002, 21, respectively.
[262] Brunaux et al. 1998, 10–1; Ricard and Brunaux 2007; Ricard 2014, 199.
[263] Brunaux et al. 1999a, 199–202; 1999b; 2017.
[264] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 191; G. Fercoq du Leslay 2018, pers. comm., 1 June.

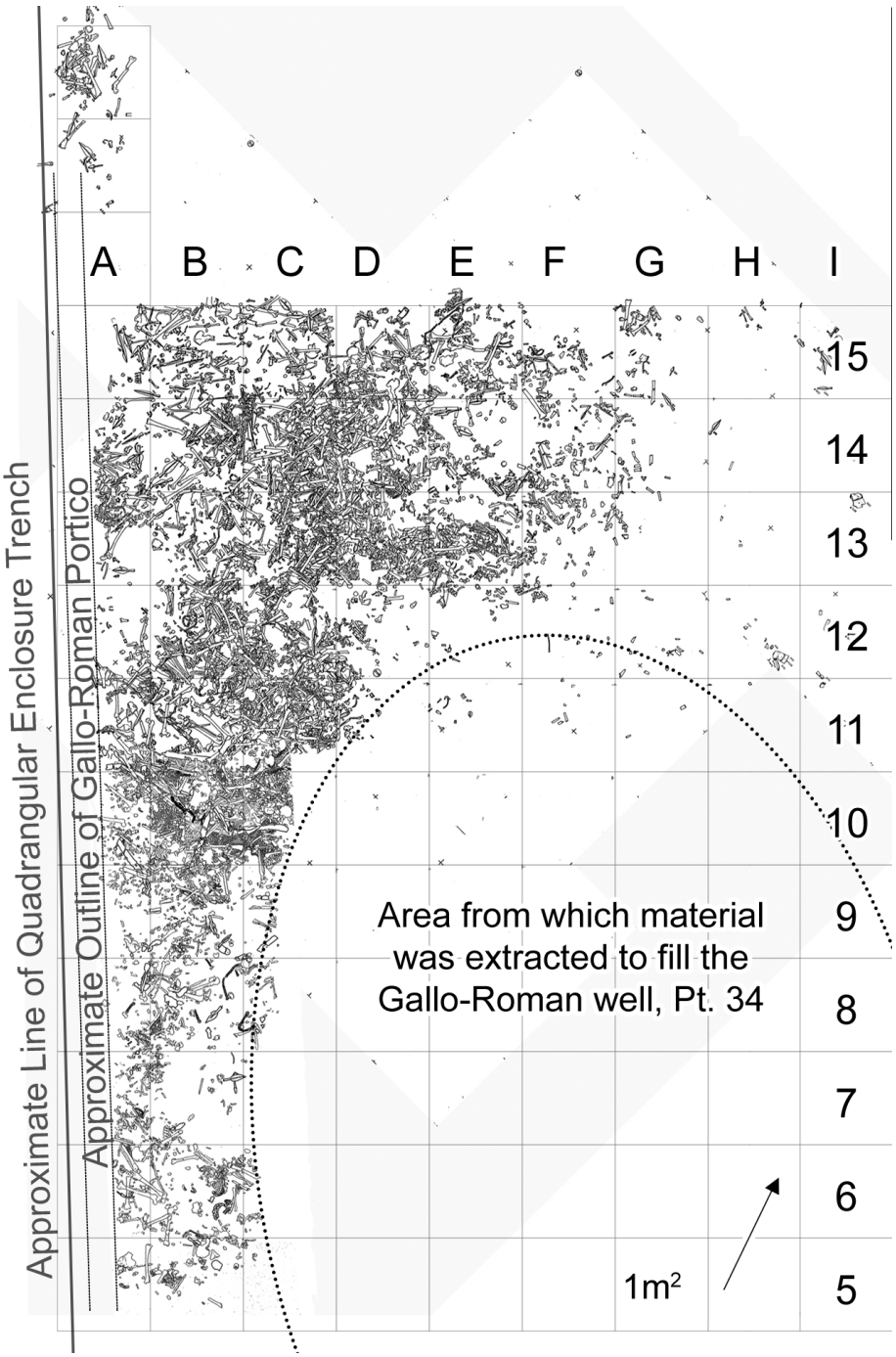

Figure 3.31. Plan of the mass grave (adapted from Ricard 2014, 49, fig. 28)

Ricard believes that the warriors in the mass grave are enemy dead, decapitated on the battlefield, collected, and then deposited *en masse* with their weapons in the rectangular box Brunaux describes, then left to decay with no further ritual treatment. Ricard describes the deposit as consisting mainly of headless skeletons, and large parts

of skeletons (e.g. torso fragments) extensively intermixed with one another and with armament in various positions. Ricard interprets the intermixture and various positions as indicating settling in the deposit as the bodies decayed and compacted together.

Ricard views the mass grave as distinct from the quadrangular enclosure, commenting that the suggestion of the mass grave as a source of bone material for the quadrangular enclosure's ossuaries is attractive, but that there was no real complementarity between the two assemblages in the long bones (i.e. that the mass grave does not display a significant shortage of lower limbs that would complement their dominance in the quadrangular enclosure). He allows that the mass grave could have been a place for collecting isolated long bones or more complete limbs, but indicates that he finds it difficult to imagine limbs collected outside of the quadrangular enclosure only to be brought in later, what he terms 'an uncommon crossing of the sacred *temenos* boundary'.[265]

The implication of accepting Ricard's scenario is to set the treatment of the material in the mass grave apart – distinct from the standard Gallic ritual treatment of human corpses consisting of: a period of exposure to decay, frequently followed by manipulation of the remains, then final deposition. Ricard's interpretation includes the period of exposure in the display he proposes, but does not imagine a subsequent manipulation of the human remains or their redeposition. In his view, corpses were brought from their primary context, the battlefield, deposited in their secondary context, the mass grave, and then left undisturbed, abandoned. Further, in his assessment, Ricard views the mass grave as an independent deposit distinct from and

[265] Ricard 2014, 200 & 211–12.

not in direct relationship with the quadrangular enclosure, with the exception of their proximity.

Fercoq du Leslay has proposed that the corpse fragments and armament that compose the mass grave were material not used in the bone frames, rejected from the interior of quadrangular enclosure. In conversation, he indicated that the material accumulated over the course of approximately twenty-five years, originating from multiple military clashes rather than a single battle, as Brunaux proposed. In his 2017 publication, Fercoq du Leslay more conservatively described 'one or more' military clashes.[266]

I propose that the mass grave was a central collection point for human remains and armament, which supplied material to preparatory areas both outside the quadrangular enclosure (beside the mass grave and along the southern length of the enclosure, zones 3 and 5) and within (in particular, the eastern interior length of the quadrangular enclosure). Most of the material went into the bone frames, but some was cremated in their ritual pits.

Additionally, it seems possible that the corpses and corpse fragments that became the ensembles along the eastern interior of the quadrangular enclosure originated in the mass grave. Their sourcing from the mass grave could explain the evidence of decapitation found within the quadrangular enclosure in both the ensembles and other preparatory areas, but not the ossuaries. That is, all of the corpse fragments in the mass grave came from decapitated corpses. A few of the corpse fragments brought into the quadrangular enclosure to be used in the bone frames carried cervical vertebrae, which were left on the ground when limbs were sampled

[266] G. Fercoq du Leslay 2018, pers. comm., 1 June.

for the bone frames. One potential stumbling point is the different method of decapitation (anterior approach) employed for three individuals in the ensembles. They must have been decapitated within the quadrangular enclosure. One is not certain whether the remaining cervical vertebrae in the preparatory areas indicate an anterior (decapitation within the quadrangular enclosure) or posterior (decapitation in the mass grave) approach.

The initial impression of the mass grave as a deposit of headless skeletons is caused by the far more frequent and extensive anatomical connections found in the mass grave in comparison to those in any other context at Ribemont. However, the skeleton fragments composing the mass grave vary considerably in extent, completeness, and preservation state. It is true that a few largely complete torsos, consisting of lengths of spine, ribs, and sometimes clavicles, scapulae, and coxae in connection were found in the mass grave. However, as a whole, skeletons are very incomplete and have numerous lacunae. Anatomical ensembles in the upper part of the deposit display greater dislocation of anatomical associations, reflecting exposure to the elements. Further, anatomical ensembles from multiple levels display the same evidence of exposure, suggesting deposits accumulating in waves, i.e., new deposits placed over the remnants of earlier deposits, which were either unused or were the remainder after selective sampling of material from the mass grave for the quadrangular enclosure's bone frames.[267]

While there does not seem to have been complementarity between the quadrangular enclosure and mass grave in the overall distribution of bones, Duday indicated that the upper layers of the mass grave at excavation displayed a pronounced

[267] G. Fercoq du Leslay 2018, pers. comm., 1 June; Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 109–10 and 192–3.

shortage of long bones of the lower limbs. The large bones of the lower limbs, femora and tibiae, in the mass grave displayed the greatest shortage. Those are bones found most frequently within the enclosure.[268] This perceived shortage in the long bones of the lower limbs supports the argument that the mass grave supplied the bone frames.

Differences in the distribution of bones in the mass grave from the ossuaries within the quadrangular enclosure are primarily due to the preservation of anatomical connections in the mass grave, and pursuant greater rate of survival of small bones, particularly the hands and feet. Bones of the hands and feet in the mass grave have a high survival rate (fig. 3.32) in comparison to their minimal representation in the quadrangular enclosure's ossuaries. Most of the small bones are very poorly represented, but the largest bones of the hands and feet survive better, particularly large bones of the foot. Metacarpal 3 bones have an average of 33% representation, calcanei 91%, and talus bones 88%. Smaller bones were found in rapidly diminishing percentages. Most were found as individual bones at the base of the deposit, having migrated downward as the bodies in the mass grave decayed. Ribs and vertebrae are underrepresented, consistent with their loss during decay, destroyed by the putrefaction of the organs.[269] However, the preferential selection of lower limbs also assuredly played a part as well.

[268] Duday 1998, 115.
[269] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 109–10; Mollerup et al. 2016, 825.

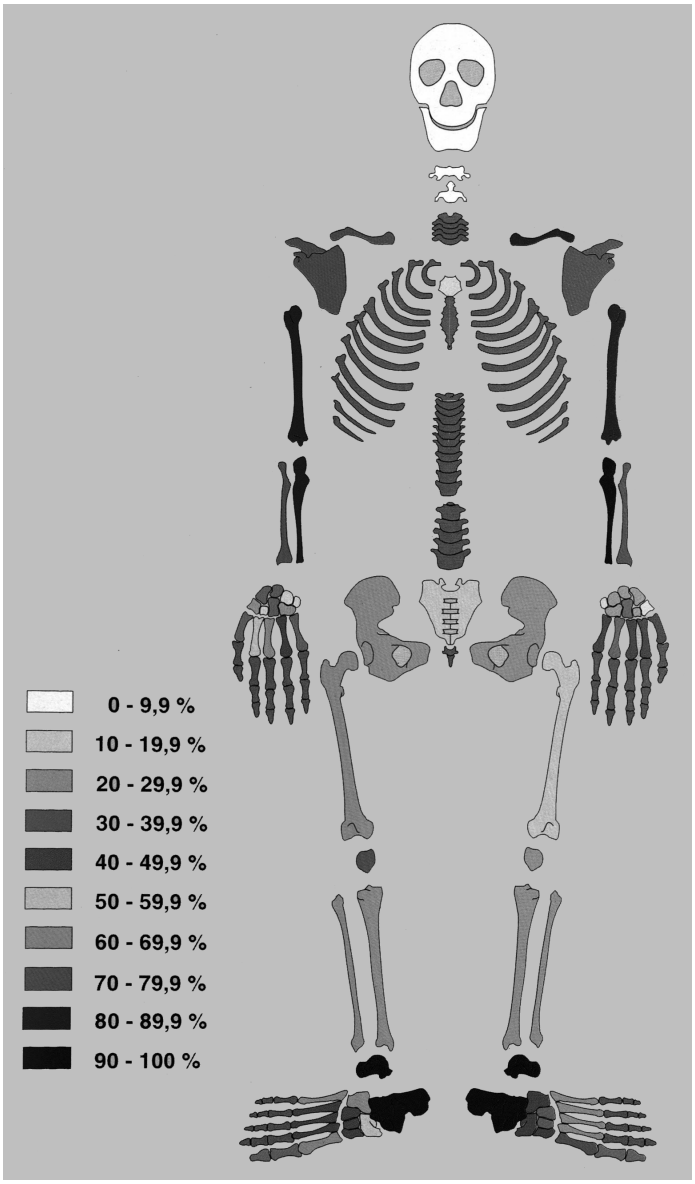

Figure 3.32. Diagram of the distribution of bones in the mass grave (Duday 1998, 117, fig. 111)

I interpret the mass grave as a collection point for human remains brought from the battlefield, material that was then prepared for use in the bone frames of the ossuaries within the quadrangular enclosure. I believe the numerous isolated limbs and corpse fragments in the mass grave indicate that collection from the battlefield was at least somewhat selective, i.e. that the mass grave did not originally collect 114 headless corpses (MNI value), but selected corpse fragments, especially limb fragments.

The bones from the mass grave display almost no evidence of marks that would correspond to animal gnawing, so the deposit must have been protected. However, with the revised interpretation of the mass grave as piles of material on the ground surface lacking any containing architectural structure, it is not clear how the deposit was protected. Brunaux proposes a temporary tarpaulin over the deposit during preparation of the wooden box for the mass grave, and then an animal skin roof to close the box in his most recent reconstruction of the mass grave.[271]

While the evidence is insufficient to reconstruct wooden boxes or other significant architectural structures beside or around the quadrangular enclosure, some sort of protection must have been employed to keep the human remains in the mass grave from terrestrial predators, because the bones display almost no evidence of animal gnawing. Fercoq du Leslay attributes the principal disarticulations and dispersions of the skeletons to human manipulation.[272] Here, Ribemont differs from Alken Enge where disarticulations and dispersions were primarily the consequence of decay and animal action during the period that the human remains were left on the battlefield. Perhaps a boundary fence surrounded the area. Given that the mass grave was a major display, it seems unlikely that the piles of human remains and armament would have been covered in a tarpaulin.

Fercoq du Leslay presents five partial skeletons (fig. 3.33) from the most highly concentrated area of the mass grave to argue that it should not be characterized as a collection of a hundred headless corpses thrown into a mixed deposit. He describes the mass grave as consisting mostly of disconnected skeleton fragments in various

[271] Brunaux 2017, 84–5.
[272] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 109.

positions, extensively intermixed, not a compaction of whole corpses that decayed together, shifting positions as their anatomical collections decayed, as Brunaux and Ricard envision.

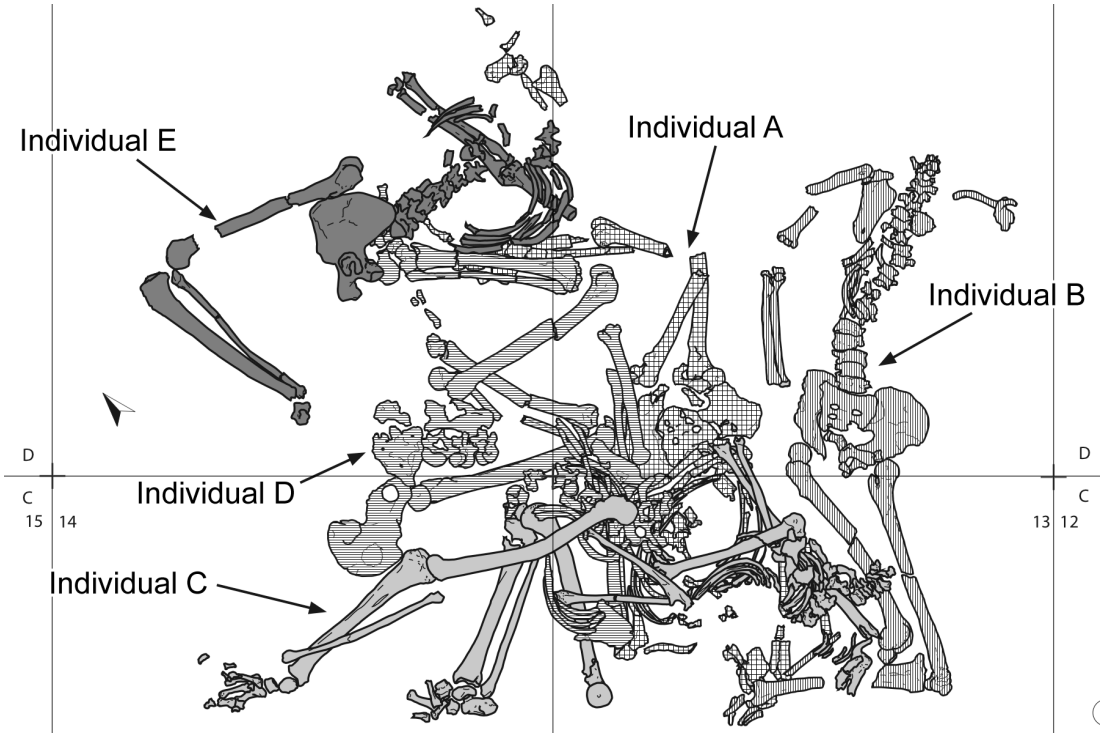

Figure 3.33. Partial skeletons from the mass grave (after Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 192, fig. 2)

Fercoq du Leslay indicates that close examination reveals several details contradicting Brunaux's and Ricard's characterization of the mass grave:[274]

1. Corpses and corpse fragments in varying states of completion were deposited in the mass grave. While many connections are present, no individual is truly complete. All are missing partial, entire, and sometimes multiple limbs and other large parts of the body in addition to their crania.
2. The unnatural flexion / forced positioning of many of the bones in connection indicates that decay was advanced when the body parts were deposited in the mass grave. For instance, Fercoq du Leslay indicates that

[274] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 109 and 191–6.

one of the most evident cases of unnatural positioning is an upper limb with its bones in connection, folded into a tight bundle (fig. 3.34). Such a compact position is incompatible with a fresh limb in the pile of corpses.

Figure 3.34. Folded upper limb in the mass grave (Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 109)

The variable preservation and completeness of the skeleton fragments support Fercoq du Leslay's interpretation of the mass grave as a residual collection, a series of deposits that accumulated over time, the uppermost deposits weathering and decaying most quickly. Regarding the variable preservation, Duday commented that radii and ulnae were quasi-absent in Ossuary 91, suggesting to him that most of the humeri in the ossuary were removed from their origin corpses after the loss of the ligaments of the elbow.[275] It follows from his characterization that ossuaries were built with limbs at different states of decomposition. Thus, corpse fragments were sampled at different times from the mass grave for use in the bone frames.

[275] Brunaux et al. 1998, 9.

3.4.2. Exchange of Material between the Mass Grave and Quadrangular Enclosure

Taking Fercoq du Leslay's proposal further, I would argue that there was an exchange of material in both directions between the interior of the quadrangular enclosure and preparatory areas outside. I believe that the mass grave was the largest and most significant of the preparatory areas, collecting raw material (corpse fragments) from the battlefield and serving as a processing area where limbs and other body fragments were dismembered, bundled, and otherwise prepared for use in the bone frames within the quadrangular enclosure. Material was brought inside the quadrangular enclosure as needed. The remaining material left outside composed the mass grave. I believe the mass grave included excess untouched raw material at the base of the deposit, given Fercoq du Leslay's characterization of the corpse fragments at the base of the grave as more complete than those above. This prepared material was left in the mass grave because it was not needed for the bone frames, and extra material rejected from the quadrangular enclosure was returned to the mass grave in a reverse of the exchange. Evidence supporting my proposal includes:

1. In the upper layers of the mass grave, there was a complementarity between the mass grave and the quadrangular enclosure in the distribution of bones and limb fragments: The long bones of the lower limbs underrepresented in the upper layers of the mass grave were found in large numbers in the ossuaries, and upper limbs were well-represented in the mass grave.[277] Together these indicate a sampling of limb fragments from the uppermost material in the mass grave.

[277] Brunaux et al. 1998 (Triennal Report 2b), 9; Duday 1998, 115.

2. The more complete skeletons more numerous at the base of the deposit, may be extra unused material from a massive influx that was covered by later deposits.
3. The folded or forced positions of many of the limb fragments and the anatomical connections preserved in the mass grave mirror those of the ensembles inside the quadrangular enclosure, and indicate that the limbs were reduced to bones and ligamentary connections at the time. This material must have been prepared in the mass grave to be brought inside the quadrangular enclosure, because any folded/bundled material rejected from the quadrangular enclosure, would have lost its folding/bundling and probably anatomical connections as well when it was deposited (thrown into) the pile that composed the mass grave.

The only evident difficulty with the mass grave supplying material to the quadrangular enclosure is that no horse bones were found in the mass grave. Horse bones have been found with the human bones in all the ossuaries from the quadrangular enclosure and in the circular enclosure. To rectify the problem of their absence from the mass grave, a separate assemblage of horse remains that supplied the quadrangular enclosure in concert with the mass grave would be required onsite. Such an assemblage has not yet been found, but no evidence excludes it and there is a large area north of the mass grave that has not been excavated.

3.4.3. Evidence of Decapitation Practice within the Mass Grave

Given that no crania and only two mandible fragments have been found in the mass grave, and 77 of the cervical vertebrae (21.7%) and 19 of the clavicles (20.8%) from the assemblage bear blade marks and other traces connected with severing the

head, we may confidently identify the warriors from the mass grave as vanquished enemies.[278] Even more striking, the site has only provided two atlas (C1) vertebrae. It is important to note that, the mass grave is the only assemblage that displays evidence of systematic and widespread decapitation. Among the total of more than three hundred warriors represented within the quadrangular enclosure, the only evidence that decapitation was practiced are marks on approximately twenty cervical vertebrae from the Ensembles and preparatory areas on the quadrangular enclosure's eastern interior.[279]

Bone distribution across the site is heavily skewed toward long and large bones, and only 386 cervical vertebrae were found in total, 10% of what is expected.[280] 355 of these (92%) come from the mass grave, creating an even greater deficit outside the mass grave. In the mass grave, the deficit is around half, 51.9% of what is expected if we exempt the C1 vertebrae, 44.5% if we expect them. The remaining 31 cervical vertebrae are 1% of those expected outside of the mass grave. Initially, this sitewide extreme shortage seems to indicate decapitation was widespread but it must be remembered that *all* vertebrae, C1–L5, and ribs are in extreme shortage, suggesting that much of the loss was due to decay of the bodies (most affecting vertebrae and ribs), prolonged exposure, and manipulation of human remains.

The differential selection of corpse fragments must also have played a major role, as only limbs (and lower limbs preferentially) were sought for the bone frames of the ossuaries within the quadrangular enclosure. Even with the greater balance between the parts of the body in the mass grave, limbs (particularly lower limbs) were

[278] Lejars 1998; Ricard 2014, 203; Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 110.
[279] Data from Ricard and Gandia 2012 and Ricard 2014, 89–98, 198.
[280] Ricard 2014, 182–3.

more frequent than torsos. In the case of the circular enclosure, preservation conditions over a long exposure interval entirely determined the distribution of bones remaining to be interred.

The sitewide virtual absence of crania and vertebrae does not indicate that Ribemont provides five hundred headless skeletons. A more accurate description is that the circular enclosure provides the long bones of thirty individuals; the quadrangular enclosure, the limbs of more than three hundred individuals and a few scattered torsos from the Ensembles; and the mass grave, corpse fragments from over a hundred individuals (and these primarily lower limbs with several large torso fragments).

The data from the counts of vertebrae, marked vertebrae, and number of marks on vertebrae (fig. 3.35) is entirely consistent with a regular decapitation practice and good preservation of the upper torso in the mass grave. (The representations of scapulae, clavicles, and upper long bones, and frequently-observed rib cages and spine lengths in the mass grave are consistent with the proposal of good preservation of upper torsos.) Firstly, the total counts of C1–C5 are consistent with severing the head and losing nearly all of the C1 vertebrae, some of the C2 vertebrae, and retaining most of the C3–C5 vertebrae. The significance of the slight reduction of total count for the C5 vertebrae is unclear. The sharp increase in C6 and C7 suggests these remained with the torso after decapitation, and thus survived better. The number of vertebrae bearing marks and the number of marks form bell-curves, consistent with decapitation between the C2–C5 vertebrae, most frequently between the C3 and C4 vertebrae.

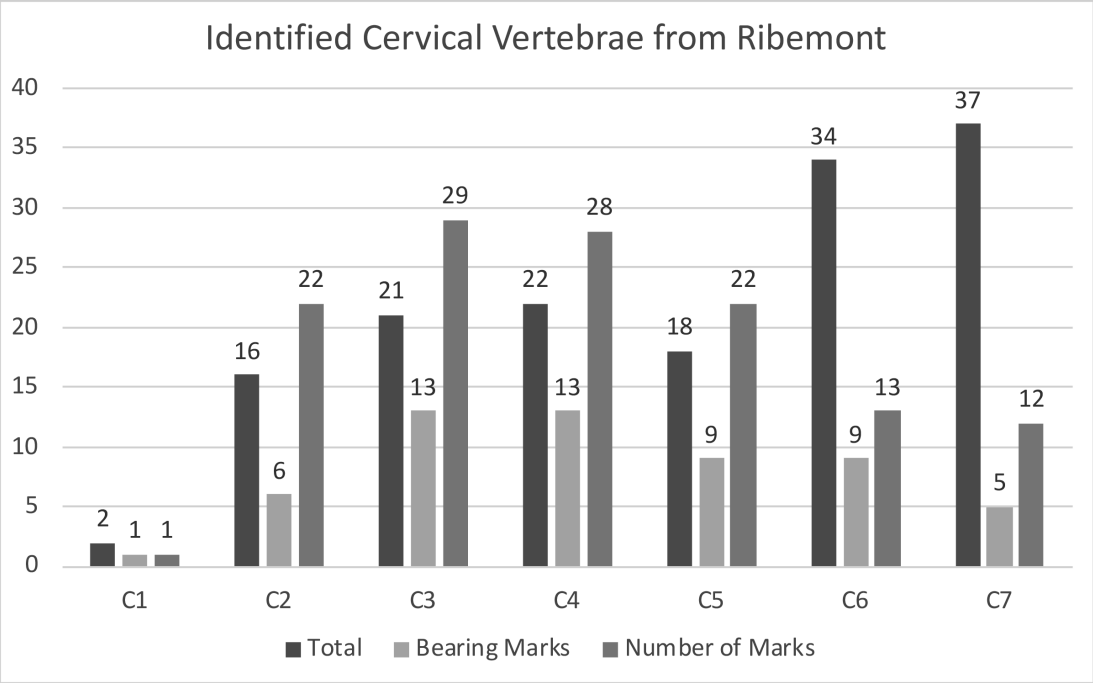

Figure 3.35. Data points for identified cervical vertebrae

Brunaux believes that the decapitations of the corpses at Ribemont were performed on the battlefield, following the Gallic practice of taking heads in battle described in literature. This would explain the extreme rarity of crania, mandibles, and cervical vertebrae on the site.[281] In a sample of fifteen spine lengths, two were severed at the C2, three at C3, seven at C4, two at C5, none at C6, and one at C7. For vertebrae with marks certainly attesting to separation of the head, there was one atlas (C1), five axes (C2), one C3, one C4, and one C7. Seven of this total of nine vertebrae come from the mass grave. Ricard indicates that the preferred method of decapitation was a posterior approach at the C1, C2, and C7 vertebrae. An anterior approach was also used at the C3–C5 vertebrae, which required the neck to rest on a block or table in extension in order to facilitate severing the viscera and muscles of the neck prior to cutting off the vertebral bodies.[282] As discussed in section 3.3.4, vertebrae attesting to

[281] Brunaux 2004; 2017; Ricard 2014, 68.
[282] Ricard 2014, 183.

an anterior approach come only from within the quadrangular enclosure and were found in the Ensembles and preparatory areas.

3.4.4. The Mass Grave at Ribemont vs. the Mass Grave at Moeuvres

The mass grave at Ribemont directly parallels the deposit at Moeuvres, which is 35m long, 2m wide, and between 0.75 and 1m deep, and contained an estimated two hundred headless skeletons.[284] Salomon found the absence of skulls at Moeuvres quite striking, given the survival of most of the small bones, a notable feature shared by the mass grave at Ribemont, and one that distinguishes it from the circular and quadrangular enclosures. Salomon also noted that the skeletons at Moeuvres were entangled in various positions, indicating that all of the material was deposited at the same time, or multiple deposits were made in relatively quick succession. The human bones and armament are similarly mixed in the mass grave at Ribemont, and Fercoq du Leslay describes them as having accumulated over the course of a few decades.[285]

Salomon sent two cervical vertebrae for further analysis, which did not find 'the slightest trace of human action (blows, cutting with knife, etc.)', leading him to conclude that the mass grave at Moeuvres could not be a ritual deposit. However, one should note that of the 13,288 bones from the mass grave at Ribemont, only 1.38% (184 bones) bear marks at all, and only 77 of its total of 355 cervical vertebrae bear marks. Thus, it is not surprising that a cursory excavation and analysis of two vertebrae failed to identify evidence of decapitation.[286] Unfortunately, the mass grave at Moeuvres was unsystematically excavated in the early twentieth century, and only one brief publication summarizes the deposit and its finds, limiting further comparison.

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[284] Salomon 1913, 319–22.
[285] G. Fercoq du Leslay 2018, pers. comm., 1 June.
[286] Data from Ricard 2014, 8, 202–4.

Both mass graves may be described as ritual dedications of enemy corpses to the gods, and may also have served as displays of the victors' prowess and expressions of dominance. We do not know whether the deposit at Moeuvres was associated with a sanctuary or other installations, constructed and attended by a local population like Ribemont. The situation at Ribemont itself is more complicated as well. While one believes that the quadrangular enclosure hosted the primary ritual activity of the period, the dedication of enemy corpses to the gods, one would not characterize the mass grave as simply a rubbish deposit. After the ritual processing within the quadrangular enclosure concluded, the mass grave became something else.

The massive collection of decaying human remains and the armament arranged with them became a monument of its own, a trophy commemorating the victories of the local community during a period of high conflict. As visitors approached the sanctuary, the display of human remains and armament in the mass grave and lining the inner edge of the quadrangular enclosure trench created an impressive monument to the prowess of the Ambiani in battle. The La Tène installations served as a territorial marker for the Ambiani in the same way the sanctuary at Gournay served the Bellovaci.

3.5. Comparative Material from Other Northern Gallic Sites

3.5.1. Introduction

The evidence for human sacrifice and/or ritual treatment of human remains in northern Gaul is scattered and not extensive. To this author's knowledge, no other sites provide evidence of practices comparable in size, scope, and complexity to what has been observed at Ribemont. The comparative evidence helping to explain the unparalleled ritual treatments at Ribemont is a piecemeal collection of individual

practices and treatment of human remains on sanctuary and sacred sites. This section will present the comparative evidence already cited in the chapter in brief on a site-by-site basis. As noted in the introduction of this study, Ribemont has no parallel, and this is especially so for the human remains. However, the human remains from other sites illustrate the existing repertoire of ritual practices that served as conscious or unconscious models for the rituals practiced at Ribemont.

3.5.2. Human Sacrifice at Acy-Romance

The settlement of Acy-Romance has provided a large collection of human bones, primarily from the five necropoleis surrounding the settlement. However, the most unusual find is a small group of nineteen seated burials, found just to the east of Temple IV, and north of the central public space (figure 3.36).[287] They are divided into three groups, three burials to the south of a fence bordering the area, another eleven clustered along an east-west line, and the final five slightly further north. They have been identified as the remains of human sacrifices because of the ritual treatment they received prior to interment, the fact that they were not accompanied by any grave goods, and because all of the individuals seem to have been young adult males.[288]

The placement of the burials in front of the main temple, and in relationship with the surrounding structures and pathways, sets them apart from the typical practice at Acy-Romance of burial in the surrounding necropoleis, or scattering of the bones in various parts of the settlement. The lack of grave goods, even *fibulae* for holding together garments, and the fact that the bodies were interred, rather than cremated, the standard practice at the time, argue against these burials being funerary treatments.[289]

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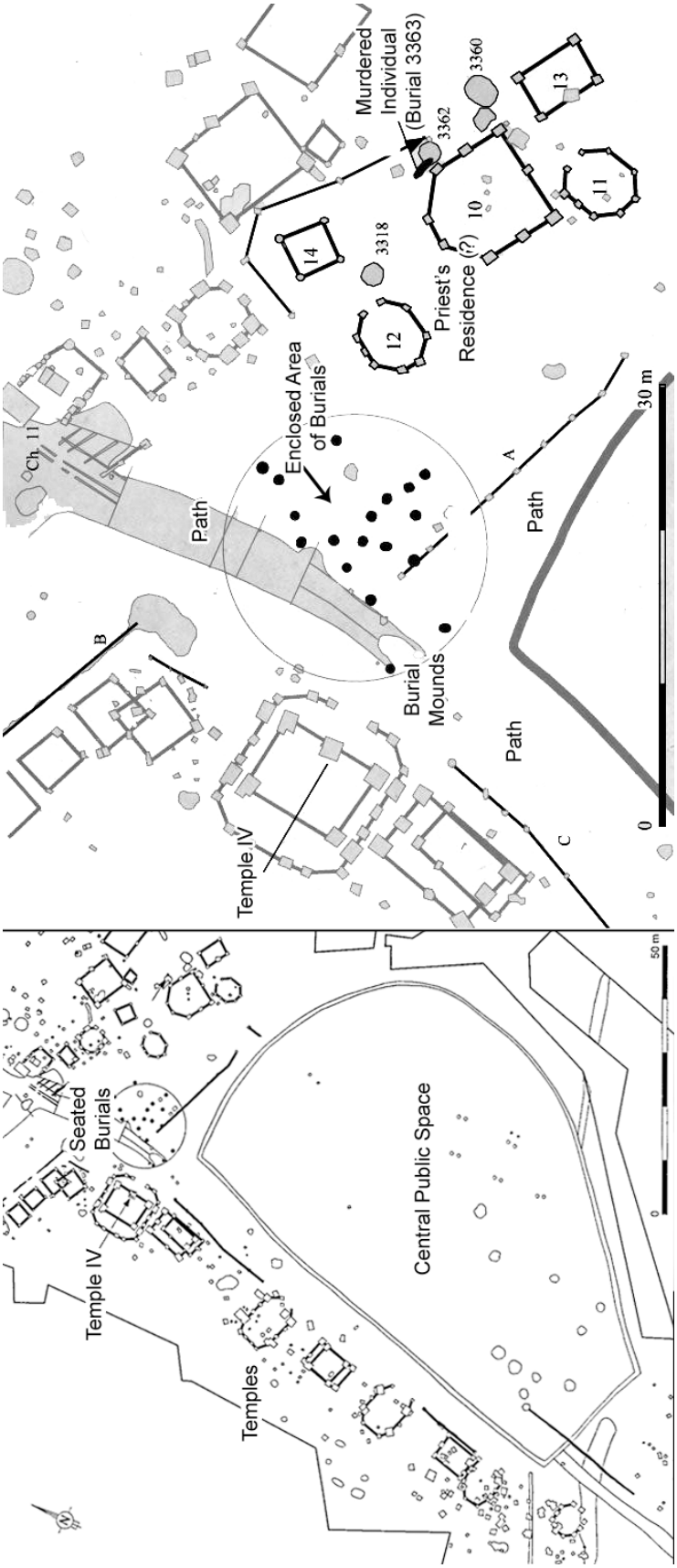
[287] Verger et al. 2000, 61–84; Lambot 2003, 46–8.
[288] Lambot and Méniel 2000, 84.
[289] As Lambot et al. (1996, 332–3) indicate, cremation was the rule in Gaul, rather than the exception, by the beginning of the second century B.C. when these sacrifices began.

Similar seated burials from the sanctuary of St. Juste-en-Chausse of individuals placed in round pits and left to decay, likewise without grave goods, closely parallel the human sacrifices of young men at Acy-Romance.[290] Most of the skulls of the individuals buried have been lost, but the maturity of the bones allows them to be identified as adults, and the partial skull in burial 3410 allows one to be identified as a young adult. Eight of the twenty coxae discovered were identified as male, while the others remain indeterminate.[291]

[290] Malrain et al. 2011.
[291] Lambot and Méniel 2000, 67



Fgure 3.36. Plan of the Sacred Area of Acy-Romance (after Lambot 1999, 388, fig. 3 and B. Lambot)

A multi-stage ritual treatment has been reconstructed through examination of the burials, the square shaft inside Temple IV with which they were associated, and an additional burial (sacrifice 3363) found nearby.[297] First, the young men were killed, possibly with a blow to the head while kneeling with their hands tied behind their backs (like sacrifice 3363). Then, their bodies were arranged in a seated position inside of a wooden box, and lowered to the base of the square shaft within Temple IV, and left to mummify. After some time, the box was raised, and, excavators believe, placed in another location where the bodies completed their desiccation. Finally, the remains were removed from the box, and buried in swiftly-excavated pits in the courtyard of the temple, distributed in relationship to surrounding features.[298]

Excavators have estimated that these sacrifices took place approximately every five years from the settlement's foundation c. 180 B.C. until the beginning of the first century B.C.[299] In the first century, human sacrifice ceased, in favor of animal sacrifice and banqueting, as the sheep hecatombs and a final murder-sacrifice discussed below demonstrate.[300] Excavators believe that these sacrifices took place in the winter months because the bodies mummified rather than decaying.[301] Given the ritual's conspicuously chthonic nature, sacrifice in winter, the season of death, would be logical. The sacrifice of young men in their prime would serve as a form of payment and prayer for fertility in the subsequent year(s).

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[297] Lambot 2006, 180; Lambot and Méniel 2000, 81–3.
[298] Verger et al. 2000, 77–80.
[299] Lambot 2003; 2006; Lambot and Méniel 2000, 66–90.
[300] Lambot and Méniel 2000, 102. See chapter 4 for the animal bones and below for the murder-sacrifice.
[301] The dating of the human sacrifices in winter is also based on consideration of the sheep hecatombs. Fetuses were found in the deposits, and the corresponding fertility cycle places their sacrifice in mid-winter. Given that the sheep hecatombs replaced human sacrifice, we may conjecture that human sacrifices had been performed at the same time of year (Lambot and Méniel 2000, 93–103).

The second stage of the ritual, the bodies' sojourn at the bottom of the square shaft in the center of Temple IV, has been reconstructed through examination of the nature of the bone loss among the skeletons, and correspondence of the compact space the skeletons in the burials occupy with the dimensions of the shaft within the temple (fig. 3.37).[302] Skeletons' compact positioning, loss of phalanges, the angles of certain limbs, and certain preserved bone connections revealed that the corpses must have decayed in a box prior to their burial in the courtyard. All of the bodies occupy a quadrangular space not exceeding 0.70m^2, suggesting a box of 0.75m^2, which corresponds to the shaft in the center of Temple IV, a square with 0.82m sides.[303]

[302] Lambot 2006, 179–184.
[303] Lambot 2006, 179. See Lambot (2006, 180) for illustrations of the temple and pit.

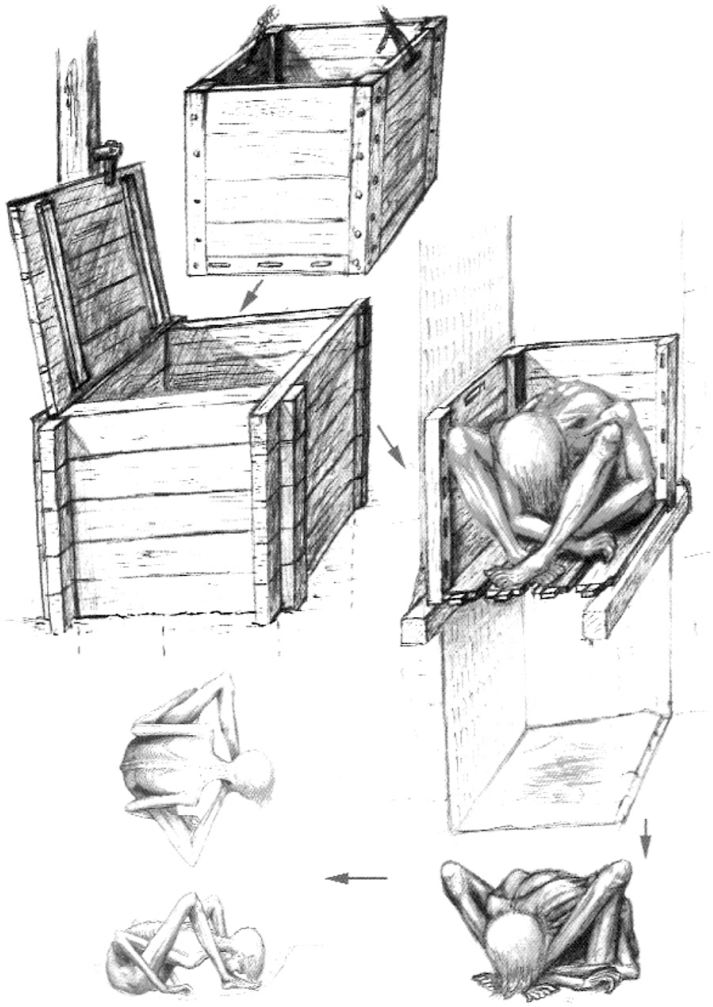

Figure 3.37. Illustration of the Box Burial and Process of Desiccation (Lambot 2006, 184)

The pits in which the remains of the sacrificed young men were deposited have irregular outlines and variable depths, indicating that they were dug swiftly and without a great deal of care (fig. 3.38).[304] While there is some structure in the burials' placement in the courtyard, the orientation of the bodies in the pits varies, and does not seem to follow a particular pattern.

[304] Lambot and Méniel 2000, 65.

Figure 3.38. Skeleton from one of the seated burials (Photograph B. Lambot)

The rather hasty excavation of the pits suggests that the bodies of the young men at Acy-Romance had lost some of their sanctity by this point in the ritual. Their burial in pits was disposal of ritual remains, rather than interment, logical given their status as human sacrifices. Likewise, the warriors from the circular enclosure at Ribemont seem to have lost most of their significance after the exposure period, because they were deposited in the trench with all of the other ritual remains: armament, ceramics, animal bones, and the remains of the circular enclosure's palisade wall and interior pavement. At Fesques, after the period of exposure of the corpses of human sacrifices, the bones remaining on the ground surface were collected and rejected with the cattle bones and small quantities of armament in enclosure trench St. 1, a common disposal of ritual remains.[305] At all three sites, ritual remains retained only limited significance after the completion of the rituals, and they were simply

[305] Mantel et al. 1997, 40.

collected and deposited in enclosure trenches, not subsequently displayed or further manipulated.

At Acy-Romance, the ritual sequence of the treatment of human sacrifices does not seem to have been a public affair. While the sacrifices may have been attended by priests and others, they did not occur in the central public space, the bodies' sojourn in the central part of Temple IV was entirely private, and their disposal by burial could not have been a large public event, given the limited space in the area where the burials were made. In the case of Acy-Romance, then, exhibition took a different form: the location of the burials was probably delimited, and some burials may have been topped with mounds. This 'exhibition' was nowhere near the prominence of the exhibition of animal sacrificial remains displayed in Acy-Romance's central public space. The scale of the human sacrifices was also modest, one young man every five years in comparison with hundreds of cattle and horses sacrificed within the central public space over its history.

Another burial (sacrifice 3363) (figs. 3.39 & 3.40) was discovered along the outside edge of Building 10, part of a group of small buildings interpreted as a housing unit immediately northeast of the seated burials.[306] Two of the buildings in the group, Buildings 11 and 12, have plans and dimensions similar to Building 5, the shrine at the far south of the row of temples, and commonalities with the temples, suggesting that they too had a religious function.[307] Given the possible religious associations of the buildings, proximity to the row of temples, and burial of a sacrificial victim outside Building 10, we might conjecture that the group of buildings was the residence of a

[306] Lambot and Méniel 2000, 88.
[307] Lambot and Méniel 2000, 39–41, 89.

priest. We may be certain, at least, that the burial outside Building 10 is related to the seated burials by their proximity and the two sacred buildings to its east and west (fig. 3.37).

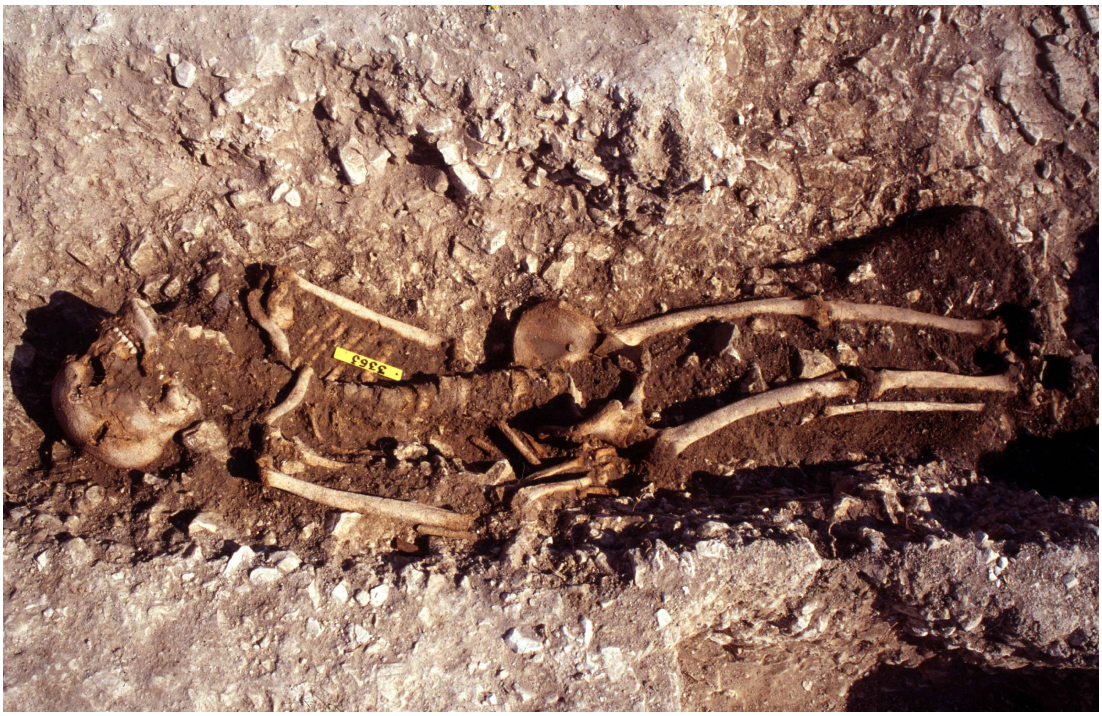

Figure 3.39. The murdered individual from the temple district of Acy-Romance (Lambot et al. 2017)

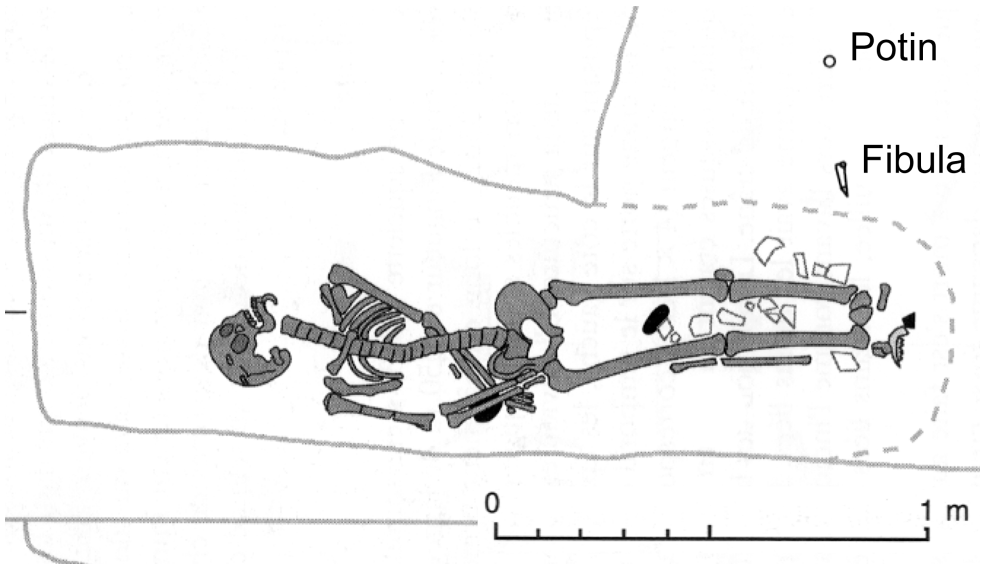

Figure 3.40. Drawing of the murdered individual from the temple district of Acy-Romance (after Lambot and Méniel 2000, 90, fig. 53)

The disposition of the body in burial 3363 is very different from the seated burials of the sacrificed young men. The young man in this burial was thrown on his side into a rapidly excavated and filled grave.[308] His skull bears a rectangular wound precisely matching the size and shape of an ax found in a grave (ARNM I6) in the nearby cemetery of La Noue Mauroy (fig. 3.41). The grave is believed to belong to a priest, because it contains a characteristic ensemble of weapons, a small bucket, and an ax or cleaver, which have been identified as the accoutrements of priests.[309] The position of the victim's arms indicates that his hands were tied behind his back, and, based on the angle of the blow, excavators determined that he was kneeling when he was killed. The victim has been identified as a male under thirty, matching the gender and age of the seated burials. Thus, his murder may be linked to the ritual sacrifices that produced the seated burials, which had ceased by this time.[310]

Figure 3.41. Skull of the murdered individual showing the ax mark, and illustration of the precise relationship between the ax from the priest's grave and hole in the skull (Lambot et al. 2017)

[308] Lambot and Méniel 2000, 86. The trench's irregular sides and the mixture of the excavated soil with soil from the adjacent silo in the grave's fill indicate a rapid excavation and backfill.
[309] Lambot and Méniel 2000, 111–2. Brunaux and Méniel (1997, 234) indicate priests' graves may be identified by the presence of a bucket, large iron knife, or basin, and cite a tomb in Tartigny containing all three.
[310] Verger et al. 2000, 89.

It is believed that this murder may represent a final manifestation of the practice of human sacrifice at Acy-Romance.[311] However, the priest was not able to follow the full course of the ritual, because the shaft in the center of Temple IV had already been filled, indicating that human sacrifices were no longer practiced by the community at the time.[312] Consequently, the sacrifice of the young man would have been a prohibited activity, requiring concealment through hasty burial just outside of the priest's residence.

The archaeological context of the burial has provided a *potin* coin and Nauheim *fibula*, which allow it to be dated after 110 B.C., most likely the beginning of the first century B.C. Thus, the murder and burial were contemporary with or shortly before the sheep hecatombs, the animal sacrifices that replaced the sacrifice of young men.[313] As is discussed in chapter 4, the large scale of the sheep sacrifices, and slaughter of pregnant ewes, suggest a certain desperation on the part of the community, which was beginning to experience the consequences of their exhaustion of the land.[314] It seems logical, then, that a priest, charged with communing with the supernatural, would feel compelled to use any means necessary to secure fertility of the land. A final human sacrifice, despite the prohibition (or at least cessation) of the tradition by that time seems likely to have been a secret plea for a grant of fertility to the chthonic deities, in the model of the previous sacrificial tradition.

The ritual sequence at Acy-Romance was sacrifice; placement of the body in a box, which was lowered to the base of the shaft in Temple IV; a period of decay;

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[311] Verger et al. 2000, 89–92.
[312] Verger et al. 53–6.
[313] The potin is a crowned individual with torque and lance, of LT 8124 type, and the Nauheim fibula is bronze, of type Feugère 5a (Lambot and Méniel 2000, 86–9).
[314] Reduction in animal bones and other classes of remains indicate a reduction of the numbers of the settlement's inhabitants (Lambot and Méniel 2000).

raising the box and removal of corpse remains; burial of remains in pits clustered nearby.

3.5.3. Human Sacrifice at Fesques

A series of pits and postholes are located just outside of enclosure trench St. 1 at Fesques, spaced at varying intervals, some isolated, and some clustered around the various gaps in the enclosure trench providing access to the interior (fig. 3.42). Twenty-six of the pits have provided human bones, fifteen of which contain feet, positioned either flat or suspended, all facing into the heart of the sanctuary. From the distribution of pits in the excavated area, the excavators estimate more than one hundred individuals were exposed along the entire length of the enclosure trench, although only a small percentage has been excavated. Behind the pits are postholes, spikes, and poles aligned to support fences, indicating the various ways bodies were suspended above the pits. All of the individuals are adults, except one adolescent. The length and slenderness of some of the bones suggest that women may have been included.[315] The outer enclosure trench (St. 1) also provided 220 human bones.

The human bones from the peripheral pits and St. 1 are sacrificial remains, left over after the corpses exposed outside of the sanctuary enclosures had fully decayed. Unusually, the corpses were suspended upright with their feet placed in the pits to collect the juices and other elements of decay. At the conclusion of the ritual, the bones remaining on the ground were deposited in enclosure trench St. 1.[316] These sacrifices took place over the course of a few decades from the LTC2–LTD1 periods (late third through early second century B.C.).

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[315] Mantel et al. 1997, 39.
[316] Mantel et al. 1997, 40.

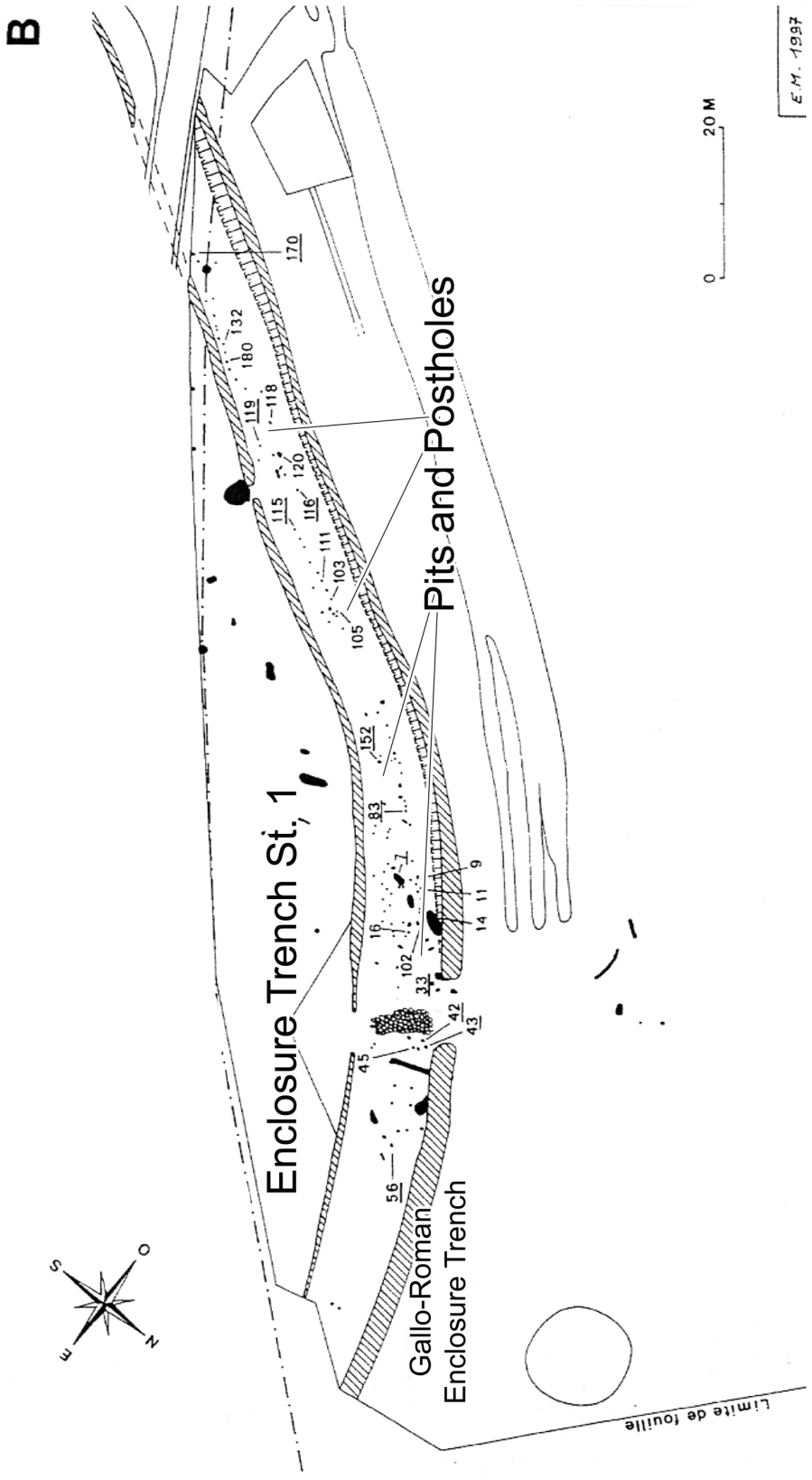

Figure 3.42. Fesques Sector A28, Excavation Zone B (after Mantel et al. 1997, 37, fig. 27)

The peripheral pits were most closely associated with outer enclosure trench St. 1 at the base of the ridge upon which the sanctuary sits, which encloses an area of 10 ha. This area seems to have been a liminal space between profane and sacred, and is similar to the open areas around other sanctuaries, like Závist, Gournay, and Mont Beuvray, and to the public spaces of *oppida* like Titelberg.[318]

The individuals exposed outside of the sanctuary were most assuredly sacrifices, given the fact that they were suspended upright after death, and abandoned to decay until a final cleaning of the *temenos* grounds. The pits that collected the juices of decay provide the ritual chthonic overtones.[321] But the sacrifices' status before death remains uncertain. Were they criminals sacrificed as punishment, or specially selected victims like the young men sacrificed at Acy-Romance? A funerary treatment would not have denigrated the dead through such a display, and the remains of corpses exposed in funerary rituals were typically cremated then interred in ceramic vessels, not discarded in enclosure trenches.[322]

We may be assured the exposure of these individuals was not a sky burial or funerary exposure treatment, as the bodies were not protected from terrestrial animals, and the bones were not collected for interment after the period of exposure. The bones that remained aboveground were simply swept into the enclosure trench beside the cattle bones, other remains of sacrificial practice. Further, men, women, and adolescents were all sacrificed at Fesques, so the ritual was not a special treatment reserved for warriors. In this diversity of sacrifices, Fesques also departs from the typical limitation of human and animal sacrifices to certain genders or ages, like the

[318] Brunaux et al. 1985, 168.
[321] Mantel et al. 1997, 40 and 52.
[322] With the notable exception of the circular enclosure at Ribemont if we identify the warriors as comrades

young men sacrificed at Acy-Romance, although some gender and age variance has been suggested at Montmartin.

Yet the individuals exposed at Fesques were also not simply abandoned to decay on the ground surface, or thrown into a shared context like the warriors from the mass graves at Ribemont and Moeuvres. Their exposure involved preparation: Pits had to be dug, posts implanted, and fences built between them. Then the bodies were impaled or suspended on the display structures using rope. Such effort implies that, even if the individuals themselves were not important, the exposure ritual was, and must have served a distinct purpose. Displaying the bodies of criminals would serve as a deterrent against future offenses, but the ritual nature of the displays argues against capital punishment.

The attention given to collecting the juices of decay by placement of the individuals' feet in pits suggests that the chthonic aspects of the ritual were paramount. The display at Fesques may be related to the practice of displaying partially-decayed cattle remains in the enclosure trench at Gournay, allowing the sacrifices to finish their decay exposed to view and the elements. On the one hand, the cattle deposits at Gournay reflected the magnitude of ritual activity at the sanctuary. On the other, their chthonic overtones fit the martial nature of the warrior sanctuary, which most prominently collected the armament spoils from warriors defeated by the Bellovaci. At Fesques, exhibiting the magnitude of the sacrificial practice would certainly have been a factor, as the corpses were displayed in lines and clustered around entrances to the outer *temenos*. The nature of the sanctuary at Fesques, however, was very different from Gournay, its principal ritual practice being communal banqueting within its inner *temenos* and mass sacrifices of cattle and distribution of their meat beside its outer

temenos. The upright display of the corpses at Fesques also recalls the two headless warriors suspended upright within the quadrangular enclosure at Ribemont. At Ribemont, the warriors were either suspended as part of the display of the magnitude and spoils of the victory, or as a practical measure to facilitate their dismemberment. Given that at Fesques the bones that were not captured by the pits were swept into the enclosure trench, and not employed thereafter indicates a ritual exposure without subsequent manipulation of the remains.

We can expect that the decaying remains would have remained suspended briefly before separating at the pelvis and collapsing to the ground surface like the corpse of the warrior suspended upright in Ensemble 3 within the quadrangular enclosure at Ribemont. The decaying corpse fragments would have remained where they fell, subject to natural scattering and losses (more significant than that at Ribemont, because they were not protected within an enclosure), until the ground cleaning that took place just before the final filling of enclosure trench St. 1, sometime before the end of the LTD1 period.

The practice seems to have lasted for a few decades, and to have been of significant volume, an estimated one hundred victims, although the span of time during which these sacrifices were performed indicates a relatively low frequency for repetition of the ritual, only a few sacrifices per year. The periodicity of the sacrifices recalls the human sacrifices at Acy-Romance, but the variety of genders and ages prevents direct parallelism. Perhaps the sacrifices were to encourage fertility, which would be in accordance with the banqueting and slaughter and meat distribution that were the primary activities at the sanctuary.

It is notable that the individuals sacrificed at Fesques were kept outside of the *temenos*, in the peripheral outside of both the sanctuary (defined by trench St. 250), and the public space around it (defined by trench St. 1), possibly indicating outsider status. Their placement may indicate that they were excluded from public and religious life, suggesting again that they could have been criminals, or at least an out-group.

However, the skeletons face inward, their orientation challenging their interpretation as apotropaic figures. Instead, their inward gaze connects the pits to the two enclosures, at least visually, and may well connect the human sacrifices with the animal sacrifices within. Further, the peripheral pits were dug immediately outside the outer enclosure trench (St. 1), suggesting a relationship between the two. The pits are concentrated more densely around gaps in the enclosure trench, which provided entry into the outer *temenos* area.[323] Entries into sanctuaries and *oppida* were important places, and the focus of particular attention. For instance, the *oppidum* of Gournay was built around the existing sanctuary site in such a way that the sanctuary stood near its main entry, serving to protect it in a way.[324]

Later in Fesques' history, a new enclosure trench (St. 60) was excavated to replace St. 1. The new trench followed the same course, but expanded the area enclosed outward 6–10m in order to incorporate the sacrificial pits into the sphere of the public space and sanctuary.[325] It is uncertain whether this modification of the enclosure trench indicates a change in the perception of the individuals sacrificed, or simply that the meaning of the sacrifices was forgotten over time, only retaining a general sanctity. As has been discussed for Ribemont, precise memory of the nature

[323] Mantel et al. 1997, 46.
[324] Brunaux et al. 1985, 112.
[325] Mantel et al. 1997, 46.

and meaning of ritual practice, and the uses of sacred installations would not normally have survived more than a few generations – less than a century.

3.5.4. Ritual Treatment of Human Remains at Gournay-sur-Aronde

The sanctuary of Gournay-sur-Aronde has supplied a minor assemblage of 57 human bones from 12 individuals (MNI based on axis, C2, vertebrae). The small scale of the assemblage is particularly pronounced in comparison to the animal bones from the sanctuary, cattle bones alone numbering 1,620 bones from at least 52 heads of cattle. Cattle at Gournay were subjected to a similar exposure ritual followed by partial dismemberment and deposition at the head of the enclosure trench. Yet the count of human bones indicates that manipulation of human remains was a very small part of the sanctuary's ritual activity.

One would like to present the hypothesis that a small number of severed heads were dedicated at the sanctuary, as battlefield spoils, like the massive quantities of armament that made up most of the dedications at Gournay. They would have been emblematic of the defeated warriors in a manner like that of the swords in sheaths dedicated in the same context. Because of the extremely minor nature of the human remains, one would not interpret them as the remains of a regular ritual practice, but limited singular treatments of rare dedications, possibly even dedicated individually by different warriors.

Brunaux's interpretation is to identify the twelve individuals as human sacrifices, paralleling them with the similar assemblage of human remains from Montmartin. Their ritual treatment involved removal of the upper cervical vertebrae and basioccipital to open the skull, remove the brain, and possibly split the cranium along the coronal suture to create bone masks as at Montmartin. This ritual treatment

paralleled and was probably modeled after the treatment of cattle skulls, which was the majority practice. As will be discussed in chapter 4, one views the horse dedications, an equally minor practice, similarly. They too would have been rare singular dedications, the ritual treatment of which was modeled after the primary sacrifices of cattle.

Based on the distribution of bones, 89% cranial, upper cervical, and long bones, it seems that only certain parts of the bodies were brought into the heart of the sanctuary at Gournay for treatment and deposition: decapitated heads and some of the long bones remaining after corpses' exposure.[326] Poplin suggests that the bodies may have been exposed outside of the enclosure, in pits, or even partially cremated before they were brought within.[327] The basioccipitals and cervical vertebrae were clustered in a small area of the enclosure trench beside the sanctuary's entrance, indicating that decapitated heads were prepared for display there. Incisors found in the gateway suggest that some skulls were then mounted on the gate and lost from there.[328]

The fact that the cranial and cervical bones were found among the cattle bones was incidental, particularly given that they were all deposited in a cluster and not layered in successive deposits with the cattle bones like the armament. The deposit of pieces of skulls together indicates that the heads must have been retained for some time after dedication before they were disarticulated. During this time, they would have decayed considerably, making breaking away the basioccipitals and separation of the skull at the coronal suture with the hands easy.[329]

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[326] Figure calculated from Brunaux et al. 1985, 148, Table 1.
[327] Brunaux et al. 1985, 160.
[328] Brunaux et al. 1985, 158–9 and 169.
[329] Brunaux et al. 1985, 149 & 161.

Another possibility is that the flesh had been removed from the skulls prior to separation, as is seen at Montmartin, although we do not have marks on the bones to provide evidence of this practice, as there.[330] However, removal of the flesh and treatment of fresh skulls is inconsistent with the deposit of basioccipitals and cervical vertebrae in a single cluster. One does not see the ritual processing of individual skulls separately and retention of basioccipitals and vertebrae to be deposited together later. The ritual disarticulation of skulls must have been performed on a single occasion.

The cervical vertebrae bear various marks attesting to successful decapitation. For instance, a shearing blow sectioned the C3 vertebra in ensemble 2802. There are a number of other cuts to the vertebrae connected with decapitation, some indicating preparatory work, such as cutting through the viscera of the neck, others unsuccessful attempts to sever the head.[331] Marks seem to display a mixture of finer incisions and sharp blows.

One axis bone bears the marks of four to five blows from various angles, the most probable explanation for which is that a dead body was being cut up on a table or block.[332] Several blows must have been required to sever the head, as none of the individual strokes would have been enough to cut through the spine.[333] The excavators suggest that either the officiant wasn't strong enough, or didn't have the appropriate instrument. He was probably using a knife, rather than a sword or an ax.

These methods and difficulty encountered while severing the head directly correspond to the evidence from Ribemont. Marks found on cervical vertebrae from within the quadrangular enclosure indicate the use of multiple and various approaches

[330] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 238.
[331] Brunaux et al. 1985, 149–55.
[332] Brunaux et al. 1985.
[333] Brunaux et al. 1985, 154, fig. 109.

to sever the neck. For example, the cervical vertebrae of the two headless individuals from Ensemble 3 display the marks of initial failed attempts that were halted by the vertebrae.[334] For the headless skeleton in Ensemble 3, a posterior approach was attempted first, and, when that failed, two further anterior approaches were made. Multiple angles of approach, and certainly an anterior approach, suggest that at Ribemont, within the quadrangular enclosure and its preparatory areas, corpses were decapitated while lying on their backs on tables or blocks.

The assemblage from the head of the enclosure trench at Gournay contained 1 calvarium, 2 mandibles, 6 basioccipitals, 8 atlas (C1), 12 axis (C2), the remains of ritual preparation of severed heads for display. The final product, skulls and facial masks, are almost entirely absent, explained by their mounting above and around the entrance, rather than discard in the enclosure trench. The presence of basioccipitals and cervical vertebrae indicate that the parts of the neck that remained attached to the head were removed to access the occipital portion of the skull and allow the basioccipitals to be broken away. To separate the basioccipital bones, blows were consistently applied behind the jaw bone. Two lateral cuts were made through the condylar region (where the jaw meets the skull), and may have been intended to provide access to the intracranial cavity for removal of the brain.[335]

A bone mask (fig. 3.43), created by separating the front portion of the skull from the rear at its sutures, suggests that the basioccipital may have been removed in order to access the interior of the skull and facilitate separating skulls to create bone masks. These practices seem to indicate that the skulls or faces of these individuals

[334] Discussed with citations above in section 3.2.3.3.
[335] Brunaux et al. 1985, 149.

were being prepared for display. Based on the presence of human incisors in the gateway into the sanctuary, the excavators speculate that human skulls could have been displayed on pikes, mounted on the lintel beside *bucrania*, or embedded in the posts of the portal.[336] Separation of skulls into front and rear halves seems to rule out pikes, but mounting on the portal seems reasonable.

Figure 3.43. Bone mask from Gournay (Brunaux et al. 1985, 161)

The limbs that provided the long bones (5 humeri, 1 radius, 1 ulna, 7 femora, 4 tibae, and 1 fibula) must have been in an advanced state of decay as they were separated from the body without blows. After dismemberment, some of the limbs were stripped of their muscles, paralleling the treatment of the warriors from the circular enclosure at Ribemont.[337] Subsequently, the long bones were deposited along the enclosure trench where they weathered and corroded considerably.[338] The long and large bones were widely scattered along the enclosure trench, displaying some effort

[336] Brunaux et al. 1985, 155 and 169.
[337] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 238.
[338] Brunaux et al. 1985, 157–60.

in disposal, but they fell without order among the horse carcasses, and lacked any relationship with them.[339]

It is possible that the human bones from Gournay are those of high status individuals who were transformed into ancestors at their death through this special ritual treatment. Their placement on the portal would have indicated their role as overseers and protectors of the sanctuary and community.[340] The ritual gestures would then have been a respectful treatment of honored dead. However, while the bone mask is described as having masculine features, examination of the femora has revealed that some of the individuals may have been females.[341] The presence of women indicates that this treatment was not only afforded to warriors. Women ancestors may have been represented, but the possibility seems unlikely at Gournay, which was strongly associated with the warrior class by the extensive number and exclusivity of armament dedications.[342] The mixture of genders and practice of decapitation seem more likely to be a sacrificial ritual than a funerary one.

The ritual treatment to which the human remains were subjected at Gournay differs from that at Ribemont, Fesques, Acy-Romance, and other sites in that it simply samples elements of common and widespread practices in the treatment of human and animal remains. It does not have a distinct character of its own, like the use of human remains to build bone frames at Ribemont. The practices sampled include decapitation, exposure, dismemberment, and manipulation of decayed remains, all observed on numerous sanctuary and funerary sites. However, disarticulation of the skull and becoming a minor part of the display at the entrance of the sanctuary was the end of

[339] Brunaux et al. 1985, 158–9.
[340] Brunaux et al. 1985, 163; Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 206–7.
[341] Brunaux et al. 1985, 161.
[342] See chapter 5 for discussion.

the ritual treatment. It was not particularly dramatic or complex like the treatments of human remains observed at Ribemont, Fesques, and Acy-Romance. At Ribemont exposure of corpses was followed by dismemberment and construction of bone frames. At Fesques, sacrifices were displayed very publicly outside of the *temenos*. At Acy-Romance, human sacrifices experienced a complex ritual sequence of boxing, submersion underground, decay and mummification, and retrieval and final burial.

The reason for this lack of a ritual prescription at Gournay is most certainly that the treatment of human remains was very much a minority practice in comparison to the large-scale animal sacrifices and armament dedications and was not significant enough to warrant a distinct, dedicated treatment. In comparison to the twelve human corpses, who are themselves represented by minimal remains, a minimum of fifty-two cattle were sacrificed for Gournay's chthonic ritual, hundreds of pigs and sheep for banquets, and hundreds of pieces of armament dedicated, mutilated, then displayed.[343]

3.5.5. Ritual Treatment of Human Remains at Montmartin

The assemblage from the cult enclosure (Enclosure 56) at Montmartin shares many commonalities with the assemblage from Gournay, unsurprising, given the sites' proximity and shared ritual community. Montmartin's assemblage is equally minor, composed of only 38 human bones. As at Gournay, skull and vertebral bones dominate (68.4%), and nearly all of the others (10 of 12) are long bones.

The same ritual treatment of corpses practiced at Gournay seems to have been practiced at Montmartin. Severed heads were prepared by clearing the upper cervical vertebrae, scraping the flesh away from the skulls, and then fracturing the skulls to remove the brain. As at Gournay, some fracturing was partial, only removing the

[343] Brunaux et al. 1985, 125 & 165.

basioccipital. Some was more significant, separating the skull into front and rear halves, as seen in bone mask no. 6 (fig. 3.44).[344] Marks on mandibles suggest their removal by blows, and removal of the tongue after decapitation by cutting the throat on the underside and pulling the tongue through.[345] Notably, an axis bone from Montmartin bears two marks that are exact parallels with those seen on axis bones 2298 and 1129 from Gournay, which Poplin interprets as severing of the head between the C2 and C3 vertebrae.[346]

Figure 3.44. Bone mask (no. 6) from Montmartin (after Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 161, fig. 142)

Limb bones are few and highly weathered, limiting interpretation. Only one radius and tibia (nos. 37 and 40) provide interpretable marks. Extensive striations spread over the entire length of the shaft indicate a thorough removal of the flesh, including soft tissue, and not simply dismemberment.[347] Similar marks indicating the same ritual treatment have been observed on bones from Ribemont's circular enclosure, like humerus 011072, which bears traces compatible with scraping during

[344] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 203–4.
[345] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 167–71; 204–5.
[346] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 205. See Brunaux et al. 1985, 153–4.
[347] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 205–6.

removal of muscles.[348] Scraping and flesh removal were also observed on the skulls at Montmartin.[349]

3.5.6. The Relationship between Gournay and Montmartin

The assemblages from both Gournay and Montmartin are composed primarily of bones of the head and neck, putting focus on decapitation. However, they have a significant and heretofore-ignored difference in their distribution: Gournay provides 1 calvarium, 2 mandibles, 6 basioccipitals, 24 upper cervical vertebrae (8 atlas, 12 axis, and 4 C3 vertebrae), and 19 long bones.[350] Montmartin provides 14 calvarium fragments from 5 skulls, 7 mandibles, 1 axis (C2), and 9 long bones.[351] At Gournay then we have the remains of the ritual preparation of the decapitated heads, the basioccipitals and vertebrae, but only one of the bone masks. At Montmartin, the situation is reversed, with several calvarium fragments and mandibles, but no basioccipitals or vertebrae except the lone axis. The skulls at Gournay were presumably mounted above or on the portal and lost from there. Those at Montmartin were probably mounted on the enclosure wall as well, but were collected prior to the intentional destruction of the enclosure by fire, after which they were deposited in the wall's foundation trench.

Consequently, several of the display bones, lost at Gournay, were preserved at Montmartin. At Montmartin, skulls were found with armament on only one third of the length of the enclosure trench, indicating a careful dismantling and deposit of the display. The displays must have been concentrated on either side of the entrance prior

[348] Ricard 2014, 124–5.
[349] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 203–4.
[350] Brunaux et al. 1985, 181–4.
[351] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 162 & 172, Table XIII.

to the enclosure's decommissioning, given the high concentration of bones and armament in the trench in the area.[352]

Brunaux proposes to interpret the marks as ritual gestures possibly connected with human sacrifice, and indicates that it is difficult to see a funerary treatment in them.[353] His interpretation is reasonable, particularly given the focus of ritual treatment of human bones on decapitation and disassembly of the skull. Literature and evidence from sites in Gaul, notably Ribemont, attest to the practice of decapitating enemies.

3.5.7. Ritual Treatment of Enemy Corpses on the Battlefield at Alken Enge

Alken Enge, a very recently discovered late first century A.D. post-conflict site in Denmark, has thus far provided 2,335 human bones and bone fragments from at least 82 individuals (MNI based on left femora) and a small group of weapons originating from a major conflict.[354] After the battle, the corpses were left exposed on the battlefield for 6–12 months. When the victorious warriors returned to the site, they collected the heavily-decayed remains and subjected them to various ritual manipulations, including intentional damage and trauma infliction, dismemberment, and de-fleshing, prior to final deposition in a nearby lake. Most ritual treatments were drawn from this common repertoire, but some, like threading four coxae on a stick, were spontaneous.[355] As at Ribemont, the corpses were a group of warriors in their prime: all male, and 92% of the bones for which age determination was possible coming from adults 20–40 years old. Based upon the concentration of remains in the excavated areas, excavators have estimated the complete deposit contains over 380 individuals.

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[352] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 238.
[353] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 236–8.
[354] Mollerup et al. 2016, 819–20; Holst et al. 2018.
[355] Holst et al. 2018, 5920.

The material from Alken Enge has numerous parallels with the evidence from all three of Ribemont's La Tène contexts. The marks of animal gnawing on the bones from Alken Enge have already been summarized and compared with those on the bones from Ribemont's circular enclosure in section 3.2.2. The marks are the same, simply less frequent at Ribemont. In addition, some of the intentional damage and trauma infliction found at Alken Enge mirrors marks found on the bones from the circular enclosure at Ribemont, supporting one's identifications and interpretations of these marks, which are incongruent with funerary treatments. (See section 3.2.2.)

Like Ribemont, Alken Enge provides a battlefield assemblage, and the initial exposure period of the corpses on the battlefield at Alken Enge mirrors the initial exposure of human remains collected beside and within the quadrangular enclosure at Ribemont. In both cases, corpse fragments were collected, some were dismembered, and bones that retained only their ligamentary connections were bundled and deposited together. Figure 3.42 illustrates some examples of anatomical connections preserved in the Alken Enge assemblage: two cases of tibia-fibula-calcaneus connections, and tarsals found beside the distal part of a lower leg. These connections correspond with those found at Ribemont in the surviving layers of Ossuary 82's bone frame and the ensembles lining the eastern interior of the quadrangular enclosure.

In the case of Alken Enge, many anatomical ensembles were simply collected and deposited together. However, in cases like the coxae arranged on a stick or femur-tibia-fibula laid beside two stones, some individual bones and ensembles were further manipulated prior to deposit. Excavators note possible evidence of saponification of soft tissue after deposit in the lake, which Ricard observed at the center of the mass grave at Ribemont, another anaerobic context, this one created by the juices and

compaction of decaying corpses.[356] One believes that considerably more parallels in the physical treatments and their ritual significance at Alken Enge await discovery, and might even allow the mass grave and other deposits on the ground surface at Ribemont to be better understood.

3.6. Conclusion: Overall Interpretation of the Human Bones from the La Tène Installations at Ribemont

In this conclusion, one has employed the model Løvschal and Holst proposed for interpreting post-conflict sites like Ribemont in order to explain how the complex, extensive, and seemingly contradictory ritual treatments of human remains at Ribemont are not illogical or indecipherable, but the local warrior community's response to **a high-arousal situation, which elicited uncommon behavior. Nonetheless, even this behavior employed existing ritual practices as models**. The community had faced a legitimate fear of destruction by large forces of invading warriors. Remediation of this fear required a complex and extensive ritual treatment of the corpses of vanquished enemies in the quadrangular enclosure. If we identify the warriors from the circular enclosure as comrades, they were given a similarly complex and extensive funerary treatment. If we identify them as elite enemy warriors, they elicited a treatment similar to that of the warriors from the quadrangular enclosure, and differences between the two must have been connected to their status in some way.

For these ritual treatments, the community drew upon an existing repertoire of practices from the sacrificial, dedicatory, and funerary spheres. They combined the individual practices of exposure, display, dismemberment, de-fleshing, beating, and cremation into new ritual structures – both figuratively, and literally in the case of the

[356] Mollerup et al. 2016, 826; Ricard 2014, 211–12.

bone frames.[357] The spontaneous rituals that emerged (construction of the bone frames) appropriated the core elements of existing practices (exposure and dismemberment), and, in some cases, reinterpreted and redefined them (dismemberment of corpses in preparation for constructing the bone frames) to fulfill the community's needs (remediation of their high arousal by processing hundreds of battlefield dead).

With the permeability between the ritual spheres in antiquity, any and all practices, not just those from the martial sphere, could be sampled to respond to the occasion (victory in battle) and the material in question (human corpses and armament). In determining how to appropriately treat the massive collection of human remains and armament before them, the community consciously or unconsciously drew upon all three spheres of ritual activity: sacrificial, dedicatory, and funerary.

To deal with the enemy corpses, it would follow to look to human sacrifice for models. The enemy corpses' post-mortem treatment and manipulation follows the pattern of human sacrifices (exposure, disarticulation, and ritual violence) and of the treatment of human remains at Gournay and Montmartin (where human sacrifice is possible, but not certainly identified). However, because the enemy corpses were battlefield dead, they were not human sacrifices themselves. In his interpretation, Brunaux singles out the remains of enemy corpses found along the eastern interior (the ensembles) as prisoners of war who were sacrificed after the victory. Brunaux's interpretation is primarily based upon literary descriptions and is addressed in the appendix of this chapter (section 3.8).[358]

[357] Løvschal and Holst 2018, 32–3.
[358] Brunaux 2017, 86.

Instead, I believe that they were similar in status to armament: spoils of battle that needed to be dedicated to the gods. As with armament, the ritual treatment of corpses at least to some degree was a dedicatory act through which they were offered to the gods. Exposure to the elements, dismemberment, and manipulation of human remains parallel the mutilation and exposure of armament. Corpses and armament were dedicated in thanks for victory, particularly appropriate for the quadrangular enclosure, which was an existing sanctuary.

While Ribemont does not find a parallel in size, scope, and complexity, individual elements of its practices may be compared with other sites in northern Gaul:

Table 3.1. Comparison of human sacrificial practice and ritual treatment of human remains at various sites with ritual practice at Ribemont	
Other Sites	**Practices at Ribemont**
Death	
Individual killed for specific purpose	Warriors killed in battle
Perimortem offering of life to gods	Postmortem dedication of corpses through their destruction
Postmortem manipulation of body	
Fesques: corpses suspended upright with feet in pits, exposed until full disarticulation and skeletonization	Quadrangular Enclosure (QE): Exposure, dismemberment, use to construct bone frames; fracturing and cremation of additional bone material
Acy-Romance: sojourn of body in underground context and desiccation	Mass Grave (MG): Exposure and dismemberment: disarticulation due to decay before or after deposit in the mass grave, and evidence of dismemberment on fringes of mass grave (which one interprets as preparation for use within quadrangular enclosure)
Gournay and Montmartin: Exposure, dismemberment, de-fleshing, fracturing of bone	Circular Enclosure (CE): Dismemberment, de-fleshing, beating, exposure
Ritual remains deposited	
Gournay: skulls displayed above entrance, basioccipitals and cervical	QE: bone frames left as-is, cremated bones already in final

vertebrae deposited in enclosure trench beside entrance, long bones scattered along enclosure trench	context, ensembles abandoned on ground surface
Fesques: parts remaining aboveground deposited in enclosure trench, feet and some remains already buried in pits	MG: Remainder of unused material left in place
Acy-Romance: bodies raised and buried in temple vicinity	CE: long bones remaining after exposure deposited in enclosure trench with all other ritual remains

As much as one would like to parallel the marks on the human bones from Ribemont with those at Gournay and Montmartin (Enclosure 56), one must admit ultimately that the assemblages are fundamentally different and not comparable. The characteristics of the human bone assemblages from Gournay and Montmartin closely parallel one another: Both are very small assemblages (57 bones from 12 individuals at Gournay, and 38 bones from 7 individuals at Montmartin), dominated by cranial bones and cervical vertebrae (half of the assemblage at Gournay, 60% at Montmartin), and with evidence of intensive engagement with the heads (decapitation followed by removal of skin and muscle, tongues, and mandibles, skulls opened, faces separated from the rest of the skull at the coronal suture, and brains removed).

Marks on the long bones attest to dismemberment and stripping of muscle and soft tissue at Gournay and Montmartin. Given the clear focus on cranial elements, the treatment of the 19 long bones from Gournay and 8 long bones from Montmartin could be described as an afterthought, use of common, almost generic treatments for the processing of human remains.[359]

After ritual processing, the cranial elements were still managed at both sites, all deposited together on the left side of the entrance at Gournay and cranial elements

[359] Brunaux et al. 1985, 148, Table 1; Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 172, Table XIII.

limited to a 10m length of the enclosure trench near the entrance.[360] In contrast, long bones were scattered without order along the enclosure trench at Gournay and Montmartin and without any significant relationship to other classes of finds. (Armament and animal bones accompanied the human bones in both cases.) The focus at both sites was upon preparation of skulls for display beside the entrances of their sacred enclosures. Bones of the appendicular skeleton brought to the sanctuary and cult enclosure needed to be processed, but were discarded in the enclosure trenches after without further concern.

Fercoq du Leslay indicates that management of the decomposition of human bodies and recovery of bones, exposure, and the absence of ritual burial are consistent with practices observed in high-ranking settlements in the same geographic area highlighted by Pinard.[361] He presents the hypothesis that the differences in the treatment of the warriors from the circular enclosure from typical funerary rituals may indicate a special treatment for warriors. He leaves the question open for later development.[362]

Comparison of the ritual treatments of warriors in the circular enclosure with those in the quadrangular enclosure and mass grave helps to further elucidate the nature and significance of the ritual practices hosted in the three contexts.

[360] Brunaux et al. 1985, 152–61; Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 176 and 236–8.
[361] One did not have sufficient time to explore this possible parallel, but it may have bearing on one's comparison between Ribemont's circular enclosure and the cult enclosure at Montmartin (an aristocratic residence) begun in chapter 2.
[362] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 211.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Table 3.2. Ritual Practices and their Sequence in the Circular Enclosure vs. the Quadrangular Enclosure and Mass Grave</th></tr>
<tr><th>Circular Enclosure</th><th>Quadrangular Enclosure and Mass Grave</th></tr>
<tr><td>- Violent ritual treatment involving dismemberment, de-fleshing (removing soft tissue and muscle), and beating performed on fresh corpses before exposure. (Corpses already bore combat wounds.)</td><td>- Selective collection of remains from the battlefield
- Initial exposure to decay until only ligament connections remained, facilitating subsequent manipulation of remains.
(- Selective removal of limbs from mass grave, or selected remains from battlefield brought straight into quadrangular enclosure or both)
- Dismemberment within quadrangular enclosure and on periphery of mass grave
- Construction of the bone frames and cremation of remains within quadrangular enclosure (Notably, these ritual remains were not simply piled or thrown.)</td></tr>
<tr><td>- Long exposure interval, continuing until full skeletonization, weathering, and eventual access to the bones by scavenging animals (primarily rodents).</td><td rowspan="2">- A small collection of surplus corpse fragments (MNI of 12) left over at the completion of the bone frames were abandoned within the quadrangular enclosure and became the Ensembles
- The remainder were abandoned outside the enclosure in the mass grave, a pile of material paralleling the common abandonment of ritual remains on the ground on sanctuary sites (e.g. Fesques), often piled as a display of completed ritual activity (e.g. central public space at Acy-Romance).
- Notably, most of the ritual remains were not simply piled within the enclosure or thrown into the enclosure trench, as at other sanctuaries, but built into cubic bone frames that would endure for decades.</td></tr>
<tr><td>- Surviving bones collected
- Unstructured deposit of bones with all other ritual remains in enclosure trench (most common method of disposal on sanctuary sites)</td></tr>
</table>

While following different sequences, the ritual treatments practiced in the circular enclosure and quadrangular enclosure are fundamentally the same. Both involve selective collection of human remains, a period of exposure, and ritual violence. The similarities in the ritual treatments complicate identification of the warriors from each enclosure. The predominant interpretation, proposed by Brunaux, has been that the warriors from the circular enclosure are comrades and those from the

quadrangular enclosure and mass grave are enemies.[363] Having these two groups share the same ritual treatments problematizes their division into two groups and interpretation of the meaning of the rituals practiced.

The evidence supporting identification of the warriors from the circular enclosure as comrades and their treatment as a funerary is circumstantial. There is no single practice or piece of evidence definitively identifying the warriors. It is not a matter of identifying individual practices as funerary, but of demonstrating significant differences between the ritual treatments practiced in the circular and quadrangular enclosures and mass grave. We must collect the circumstantial evidence that suggests treatment of the warriors was funerary, and distinct from sacrificial and dedicatory activity. However, the enclosures at Ribemont provide evidence of a variety of practices that are equally likely to be funerary treatments for comrades, as sacrificial and dedicatory practices for enemies.

Contradictory aspects in the ritual treatment of the warriors from the circular enclosure hindering determination of their identity include:

1. Combat wounds appear in equal numbers to marks from dismemberment, de-fleshing, and beating, indicating significant ritual treatment and postmortem processing.
2. Treatment was hosted in cult enclosure (as one proposes to identify the circular enclosure), not a funerary context.[364]

[363] See sections 3.2.1–3.3.1 and 3.4.1 for discussion and citations.
[364] See chapter 2 for my argument to identify the circular enclosure as a cult installation in its first phase of use.

3. Corpses exposed in a protected context (circular enclosure interior), rather than an open context (like the human sacrifices at Fesques, or battlefield dead at Alken Enge), so their identification as comrades seems more likely.
4. Animal bones and ceramic banqueting vessels deposited with the human bones were either the remains of a funerary banquet or of a ritual banquet at a gathering within a cult enclosure.
5. Armament deposited with the bodies could be funerary or dedicatory offerings.
6. Stelae were erected as markers after demolition of the circular enclosure, presumably in remembrance of comrades and illogical for enemies.
7. Evidence of banqueting practice and animal offerings in pits along the circular enclosure trench in the first century B.C. suggest the warriors were viewed as heroized ancestors. (Continued care of the grave has been observed at other sites, including Clemency and Goeblingen-Nospelt, and offerings made at the Bronze Age tumulus at the heart of the settlement at Acy-Romance.[365])

However, characterizing the activity of a site's earlier use phase based upon subsequent use, particularly after a period of abandonment, is problematic. Sanctuaries were commonly founded upon earlier sacred sites of various nature. Later use was often not related to the site's original use.[366] For example, the sanctuary of Gournay and settlement of Acy-Romance were both founded beside Bronze Age tumuli, making use of the place of memory, but establishing different classes of sites.

At Ribemont, we face the question of whether the warriors and battle(s) were remembered generations later, or if only a general sense of the sanctity of the site

[365] See Appendix II of this chapter.
[366] Nouvel and Barral forthcoming; Poux 2012, 162; Rose 2016, 65–7.

remained to attract later cult activity. The fact that first century B.C. cult activity took place along the outline of the circular enclosure and not beside or within the quadrangular enclosure suggests the community retained specific memory of the third century B.C. epoch. It recalls the *matronae* deposited at the cessation of ritual activity at the grave of an aristocratic woman at Goeblingen-Nospelt after 175 years of offerings, which demonstrates the local community recalled at least the woman's gender.[367] If activity continued continuously within the quadrangular enclosure over the entire period of 'abandonment', as Fercoq du Leslay has proposed, this question would be dismissed.[368]

The post-conflict ritual treatments of human corpses and armament at Ribemont included the repurposing and modification of the existing sacred installations. At the influx of material in the LTC1b, the quadrangular enclosure, a sanctuary, and the circular enclosure, a cult installation, had already been in use for a few decades. Their repurposing represents a literal drawing on existing salient ritual symbols, which Løvschal and Holst have presented as part of their theoretical framework for the development of new ritual practice.

The enclosures were appropriated to serve purposes different from, but complementary to, their use to date: The quadrangular enclosure, a sanctuary where armament had been offered in the years preceding, was employed for the dedicatory treatment of a massive assemblage of corpses and armament. The circular enclosure, which must have previously hosted warrior gatherings, was the appropriate context to provide a funerary treatment for several of the community's fallen warriors, or to

[367] Discussed in section 3.5.
[368] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 95 & 196–8.

process the corpses of the elite warriors from the enemy force. The new ritual practices invented in high-arousal situations included creation of the bone frames within the quadrangular enclosure, the violent destruction of the warriors' bodies in the circular enclosure, and the communal open-air exposure of the remains of multiple warriors. (The last is only new if the warriors were comrades being given a funerary treatment.)

In the case of the enclosures, the new ritual forms were the secondary uses of the existing installations at their repurposing. Although the indices are tenuous, Fercoq du Leslay has proposed that the ritual treatment of corpses may have continued through the second and into the first centuries B.C., which would make the LTC1 activity the establishment of a tradition. Exploration of this activity must await later study of fuller evidence.

It is curious that the circular enclosure, a massive and complex facility, was demolished and buried after the warriors' ritual treatment was completed, rather than continuing to be used by local warriors. Perhaps destruction of the structure was simply part of the conclusion of ritual practice, and the circular enclosure's past use was not relevant to its preservation. Or, the use period of the enclosure had reached an end, most likely marking the conclusion of the highly active period, and the closure of the installations related to it.

The repurposing and development of the quadrangular enclosure by removal of the posts at its corners, construction of the bone frames, and the creation of the mass grave, transformed the site into an enduring commemorative monument. It materialized the Ambiani's claim to the territory considerably more emphatically than the original simple sanctuary enclosure. The influx of human remains and armament

considerably expanded the quadrangular enclosure's ritual activity for a brief period, and introduced new ritual practices.

The complexity of the structured displays within the quadrangular enclosure indicates that the monumentalization of the site was intentional – in order to commemorate the conflict events. The ossuaries' bone frames and the armament piled against them were permanent installations intended to be highly visible for decades, if not centuries. They were accompanied by the complex display of human remains and armament along the enclosure's eastern length. Given the sanctuary's siting on a promontory with an upslope approach from the east (see chapter 2), the bone frames and display would have been impressive and imposing.

> [Løvschal and Holst] suggest that… acts of *large-scale, high-arousal collective rituals succeeding a violent conflict played a crucial role in expanding and governing post-conflict rituals.* These rituals brought together people from a large catchment area to a *location at which different ritual spheres merged and,* at the same time, *became embedded in local ritual localities.* In this way, the post-conflict situation was *more than just a forum for the collective display of annihilation of goods, values, and populations.* In Iron Age Germanic Northern Europe, *post-conflict situations also governed a ritual knowledge flow that fueled the long-term trajectories in martial rituals*. (Emphasis added)[369]

In the case of Ribemont, at present, the situation does not seem to be so much that the LTC1b post-conflict ritual activity inspired the development and establishment of new rituals, but that the rituals practiced in the high-arousal situation were a synthesis and development of preexisting practices for the exceptional situation. Spontaneous rituals, like the creation of the bone frames, emerged as well. To one's knowledge, the use of human remains as construction material is unparalleled. The physical structure of the bone frame resembles a pyre, perhaps indicating a source for

[369] Løvschal and Holst 2018, 28.

its design, and providing familiarity to the new form. The cremation of bone material in the ritual pit in its hollow center illustrates another parallel.

The situation at Ribemont differs considerably with those of other sites in that its primary ritual activity (defined by amount of material, not length of the practices) was a post-conflict ritual practice rather than a regular and continuing practice at a sanctuary site. For example, the human sacrifices at Fesques and Acy-Romance recurred regularly over decades and followed the same patterns of practice. Likewise, the ritual treatment of decapitated heads at Gournay and Montmartin was a standard practice, the same treatment given to human remains on both sites. We do not know the exact occasions at which the heads were disarticulated, but their treatment was cult practice, not post-conflict ritual. Ribemont drew upon a corpus of shared, existing repertoire as source and model to resolve the high-arousal situation.

After the largescale activity concluded, the local community reverted to established ritual practices: limited armament dedication and possibly continued ritual treatment of human remains within the quadrangular enclosure, and banqueting and animal offerings over the former location of the circular enclosure. While the continuing activity was modest, the La Tène installations were certainly embedded in the local community. Community members continued to frequent the site through its period of abandonment, and then the local community preserved the La Tène sacred site by converting it to a Gallo-Roman sanctuary in the mid-to-late first century. At this time, the Ambiani warriors had become auxiliaries in the Roman army, and like their ancestors, dedicated armament at the site. They gathered the third century offerings with their own, and buried them together before beginning construction of the Gallo-Roman *fanum* and a new phase of the site.

3.7. Final Comments

Ribemont is frequently cited when discussing human bones at the heart of Gallic sanctuaries, as if it were an unproblematic collection, but, in truth, it is an atypical example in several ways, including: the unprecedented quantity of human bones found, multiple groups of individuals each given distinct treatments, and ritual practices of ambiguous nature. While all of the individual elements of the ritual treatment of the warriors at Ribemont find parallels on other sites (with the exception of the use of human remains as construction material), they manifest and are combined in a unique manner that makes proposing a cohesive, much less comprehensive, interpretation difficult.

If examination of the material has revealed anything, it is that a broad categorization of the site breeds errors in the interpretation of the individual installations and the activities they hosted. One believes that the quadrangular enclosure and mass grave are closely related by the complementary assemblages of human remains they provide and the evidence of exchange of material between them. The uniformity in the armament assemblages they provide further reinforces their connection.[370] However, the quadrangular enclosure and mass grave represent different stages in and different aspects of the post-battle ritual practices they hosted.

Interpretation of the ritual activity hosted within the circular enclosure rests on the identification of the warriors from its foundation trench. Brunaux and Fercoq du Leslay identify the warriors as comrades given a funerary treatment within a purpose-built structure. I believe that the warriors might also have been enemies, because they bear the marks of a violent ritual treatment, which parallels the treatment of enemies

[370] See chapter 5 for discussion.

and human sacrifices on other sites. In addition, I believe that the circular enclosure was built well before the warriors from the enclosure were killed, and initially served as a cult installation for local warriors, which has not previously been proposed.

3.8. Appendix I. Literary and Iconographic Evidence of Sky Burial

Brunaux has argued that the ritual known as 'sky burial', exposing a corpse to consumption by carrion birds, was practiced within the circular enclosure at Ribemont as a funerary treatment for comrades who died in battle.[371] He sees evidence for the practice in the literary and iconographic sources addressed below. Brunaux also recently suggested that the warriors from within the quadrangular enclosure were prisoners of war, sacrificed shortly after the battle. He interprets the warriors in the ensembles along the eastern interior as the most handsome and virile, specially differentiated from the bulk of the group, based upon a single passage describing a Gallic general's sacrifice of prisoners.[372]

Brunaux references the texts of various classical authors as sources for information on Gallic belief and religious practice to support his interpretations.[373] They include: Silius Italicus, Aelian, Lucan, Diodorus Siculus, and Pausanias, all of whom provide lurid and disparaging descriptions of the Gauls. Brunaux's comments seem to indicate that he believes they supply objective information that simply needs to be extracted from the biased texts. However, all of the texts Brunaux cites provide poetic descriptions intended to highlight the barbarity of the Gauls, a focus that causes them to have no value to understanding actual, much less common, practices. Examination of the relevant passages below demonstrates the methodological

[371] Brunaux 2004; 2009; 2017.
[372] Brunaux 2014, 182; 2017, 86.
[373] Brunaux 2004, 118–24; 2014; 2017, 84–6; Brunaux et al. 2009, 18–9.

problems with employing literary evidence, addressing the passages Brunaux references on a case-by-case basis. Brunaux also cites two iconographic sources to support his claims that the Gauls practiced sky burial. They are addressed after the literary evidence.

Based on the literary sources, Brunaux makes several claims about Gallic belief and ritual practice. Firstly, he claims the Gauls believed that the corpse of a warrior who died in battle must be consumed by carrion birds in order for his soul to be taken to heaven, in a practice called 'sky burial', and that cremation was an ignoble end. Secondly, he asserts that because of their belief in reincarnation, and the consequent imperishability of their souls, the Gauls did not value their bodies or lives. The only glory they sought was recognition by their peers, for their military exploits and the heads of their enemies they collected. Immortality was achieved through memory of their deeds in verse, which passed down generations of their successors, like the embalmed heads of defeated enemies.[374]

The main evidence Brunaux presents to support a Gallic practice of sky burial, and the beliefs behind it, is a passage from Silius Italicus *Punica* (3.340–3) describing the Celt-Iberians.[375] The passage is part of the catalogue of Hannibal's forces as he crosses the Alps during the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.), and presents derogatory descriptions of various peoples, echoing the catalogue of Gallic tribes in Lucan's work discussed below.

> The Celts who have added to their name that of the Hiberi came also. To these men death in battle is glorious; and they consider it a crime to burn the body of such a warrior; for they believe that the soul goes up to the gods in heaven, if the body is devoured on the field by the hungry vulture.[376]

[374] Brunaux 2004; 2006, 109; 2014, 170–5; 2017.
[375] Brunaux 2004, 118.
[376] Duff 1927, 139.

According to Brunaux, the passage indicates the Celt-Iberians consider it an honor to die in battle, and believe that, in order for the souls of fallen warriors to be transported to heaven, vultures must consume their flesh. It is also supposedly a sacrilege to cremate the remains of the dead, a claim directly contradicted by the fact that cremation was the rule in third century B.C. Gaul.[377] Further, funerary exposure rituals, to which the archaeological evidence discussed below attests, were followed by cremation and interment, indicating that the exposure ritual was simply the first step in the sequence of the funerary treatment. Brunaux allows that Silius Italicus' passage would be unique and possibly poetic hyperbole, but for parallel accounts in literature and art, and the evidence from the circular enclosure at Ribemont, where he identifies the exposure ritual as a sky burial.[378]

Brunaux also cites Aelian (*NA* 10.22), as evidence of sky burial, indicating that he either copies Silius Italicus or shares a common source, given the similarities in their commentaries.[379]

> The Vaccaei (they are a western people) insult the corpses of those who die from disease as having died a cowardly and effeminate death, and dispose of them by burning; whereas those who laid down their lives in war, they regard as noble, heroic, and full of valour, and them they cast to the Vultures, believing this bird to be sacred.[380]

Again, cremation is an ignoble end, and consumption by vultures is an honor reserved to warriors who died in battle. The final reference to the sacredness of vultures implicitly echoes Silius Italicus' comment that vultures carry souls to the gods, although consumption by vultures is not indicated as a requirement for souls' ascent.

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[377] Lambot et al. 1996, 332–3.
[378] Brunaux 2004, 118–20.
[379] Ó Hógáin 2002, 75; Brunaux 2004, 118.
[380] Scholfield 1959, 315.

However, we cannot ignore that Aelian's work is compendium of the characteristics of animals, and the passage quoted part of an entry on vultures, which is bookended by entries on crocodiles and scorpions. The description of the Vaccaei, whose name means 'vultures', is followed by reference to Romulus divining by the flight of vultures, and Egyptians' belief in vultures' sacredness.[381] The Vaccaei were probably selected as much for their name as their treatment of the dead, which involves vultures, justifying its inclusion in the compendium.

Brunaux also quotes a portion of a passage from Pausanias (10.21.6–7) concerning the Battle of Thermopylae (279 B.C.), after which the Gauls purportedly left their dead on the battlefield for the wild beasts and carrion birds, interpreting it as supporting his claim that the Gauls practiced sky burial. Pausanias (10.21.7) provides two explanations for the Gauls' behavior, either to inspire fear in their enemies, or because they are habitually indifferent to their fallen comrades. Brunaux proposes to ignore these explanations, because they reflect the Greeks' deprecatory attitude toward their barbarian neighbors, and to simply extract from the passage that the Gauls habitually exposed their dead to carrion birds.[382] However, it is precisely with the Greek attitude in mind that we should interpret the passage.

Rather than simply providing an objective description of Gallic practice, the passage clearly contrasts the barbarian Gauls with the civilized Greeks, as becomes particularly evident when considering the full passage and its context within the chapter. It reads:

> After this battle at Thermopylae the Greeks buried their own dead and spoiled the barbarians, but the Gauls sent no herald to ask leave to take up the bodies, and were indifferent whether the earth received them or whether they were

[381] Scholfield 1959, 315.
[382] Brunaux 2004, 120.

> devoured by wild beasts or carrion birds. There were in my opinion two reasons that made them careless about the burial of their dead: they wished to strike terror into their enemies, and through habit they have no tender feeling for those who have gone. (Paus. 10.21.6–7)[383]

From the complete passage, we see that the Athenians are described as burying their dead immediately before the account of the Gauls leaving their comrades' corpses on the battlefield. The barbarity of the Gauls' behavior is presented as a counterpoint to the proper treatment of the dead by the Athenians. Further, Pausanias' mention of vultures is in the context of a description of carrion birds on the battlefield, not as part of a funerary ritual. Vultures are most assuredly not imagined as *psychopompoi*. The entire chapter, and others around it, are dedicated to detailing the inferiority and barbarity of the Gauls, whether it be their lack of proper pre-battle ritual (10.21.1), poor armor and experience (10.21.2), frenzy in battle (10.21.3), poor tactics and fighting skill (10.21.4), or lack of respect for the sacred (10.22.1).[384] Consequently, given the chapter's clear intention to portray the Gauls as abhorrent barbarians, one would hardly extract a neutral description of standard, or even common, practice.

The most comprehensive catalogue of Gallic tribal character is found in Lucan's *Pharsalia* (1.396–522), which identifies multiple tribes by name, and describes each in florid language according to stereotypical attributes. The descriptions are found in the context of elevated verse describing the barbaric practices to which the Gauls will return with Caesar's withdrawal of his troops from Gaul in the mid-first century B.C. to pursue war in Italy. Brunaux quotes three lines describing Gallic bards immortalizing warriors with their songs. He initially interpreted the passage as indicating that, in addition to the requirement of consumption of the flesh by carrion

[383] Jones 1918.
[384] In chapter 22, the litany continues.

birds, performed verse was required for the transmission of souls to their 'eternal heavenly stay'.[385] He later revised his interpretation to more accurately address the overall meaning of the passage, which is that a warrior's *fame*, through an accounting of his deeds in verse, will be carried through the generations.[386]

In the lines following, Lucan (1.450–65) describes Gallic beliefs in reincarnation. He claims that the Druids, sole possessors of mystical knowledge for the Gauls, teach that the soul does not travel to the underworld, but continues life in another body after a person dies. Lucan describes this as a false belief that prompts Gallic warriors to rush upon their enemies without fear. According to Lucan, they unhesitatingly throw away their lives, fearless in the belief that they will simply be reborn. In Lucan's description, the Gauls seem to believe that reincarnation is conceived as a predetermined outcome and does not require a particular method of disposal of the corpse, such as consumption by vultures.

Diodorus Siculus (5.26–32) provides the most extensive commentary in various colorful descriptions of Gallic barbarity, from which many of the stereotypical conceptions of Gauls are derived. Gauls are addicted to wine (5.26), resemble Satyrs in their rough, lime-bleached hair (5.28), are subservient to the Druids like wild beasts caught in a spell (5.31), and, particularly thrillingly, they grow moustaches over their mouths, which collect food and strain their drinks (5.28). Behavior in combat is also addressed (5.29), including bravado, with an allusion to commemoration by bards in the description of a heroic boast, "[T]hey then break forth into song in praise of the valiant deeds of their ancestors and boast of their own high achievements".[387] The

[385] Brunaux 2004, 122.
[386] Brunaux 2014, 171.
[387] Oldfather 1935.

well-known passage (5.29) concerning the taking of conquered enemies' heads, their embalming in cedar oil, and Gauls' refusal of any offers to purchase these trophies, not even for their weight in gold, follows. A gruesome description of the use of human sacrifice for divination (5.31) concludes the section on the northern Gauls.

Brunaux cites a final passage from Diodorus (31.13) describing the general of a force of Gallic mercenaries selecting the most handsome and virile prisoners of war and sacrificing them with ceremony. As discussed above, Brunaux proposes that the men represented by the ensembles on the eastern length of the quadrangular enclosure interior at Ribemont may have been specially-selected sacrifices, like the prisoners Diodorus described. Perhaps the passage captures an actual event, but its relevance to Ribemont and northern Gaul seems unlikely. Diodorus is describing Gallic mercenaries in the context of the Third Macedonian War (171–168 B.C.). The surrounding lines are concerned with impugning the character of Eumenes, king of Pergamon, in contrast with Perseus, the final king of Macedon, in his interactions with the Gauls (31.12–14). The Gauls described are likely to be Galatians, settled in Anatolia for some time, although one allows that Diodorus' description evokes the common trope of barbaric Gauls generically, making tribal identification largely insignificant. As discussed above, Silius Italicus and Aelian likewise name specific tribes, but present stereotypical tropes, attributed to multiple and various tribes.

In sum, while classical authors describe the Gauls' character, behavior in war, and ritual practices, all of the accounts have the primary goal of illustrating the barbarity of the Gauls in hyperbolic terms for various purposes. Any attempt to identify regular practices, or find the seeds of beliefs in these texts, is inherently problematic. There is also the chronological incongruity between the literary sources,

the events they describe, and the archaeological evidence from northern Gaul. All of the texts cited were composed in the first and second centuries A.D., except Diodorus, compiled in the mid- to late first century B.C., and the conflicts they describe range from the third to first century B.C. Lastly, while naming specific tribes, classical authors clearly had a monolithic view of all Gauls as barbarians. Tribal differentiation had little significance, except to give credibility to their accounts by attributing particular practices to specific tribes, as may be seen particularly in Lucan's *Pharsalia* (1.396–522).

The first iconographic source Brunaux has interpreted as depicting a sky burial is the Stele of El Palao, Alcañiz (Teruel) c. 150–50 B.C. (fig. 3.45).[388] Brunaux interprets the stele as providing a link between burial and the consumption of a body by carrion birds. However, the stele does not illustrate ritual practice. It pictures a mounted warrior brandishing his spear above a fallen warrior who is being consumed by vultures and possibly also a canid. The fallen warrior's shield lays beside his outstretched arm, and hatches over his legs and pelvis seem to illustrate blood pouring from his wounds. Instead of a sky burial, one would interpret the stele as a depiction of a warrior triumphing over his vanquished enemy with the deceased buried beneath the stele imagined as the triumphant warrior.[389]

[388] Brunaux et al. 2002, 18–9; Brunaux 2004, 119–20; 2006, 109.
[389] Marco-Simón 1976, 76–7.

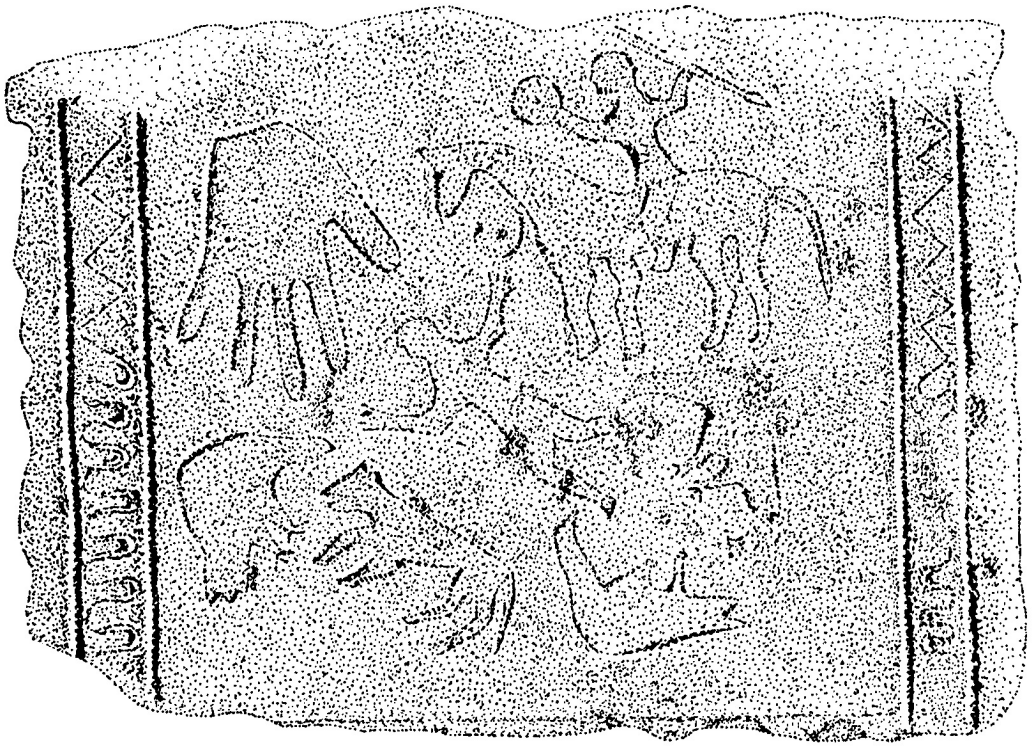

Figure 3.45. Stele of El Palao, c. 150–50 B.C. (Marco-Simón 1976, 76, fig. 2)

Brunaux has also presented the Faliscan *stamnos* c. 330 B.C. (fig. 3.46) as a representation of a Gallic practice of abandoning their dead to carrion birds, interpreting the presence of carrion birds in the scene as evoking a certain 'terror of war'.[390] However, when we examine the iconography of the *stamnos*, and consider it in the context of the Etruscan vase painting tradition from which it comes, it becomes clear that the scene is in no way connected with Gallic belief or practice.

[390] Brunaux 2004, 120; 2006, 109. Faliscan Stamnos: Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 1569; Beazley 1947, 7–8 and 96–100.

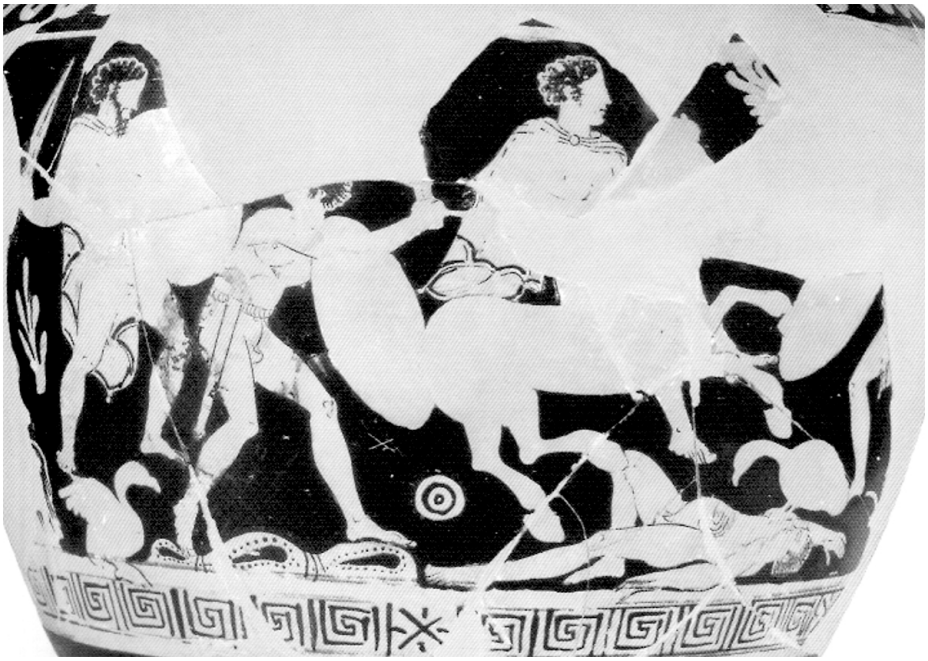

Figure 3.46. Red figure Faliscan stamnos, c. 330 B.C. (Bonn 1569) (Beazley 1947, Pl. 24, 1–2)

The vase depicts victorious Italic warriors triumphing over Gauls in a standard battle scene composition, frequently found in Greek vase painting. The only less-common feature of the scene is the presence of Gallic warriors who have been identified as such on the basis of their stiff hair, nudity, facial features, belts, and sheaths.[391] Ginoux suggests that the scene may refer to the Gallic invasion and besiegement of Rome, led by Brennus in 386 B.C.[392] Battle scenes with the dead fallen beneath their still-fighting comrades have a long history in Greek vase painting, at least as early as Protoattic vases, and they are extremely common in black and red figure vase painting.[393] The multi-level composition, large figures, and dramatic movement on the *stamnos* are characteristic of contemporary South Italian vase painting. Further, carrion birds were frequently inserted into fight scenes, as a common

[391] Beazley 1947, 97–8. Nudity is often the costume of death in Greek vase painting, which might explain the fallen warrior's nudity, but the standing warrior is also shown nude, suggesting that nudity is another signifier – in this case that of Gallic warriors who are purported to have fought nude.
[392] Ginoux 2011, 65.
[393] E.g. The Rhodian plate from Kameiros (London, BM 1860.4–4.1) c. 610 B.C. See Boardman 1998, 111–2.

attribute, either feasting on the entrails of dead enemies, or present during the fight, foreshadowing the fate of particular combatants.[394] This Faliscan work clearly fits into the vase painting tradition. Beazley noted a parallel Etruscan relief representation, and cited a common model for both works.[395]

Like the literary sources, the Faliscan *stamnos* presents an outside view of the Gauls, victorious Italians triumphing over three Gauls in disadvantaged positions. The first, on the right side of the scene, is already dead. He lies beneath the hooves of an Italic cavalryman's horse with his entrails exposed to a vulture that perches on his body. The second, on the left, will die shortly. He has his back turned to the Italic warrior, presumably fleeing, although his body is twisted into an awkward position as he turns to face the warrior behind him, perhaps in a final attempt to defend himself. The vulture that will consume him already waits to his left, and perhaps even raises its wings to swoop in. The third, at the far right, is only partially preserved – his shield and right leg surviving. He faces an Italic cavalryman and raises his shield, but his fate is already indicated by the carrion bird above his shield flying toward him (of which only a wing is preserved).[396]

Etruscan vase painting was derived from and heavily dependent upon Greek vase painting in both technique and iconography. It was most heavily influenced by Attic wares, which were exported in large quantities to Etruria, although Greek craftsmen living and working in Magna Graecia, just to the south, had a strong influence as well. Both Attic and South Italian painters produced works specifically

[394] Johnston et al. 2016.
[395] Beazley 1947, 96. The François *krater*, c. 570–560 B.C., depicts a disemboweled man and dog beneath their still-fighting comrades.
[396] Johnston et al. (2016, 95–9) indicate that flying birds are a common motif, used to indicate which of the combatants in scenes will soon be killed.

for Etruscan markets, and Etruscan pot painters relied on Greek models, even if adding their own characteristic flare.[397] Relevant to our vase, Beazley indicates that large birds, especially carrion-eaters, are particularly popular in Etruscan art, and notes that they appear frequently in vase painting.[398] Consequently, the carrion birds in our scene should be identified as commonplace attributes, and not imbued with special significance or meaning.

The Faliscan *stamnos* was created by a Faliscan or Etruscan potter – for Faliscan or Etruscan consumption. It has no connection with Gallic tradition. It is decorated on both sides with formulaic iconography, like nearly all vases in the tradition: Dionysian on one side (in this case a satyr and maenad), and a largely generic battle scene on the other.[399] In fact, the scene depicting the Italic and Gallic warriors seems most likely to have been the secondary, reverse scene, given the ubiquity of Dionysian iconography, particularly on vessels connected with the consumption of wine. The other surviving vase from the Painter of the Bonn Faliscan (Villa Giulia 43968) also depicts a Dionysian scene, very similar in composition to the obverse scene on our vase.[400] Around the time our *stamnos* was produced, Faliscan pot painters began depicting mainly Dionysian themes for middle class consumers.[401] Consequently, the side depicting the satyr and maenad on our *stamnos* would have been the more marketable, and, presumably, the focus of greater attention for the painter and consumer.

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[397] See Beazley 1947, especially 1-10; Johnston 1991, 228-9; Spivey 1991; and Turfa 2013.
[398] Beazley 1947, 2, 7-8, 96.
[399] See Beazley (1947, Pl. 20, 3) for an illustration of the side depicting satyrs and maenads.
[400] See Beazley (1947, 97) for discussion, and (Pl. 24, 4) for an illustration.
[401] Ambrosini 2013, 2286-7.

In both representations, the stele and *stamnos*, consumption by vultures is an ignominious end for a defeated warrior, not the honor sky burial is intended to be. Based on the structuring of the scene and identification of the figures, we may be highly confident that the stele does not represent a sky burial. We may be certain that the *stamnos* does not either, as it is a standard battle scene with common attributes on a vase intended for Etruscan consumption. Further, the battle scene is likely a secondary image with little meaning, added to fill the vase's reverse in a common practice throughout the history of Greek vase painting.

Neither the iconographic works nor the literary sources convincingly represent a Gallic funerary practice of sky burial, and both have been demonstrated to be unsuitable sources for information about Gallic ritual practice or belief. Where exposure rituals are attested in the funerary evidence from the necropoleis and elite burials from the region, the rituals practiced are inconsistent with Brunaux's description of sky burial and the beliefs surrounding it that he attributes to the Gauls.

3.9. Appendix II. Archaeological Evidence of Funerary Exposure Rituals

Despite one's doubts concerning Brunaux's assertion that the warriors from the circular enclosure were given a sky burial corresponding to the literary and iconographic evidence, one *does* concur with Brunaux that the warriors at Ribemont were given a funerary treatment that included exposure. The practice of exposing corpses is not unique to sanctuaries and sacred sites. Archaeological evidence from funerary contexts, a selection of which are reviewed below, attests to the practice of an exposure ritual as part of the funerary treatment for some aristocratic burials.[402]

[402] Fernández-Götz 2014a; Gaeng and Metzler 2008; Lambot et al. 1994, 197; 1996, 341.

The evidence of burials and funerary installations in northern France and Belgium is limited, and comparative material contemporary with Ribemont is not available.[403] There are some necropoleis in the southeastern part of the study area, including those around Acy-Romance (La Croizette and La Noue Mauroy), Vieux-les-Asfeld, Château-Porcien, and Thugny-Trugny, which provide evidence of relevant funerary practices in northern Gaul. They will be discussed briefly.

However, in order to reconstruct a complete funerary sequence that included an exposure ritual, one feels it necessary to consider the chronologically and geographically distant burials of Clemency and Goeblingen-Nospelt as well. There are number of parallels between the funerary treatment of the aristocrats buried in Clemency and Goeblingen-Nospelt and that of the warriors from the circular enclosure at Ribemont. Clemency and Goeblingen-Nospelt also provide evidence illustrating how, over time, deceased aristocrats came to be viewed as ancestors of the local community, due cult offerings, paralleling the ancestor cult observed at Ribemont in the first century B.C.

The most pertinent material geographically and chronologically for funerary rituals and grave deposits to compare with Ribemont comes from Acy-Romance's two necropoleis, La Croizette and Noue Mauroy, and the necropolis of Thugny-Trugny. The necropoleis are in close proximity to one another, all in the territory of the Remi, and approximately 200km southeast of Ribemont. They all date from the second half of the second century B.C. through the first century B.C.[404] While armament is rarely found in funerary contexts in the region around Ribemont, Lambot et al. indicate that

[403] Lambot et al. 1994, 201; Metzler 1993.
[404] Lambot et al. 1994, 200.

the richest tombs of the three necropoleis contain chariot pieces, equestrian equipment, weapons, and Mediterranean imports, and numerous ceramic vessels and animal bones from cuts of meat dedicated to the deceased. Tombs vary in richness, and less rich tombs lack weapons, but all contained at least one food offering and one ceramic offering.

No matter individuals' standing, bodies were cremated complete, possibly after a period of exposure. Lambot et al. postulate that the buildings above graves or locations nearby may have held corpses for indeterminate periods of time prior to their cremation. The presence in many sepulchers of Thugny-Trugny (e.g. I17TT), Acy-Romance, and Lamadelaine (Titelberg's necropolis) of non-cremated human teeth suggests that certain deceased were in an advanced state of decay prior to cremation and were subjected to post-mortem manipulations.[405] After cremation, select bones were collected to be placed in the graves, sometimes in urns. The bones selected come from various parts of the body, and there is no obvious selection of particular bones.[406]

At Clemency, Luxembourg, located in the western Treveran area, the sumptuous burial of an aristocratic man from c. 70 B.C. reveals a practice of exposing and then cremating the body prior to interment. At Goeblingen-Nospelt, 17 km northeast of Titelberg, also in the territory of the Treveri, the burial of an aristocratic woman from c. 20–10 B.C. provides evidence of the same practice, and continued care for the grave over generations. One believes that the fuller picture provided by Clemency and Goeblingen, supplemented with evidence from northern Gaul, may

[405] Lambot et al. 1994, 137–8.
[406] Lambot et al. 1994, 182–97.

illustrate how the warriors from the circular enclosure were viewed by their comrades in the third century and by later generations of Ambiani who frequented the site.

The grave at Clemency consists of a tomb chamber within a tumulus, surrounded by a square enclosure trench (fig. 3.47). On the northeast side of the tumulus and enclosure, excavations revealed the post-holes of what seems to have been a wooden exposure platform. Gaeng and Metzler note that many Iron Age cemeteries, particularly in Champagne, to the south and east of Ribemont-sur-Ancre, have similar sets of four to five post-holes.[407] Beside the post-holes is a concentration of burned earth, charcoal, and human bone splinters from a pyre used to cremate the deceased. They are mixed with nearly three hundred amphora sherds, spread across the ground surface to the west, covering the post-holes and creating a sort of pavement.

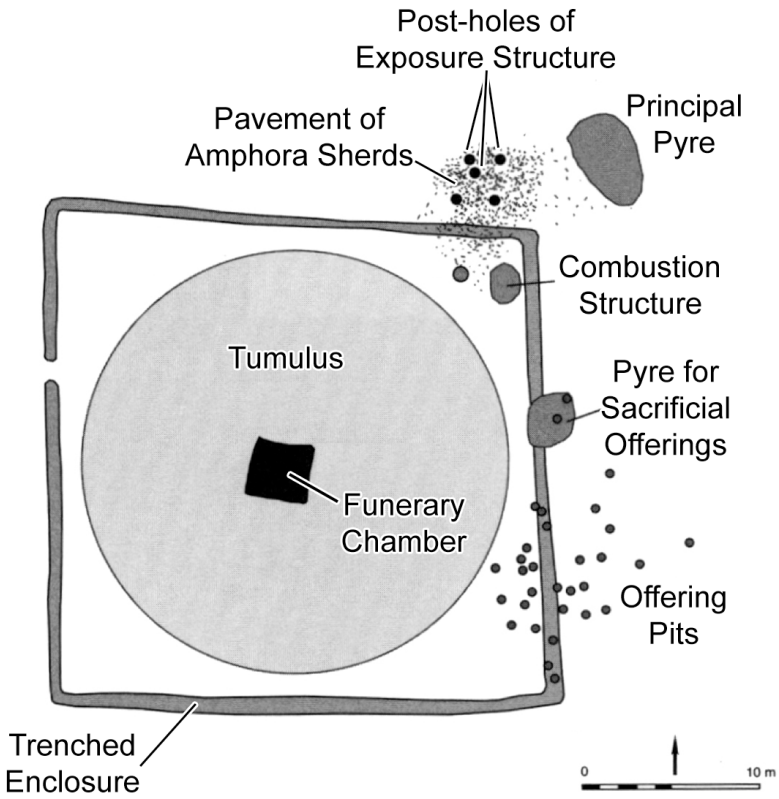

Figure 3.47. Plan of the tomb at Clemency (after Gaeng and Metzler 2008, 163, fig. 5)

[407] Gaeng and Metzler 2008, 163–5.

To the south of these was another, smaller pyre, and twenty-nine offering pits containing charcoal and burned animal bones from horses, cattle, and pigs.[408] The smaller pyre would have been used to cremate the bones of animal offerings before they were deposited in the pits dug beside it.[409] They testify to a form of ancestor worship practiced beside the tomb. Excavators note that these ceremonies must have been held for years, because some of the pits were excavated along the course of the enclosure trench, which would have filled with runoff from the tumulus mound over time. These pits strongly recall the offering pits dug on the northern side of the circular enclosure at Ribemont in the second century B.C., and those dug along its eastern length in the first century B.C.[411] At both sites, continued offerings were made to the deceased who became, over time, generic ancestors of the community.

Gaeng and Metzler indicate that the installations and material northeast of the tomb reveal the various stages of the funerary ritual. In the first stage, the body was exposed on an elevated platform, which served the practical purpose of keeping the body from scavengers during the preparation of the tomb and the funerary feast.[412] As they note, a long time must have separated the individual's death from his funeral, because it would have taken considerable time to excavate the enclosure trench, design and manufacture the wooden burial chamber, excavate soil for the tumulus mound, build the pyre, and prepare the banquet. If the platform were open to the sky, it may have facilitated a sky burial. If the platform were covered, as it has been reconstructed (fig. 3.48), it would have largely protected the body from the elements and any animals until preparations were complete. For the circular enclosure at Ribemont, construction

[408] Gaeng and Metzler 2008, 165.
[409] Fernández-Götz 2014a, 199.
[411] Brunaux et al. 2002, 20–2, 42–3, 47–9. The pits are discussed in chapter 4.
[412] Gaeng and Metzler 2008, 165; Fernández-Götz 2014a, 187–8.

alone would have taken considerably longer than the period proposed for Clemency, supporting the argument made earlier that the circular enclosure was an existing cult enclosure employed to provide the warriors' funerary treatment.

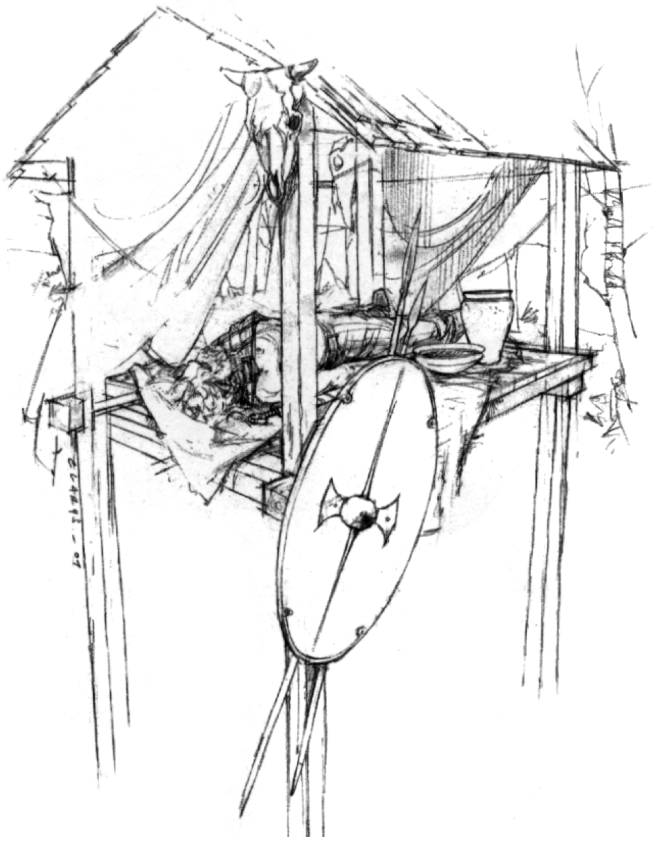

Figure 3.48. Artistic reconstruction of the exposure platform (Gaeng and Metzler 2008, 164, fig. 8)

After the period of exposure, the body was moved to the pyre for cremation, and the platform demolished. The funerary banquet must have taken place before or at the same time as the cremation, and after the exposure platform was demolished, because a number of the amphora sherds are charred from being thrown into the pyre, and the remainder were spread on the ground over the postholes of the exposure platform.

The amphorae, from which the sherds come, would have contained wine consumed by the man's family and community in a funerary banquet. They were then systematically destroyed using a sharp metal tool, the impacts of which are detectable

on various sherds, in order to remove them from profane use.[414] Lastly, some sherds were thrown into the pyre, in an additional destructive gesture, or possibly amphorae containing wine dedicated to the deceased. Other sherds were scattered over the location of the exposure platform, and tamped into the soft clay ground. The excavators do not propose a reason for the creation of this 'pavement' of amphora sherds, but the fact that they were spread over the location of the exposure platform and pressed into the soil may suggest a seal placed over the spot, marking the definitive conclusion of the exposure ritual. It may parallel, in a way, the collection of the stone pavement and construction material from the circular enclosure at Ribemont, and their burial in the circular enclosure trench before its sealing.

Continued care for the grave at Clemency is attested the pits on the east side of the enclosure (fig. 3.47), containing charcoal and charred animal bones, and a second pyre for sacrificial offerings.[415] The multitude of pits points toward a continued sporadic practice of sacrifice over decades. All of the pits are discrete and scattered without a pattern, suggesting that individual worshippers or small groups dug them over a period of time, rather than the community making mass depositions after banquets. The second and first century B.C. pits dug into the circular enclosure trench at Ribemont are similarly scattered, and are likewise largely small-scale, with the exception of one larger pit and hearth excavated in the late first century and associated with the decommissioning of the La Tène installations, which provided hundreds of bones.[416]

[414] Gaeng and Metzler 2008, 161–4.
[415] Gaeng and Metzler 2008, 165; Fernández-Götz 2014a, 199.
[416] See chapter 4 for discussion.

Another aristocratic burial, quite similar to Clemency, has been found at Goeblingen-Nospelt (fig. 3.49). Grave 14 at Goeblingen-Nospelt is the cremation burial of an aristocratic woman, part of a collection of burials that also includes four aristocratic men, additional burials, a pavement of amphora sherds, a cremation pyre, and various dedicatory pits. The burial consists of a wooden chamber containing the woman's cremated remains and a number of luxury items and vases, over which a *dolium* (a wide-bodied open-mouthed vase) (fig. 3.50) was placed. A tumulus was built over the wooden chamber and around the *dolium*, the mouth of which was left exposed to the sky at the peak of the tumulus to receive libations[417] The bottom of the *dolium* was removed to allow libations made through the pot's mouth, to reach the deceased in the wooden chamber below (fig. 3.50).

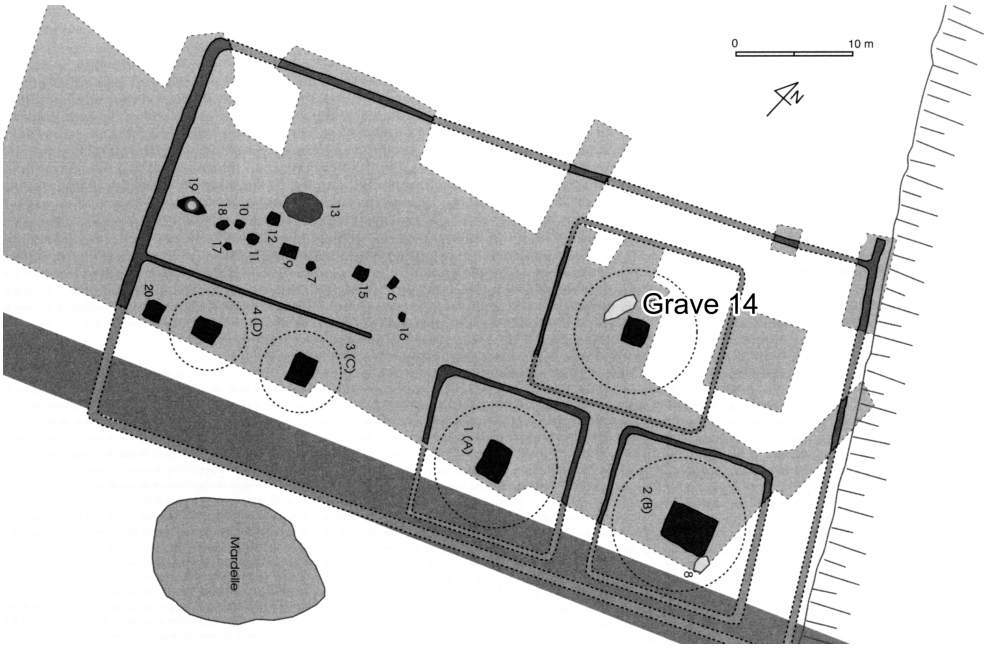

Figure 3.49. Plan of the necropolis at Goeblingen-Nospelt with Grave 14 indicated (after Gaeng and Metzler 2008, 166, fig. 11)

[417] Gaeng and Metzler 2008, 167–8; Metzler et al. 2009; Fernández-Götz 2014a, 188–9, 199–201.

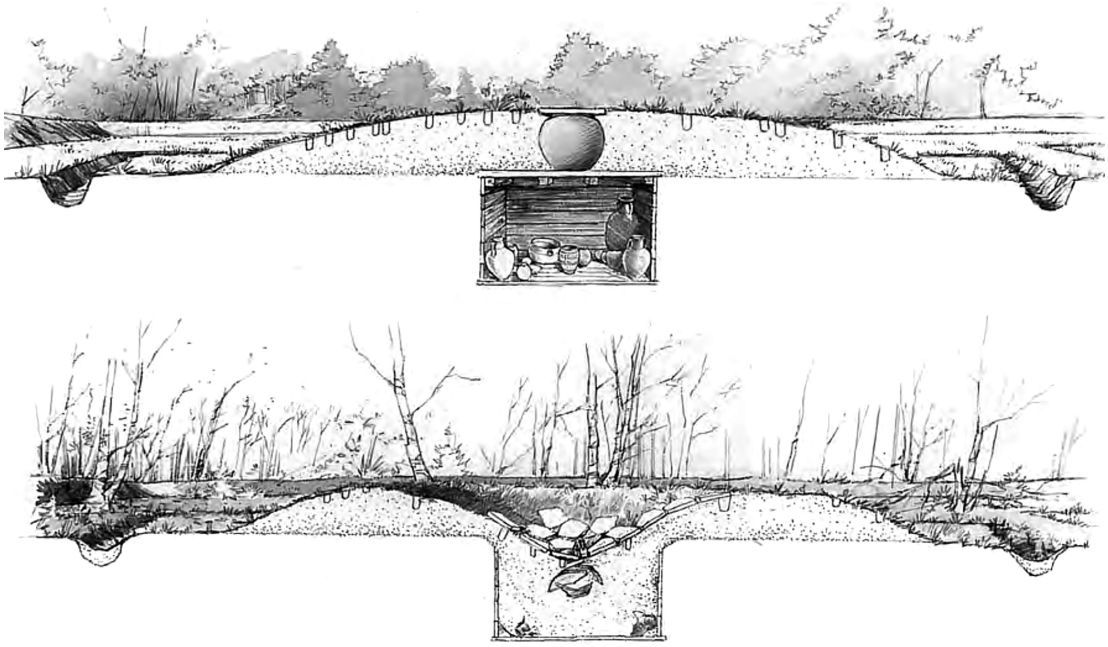

Figure 3.50. Idealized reconstruction of Grave 14 at Goeblingen-Nospelt illustrating the tomb chamber and dolium before and after collapse (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 201, figs. 7 and 8)

The ritual sequence of exposure, cremation, a funerary banquet, destruction of the banqueting vessels, and creation of a pavement at Goeblingen-Nospelt correspond quite precisely with the ritual sequence at Clemency. The only significant difference between the two is the presence of the *dolium* at Goeblingen-Nospelt, indicating that a tradition of commemorating the deceased through libations was established at the creation of the grave. Over the next 175 years, banqueting practice continued at the site, and the grave received dedications of charred animal bones and coins.[419] Dedications and ritual practice ceased when the wooden tomb chamber finally collapsed. The grave was sealed with stone slabs and a final deposit of terracotta sculptures of *matronae* before abandonment.[420] These sculptures indicate that over time, the woman in Grave 14 must have come to be viewed as an ancestor of the local

[419] The grave goods date the woman's death to c. 15 B.C., and latest coin found in the offering pits, an *as* of Marcus Aurelius dates to A.D. 161 (Gaeng and Metzler 2008, 168).
[420] Gaeng and Metzler 2008, 168; Metzler and Gaeng 2009; Fernández-Götz 2014a, 189, 199–200.

community, a mother figure and possibly its progenitor. A gradual transformation of commemorative ritual into ancestor worship must have occurred at Ribemont as well, given the continuance of sporadic banqueting and dedications for two centuries after the demolition of the circular enclosure.

At Vieux-les-Asfeld, approximately 20km southwest of Acy-Romance (and 25km north of Reims), three first century B.C. funerary installations have been excavated, a cremation burial, and two circular enclosures with rectangular tomb chambers.[421] The chamber tombs recall the graves at Clemency and Goeblingen-Nospelt in their structure and contents, although they were robbed in antiquity. One of the graves, Tomb 3, preserves limited remains of its funerary chamber, whose construction corresponds closely with that of the tomb chamber at Clemency.[422] It was surrounded by a circular ditched enclosure 18.5m in diameter, 1.8m wide and 1m deep with a flattened V profile. The tomb chamber seems to have been covered by a low mound as at Clemency.[423] It contained the fragments of a variety of ceramic vessels, suggesting a banqueting assemblage.[424] The remains of meat cuts were also found in the tomb, including most of a butchered pig and cattle ribs. In a variation from Clemency, a small quantity of cremated animal bones were discovered as well, attesting to the placement of select meat cuts on the cremation pyre.

Only a few fragments of incinerated human bones were found in the cremation burial at Vieux-les-Asfeld, from an adult of indeterminate sex and age.[425] The tomb also contained the bronze trimmings of a bucket, paralleling the examples found in the

[421] Lambot et al. 1994, 207–31.
[422] Lambot et al. 1994, 213–5.
[423] Lambot et al. 1994, 216.
[424] Lambot et al. 1994, 218–22.
[425] Lambot et al. 1994, 225–7.

'tombs of priests' in la Noue Mauroy at Acy-Romance, and a bucket in Tomb B at Goeblingen-Nospelt. Examination of the ceramics allows Tomb 3 at Vieux-les-Asfeld to be dated to the second quarter of the first century B.C., contemporary with Clemency.[426]

[426] Lambot et al. 1994, 223.

Chapter 4. Animal Bones

4.1. Introduction: Animal Bones on Northern Gallic Sites

The animal bones from Gallic sanctuaries and public spaces reflect the central role animal sacrifice played in the ritual practices of the Gauls, which may be divided into two groups: those in which the meat was consumed, and those in which it was not.[427] Consumption rituals may be further divided into banqueting practice (section 4.2), and largescale sacrifice and butchering, followed by display of the remains (section 4.3). Banqueting practice was common, relatively uniform, and governed by specific preferences shared across multiple sites, some quite distant from one another.[428] Differences between sites seem to reflect local variations of common rituals.

The selection preferences on sanctuary sites often varied little, if at all, from practical consumption rules observed in settlements (e.g. the slaughter of pigs at the end of growth). The same three species – cattle, pigs, and sheep – dominate in both contexts. The same types of bones were deposited, and they bear the same marks of butchering. In this regard, sanctuary remains only differ from settlement remains by their context within sanctuaries, the scale of sacrificial practice, a particular locale where they were found, or any evidence of ritual practice they might provide.[429] Ritual practice is only evident where the selection or treatment of animals diverges from everyday consumption practice, such as the preferential slaughter of lambs at Gournay, the dominance of pig mandibles in the bones from Ribemont, or the slaughter of pregnant sheep at Acy-Romance.

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[427] Méniel 2001; 2008b.
[428] Méniel 1998b, 133–5.
[429] Méniel 2008a, 168–9.

At times, it is only the combination of multiple rules that allows ritual practice to be identified, because some individually are not sufficient to demonstrate ritual practice.[430] To invert this thought, an individual rule shared across multiple sites might allow ritual practice to be hypothesized. It may then be confirmed by observation of other practices not otherwise explained. For example, the absence of cattle consumption remains from the central public space at Acy-Romance may be interpreted confidently as distribution of meat, rather than banqueting, by comparison with the butchering remains from Fesques and Titelberg.[431]

The sacrifice of animals for consumption was widespread on sanctuary sites and in public spaces in northern Gaul, and considerably more common than rituals in which animals were not consumed. Consumption is attested at Ribemont, Bennecourt, Estrées-Saint-Denis, Fesques, Acy-Romance (special contexts), within the cult enclosure at Montmartin, and even at Gournay, which is known for its non-consumption ritual exposure of sacrificed cattle. Bones corresponding to meat cuts (the ribs and limbs of cattle, pigs, and sheep, and the heads of pigs), particularly from young animals, attest to banqueting practice on sanctuary sites.

The only particularly significant differences between sanctuary and settlement bone assemblages is in the selection of species, and ages of animals at slaughter. Pigs make up a significantly higher percentage of the animal bones (60–75%) on sanctuary sites, as may be seen at the three primary banqueting sites discussed here – Ribemont, Fesques, and Bennecourt. Settlements provide more balanced quantities of the three species (fig. 4.1). Younger animals were preferred for consumption at sanctuaries, at

[430] Méniel 2008b, 169.
[431] See section 4.3 and Verger et al. 2000.

the end of growth or somewhat earlier, while settlements practiced practical management, consuming animals at a greater variety of ages.[432] However, in many cases, sanctuaries' selection practices matched settlements.[433]

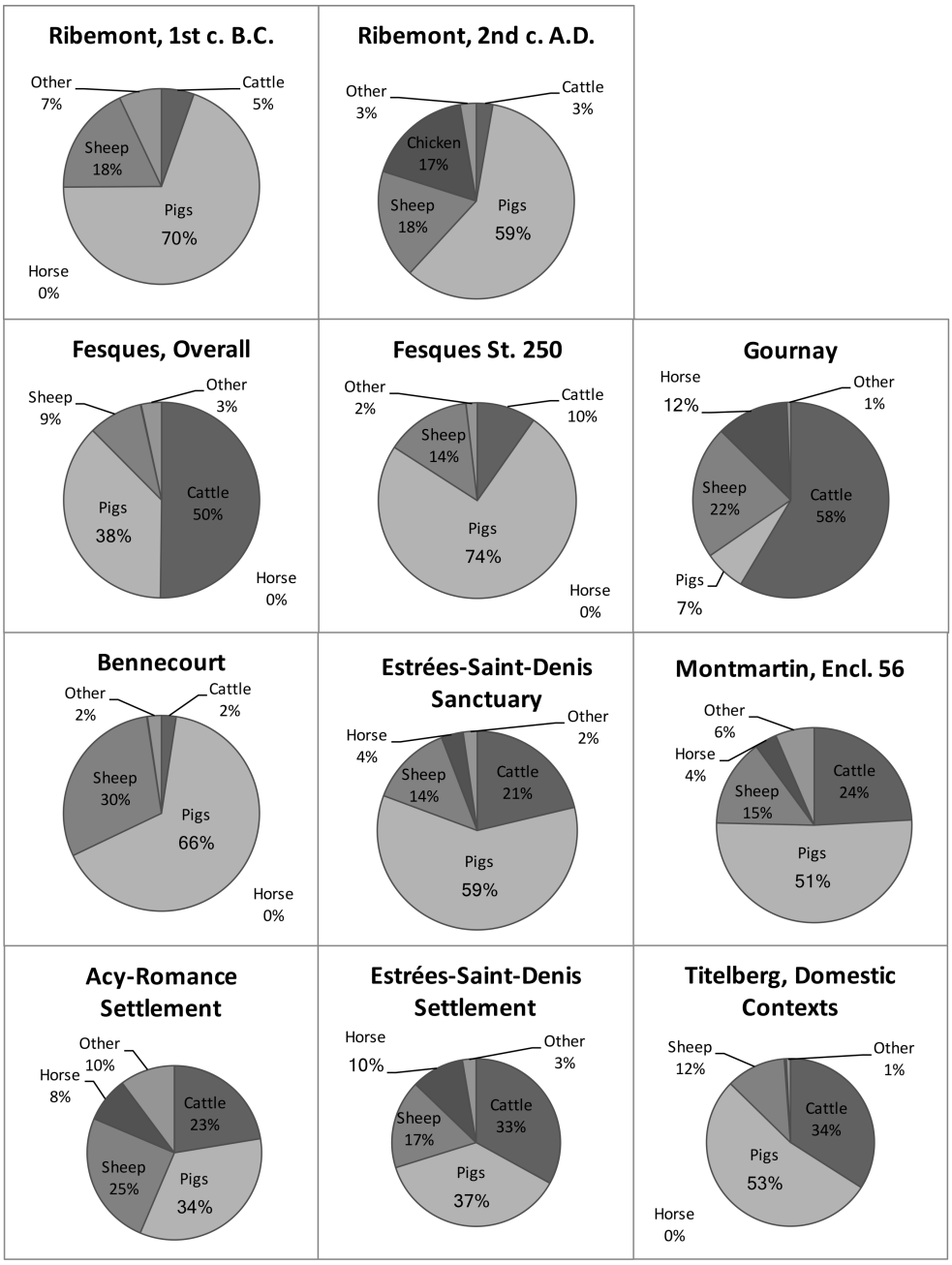

Figure 4.1. Comparison of the percentages of major species at banqueting and settlement sites by number of bones

[432] Méniel 1998b, 133.
[433] Méniel 1998b, 135; 2008, 131.

The second ritual, the display of sacrificial remains, is a distinct practice, which, while associated with banqueting, does not include the consumption of meat on site. In northern Gaul, evidence of the display of sacrificial remains has been found within the central public spaces of the settlements at Acy-Romance and Titelberg, and the outer enclosure trench (St. 1) of the sanctuary at Fesques (fig. 4.2). On these sites, emblematic (crania and spines) and ordinary (feet) butchering remains were displayed (or deposited, in the case of Titelberg) at the location of the sacrifice, while the cuts of meat were distributed for consumption elsewhere.[434] They commemorated the sacrifices long after the rituals were complete, highlighting their scale, and the sites' importance in the public life of those who frequented them.

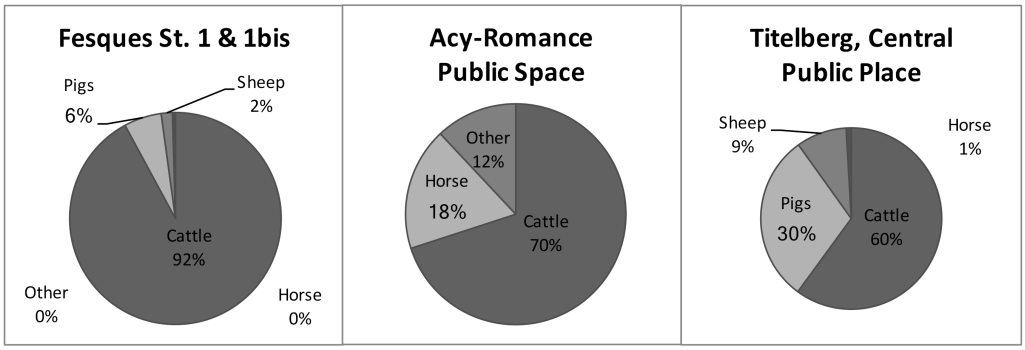

Figure 4.2. Comparison of the percentages of major species at display sites by number of bones

A third practice, directly tied with banqueting, but not a consumption act, is the offering of part of the consumable meat through deposition. Such offerings were common grave depositions in cemeteries like Tartigny and Lamadelaine, and were part of the sheep hecatombs deposits at Acy-Romance.[435]

The second class of animal sacrifices are rituals of non-consumption (section 4.4), which may follow quite particular sequences – such as the exposure, relocation,

[434] Displays outside of northern Gaul also employed pig mandibles, and sheep crania and mandibles. The display of sheep mandibles at Corent is particularly notable (Poux 2015; Poux et al. 2002; 2008).
[435] The sheep hecatombs are discussed in section 4.5.3.

and arrangement of displays of cattle at Gournay – or involve enigmatic practices – such as the intermixture of horse and human bones in the bone frame of Ossuary 82 at Ribemont. Non-consumption rituals also tend to be considerably more individual, displaying fewer commonalities with one another than banqueting rituals do among themselves. However, they generally follow the pattern of the ritual treatment of human corpses (chapter 3): an initial stage of exposure of the carcass to decomposition, followed by a manipulation of the mostly-decayed remains. Secondary manipulation could consist of a selective collection of certain bones (cattle long bones and limb fragments in the structured deposits at Gournay), or additional ritual treatment prior to deposition (dismemberment of horses at Ribemont).

Sometimes, a single site provides multiple assemblages, representing the remains of distinct ritual treatments. In this case, the assemblages must be distinguished from one another before ritual practice may be examined. For example, the outer enclosure trench at Fesques (St. 1) contained the remains of large-scale cattle sacrifice, followed by distribution of the meat and display of the sacrificial remains. But the inner *temenos* enclosure (St. 250) contained the remains of communal banqueting, with a strong dominance of pigs. The bones from St. 1 come from a display paralleling the displays at Acy-Romance and Titelberg, while the bones from St. 250 compare instead with the banqueting assemblages at Ribemont and Bennecourt. Assemblages from the same context may also be divided by species, according to the purpose of their sacrifice. At Gournay, pigs and sheep were consumed, while cattle and horses were employed in a chthonic ritual and not consumed. Distinguishing these two groups facilitates interpretation.

The assemblages presented in this chapter come from the sanctuaries of Bennecourt, Estrées-Saint-Denis, Fesques, Gournay-sur-Aronde, and Ribemont-sur-Ancre; the settlement of Acy-Romance, the *oppidum* of Titelberg, and the cult enclosure at Montmartin (fig. 4.3). While Acy-Romance, Titelberg, and Montmartin are settlement sites, the bone assemblages they provide present special cases comparable to assemblages from sanctuaries, because they were likewise produced from ritual practice within delimited spaces.

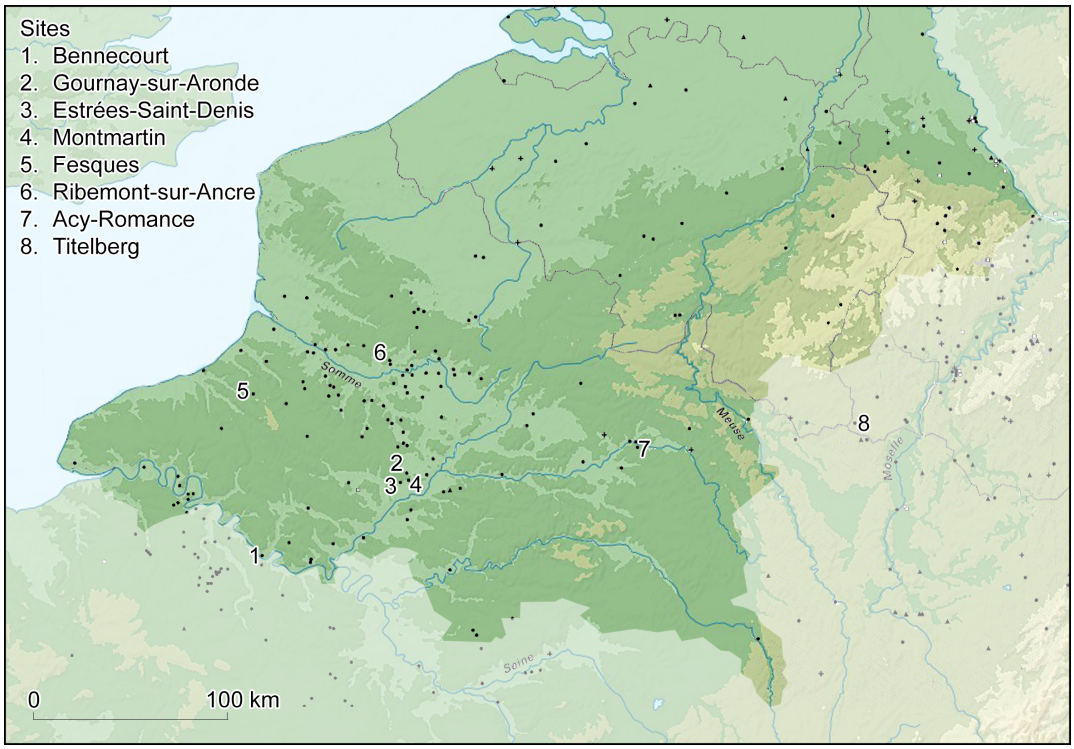

Figure 4.3. The northern Gallic sites under discussion in the context of Gallia Belgica (adapted from Eric Gaba, Wikimedia Commons and Derks 1998, 247, Plate I)

Acy-Romance was an unusual settlement, structured around a temple district and communal gathering place. Ritual activity played a major part in the public life of the community. In addition to the special assemblages, the bones from the settlement of Acy-Romance as a whole provide a good example of a domestic assemblage that may be compared to sanctuary assemblages.

The assemblage from Montmartin comes from Enclosure 56, a cult enclosure within the aristocratic residence. The assemblage is small, but important because it bears a number of similarities to the assemblage from the circular enclosure at Ribemont. The animal bone assemblages from the two sites will be compared in order to better understand the assemblages from both sites.

The *oppidum* of Titelberg is outside of the study area, but has been brought into discussion because the material from its central public space directly compares with the display assemblages from Fesques (St. 1), and Acy-Romance (central public space). Like Ribemont and Montmartin, Titelberg facilitates understanding of the assemblages from Fesques and Acy-Romance

4.2. Overview of the Assemblages

4.2.1. The Sanctuary of Ribemont-sur-Ancre

The sanctuary of Ribemont-sur-Ancre has provided animal bones from both non-consumption rituals and banqueting practice, dating from the third century B.C. through the second century A.D. The non-consumption assemblage is made up of horse bones from the bone frame of Ossuary 82 within the third century B.C. quadrangular enclosure, and it will be discussed in section 4.4. The banqueting remains make up four assemblages (fig. 4.4). The first comes from the third century (LTB2b) fill of the circular enclosure trench and the cylindrical pit and hearth within the enclosure; the second from the first century B.C. through first century A.D. layers of the quadrangular enclosure trench (Zone 1); the third from the late first century pits dug into the upper fill of the circular enclosure trench; and the fourth a mid- to late second century A.D. closing deposit of a well.[436]

[436] The evidence for dating the assemblages is provided below.

Together, the four assemblages represent a rare example of a banqueting tradition begun in the third century B.C. (LTB2b), which continued well into the Roman period (at least as late as the second century A.D.), albeit discontinuously. The first banquet, hosted in the circular enclosure beside the cylindrical pit and hearth, seems to have been part of the funerary treatment of the group of high status warriors who were subsequently buried in the circular enclosure trench. The animal bones have only been described cursorily in excavation reports, and very few examined, limiting commentary on the composition of the assemblage.[437] The primary information the assemblage provides concerns what its physical distribution along the enclosure trench can tell us about the circular enclosure, banqueting practice, and the disposal of remains after banquets.

[437] Brunaux et al. 2001, 35; 2002, 24–38; 2003.

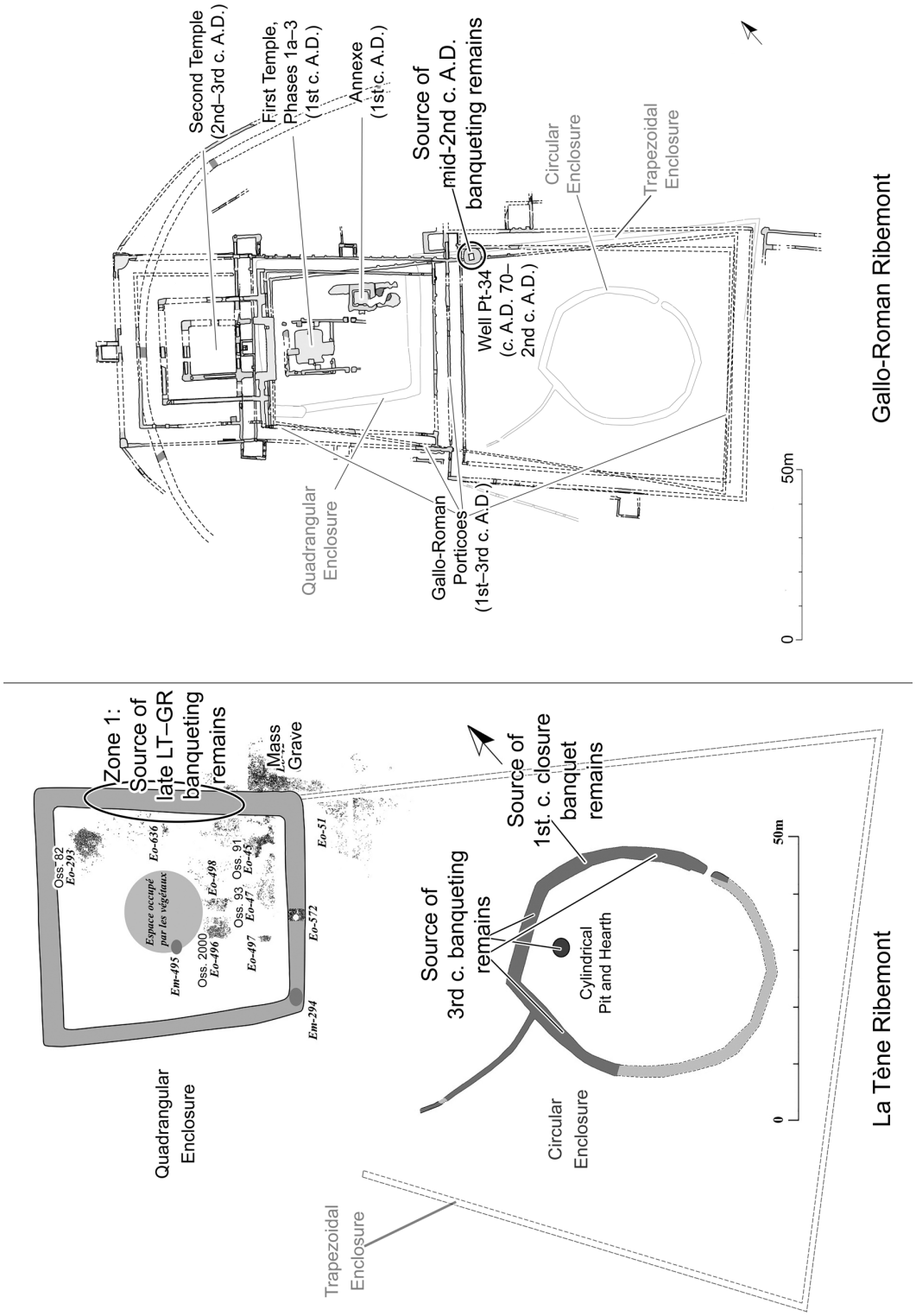

Figure 4.4. The La Tène and Gallo-Roman enclosures at Ribemont showing the location of the animal bone assemblages under discussion (adapted from G. Fercoq du Leslay, Conseil Départemental de la Somme

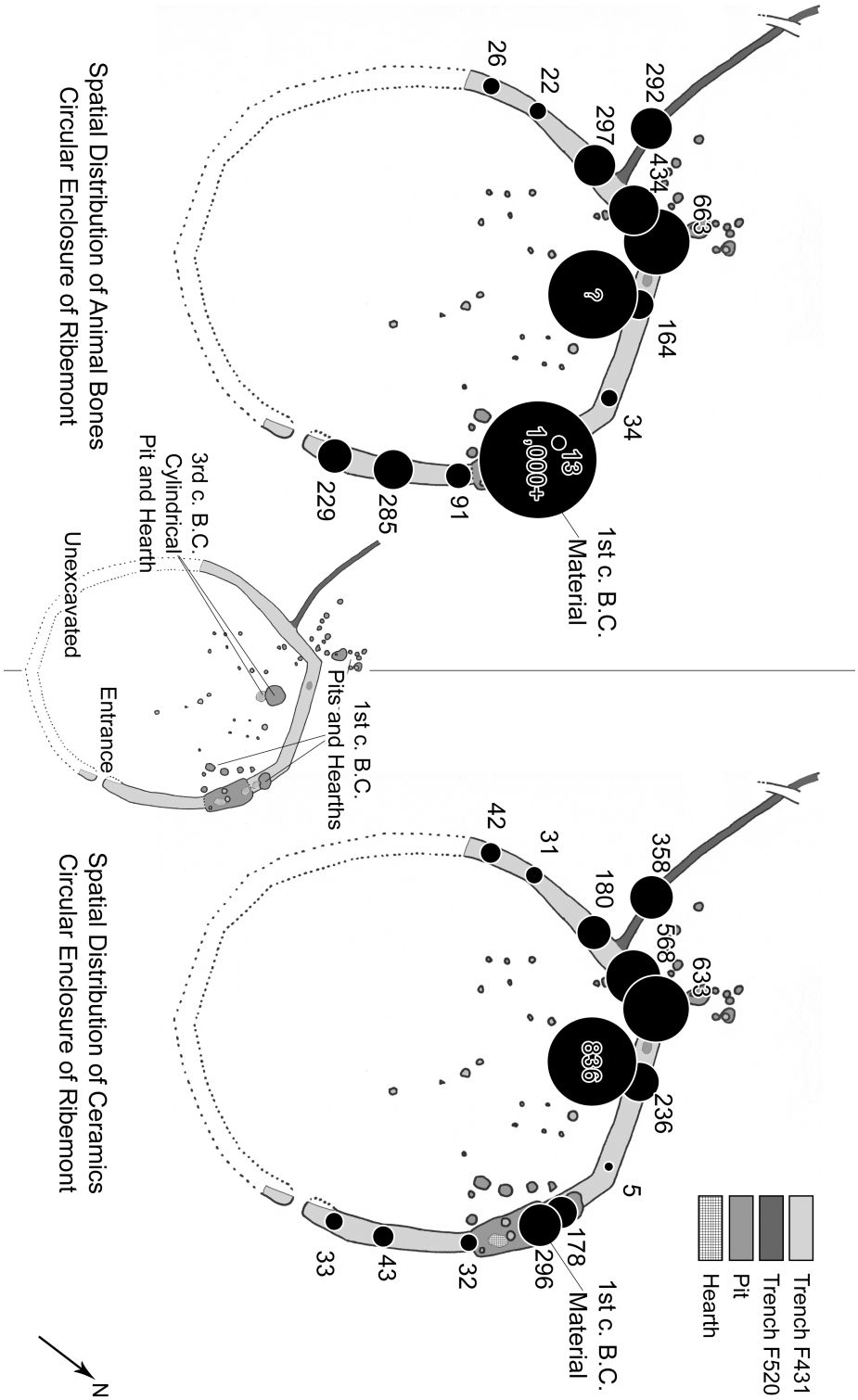

Figure 4.5. Spatial distribution of animal bones and ceramics from the circular enclosure at Ribemont (adapted from Brunaux et al. 2002, 69) (Numbers beside ellipses are counts of remains: animal bones and ceramic sherds.)

The animal bones from the circular enclosure trench at Ribemont have been found along all of its excavated length, but are concentrated near the enclosure's features, particularly the cylindrical pit (F493) and hearth (FY-503) (fig. 4.5 left), with a secondary concentration beside the enclosure's entrance, a gap in the trench on the east side.[439] A similar concentration of animal bones is found in the enclosure trench behind the cylindrical pit and hearth of Enclosure 56 at Montmartin. Enclosure 56's cylindrical pit and hearth closely resemble their counterparts at Ribemont in dimensions and structure, and like the circular enclosure at Ribemont, Enclosure 56 at Montmartin is believed to have hosted ritual banqueting practice. [440]

The animal bones have been examined preliminarily, and only two brief descriptions provided. During excavation, excavators reported that a large quantity of animal bones were found in the cylindrical pit within the circular enclosure, but did not provide a count. They described the bones as coming from pigs, sheep, and cattle, with a preponderance of cattle, and indicated that they bore butchering marks, confirming that they were consumption remains.[441] More recently, Fercoq du Leslay's examination of 116 bones from a short section of the circular enclosure trench demonstrated a clear predominance of pig bones (43%), and minorities of sheep (27%), cattle (20%), and horse (10%).[442] In its preponderance of pig bones, this distribution is more consistent with that of assemblages from banqueting sanctuaries than the finds from the cylindrical pit. Unfortunately, further assessment of the animal bones from the circular enclosure is not possible.

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[439] The concentration of 1,000+ bones on the northeast side of the circular enclosure trench dates to the first century B.C. and will be discussed after the third century B.C. remains. Distribution data from Brunaux et al. 2002, 35, Table 3.
[440] See chapter 2 for discussion.
[441] Brunaux et al. 2001, 39; 2002, 36.
[442] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 157.

The distribution of ceramics along the circular enclosure trench matches that of the animal bones precisely (fig. 4.5 right), and ceramics are mostly (85%) high walled vases of *situlae* or *cistes* type. These cylindrical vessels were used to transport food or drink, confirming that the enclosure hosted banquets and confirming the identification of the animal bones as banqueting remains.[443]

The cylindrical pit's fill has also provided flint, wattle-and-daub, rare pieces of metal, and fragments of human bones, corresponding to finds from the circular enclosure trench, and indicating that their fills were contemporary.[444] Consequently, excavation of the pit and its hearth, and the banquet from which the animal bones came, must have taken place after exposure of the warriors and before demolition of the palisade wall. The two events must have been closely contemporary, because the pit's bottom, excavated to the chalk layer, remained fresh, and its walls were vertical, attesting to a quick backfill after excavation.[445]

The banquet would have concluded the funerary rituals preceding interment of the warriors in the enclosure trench.[446] One would reconstruct the chronology as follows: The warriors who built the circular enclosure returned to the site, years to decades after its construction, when their comrades corpses had completed skeletonization, excavated the pit and hearth, and hosted a banquet. After the banquet, they demolished the palisade wall, and filled its foundation trench and the cylindrical

[443] Brunaux et al. 2001, 34–5; 2002, 24–38; Chaidron and Fercoq du Leslay 2013. See chapter 2 for discussion of the enclosures and their dating.
[444] Brunaux et al. 2001, 35–7; 2002, 24–38.
[445] Brunaux et al. 2002, 17.
[446] See chapter 3 for discussion of the funerary treatment of the warriors from the circular enclosure.

pit with the banqueting remains (animal bones and ceramics), construction materials, armament, and human bones collected from within the enclosure.[447]

The funerary banquet hosted for the warriors was a singular event, not the establishment of a banqueting tradition, consistent with the ritual being a funerary treatment. Confirming this interpretation, care for the group grave continued thereafter, taking the form of small banquets hosted sporadically over the former location of the circular enclosure. Shallow pits were dug into the upper fill of the enclosure trench to receive the banqueting remains.[448] This activity parallels the continuing care for aristocratic burials found at Clemency, Goeblingen-Nospelt, and other sites (discussed in chapter 3), particularly Goeblingen, where pits were dug into the tumulus to receive burned animal carcasses during the two centuries over which the grave was maintained.[449]

The activity during the site's period of abandonment might be interpreted more specifically as ancestor worship, centered on the men interred in the circular enclosure trench, but we cannot know how detailed the community's memory of the site's history was. The armament and human bones remaining visible would have imbued the site with a martial character, even if the men and events commemorated had been forgotten.[450] Banqueting and depositional activity within the area was sufficiently regular by the mid-first century B.C. to warrant construction of a permanent

[447] The banquet is unlikely to have taken place when the corpses were laid in state, as it would require the pit be left open for years before the palisade wall was demolished, and, over that time, the pit would have degraded and filled with soil.
[448] Haack et al. 2015, 28.
[449] Gaeng and Metzler 2008, 168; Metzler and Gaeng 2009; Fernández-Götz 2014a, 189, 199–200.
[450] Brunaux et al. 2001, 35; 2009, 25; G. Fercoq du Leslay 2015, pers. comm., 27 July.

installation, the trapezoidal enclosure, which enclosed the former location of the circular enclosure and formalized the existing gathering place.[451]

A considerable amount of filling and grading work was performed in the late first century, part of which involved completing the fill of the quadrangular enclosure trench, which was only filled about halfway at the time.[452] Material from these upper fills attests to active dedicatory and banqueting practice from the early to mid- first century B.C., which required deepening the enclosure trench to receive the remains of this activity.[453] During the site's transformation in the late first century, and in the early Gallo-Roman period, significant banqueting activity must have accompanied the closure of the La Tène facilities and consecration of the Gallo-Roman *fanum* temple.[454] The eastern length of the enclosure trench (Zone 1) was deepened It is that material that forms the second assemblage from Ribemont.

The first century B.C. animal bones come from multiple layers on the east side of the quadrangular enclosure trench (Zone 1) (fig. 4.5). They have been examined with the bones from the first century A.D. levels immediately above in a provisional report.[455] The bulk of the bones (73%) are from the first century B.C. layers (LTD2 – beginning of Augustan epoch). (The banquets from which they came were hosted prior to these dates.)[456] Most of these (74%) were found in layer 1022, a trench dug in the

[451] See chapter 2 for discussion of the trapezoidal enclosure.
[452] Detailed analysis of the Iron Age to Roman transformation of Ribemont-sur-Ancre is provided in chapter 2.
[453] Méniel 1998b, 119–20.
[454] G. Fercoq du Leslay 2015, pers. comm., 27 July. Chaidron and Fercoq du Leslay (2013) discuss the ceramics, and Brunaux (et al. 2002) discuss the pits containing the faunal remains. See also Fercoq du Leslay 2000, 119–26 (especially 121), and Haack et al. 2015, 24–8.
[455] Méniel 1998b.
[456] Of the animal bones discussed in Méniel's (1998b) provisional report, 4,844 bones (of which 3,131 were determined) come from La Tène layers, and 1,761 bones (of which 1,031 were determined) come from Roman layers (Méniel 1998b, 120). Méniel (1999b, 153) also refers to the La Tène material from Zone 1 very briefly.

late first century B.C. to receive animal bones piled along the trapezoidal enclosure fence.[457] The precise occasions from which the bones come is not certain.[458] However, given that they originated in piles along the trapezoidal enclosure fence, it seems likely they come from the early to mid- first century banquets held in the area prior to the site's reoccupation.

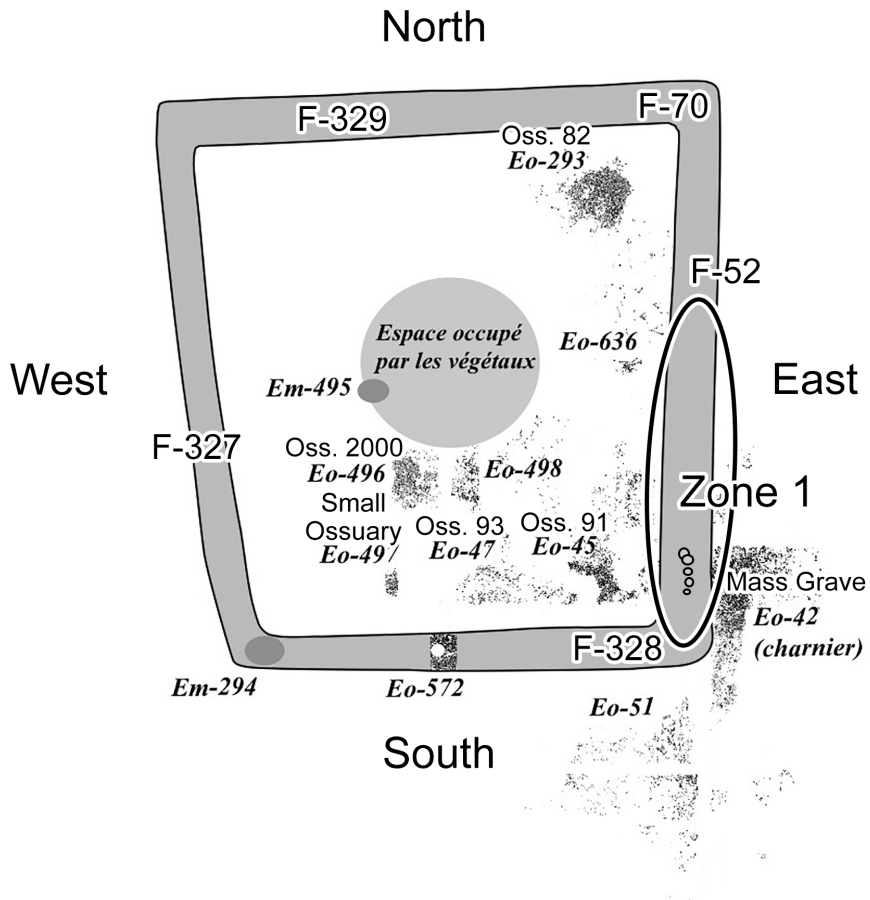

Figure 4.5. The quadrangular enclosure at Ribemont with Zone 1 indicated (modified from G. Fercoq du Leslay, Conseil Départemental de la Somme)

It was not until around 40 B.C. that the site was reoccupied, and activity fully resumed. A major banquet, for which a series of pits, hearths, and postholes were dug

[457] Méniel 1998b, 120. For the enclosure fence, see Brunaux et al. 2009, 30–4 and Haack et al. 2015.
[458] Fercoq du Leslay 2000, 119–26; Méniel 1999b, 153, Table XV. For discussion of the weapon dedications, see Viand et al. 2008; coins, Delestrée 1999 and 2009; ceramics, Chaidron and Fercoq du Leslay 2013; general discussion of the sanctuary's development, Brunaux et al. 1999 and 2009.

along the outline of the circular enclosure trench (fig. 4.6), was hosted on the enclosure's northwestern side at that time. A large pit (F606), dug into the upper fill, contained two hearths (FY501, FY502), and three or four post holes (P574, P604, P605) supporting a grill, beneath which was a terracotta plate (FY504) (fig. 4.6 above). An additional pit (F603) collected most of the remains, consisting of more than 1,000 animal bones, 296 ceramic pieces, and 75 pieces of iron.[459]

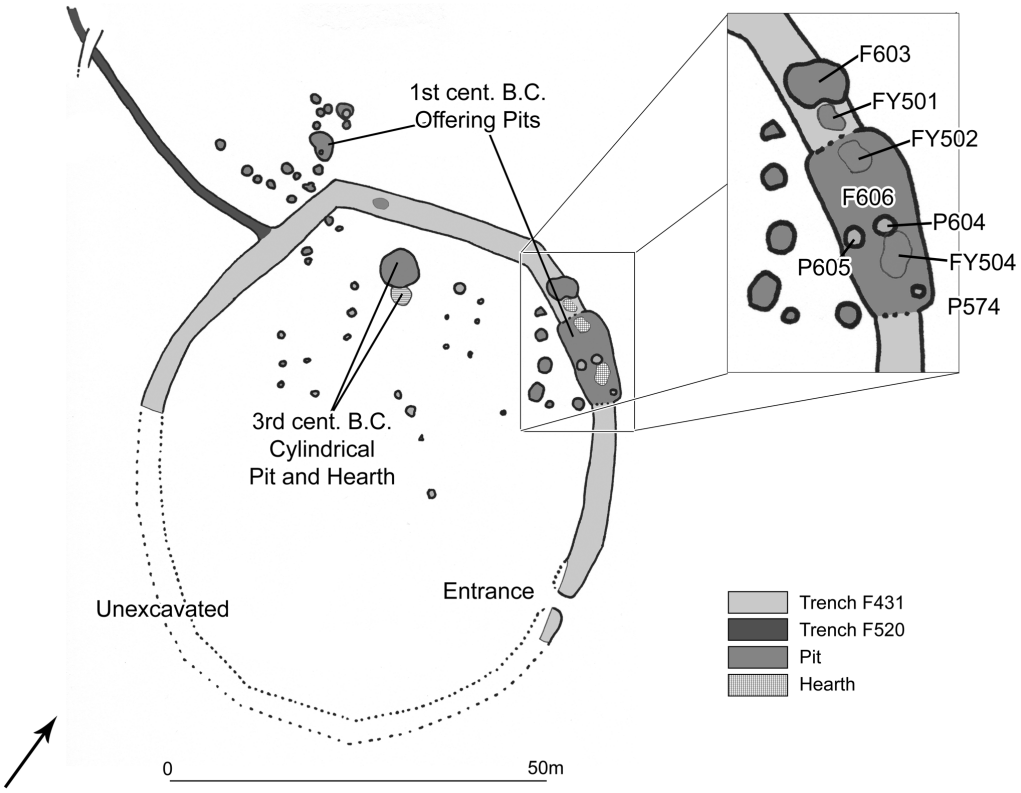

Figure 4.6. The circular enclosure with third and first century B.C. pits indicated and detail of first century pits along the circular enclosure trench (adapted from Brunaux et al. 2002, 22, fig. 31)

The iron pieces are divided into two groups, 41 pieces attributed to the third century B.C. and 34 to the first century B.C. This mixture of material indicates that when the pit was excavated into the enclosure trench in the first century, some third

[459] Brunaux et al. 2001, 52; 2002, 47–9. See also Delestrée and Tache 2002, Delestrée 1999a, Delestrée 2009, 192, Viand et al. 2008, 90. The ironwork is discussed in chapter 5.

century items were carried out with the soil, and were later redeposited with the first century items. Among the first century items were cooking utensils, including a small knife, a large fire shovel, part of a meat fryer, two cauldron handles, and a cauldron ring, all of which would have been equipment used in the banquet.[460]

Three coins from FY501 (two Ambiani coins *c*. 50–30 B.C., and a Republican *quinaire c.* 40 B.C.), and a number of ceramics from F603 (Dressel 1b neck amphorae) date the pits and hearths to the Augustan epoch generally.[461] Given their dating, it seems most likely that the banquet was connected with the resumption of activity on the site c. 40 B.C., and may have marked the closure of the La Tène structures.

The fourth and final assemblage of banqueting remains from Ribemont comes from a closing deposit of animal bones, ceramic, and other material made in a well (Pt. 34) in the mid-to-late second century A.D. (fig. 4.7). It has revealed the continuance of banqueting activity in the Roman period, and illustrates some of the changes to consumption preferences over time.

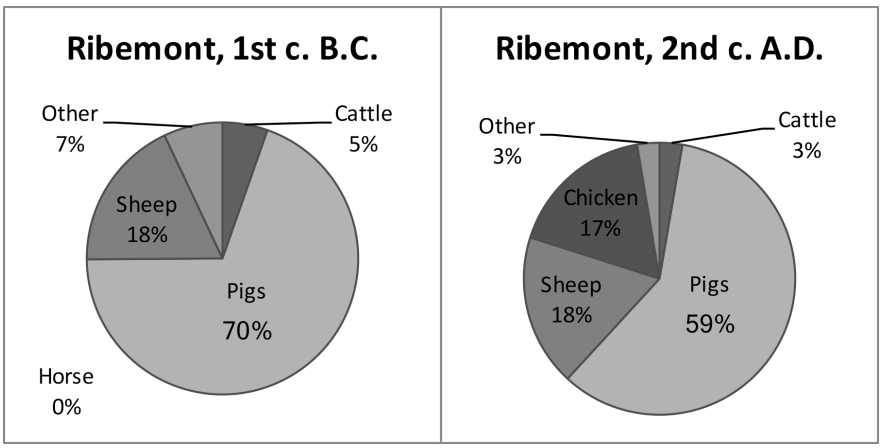

Figure 4.7. Changes in the percentages of major species at Ribemont over time (based on number of bones) (data from Méniel 1998b, 129 and Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz 2008, 203, fig. 3)

[460] Brunaux et al. 2002, 49.
[461] Delestrée and Tache 2002; Delestrée 2009, 192; Brunaux et al. 2002, 49. The iron armament dates to the LTD2 period, and was frequent on the Gallic War horizon, and disappearing at the Augustan epoch (Lejars 1996; 1999; Pourrier 2003).

The deposit was made during the site's program of monumentalization in the second century A.D., when the porticos enclosing the esplanade of the sanctuary were partially demolished and the well, which had been dug c. A.D. 70 was condemned and filled, so that the new porticos could be built over the location.[462] The animal bones made up a portion of the initial fill, and were part of a complex multi-layered deposit. In brief, approximately thirty cubic meters of sediment, building materials, the animal bones, and a large quantity of ceramic banqueting vessels (plates, goblets, jugs, mortars, baking dishes) were collected from nearby and dumped into the well.[463] The animal bones and ceramics likely came from a refuse pile along the portico wall.

The fill contains a number of items that help date the deposit, although the banquet(s) that produced the bones would have occurred earlier. Among the building materials are fragments of painted plaster from the Flavian quadriporticos, demolished at the end of the first or beginning of the second century A.D.[464] The deepest layer of the fill (06-376) contained two coins of Hadrian and one of Trajan, providing a *terminus post quem* of at least the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138).[465] The fill continues for another two layers, 06-375 and 06-372, before a chalk seal (layer 06-352) closes the initial deposit. Three coins of Hadrian and one of Antoninus Pius were

[462] The well's construction level is identical to the Flavian porticos erected c. A.D. 70 (Haack et al. 2015, 28–33, 202).
[463] Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz 2008, 206; Brunaux et al. 2009, 85.
[464] Marchand in Brunaux et al. (2009, 185) provides a mid-second century date for the demolition of the first temple (Phase 3), and portions of the Flavian quadriporticos, which would have provided the painted plaster and building materials in question. However, G. Fercoq du Leslay (2015, pers. comm., 27 July) indicated that the date should be revised to the end of the first or beginning of the second century A.D., and Haack et al. (2015, 33) likewise indicate a date of the beginning of the second century A.D.
[465] The coins in question are a Trajanic demi-*as* of the first century A.D. (980950), an indeterminate bronze of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138) (980949), and a *denarius* of Sabina (A.D. 117–138) (980948).

found in this layer, dating the closure of the well to the mid- to late second century A.D.[466]

The precise occasion(s) from which the animal bones come are not known with certainty, but Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz postulate that the assemblage collects the remains of several years of annual banqueting. They estimate that the original assemblage contained the remains of at least 300 pigs, 230 domestic chickens, and 80 sheep.[467] The traces of other animals are residual. After the banquet(s), the consumption remains would have been disposed of nearby, swept against the porticos, from where they were taken to be used as fill material.

The animal bones and banqueting ceramics must have been gathered on the ground sometime between the construction of the Flavian quadriporticos c. A.D. 70, and before the well deposit of the mid-to-late second century A.D. The animal bones display very little weathering, indicating that they remained exposed for only a short time before deposit.[468] If they had been on the ground before c. A.D. 70, one would expect them to have been buried or heavily damaged during construction of the Flavian quadriporticos. Consequently, the banquet(s) from which the animal bones come must have taken place at the end of the first century A.D., or the first half of the second century.

In summary, the earliest evidence of banqueting on the site of Ribemont comes from the third century B.C. circular enclosure. However, this first banquet was part of a funerary treatment or ritual practice, and not the establishment of a banqueting

[466] Brunaux et al. 2009, 85. Context 06-352 contained three Hadrianic coins, either *dupondii* or *as*es, one without specific date (960207) and two dated to A.D. 134–138 (960205 – RIC II 446/839 and 960206). The coin of Antoninus Pius was a *dupondius* or *as*, A.D. 138–161 (960208).
[467] Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz 2008, 203–6.
[468] Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz 2008, 206.

tradition. Care for the grave thereafter consisted of occasional banqueting in the area of the circular enclosure with increased activity in the early first century B.C. and again in the Gallic War epoch. By the mid-first century B.C. regular banqueting practice had been established on the site. Armament dedications resumed at the same time, and the site was fully reoccupied from the late first century B.C. A large banquet was held on the occasion of the decommissioning of the site's La Tène installations, and preparation of the site for construction of a Gallo-Roman sanctuary. Banqueting continued until at least the mid-second century A.D., as the well deposit indicates. It surely continued after this time, but we do not have any evidence for this activity, as Gallo-Roman sanctuaries were not conducive to the preservation of bone material.

4.2.2. The Settlement of Acy-Romance

The settlement of Acy-Romance provides a total of 197,000 bones, 79,000 of which are determined (40% of the number, 89% of the weight).[469] Most (approximately 70%) come from the LTD1 period (c. 130–80 B.C.), the height of the settlement's prosperity (fig. 4.8 below).[470] They reflect a characteristic settlement assemblage of northern Gaul, dominated by domestic animals (90% of the number, 99.6% of the weight), with relatively balanced counts of cattle (22.4%), pig (34%), and sheep (25%) bones, and a minority representation of other species.[471] Horse bones make up a significant minority – 8.4% of the count of bones – because horses and cattle were both sacrificed in a special ritual in the settlement's public space, as will be addressed in section 4.3.

[469] Méniel 2010, 58, 67.
[470] Méniel 2010, 66–7. Percentage calculated from fig. 12. Precise values for the totals are not available.
[471] Méniel 2010, 58–9.

The image of a characteristic settlement assemblage that Acy-Romance provides furnishes useful comparison for the assemblages from banqueting sanctuaries. Differences between the sanctuaries and Acy-Romance in the percentages of the three major species, age preferences, bone distributions, and marks on the bones help to identify ritual practice diverging from the everyday preparation and consumption of meat.

Two special assemblages from ritual contexts are included among the bones from Acy-Romance. The first is the assemblage from the central public space, dating to c. 130–100 B.C. (the enclosure's period of use), which is predominantly cattle and horse bones (70% and 18% respectively). Primarily crania and vertebrae, they are the remnants of a public display of select bones along the enclosure's palisade wall after the butchering of the animals and distribution of their meat for consumption in the settlement.[472] This assemblage will be discussed in section 4.3 with the other examples of the display of sacrificial remains.

The second special assemblage is made up of four pits that have been dubbed the 'sheep hecatombs', because they collect the remains of a series of large scale sacrifices of around fifty sheep, and banquets hosted on what seems to be four occasions. These sacrifices were performed within a very short time of one another between c. 100–80 B.C.[473] They will be discussed with banqueting practice in the section on sheep assemblages (4.2.3.3), because they most closely parallel the ritual banquets hosted within sanctuaries.

[472] Verger et al. 2000, 102.
[473] Verger et al. 2000, 100–3.

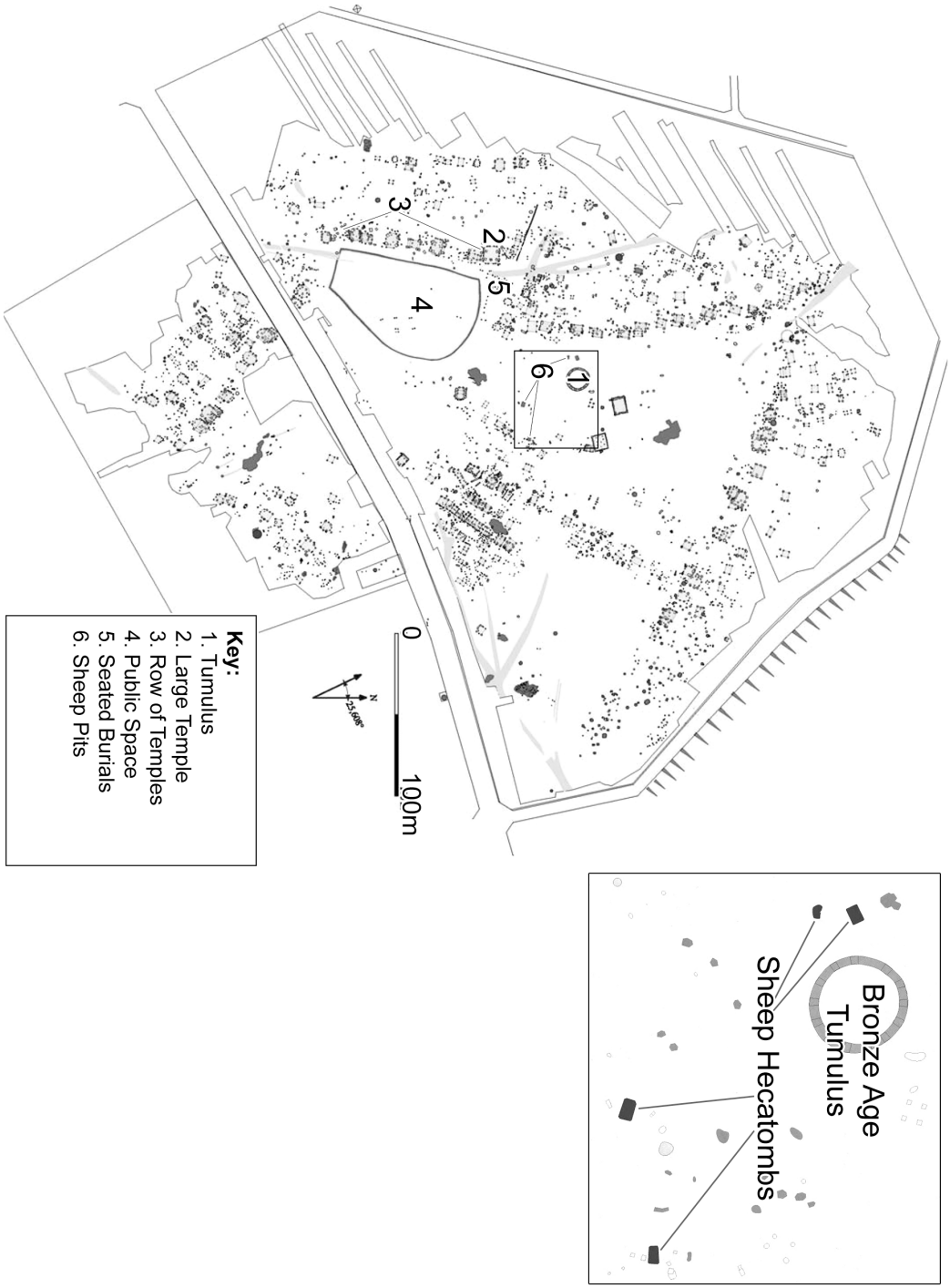

Figure 4.8. The settlement of Acy-Romance (after Méniel 2010, 59, fig. 2)

4.2.3. The Sanctuary of Fesques

Only the assemblages from Fesques' two La Tène enclosure trenches (fig. 4.9): the outer enclosure (St. 1 & 1bis), and the *temenos* enclosure (St. 250) at Fesques have

been examined, as they are the primary contexts of the site, and have provided most of the bones (79% of the total count of 11,264 bones, 10,651 determined).[479] The trenches contain two distinct assemblages produced by two different consumption rituals: communal banqueting within St. 250, and largescale sacrifice followed by display of the butchering remains beside St. 1.

The bones date to the second period of the sanctuary's history when the two enclosure trenches were open – the La Tène C2 through D1 period, end of the third through beginning of the second century B.C. The outer enclosure trench (St. 1) circled the base of the ridge upon which the sanctuary sat, enclosing an area of 10ha, while the horseshoe *temenos* enclosure trench (St. 250) surrounded the heart of the sanctuary at the top of the ridge, enclosing an area of 2,000m^2 (fig. 4.9).[480]

The mixed fill of the outer enclosure trench (St. 1) seems to reflect a single cleaning of the ground beside the trench where it is believed that various items were piled. The fill contains animal and human bones, and La Tène C2–D1 armament, personal items, and ceramics.[481] The *temenos* enclosure trench (St. 250) provides two fill layers, which seem to attest to two ground cleanings between c. 200–50 B.C. They consist primarily of animal bones mixed with ovoid and cylindrical drinking vessels, banqueting remains.[482] At 2,000m^2, the area within enclosure trench St. 250 could have

[479] Mantel et al. 1997, 82. Data for trench St. 1 & 1bis from Mantel et al. 1997, 83, Table 1; for trench St. 250 from Mantel et al. 1997, 87, Table XII. Trench St. 1bis is a section of trench St. 1, singled out by excavators because of its proximity to the ritual pits containing human bones in a higher concentration than other areas of St. 1 (Mantel et al. 1997). Consequently, the animal bones from St. 1bis have been grouped with those from St. 1. In order to be succinct, and avoid giving the false impression that two contexts are being discussed, St. 1 will be used in discussion to refer to all sections of the trench, rather than the more cumbersome 'St. 1 and St. 1bis'.

[480] Animal bones from the foundation trenches of the temples' walls (St. 300 and 301) within enclosure St. 250 have been ignored because of the extremely small size of the assemblage (358 bones). They do not significantly alter the image provided by the much larger assemblage from St. 250. (Mantel et al. 1997, 91–2).

[481] Mantel et al. 1997, 26.

[482] Mantel et al. 1997, 24–5.

accommodated a large number of individuals participating in communal banquets or other ritual activity. It was comparable in size to both of Ribemont's La Tène enclosures, and Titelberg's ritual space.[483]

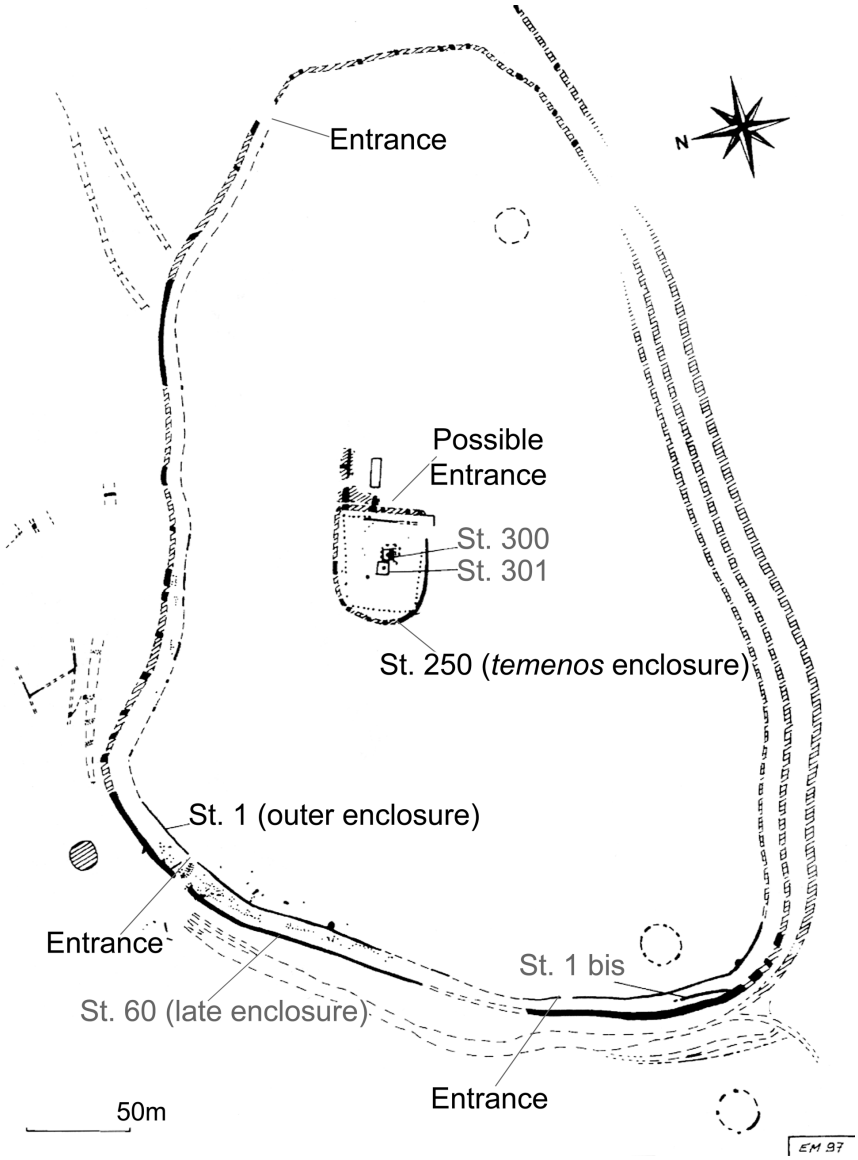

Figure 4.9. Site plan of the sanctuary of Fesques (after Mantel et al. 1997, 14, fig. 6)

In order to interpret the animal bones from the two trenches at Fesques accurately, they must be considered separately, as they attest to very different ritual practices (fig. 4.10): Animals were consumed at banquets held at within the *temenos*

[483] Mantel et al. 1997.

enclosure (St. 250), identified as such because pigs make up 74% of the count of bones, and their age and bone distribution corresponds with other banqueting sites (most notably Bennecourt and Ribemont). The presence of drinking vessels further supports this interpretation. On the periphery of the sanctuary, beside the outer enclosure trench (St. 1), mass-sacrifice and the distribution of cattle meat was practiced, after which the butchering remains were displayed. The assemblage from the *temenos* enclosure (St. 250) will be discussed with the banqueting remains from other sanctuaries in the next section (4.2), and the assemblage from the outer enclosure trench (St. 1) in the section following (4.3), which discusses displays of sacrificial remains.

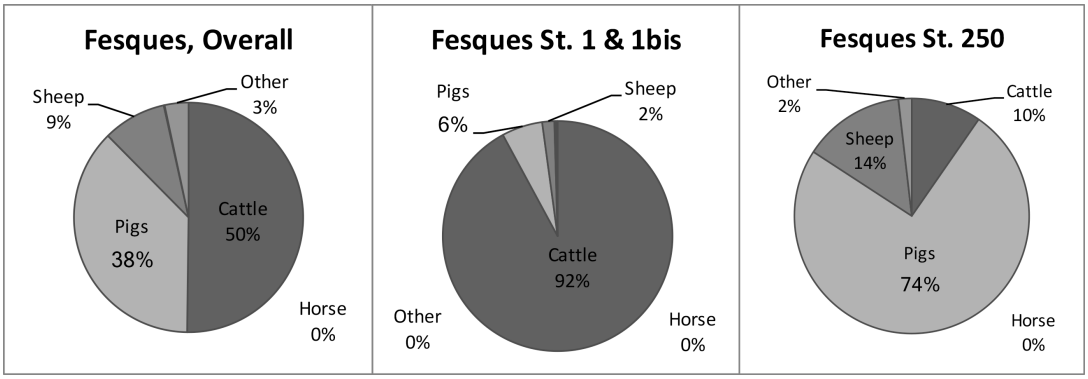

Figure 4.10. Distribution of animal bones from Fesques by number (data from Mantel et al. 1997, 83, Table I, 86, Table VIII, 87, Table XII)

The animal bones from the outer enclosure trench consist nearly exclusively of cattle bones (92% by number, 99% by weight) (fig. 4.10). The presence of other species is residual, even pigs (6% by number), particularly striking, given pigs' typical dominance in sanctuary assemblages.[488] It is in central public spaces that such a distribution may be found: 60% cattle, 30% pigs at Titelberg; 70% cattle, 18% pigs at Acy-Romance.[489] It is clear, both from the dominance of cattle bones, and the MNI of

[488] See discussion above.
[489] Verger et al. 2000, 102; Metzler et al. 2006; Méniel 2014, 321, fig. 5.

120 cattle from the small area of the outer enclosure trench (St. 1) excavated, that large-scale cattle sacrifice was performed on the periphery of the sanctuary.[490]

Commonalities between the assemblages from Fesques St. 1, Acy-Romance, and Titelberg, suggest that the area enclosed by St. 1 was a public space host to activity of a different nature than the *temenos* enclosure (St. 250). The practice was distinct, both in topographical position and nature, from the activity within St. 250. The meat from the cattle sacrificed on the periphery of the sanctuary must have been distributed and taken away by the inhabitants of the surrounding rural settlements, because almost all of the cattle bones (93%) come from the head and feet, butchering, not consumption discards.[491]

4.2.4. The Sanctuary of Gournay and the Aristocratic Residence of Montmartin

As has been discussed in chapter 2, the sanctuary of Gournay and the aristocratic residence of Montmartin are closely related, and seem to have been frequented by the same family group. The assemblage from Gournay consists of 2,768 bones from its enclosure trench, dating from the early third century B.C. through the early to mid-first century B.C., the sanctuary's initial period of occupation.[492] The assemblage from Montmartin consists of 3,247 bones from the foundation trench of cult Enclosure 56's palisade wall, placed there after its demolition with fragments of the wall, human bones, ceramics, and metal objects. The ceramics and metal objects date the deposit to the mid-first century B.C.[493]

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[490] As noted above, MNI stands for minimum number of individuals.
[491] Mantel et al. 1997, 83–6, especially 84.
[492] Gournay's period of greatest activity was the LTC1 to LTD1 periods (300/250 B.C. – 100/50 B.C.), as the votive deposits attest, and the animal bones would have been deposited in the enclosure trench at that time (Brunaux et al. 1985, 125 & 144; 2003, 15. See chapter 2 for discussion of the phases of the sanctuary's history.
[493] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 147, 174–8, 201–2. See chapters 3 and 5 for discussion of human bones and metal.

Despite their proximity and ties, the two sites provide very different assemblages of animal bones (fig. 4.11 and 4.12). The sacrifice of cattle, followed by exposure and display, was the primary ritual activity at Gournay involving animals, as their quantity (1,620 bones, MNI of 52 cattle), and high percentage (58.5%) of the total of animal bones reflect. Horses were sacrificed and exposed similarly.[494] Gournay also provides limited evidence of the consumption of pigs (190 bones, MNI 33) and sheep (610 bones, MNI 93) in banquets.[495] It should be noted that at Gournay, there was a strict division between species that were never consumed, but subjected to special ritual treatment (cattle and horses), and those that were consumed in patterns corresponding to banqueting sanctuaries (pigs and sheep).

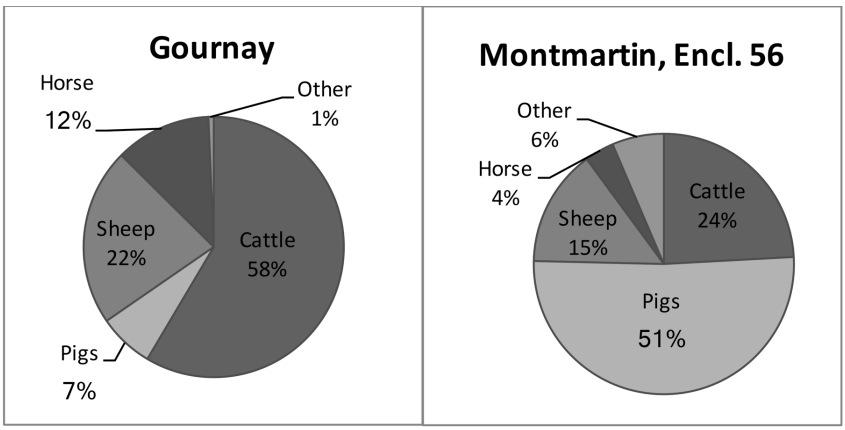

Figure 4.11. Comparison of the percentages of major species at Gournay and Montmartin by number of bones (data from Brunaux et al. 1985, 125 and Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 88, Table VIII)

[494] Brunaux et al. 1985, 125. See section 4.4.
[495] See section 4.2.4.

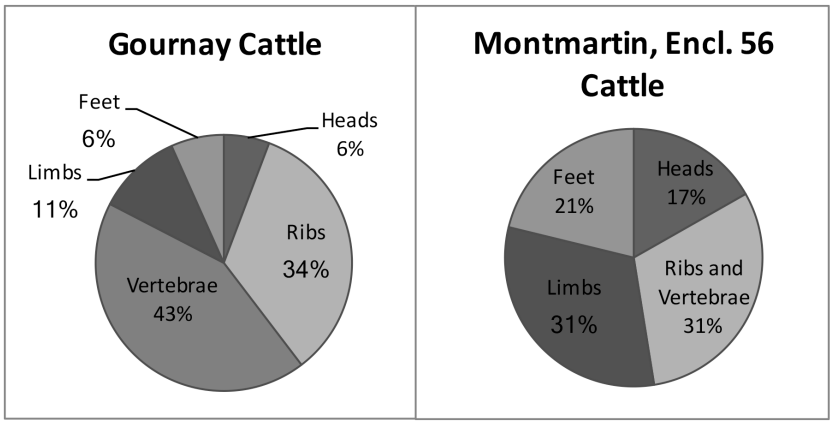

Figure 4.12. Comparison of the cattle bone distributions at Gournay and Montmartin by number of bones (data from Brunaux et al. 1985, 146, Table I and Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 88, Table X)

In contrast, the assemblage from the cult installation at Montmartin (Enclosure 56) consists of banqueting remains from periodic gatherings for feasting and weapon dedication within the enclosure. The cult installation was located within an aristocratic residence, and thus, the banquets held within may be connected with the hierarchical warrior banquet described by Caesar, archaeological evidence of which has been found on sanctuary and *oppida* sites.[496]

In the percentages of the major species, ages, bone distribution, and marks on bones, the assemblage from Montmartin shares several commonalities with banqueting sites. Pig bones make up only 51% of the animal bones overall, but they were not spread evenly along the entire length of the cult installation's enclosure trench. Behind the enclosure's pit and hearth, pig bones make up 75% of the animal bones, on-par with banqueting sanctuaries, supporting the proposal that the cult enclosure was used for ritual banqueting.[497] Brunaux and Méniel comment that the cult installation at Montmartin served more as a gathering place for warriors for social and political purposes than a facility for cult practice. Although they allow that all

[496] Poux 2000; 2006b; 2012b; 2015; Poux et al. 2008.
[497] Brunaux et al. 1985; Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 231.

gatherings and banquets would nonetheless have been practiced under the auspices of the god(s) associated with the site.[498] Given the prominence of the ritual treatment of human remains, armament dedications, and the aforementioned banqueting, one would argue instead that cult practice dominated the activity of the cult installation.

4.2.5. The Sanctuary of Bennecourt

The animal bones from Bennecourt considered here come from the four richest fill levels of the Gallic sanctuary's enclosure trench, Sequences 3, 7, 9, and 10, which make up more than 90% of the total number (fig. 4.13).[499] All of these sequences date to the La Tène D1 period, c. 120 B.C., and probably represent a few decades of activity.[500] More specific dating of the sequences is not possible, given the mixture of the layers and material.

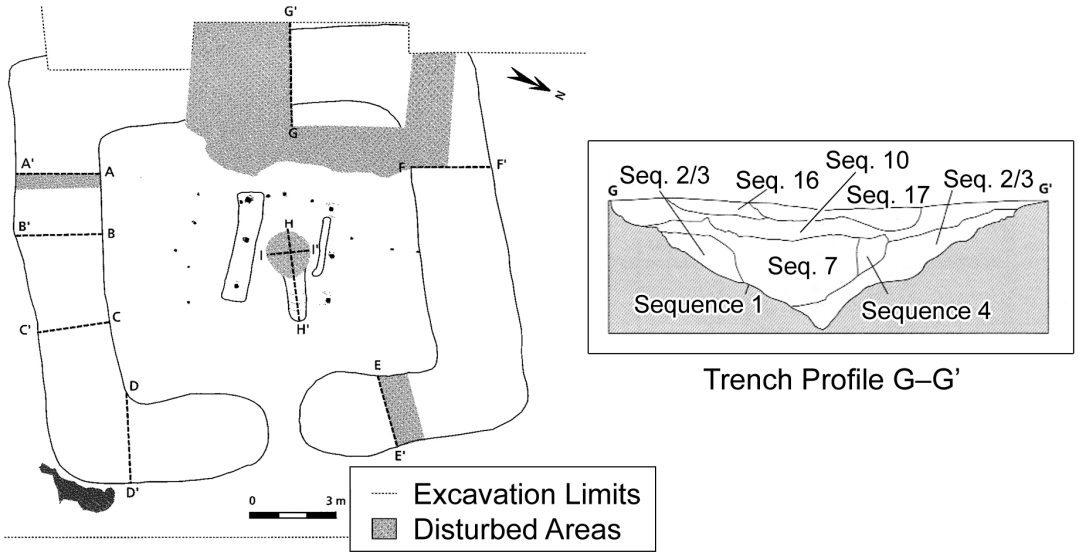

Figure 4.13. Plan of La Tène sanctuary at Bennecourt and profile of its enclosure trench (modified from Bourgeois 1999, 16, fig. 3 and 38, fig. 26)

[498] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 231.
[499] The total number of bones is approximately 20,000. The bones from Sequences 3, 7, 9, and 10 number 18,648 (of which 12,856 have been identified, 69% of the count), and weigh 125 kg (of which 119kg have been identified, 95% of the weight).
[500] Bourgeois 1999, 24 & 35.

The fill of the trench was rapid, only the course of a few years, creating four essentially contemporary layers, Sequences 3, 7, 9, and 10. In effect, the animal bones from Bennecourt are a single assemblage deposited at the end of the second century B.C. The bones would most likely have accumulated on the ground surface beside the trench for several decades. Because the trench is a secondary context, and was filled rapidly, bones from individual sequences cannot be considered as assemblages from individual occasions. Instead, they are the collective remains of multiple banquets, of which we cannot know the frequency and corresponding scale. This difficulty is commonly encountered at banqueting sites, notably for the aforementioned first century B.C. assemblage from Ribemont.[501]

For some of the detailed study of animals' ages at slaughter and bone distributions, it has been necessary to examine the material from Sequence 7 alone. It is the most characteristic level, providing the greatest number of bones (7,936 bones, 62% of the total), and data for the other sequences is not always complete.[502] Further, from the data available, the material from Sequences 3, 7, 9, and 10 is entirely uniform (fig. 4.14).

[501] Méniel 1998b, 135.
[502] Bourgeois 1999, 16–26; Méniel 1999b, 151. For example, the values Méniel (1999b, 160, Table XXV) lists for pig and sheep bones from Sequence 3 are identical, an error in transcription that creates a gap in the data.

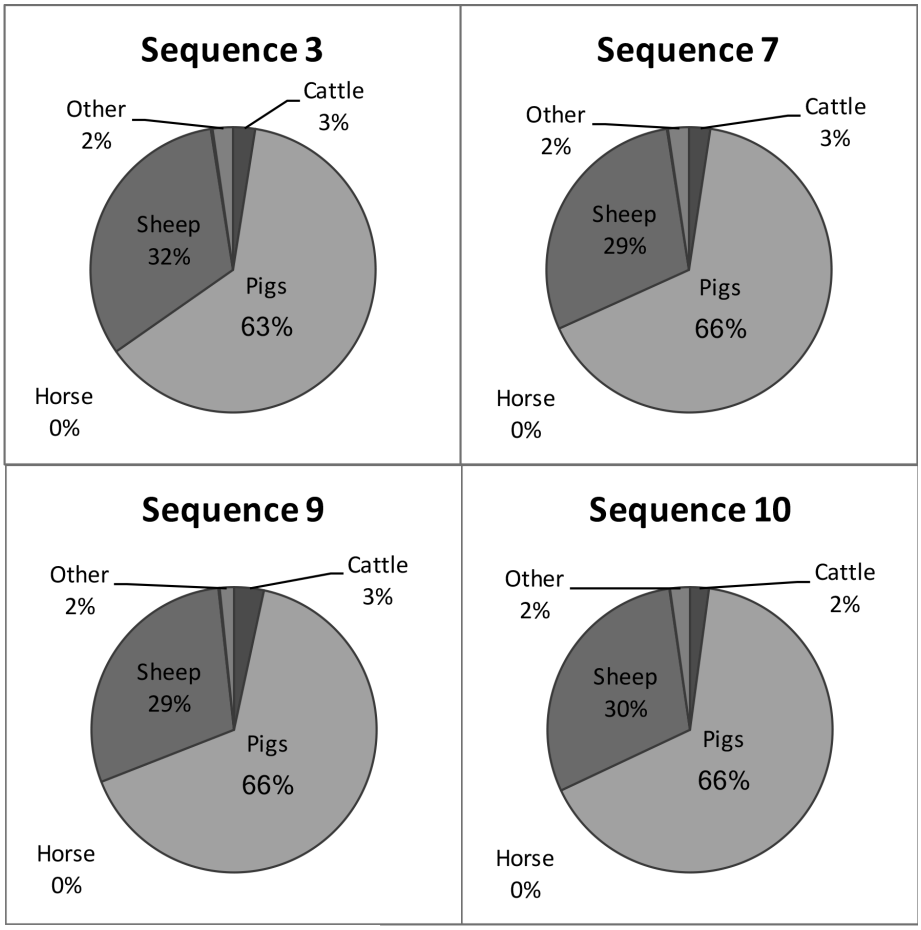

Figure 4.14. Species distribution for Bennecourt's four richest sequences, late 2nd c. B.C. – early 1st c. B.C. (data from Méniel 1999b, 153, Table XIV)

The only significant chronological differentiation to be made at Bennecourt is between the La Tène and Roman period. After Sequence 10 there was a hiatus of at least fifty years before the site was reoccupied. This reoccupation, c. 50–40 B.C., represents the beginning of the Roman period at Bennecourt.[503]

The sequences from the Roman epoch (*c.* 50/40 B.C. – end of the fourth century A.D., Sequences 13–35) have provided very few animal bones, a total of 1,674 (918 identified) from more than four centuries of occupation. Their distribution is largely the same in terms of the selection of species, with pigs continuing to make up

[503] Bourgeois 1999, 39–42. The phases of the sanctuary of Bennecourt are discussed in Chapter 2.

around two-thirds of the bones (fig. 4.15). However, the percentage of sheep declines markedly, in favor of birds.[504] Some changes to the preferred parts of pigs also occurred in the Roman period, such as a stronger preference for limbs, also seen at Ribemont.[505]

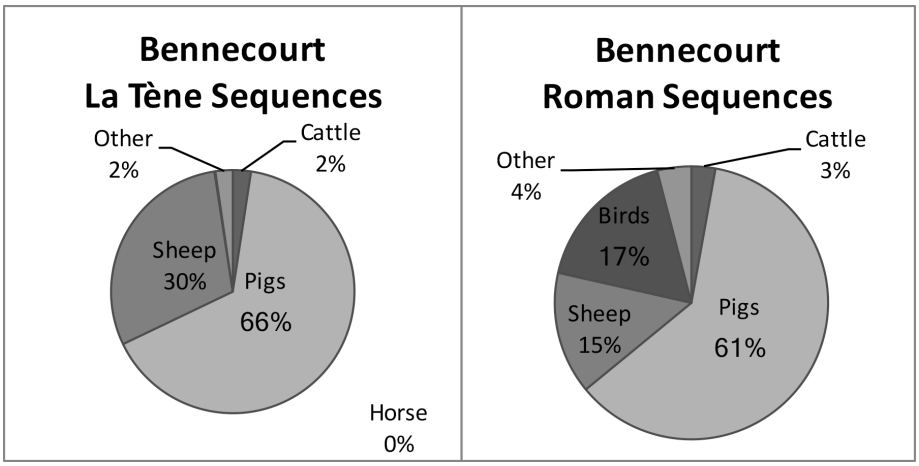

Figure 4.15. Species distribution for Bennecourt's La Tène and Roman period sequences (data from Méniel 1999b, 153, Table XIV, 165, Table XXX)

4.2.6. The Sanctuary of Estrées-Saint-Denis

The sanctuary of Estrées-Saint-Denis has provided 5,397 animal bones (58kg) from c. 150–25 B.C. (LTD1 period).[506] They are in a poor state of conservation, and dispersed across 88 contexts (pits, trenches, and post-holes). As a consequence, they are highly fragmented, and only a little over half (53%, 2,867 bones) have been identified, although these represent most (89%, 52kg) of the total weight.

The complete assemblage has been used for the overall species distribution (fig. 4.16). For detailed analysis, only Structures (St.) 140 and 161, a section of the enclosure trench and a pit along its length, have been used, as the material from the other contexts is too scattered to examine in detail (fig. 4.16). Together, they provide

[504] Most of the birds (more than 50%) have been identified as chicken (Méniel 1999b, 165–7).
[505] Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz 2008, 203–5.
[506] Méniel 2002c.

two-thirds of the identified bones (66%, 1,896 bones), most of which (81%, 1,536 bones) come from St. 140. The material from St. 140 and 161 is considered together in order to create a larger, more representative sample for age determination and bone distribution.

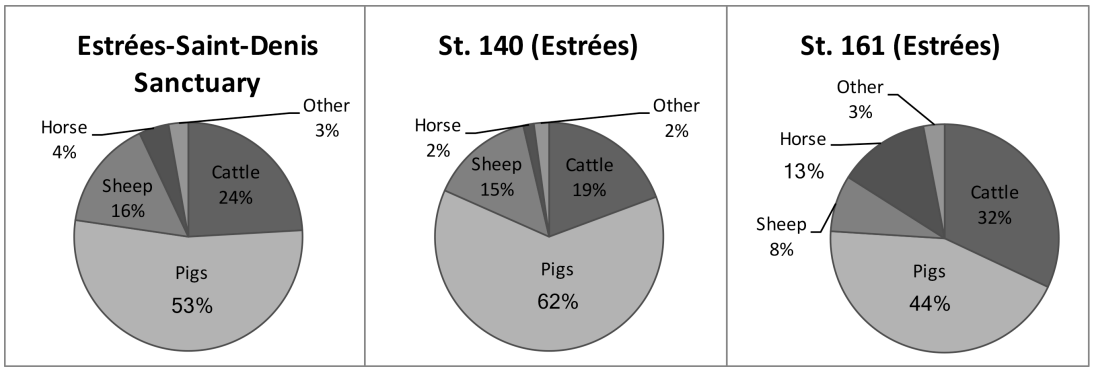

Figure 4.16. Species distribution for Estreés-Saint-Denis overall, and contexts St. 140 and St. 161 (data from Méniel 2002c, 254, Table II and 259–60)

4.2.7. The Public Area within the *Oppidum* of Titelberg

The *oppidum* of Titelberg provides another massive settlement assemblage, which has only been partially studied to date.[507] The bones examined here come from two contexts, the 30 ha domestic area, and the 10 ha central public space (fig. 4.17).[508] The complete assemblage, nearly all of which (90%) dates to the second half of the first century B.C., contains 20,615 bones (11,006 determined).[509] It provides useful comparative evidence from a settlement context. The assemblage from the central public space, dated to the LTD period (1st century B.C.), contains 9,021 determined bones. They are the remains of a large-scale public sacrifices, and come from an approximately 1,680m^2 area (comparable in size to the sanctuary enclosures at Ribemont, Fesques, and Gournay) near an altar and public building, which were later

[507] Méniel 2014, 315.
[508] Metzler et al. 2006, 203.
[509] Méniel 1993b.

replaced by a Roman sanctuary.[510] As at Acy-Romance, the central public space at Titelberg was a sacred locale for ritual gatherings.

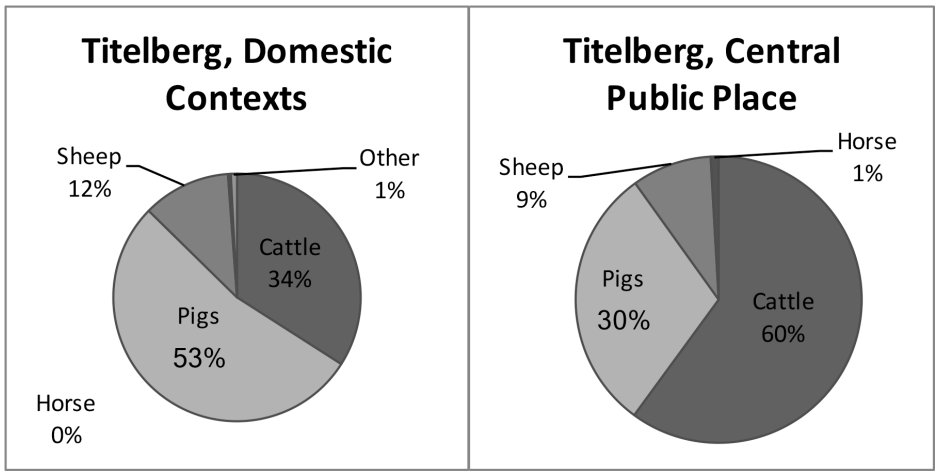

Figure 4.17. Comparison of the distribution of major species from the domestic contexts and central public space of Titelberg by number of bones (data from Méniel 1993, 399; Metzler et al. 2006, 212, fig. 7)

The assemblage from Titelberg's central public space has been included in this chapter because it compares with the assemblages from the central public space of Acy-Romance, and the outer enclosure trench (St. 1) at the sanctuary of Fesques. The assemblages from all three sites represent displays of sacrificial remains, and the implications of their similarities will be explored in section 4.4. Further, Titelberg is a rare case in that complementarity may be demonstrated between the bone assemblage from the central public space and that from the domestic area, providing the other half of the picture of the largescale sacrifice, butchering, and distribution of meat. That is, certain bones that appear in higher quantities in the first appear in lower quantities in the second. Such complementarity cannot be established at Acy-Romance and

[510] Metzler et al. 2006, 203–12; Méniel 2008a, 172.

Fesques, and, consequently, Titelberg helps to further our understanding of the other two sites.[511]

Table 4.1. Count of Bones and Dates of Assemblages Discussed by Site				
Site	Determined	Indeterminate	Total	Date of Assemblage
Ribemont, Zone 1	3,131	1,713	4,844	Late 1st c. B.C.
Ribemont, Well Pt. 35	4,454	1,642	6,096	Mid- to late 2nd c. A.D.
Fesques, Overall	9,940	541	10,481	c. 200–50 B.C.
Fesques, St. 250	3,893	107	4,000	c. 200–50 B.C.
Fesques, St. 1 & 1bis	4,668	262	4,930	c. 200–50 B.C.
Gournay	2,768	Unknown	Unknown	Early 3rd – early 1st c. B.C.
Bennecourt, Seq. 3, 7, 9, 10	12,856	5,792	18,648	End 2nd c. B.C.
Estrées-Saint-Denis, Sanctuary	2,867	2,530	5,397	c. 150–25 B.C.
Montmartin, Enclosure 56	3,247	2,171	5,418	Early 1st cent. B.C.
Acy-Romance, Settlement	79,000	118,000	197,000	c. 130–80 B.C.[512]
Acy-Romance, Cent. Pub. Space	480	301	781	c. 180–80 B.C.
Acy-Romance, Sheep Hecatombs	4,985	285	5,270	c. 80–70 B.C.
Estrées-Saint-Denis, Settlement	838	518	1,356	c. 150–25 B.C.
Titelberg, Settlement	11,006	9,609	20,615	2nd half of 1st c. B.C.
Titelberg, Cent. Pub. Space	9,021	Unknown	Unknown	1st c. B.C.

[511] Mantel et al. 1997; Méniel 1998c, 65–78; Verger et al. 2000, 29–33.
[512] The bones from Acy-Romance date to c. 180 B.C. – A.D. 30/40, but 70% of these date to c. 130–80 B.C., the settlement's period of greatest prosperity (Lambot 2000, 98; 2006, 177).

4.3. Animal Bones and Banqueting Practice

4.3.1. Methods of Assessment

4.3.2. Comparing the Quantities of Cattle, Pigs, and Sheep at Sites

While many different species appear on sites, pig, cattle, and sheep bones dominate most assemblages, and most assemblages are consumption remains, as the bone distributions and marks on the bones indicate.[513] Horse bones appear rarely, only ever making up a small percentage of the bones, but feature prominently in non-consumption rituals where they are found. On settlement sites, horses seem to have possessed the same status as cattle (i.e. large animals for group consumption) and were consumed in limited quantities.[514] Horses were never consumed on sanctuary sites, and even seem to have possessed a status equal to humans at some sanctuaries, such as the horse bones stacked with human bones in the bone frame of Ossuary 82 at Ribemont (section 4.4).

Of the other species found on sites, dog bones commonly make up all or most of the remainder of the bones in assemblages. But they are never found in numbers approaching those of the three major species, and they do not seem to have played a special role like horses. The marks on dog bones indicate that they are consumption remains, and thus not particularly significant, given their minimal counts.[515] Consequently, discussion in this chapter has been limited to the three major species, and dogs classified with the remaining animals in 'other'.

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[513] It is often not possible to distinguish between sheep or goat bones. However, where it has been possible, sheep always make up the vast majority of caprid bones. Consequently, 'sheep' has been used for efficiency and convenience in this text, rather than 'caprid' or the cumbersome 'sheep or goat', even though it is not possible to assure that all of the caprids from each site were sheep (Méniel 1992b; 2001; 2008).

[514] Méniel 1994; 2001, especially 22–3 and 66–8.

[515] The notable exception to the minor role dogs typically play is the sanctuary of Vertault in central east France. See Méniel, Mangin, and Mangin 1991; 1994; Mangin, Mangin and Méniel 1992; Méniel 1992b, 42–6; Jouin, Méniel, and Joly 2001 for discussion.

Pigs were exclusively consumed, and were preferred at banqueting sanctuaries over cattle and sheep, often making up two-thirds to three-quarters of the count of bones. Sheep were also consumed, often according to the same rules of selection as pigs (regarding ages and meat quarters), but in lesser numbers. Thus, high percentages of pig and sheep bones at a site suggest banqueting practice, which may then be confirmed by study of the animals' ages at slaughter, the distribution of bones by type, and any marks of butchering they might bear.

Cattle, on the other hand, were only consumed in small numbers on banqueting sites. They instead dominate assemblages on sites where mass sacrifice, butchering, and meat distribution were practiced, and their butchering remains were used as displays of sacrificial practice on these sites (section 4.3). Cattle were also employed a non-consumption ritual at Gournay (section 4.5).

Charting the percentages of the three major species on the basis of bone counts is useful in that it allows quick general comparison of bone assemblages from multiple sites (fig. 4.18).[516] When viewed together, the assemblages initially seem quite disparate, but they may be divided into various groups according to commonalities in their distributions. Subsequently, examination of the nature of the sites in each group, the contexts from which bones come, and any evidence of shared ritual practice allows more substantial connections to be established between sites.

4.3.3. Identifying Banqueting Practice

When examining species distribution, banqueting sanctuaries may be tentatively identified by high percentages of pigs: around 60–66% of the bones at

[516] One is aware of the inherent methodological problems of comparing counts of bones, but their use in order to make general and provisional comments does not seem problematic. See O'Connor 2000, 54–7 for support.

sanctuaries associated with or within settlements (Bennecourt, Estrées-Saint-Denis), and around 70–75% at rural sanctuaries lacking settlement associations (Ribemont, Fesques, St. 250).[517] Although the quantities of other species vary considerably, sheep often make up around 15% of the count of bones (14% at Estrées-Saint-Denis and Fesques, St. 250, 13% at Ribemont, and 15% at the cult enclosure at Montmartin, but 30% at Bennecourt).

Cattle bones are quite variable, between 2% and 24%, averaging around 5–10% at banqueting sites. This variability may be a consequence of the size of cattle, and pursuant scale of the sacrifice, which would encourage less-frequent consumption. The volume of meat produced would have required a large gathering of individuals to either consume it on site, or remove it for consumption elsewhere. The low frequency of cattle bones on banqueting sites may also be due to the fact that cattle, unlike pigs and sheep, featured in both rituals of non-consumption and consumption, and thus had elevated status.

The identification of a site's nature becomes more complex when multiple rituals were practiced on the same site. For example, at Gournay, pigs and sheep were consumed, but cattle and horses were sacrificed in a non-consumption ritual. At Fesques, two different types of consumption rituals were practiced, banqueting within the inner enclosure, and slaughter and distribution of meat beside the outer enclosure. The overall count at Fesques (fig. 4.20) obscures these two distinct practices.

Once we have identified a site as a banqueting sanctuary tentatively, it is necessary to look in greater detail at the characteristics of its bone assemblage(s).

[517] Both Ribemont and Fesques acquired associated settlements later in their histories, but these did not develop until the Roman period. See chapter 2.

Firstly, the date(s) of the assemblage(s), or their relative chronology in the sanctuary's history must be determined. The assemblages primarily come from enclosure trenches, secondary or tertiary contexts, complicating attempts to date them. Often, a site's assemblage(s) may only be dated to the period during which its enclosure trench(es) were open (e.g. Fesques's outer enclosure trench).

Further, the time between the creation of an assemblage and its deposit in an enclosure trench may be quite distant. For example, a yearly banquet might produce an assemblage of a few hundred bones, but the remains of multiple years could be collected along an enclosure fence, only to be deposited decades later. The bones from the outer enclosure trench at Fesques (St. 1), the remains of a century and a half of ritual activity, were deposited in a single fill.

Related to this consideration, it is important to understand the assemblage's context, both physical location and how it relates to other activity on the site. For example, at Acy-Romance, the bones from the postholes of the central public space's palisade wall provide evidence of butchering of horses and cattle within the enclosure at communal events during the settlement's period of greatest prosperity. A century later, shortly after the closure of the central public space, special deposits of the remains of mass butchering of sheep (the hecatombs) were created. They are the successors of butchering in the public space.[518] Where possible, it is useful to trace the course the bones followed in time and space prior to reaching their final resting place. Méniel has proposed that the first century B.C. bones from Ribemont were sorted sometime before their deposit, although the correlation between bones' size and

[518] See section 4.5.3.

frequency suggests the assemblage's composition was determined by natural losses during the bone's prolonged stay on the ground surface prior to deposit.[519]

Typically, bones only come from the Gallic epoch, and they are often even further limited to the late La Tène period (LTC2–LTD2). Because bones frequently come from limited contexts or a single context, often only a total count from all epochs of a site is available, and changes in practice over time cannot be traced. Further, it is difficult to trace banqueting practice into the Roman period due to the lack of soft contexts to receive bones. In the Roman period, *temenos* boundaries were marked by stone or masonry walls, rather than open trenches, and deposition in pits was not common.[520] Consequently, very few bones survive, despite the fact that we may be confident banqueting continued in the Roman period. In rare cases, as at Ribemont, a site may provide individual, reliably dated assemblages from the La Tène and Roman periods, through which we may trace the evolution of banqueting practice over time.

Where data is preserved, like the mid-second century deposit at Ribemont, and the Roman period bones from Bennecourt, it does not seem to indicate much change in consumption patterns in the Roman period (section 4.2.1 and 4.3.2).[521] Most commonly, the percentages of pigs and/or sheep decrease, while the percentage of small animals, usually chicken and other domestic birds, increases. Cattle sacrifice, already a minority practice at most sites in the late La Tène period, ceases in the Roman period. Both the increase in birds, and decrease in cattle seem to reflect the general shift from group practice to individual offerings, also seen in votive dedicatory practice.[522] Changes also appear in the selection of meat cuts. In the case of Ribemont

[519] See section 4.4.2.
[520] Méniel 2015, 162–3.
[521] Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz 2008; Méniel 1998b, 165–7.
[522] Kiernan 2009, 3–5.

and Bennecourt in the Roman period, the percentage of pig heads decreases in favor of the ham cuts from the limbs.[523] Ages at slaughter do not display significant change.[524]

After general consideration of assemblages, we may move into greater specificity by considering the various data points they provide. These include: the ages of the animals at slaughter, the distribution of bones by type, and any marks on the bones (butchering or ritual treatments).[525] They help to illuminate the character of banqueting at sites, and to illustrate commonalities between sites that were only observable in a general manner from bone counts. Data is not always available for all of these lines of query, but often, lacunae may be filled through reconstruction of the ritual sequence, comparison with other sites, or comparison between different species on the same site.

4.3.4. The Significance of Ages at Slaughter

The ages of animals at slaughter, which differ primarily by species and then by site, inform us of the quality of the meat consumed, specific herd management practices, and any selections made outside of practical herd management that might reflect ritual prescriptions. Broad comparison of slaughter ages reveals that younger animals were preferred on sanctuary sites, sometimes at the cost of the integrity of the herd, which required a large number of young breeding stock to maintain its numbers.[526] At most sites, pigs were sacrificed slightly before they reached maturity,

[523] Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz 2008, 203–5; Méniel 1999b, 165–7.
[524] Lepetz 2007; Lepetz and Van Andringa 2008.
[525] It is important when considering bone distributions to maintain an understanding of the cuts of meat to which particular bones correspond, as will be addressed in further detail shortly (Méniel 1998b, 126; 2007).
[526] Méniel 1998b; 2001; 2008b; Verger et al. 2000, 95. Méniel (1998b, 133–4) does note that where economic and social constraints permitted, adult, but not particularly aged, animals were consumed on settlements.

around a year and a half, and sheep and cattle, between two and four. Selection was more pronounced in some cases, such as at Gournay where lambs were consumed exclusively in the first phases of the sanctuary, and at Fesques, where more than three-quarters of cattle were sacrificed between 1.5 and 2.5 years.[527]

However, for the most part, sanctuaries followed the same practical rules for herd maintenance seen in domestic contexts, like the slaughter of pigs at their prime (1.5–2 years). Since pigs were bred solely for their meat, they were commonly killed near the end of growth to ensure the highest quality and greatest quantity of meat.[528] The preferential slaughter of the males of all species was also common, in order to leave the females for breeding, and eliminate aggressive and unnecessary males.[529]

4.3.5. The Significance of Bone Distributions

The second data point is the distribution of bones from the various parts of the body. Bone distribution is the least certain of the methods to analyze assemblages, because multiple factors play into what types of bones survived until deposit. They include natural factors (preservation conditions), and human involvement (selection and discard of certain bones, relocation of bones and pursuant losses).[530] Additional factors come into play during excavation and thereafter, such as differential recovery (smaller bones are more easily missed) and bones' identifiability during cataloguing.[531] For example, the bones from Estrées-Saint-Denis are poorly preserved

[527] See sections 4.5.1 and 4.7.3.
[528] Méniel 1992a; 1992b; 2001, 31–40.
[529] Davis 1985, 39; Méniel 2001, 14–8. See also Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz 2008.
[530] Some of the factors that affect zoological assemblages include butchery technique, transport of animals and meat cuts, loss to carnivores, movement and addition by burrowers, decay of bones in acidic school, and soil erosion resulting in losses. All of these factors are prior to the bones' excavation (Davis 1985, 22).
[531] Davis 1985, 36.

and highly fragmented, which may have led to greater losses of vertebrae and ribs, both of which Estrées is short on.[532]

These distributions of bones within assemblages indicate that the bones that went into enclosure trenches were select, but not necessarily selected, remains. The original assemblages were certainly quite different from those deposited in the trench. However, conscious human selection is rarely evident in assemblages, and the direct correlation between bone size and frequency of survival in multiple assemblages indicates that preservation conditions are the primary determinant of the distribution of bones in assemblages, rather than human intentionality.

4.3.6. The Significance of Marks on Bones

The third data point bones provide are the marks they bear, which primarily reveal the butchering process. They occasionally display traces of cooking, how the meat was processed (smoking, salting), and where meat was removed. Weathering may also be found, indicating that the bones remained exposed on the ground surface for some time before their burial.[533] Marks are generally quite rare, because care was taken during butchering and removal of the meat to avoid hitting the bone, where possible, in order to preserve the edge of the blade.[534] Firm blows were required to sever certain parts, such as removing the fore- and hind-limbs from the body, cutting the feet from the limbs, severing the head from the neck, and splitting the skulls of

[532] Méniel 1998b, 124; 2002c, 253–6.
[533] For example, weathering on the upper sides of the cattle bones from Gournay (discussed in section 4.6) has revealed that At Ribemont, the weakening of a portion of the bone surfaces of the pig bones from the Roman period may reflect exposure of the ends of the bones to salt or heat when the meat cuts were processed (Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz 2008, 204–6). Other examples and citations appear below.
[534] Brunaux and Méniel 1997; Méniel 1993b, 126–7, 387; 1998b, 122; 1999b, 159; 2001, 28; 2007, 238; 2008b; 2014c, 318; Poux 2002, 83.

pigs along the sagittal plane.[535] The butchering process of separating the ribs from the spine by running a knife along its length left marks on ribs and vertebrae from a number of sites. It was the preferred method of dividing the carcass in two, and the large majority of vertebrae found are missing their transverse epiphysis.[536] Prior to butchering, pigs were sometimes roasted, in order to remove their bristles, as evidenced by charring on pig canines at Ribemont and Bennecourt.[537] Evidence of cooking, where it has been observed, only appears on the parts of bones that projected from the meat and were exposed.[538] Boiling leaves no evidence.

Marks appear most commonly at the ends of bones, particularly where the primary cuts of meat (limbs, ribs) were separated from the body and spine, and where the feet were separated from the limbs. For example, cutting traces of disarticulation of the carpal and tarsal bones have been observed on the bones from the sheep hecatombs at Acy-Romance.[539] Other steps in the butchering process, such as separating the ribs into twos and threes, only occasionally leave marks (e.g. cattle ribs at Bennecourt bear the marks of being cut into 10cm sections of meat).[540] Removal of meat from the bone is only evident when the knife slipped during the process, and the marks are very minor.

Weathering is typically only a general indicator of whether the bones remained exposed on the ground surface for a long or short time. At Gournay, weathering on the

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[535] Pig, sheep, and dog heads at Bennecourt were split in half along the sagittal plane (Bourgeois 1999, 159). The marks of disarticulation have been found on a number of the carpal and tarsal bones of the sheep from the hecatombs at Acy-Romance (Verger et al. 2000, 95).
[536] Méniel 1998c, 67–8; 2001, 20. In the sheep hecatombs at Acy-Romance, the transverse epiphysis of the lumbar vertebrae, and the ends of ribs bear the marks of separation from the spine by a cleaver or heavy knife during butchering (Verger et al. 2000, 95).
[537] Méniel 1998b, 126–7; Bourgeois 1999, 157.
[538] Weakening of the bone surface was found on the tips of pig bones at Ribemont, which Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz (2008, 203) attribute to heat or salt damage during preparation of the meat.
[539] Verger et al. 2000, 95–6.
[540] Bourgeois 1999, 159.

upper side of cattle bones from the enclosure trench confirms that the sanctuary's cattle sacrifices were periodic: ten cattle sacrificed each decade, and buried in five successive deposits. The bones from Fesques' outer enclosure trench (St. 1), which display extensive weathering, collected on the surface for decades before they were deposited in a single fill.[541]

4.3.7. Context of Finds

Nearly all of the animal bone assemblages come from either enclosure trenches, or palisade foundation trenches. For the most part, they would have originally been collected beside these trenches or nearby, and only deposited at ground cleanings and/or trenches' filling and closure. For instance, enclosure trench St. 250 at Fesques was filled during ground cleanings on two occasions between the LTC2 and LTD1 periods (second through early first century B.C). Enclosure trench St. 1 was closed with a single fill at the end of the second century B.C.[542] At Acy-Romance, bones found in the postholes of the palisade enclosing the central public space fell or were swept there at the palisade's demolition.[543]

It seems that enclosure trenches at sanctuaries served as receptacles for the remains of completed ritual practice. Méniel notes the need to discard ritual remains, but the opposing constraint that they could not be removed from the enclosure where the ritual was performed.[544] As the markers of *temenos* boundaries, enclosure trenches were particularly suited to collect ritual remains, and they were the farthest that ritual remains could go.

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[541] Brunaux et al. 1985, 136; Méniel 1991, 260; Mantel et al. 1997, 26. See sections 4.4 and 4.5 for discussion.
[542] Mantel et al. 1997, 22–6.
[543] Discussed in section 4.3.
[544] Méniel 2008b, 137–42.

Enclosure trenches were most certainly important features, as they were the markers of *temenos* boundaries, surrounding any structures within and defining the sacred area. They were prime locations for deposition of armament, as will be discussed in chapter 5. In most cases, with the notable exception of Gournay, deposits of animal bones in enclosure trenches were not structured. At all the banqueting sanctuaries discussed, animal bones were dumped in unstructured fills. In most cases, bones were not deposited until decades after the banquets from which they came. Deposits would have come from piles of bones beside enclosure trenches and against palisades or fences.

4.4. The Nature of the Pig Assemblages

4.4.1. Ages of Pigs

Banqueting sanctuaries display selection practices similar to those in settlements regarding age and gender preference, which were simply practical herd maintenance. Although, as with all species, somewhat younger animals tended to be preferred at banqueting sanctuaries than in settlements. Pigs were most commonly slaughtered around two years on both settlement and sanctuary sites, and the same is true at sanctuaries.

However, at sanctuaries, there is often also a significant percentage of pigs slaughtered at a younger age, most commonly between their first and second year when they reached maturity (fig. 4.21).[545] At Ribemont (first c. B.C. assemblage), Bennecourt, and Fesques (St. 250), pigs were slaughtered in increasing numbers as they approached the end of growth. At Bennecourt, Fesques (St. 250), and Estrées, the preference for younger animals was more pronounced. As pigs were only useful for

[545] Mantel et al. 1997, 88.

their meat, the only reason to keep a pig past maturity would be to ensure sustainability of the herd.[546] Accordingly, boars were slaughtered in greater numbers at younger ages than sows.[547] At both Ribemont and Bennecourt, boars were slaughtered at a two-to-one ratio over sows: 58 boar mandibles to 32 sow mandibles at Ribemont, and 60 boar mandibles to 30 sow mandibles at Bennecourt; and, at both sites, boars were slaughtered on average at two and sows at four.[548]

The age of pigs at slaughter at Ribemont did not change significantly in the Roman period. There was only a slight shift toward younger animals. If anything, the change was a concentration of the time of slaughter to the end of growth between a year and a half and two, when the maximum amount of quality meat was available for consumption.

[546] Information for this section comes from Méniel 1998c, 61; 2007; 2014c, 318.
[547] Mantel et al. 1997, 148; Méniel 1992b.
[548] Méniel 1998b, 122; 1999b, 156.

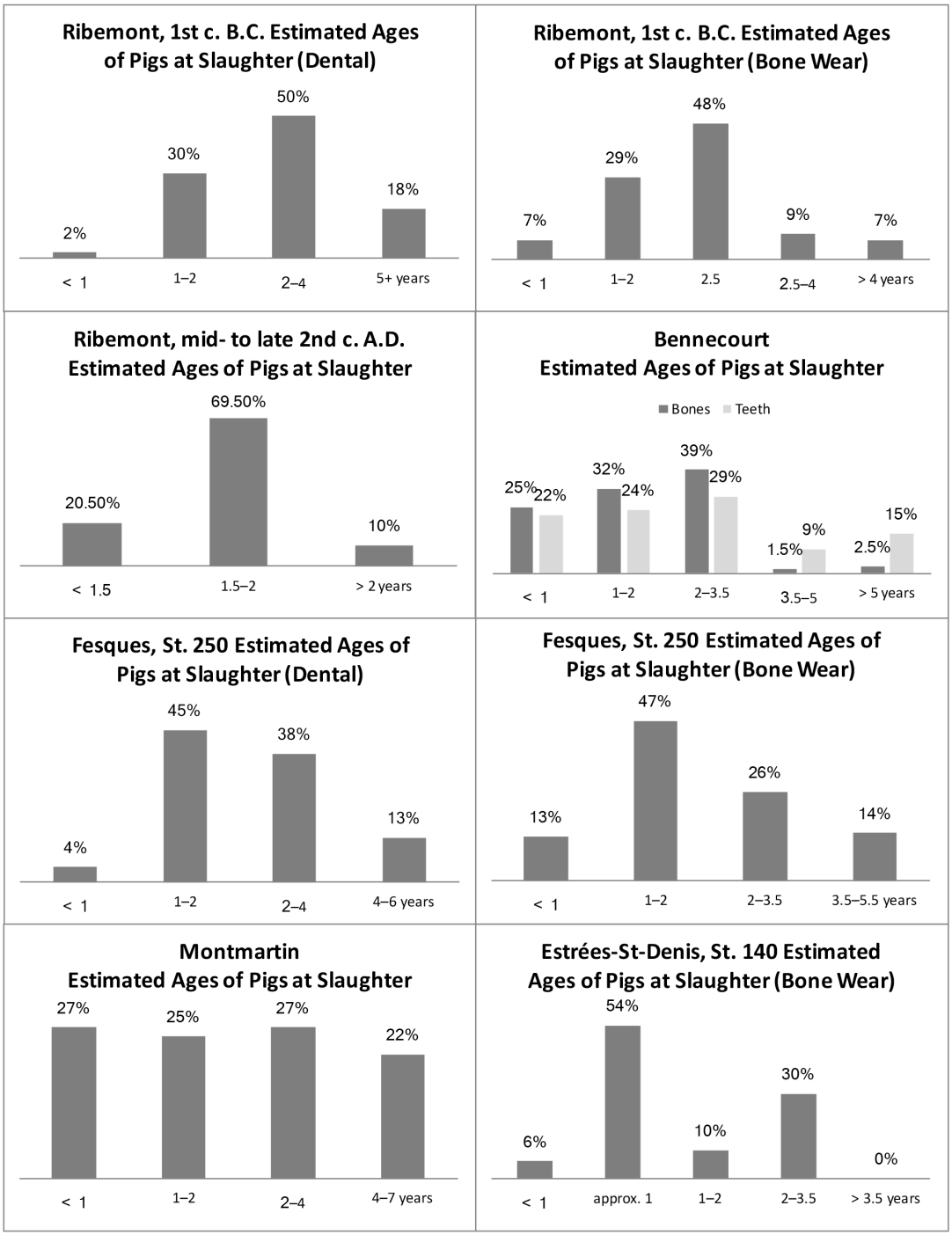

Figure 4.21. Ages of pigs at slaughter on northern Gallic sanctuary sites on the basis of dental and bone wear

Assemblage	Data from	N-Value for Dental	N-Value for Bone Wear
Ribemont, 1st c. B.C.	Méniel 1998b, figs. 2 & 4	193	Not provided
Ribemont, 2nd c. A.D.	Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz 2008, 203, fig. 5	N/A	99
Bennecourt	Méniel 1999b, 154, Table XVI	143	270
Fesques, St. 250	Mantel et al. 1997, 88, figs. 9 & 10	114	2,699
Montmartin	Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 149, fig. 133	64	N/A
Estrées-Saint-Denis	Méniel 2002c, 255, Table III	N/A	100

Figure 4.22. Data sources and N-values for the charts above

4.4.2. Bone Distribution and Marks on Pig Bones

The pig bones from Ribemont, Fesques (St. 250), and Bennecourt all display a positive correlation between their average weights, and the frequency at which they appear in the assemblage. That is, larger and heavier bones are preserved in greater numbers than smaller and lighter bones. This correlation points to a significant role of preservation conditions in determining which bones survived.[549] Given all the assemblages' extended stays aboveground prior to deposit, we can expect considerable losses.

Méniel identifies a particularly strong correlation at Ribemont, its trend line delineating a nearly perfect one-to-one relationship between bone weight and frequency of survival with 97% accuracy (fig. 4.23).[550] One's graphing of the data from Fesques and Bennecourt in the same manner produced trend lines with lesser slopes and reduced R-values (78% and 74%), indicating similar, albeit weaker, correlations. The weaker correlations at Fesques and Bennecourt are contrary to expectations, because the bones at both sites seem to have remained on the ground surface for a longer time (some decades) than those at Ribemont (a few decades at

[549] Méniel 1998b, 125.
[550] R-values measure the accuracy of a trend line to the data.

most). We would expect a stronger correlation between bone weight and frequency of survival at Fesques and Bennecourt rather than Ribemont. Preservation conditions certainly varied between sites, and many different factors played into which bones survived, so a single explanation is unlikely to explain the variance in correlations.[551]

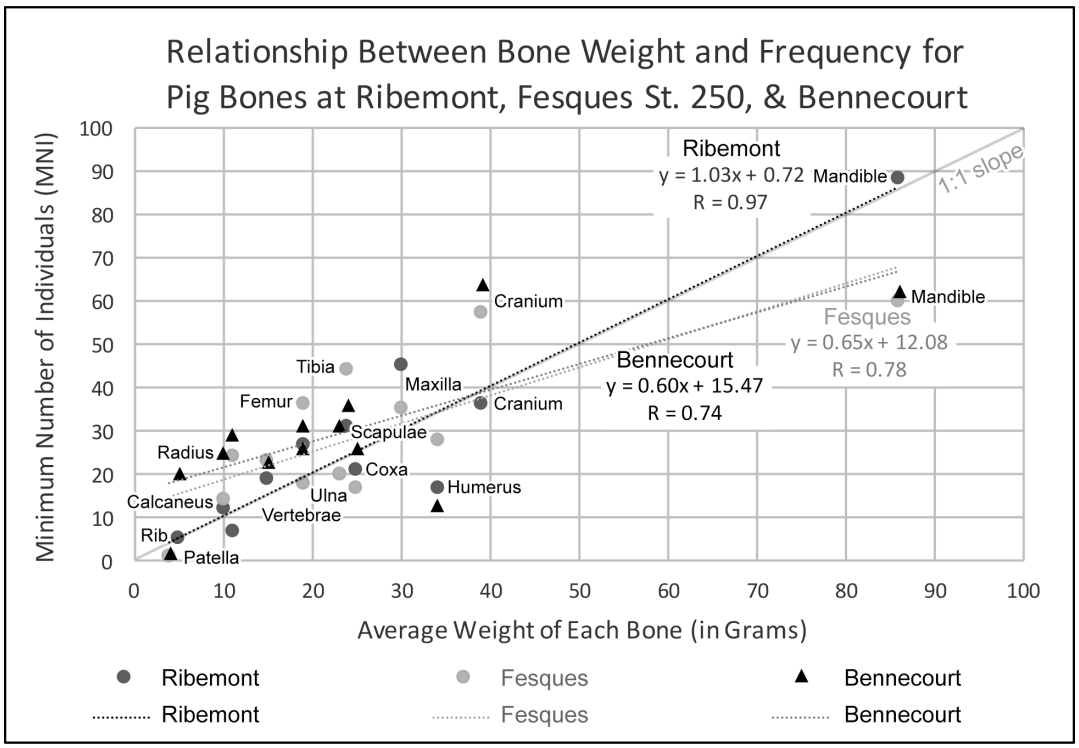

Figure 4.23. Relationship between bone weight and frequency for pig bones at Ribemont (1st c. B.C. assemblage), Fesques, St. 250, and Bennecourt (R-values indicate how closely the data matches its trend line.) (data from Méniel 1998b, fig. 9; Mantel et al. 1997, 88, Table XIII; Bourgeois 1999, 155, Table XX)

Méniel believes that the correlation at Ribemont also reflects conscious human selection: that the bones went through a sorting in which larger and more characteristic bones, such as mandibles, were selected for preservation. According to Méniel, this sorting took place when the bones were being moved from their primary to their secondary context. Smaller bones were intentionally left, or overlooked, and were

[551] Chaix and Méniel 2001, 149–50.

subsequently lost. Méniel suggests the ground within the enclosure as a possibility for the primary context, based on the residual bones found on its surface.[554] The secondary context would have been piles of bones beside or against the first century B.C. enclosure fences. At the fences' demolition, the bones fell, or were swept, into the foundation trenches, explaining their concentration in a narrow strip in the middle of the ditch. The arrangement of finds in Fesques' inner enclosure trench (St. 250) is the same.[555]

The collection of large and characteristic bones would have taken place either shortly after the conclusion of the banquet, or at a later cleaning of the ground surface. One would propose the possibility that banqueters performed the selection, depositing large and characteristic bones in piles against enclosure fences after they had consumed the meat. However, even this selection may have been incidental, because large bones are the most readily apparent and easiest to collect. Their collection would have displayed the banqueting practice the sanctuary hosted, and kept the interior of the enclosure free for subsequent banquets. One's hypothesis elides the discard of consumption remains with their sorting and collection against the enclosure fence, and gives agency to the banqueters, rather than to religious specialists sorting the bones at a later date, as Méniel proposed.[556]

One would propose that the discrepancy between the matched, weaker correlation lines of Fesques and Bennecourt between bone weight and frequency, and the near-perfect correlation of Ribemont may well be a consequence of the intentional selection proposed for Ribemont. That is, the strength of the correlation between bone

[554] Méniel 1998b, 125 & 135.
[555] Méniel 1998b, 130–1.
[556] Méniel 1998b, 135.

size and survival illustrated at Fesques and Bennecourt may reflect the correlation that naturally results when assemblages remain on the ground surface for extended periods of time. The correlation at Ribemont would be stronger then because, in addition to natural losses, the largest bones would have been intentionally selected for preservation and placed against the palisade wall. This placement increased their likelihood of survival above what would be expected if they had been left scattered on the ground surface until later collection and deposit, like Fesques and Bennecourt.[557]

Yet given the strong correlation between the weight/size of the bones and the frequency to support the argument that conscious human selection played a role in the formation of the assemblage, we must seek additional evidence that cannot be explained by preservation conditions. The uneven distribution of left and right mandibles at Ribemont may provide such evidence, as there is no natural reason for an imbalance between bones from either side of the body.[558]

In the first century B.C. assemblage from Ribemont, there are 144 pieces of pigs' right mandibles (MNI of 88 pigs), but only 100 pieces of left mandibles (MNI of 47). This distribution seems to display a marked preference for the right side given the nearly two-to-one difference in the MNI values.[559] A similar, albeit weaker, right side preference may be seen in the bones of the ham (coxae, femora, and tibiae) (fig. 4.24).[560] However, they are countered by an equal left side preference in a number of

[557] The bones were deposited in enclosure trench St. 250 at Fesques in only two fills, indicating that after banquets' completion, they remained scattered on the interior of the enclosure for some time before they were collected. Similarly, the bone deposits at Bennecourt were all performed within the course of a few years, while the banquets from which they came were spread over the course of decades.
[558] Mandibles and skulls themselves were single pieces without sides, but they were split in two along the sagittal plane as part of the standard Gallic butchering process. See section 4.2.1.6.
[559] Méniel 1998b, 125.
[560] The imbalance in sides for ham and other bones seems quite slight in the percentages based on count, but may be more pronounced in the MNI values. Unfortunately, the MNI is not available for these bones.

the bones of the cranium (lachrymal, premaxilla, parietal, nasal, temporal, maxilla) and the talus bones. Excepting mandibles, bones from either side maintain an overall equilibrium, with 429 bones from the left side, and 425 the right. Together with the limitation of the imbalance to mandibles, this distribution seems to indicate that the evidence is insufficient to argue for a side preference.[561]

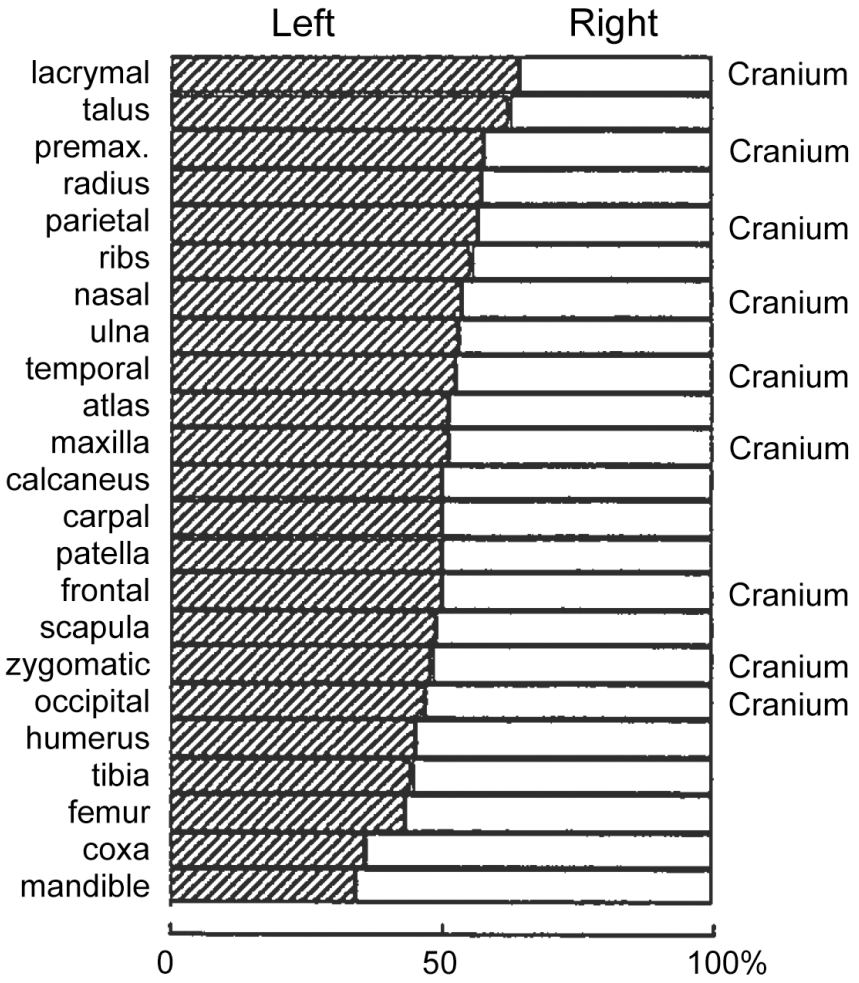

Figure 4.24. Illustration of the distribution of pig bones from the left and right sides on the basis of 3,131 identified bones from the La Tène layers at Ribemont (after Méniel 1998b, fig. 8)

In sum, human intentionality cannot confidently be demonstrated to have played a role in determining the composition of the assemblage, particularly since the

[561] Méniel 1998b, 124–6.

correlation between bone weight and frequency illustrates the fact that preservation conditions played a major role in determining which bones survived. Notably, mandibles, the bones that might provide evidence of a side preference, adhere to the correlation between bone size and frequency quite closely. Human selection of the heaviest / largest bones may have made the correlation at Ribemont stronger, if the lesser correlations at Fesques and Bennecourt reflect the naturally-occurring relationship.

The uncertainty remaining as to whether bones were intentionally selected, and the correlations between bone weight and frequency at the three main banqueting sites, prompts one to question how consumption remains were viewed and treated after banquets. While discussing the course bones followed prior to their deposit, Méniel indicates that one of the fundamental elements determining the treatment of sacrificial remains is that they were confined within the sacred space, and not simply discarded.[562] Banqueting remains seem to have been piled against enclosure fences in a number of cases, perhaps to testify to the banqueting practice on the sites in the same way the butchering remains displayed at Fesques, Acy-Romance, and Titelberg commemorated their cattle sacrifices.[563] Alternatively, bones may have been swept against the porticos in a practical measure to keep the interior space clear for continued banqueting with their deposit in enclosure trenches, bones were taken as far outside of the sanctuary area as was permissible – to the *temenos* boundary defined by the enclosure trench.

[562] Méniel 2008b, 137.
[563] See section 4.3.

A true preference for the right side of the body is found in the sheep bones from the rural sanctuary of Gavrelle, 50km northeast of Ribemont, where 90% of the determined sheep bones come from the right side of the body (fig. 4.24).[564] The assemblage from Gavrelle seems to be consumption remains like Ribemont, as it is largely composed of bones of the limbs, primarily hindquarters, and metatarsals and phalanges are absent. Butchering marks were found on a number of the bones as well.[565] Lepetz and Van Andringa allow that the assemblage from Gravrelle may represent meat cuts set aside for the gods, but indicate that it is more likely the product of a ritual selection of bones from consumption remains, as Méniel proposed was performed for Ribemont's mid-first century assemblage.

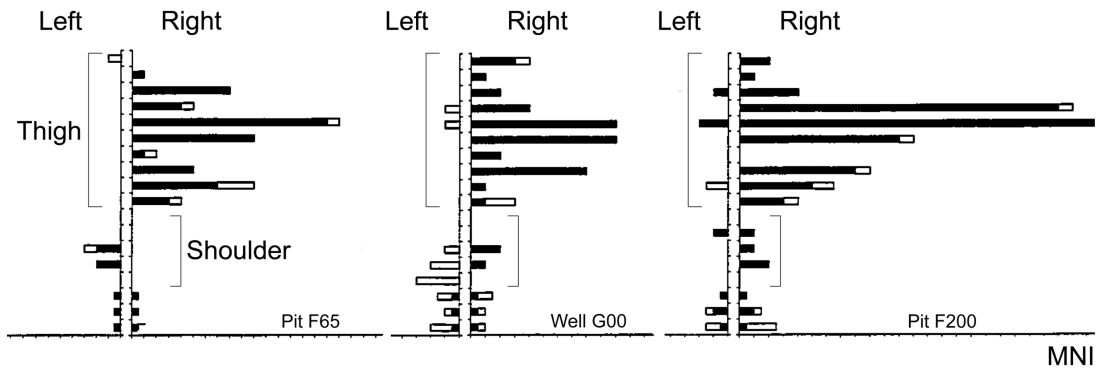

Figure 4.24. Sheep bone distribution from the contexts of the rural sanctuary of Gavrelle (modified from Lepetz and Van Andringa 2008, 22, fig. 12.)

A complementary preference for meat cuts from the *left* side of the body is found in a number of necropoleis in the region: La Croizette, one of Acy-Romance's cemeteries; Thugny-Trugny, a necropolis in the territory of the Remi; and Lamadelaine, the cemetery of Titelberg. At Lamadelaine, the global deficit of cuts of meat from the right side of the body is two-to-one – 46 from the left side and 23 from

[564] Desfossés et al. 2002; 2003; Lepetz and Van Andringa 2008, 20–3; Prilaux and Jacques 2016.
[565] Lepetz and Van Andringa 2008, 20–3.

the right.[566] The deficit becomes more pronounced in individual cuts: Half-heads follow a similar two-to-one ratio as the global distribution, but ribs are four-to-one left-to-right, and cuts of the neck (4), vertebrae (2), and shoulder (3) come from only the left side.[567] The transposition of the side preference to the left side in graves may be connected to the fact that the meat cuts were offered to the deceased, an inversion of offering to the gods and consumption within sanctuaries.

Because of the strong positive correlations between the bone weight/size and frequency, the bone distributions from Ribemont, Fesques (St. 250), and Bennecourt cannot provide reliable information about consumption preferences, as the bones that survived did so, in large part, because of preservation conditions. The only exception would be the almost complete absence of bones of the feet at all three sites, their absence explained by their discard after removal at the beginning of the butchering process.[568] Consequently, the bones collected at all three sites cannot represent total assemblages of the remains after sacrifice, but collections of banqueting remains, even if preferred meat cuts cannot be determined.

In the Roman period assemblage from Ribemont, the situation is quite different. Its bone distribution heavily favors the fleshy meat cuts of the limbs (fig. 4.25).[569] Further, there is no correlation between bone weight/size and frequency of survival in the assemblage. In fact, the heaviest bones, crania and mandibles, appear in some of the lowest numbers (fig. 4.26). The most frequently appearing bones are those of the thigh (coxa, femur, tibia, and calcaneus), followed by the shoulder (humerus, radius, ulna), with a near total absence of vertebrae (spines), ribs, and feet,

[566] Data from Méniel 1999a, 269, fig. 303.
[567] Méniel 1999a, 269.
[568] Méniel 2008b, 134.
[569] Méniel 1998b, 132; 2002a; Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz 2008, 205.

and low frequency of crania and mandibles. The shortage in foot bones is common, but not that of crania or spines, initial and final butchering discards.

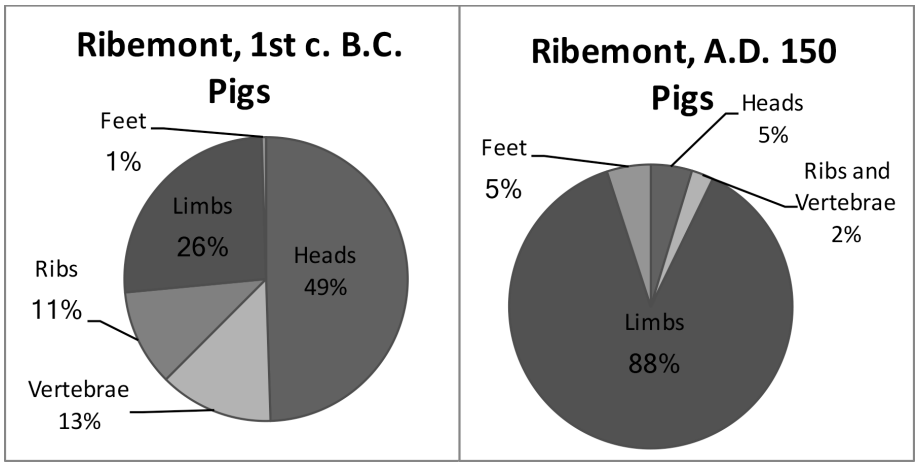

Figure 4.25. Distribution of pig bones from Ribemont's first century B.C. and second century A.D. assemblages (data from Méniel 1998b, 124; Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz 2008, 205, fig. 7)

Explanation for the near absence of butchering remains may be found in the bones' preservation condition. On almost half of the astragalus and femoral heads, a weakening of the surface has been identified, which may reflect exposure to salt or heat where the bones projected from the meat. Such processing suggests that preserved, rather than fresh, meat was consumed within the sanctuary in the Roman period.[570] Considering the lack of butchering discards and use of preserved meat, it seems most likely that sacrifice and butchering were performed outside of the sanctuary proper, and only select cuts of meat were brought into the banqueting area. They probably originated from a butchering area in the settlement that had developed to the southeast of the sanctuary by that time.[571]

[570] Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz 2008, 204.
[571] Brunaux et al. 2009, 13–23; Rose 2016, 73.

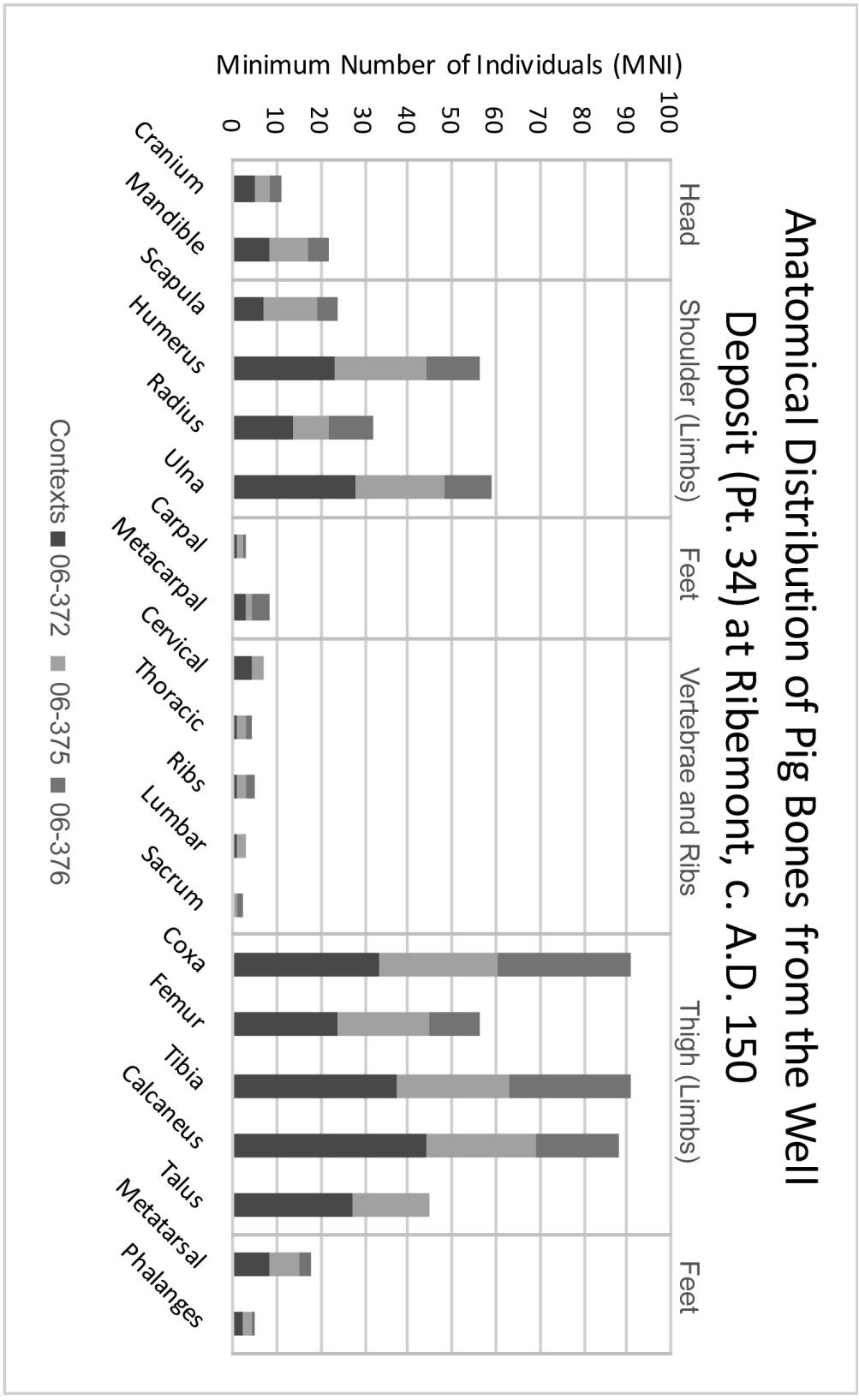

Figure 4.26. Anatomical distribution of pig bones, organized by areas of the body, from the well deposit (Pt. 34) at Ribemont, c. A.D. 150 (data from Fercoq du Leslay and Lepetz 2008, 205, fig. 7)

4.5. Nature of the Sheep Assemblages

4.5.1. Ages of Sheep

Sheep were typically slaughtered at a greater variety of ages than pigs on sanctuary sites, although younger sheep were preferred. Many were slaughtered around the end of growth at a year and a half, although frequently enough they were kept longer for their wool and milk.[574] The data indicates that young sheep were preferred at Ribemont (35% less than 1 year old, 40% between 1 and 2) and Bennecourt (more selective with 57% under 1.5 years, and 30% between 1.5 and 3.5). Gournay displays an extreme selection of lambs. Most were between three and four months at slaughter, with a minority of younger and older animals up to seven months.[575] In contrast with the first three sanctuaries, the sheep from the *temenos* enclosure trench (St. 250) at Fesques are distributed relatively evenly across all ages (fig. 4.27), more closely paralleling settlement selection practices. Overall, the data indicates that age selection for sheep on sanctuary sites and settlements did not differ fundamentally.

[574] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 59–63.
[575] Brunaux et al. 1985, 134. Sheep ages in the upper fill display no difference from typical settlement evidence: slaughter at all ages, commonly kept to between two and four years of and, often enough, beyond four years.

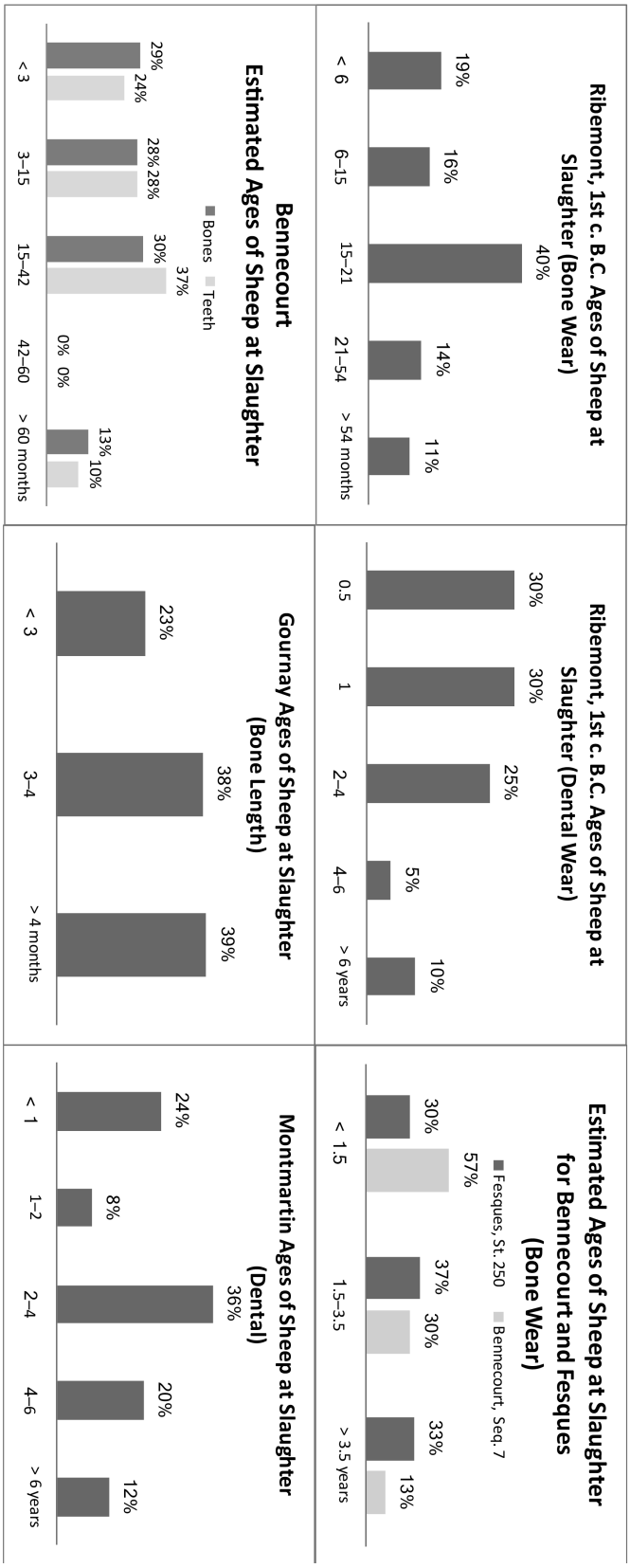

Figure 4.27. Ages of sheep at slaughter on northern Gallic sanctuary sites on the basis of dental and bone wear

Assemblage	Data from	N-Value for Bone Wear	N-Value for Dental
Ribemont, 1st c. B.C.	Méniel 1998b, figs. 5 & 6	70	20
Bennecourt	Méniel 1999b, 154, Table XVII	Not provided	Not provided
Fesques, St. 250	Mantel et al. 1997, 89	217	N/A
Gournay	Brunaux and Méniel 1983, 172, fig. 6	70	N/A
Montmartin	Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 149, fig. 134	N/A	25

Figure 4.28. Data sources and N-values for the sheep bone assemblages in the graphs above

4.5.2. Bone Distribution and Marks on Sheep Bones

At all the sites examined, bones of the limbs are the most frequent (fig. 4.29). They are divided evenly between shoulders and thighs at Ribemont and Bennecourt, but at Fesques, thighs (49.4%) are preferred over shoulders (23.9%), and the case is the same at Estrées.[578] The lamb bone assemblage from the lower level of the trench fill at Gournay displays a complete dominance (97%) of meat cuts of the limbs, and they are most assuredly consumption remains, as they bear numerous cut-marks from butchering (fig. 4.30), and lack anatomical associations.[579] This exclusivity may indicate meat lamb cuts were brought into the sanctuary from outside, as was the case for Ribemont in the Roman period.

[578] Preservation conditions at Estrées are particularly unfavorable, resulting in extensive fragmentation of all bones, and a small sample of sheep bones. The disproportionate percentage made up by bones of the head is the result of the favored conservation of mandibles, and individual counting of teeth and cranial fragments (Méniel 2002c, 256).
[579] Brunaux et al. 1985, 134.

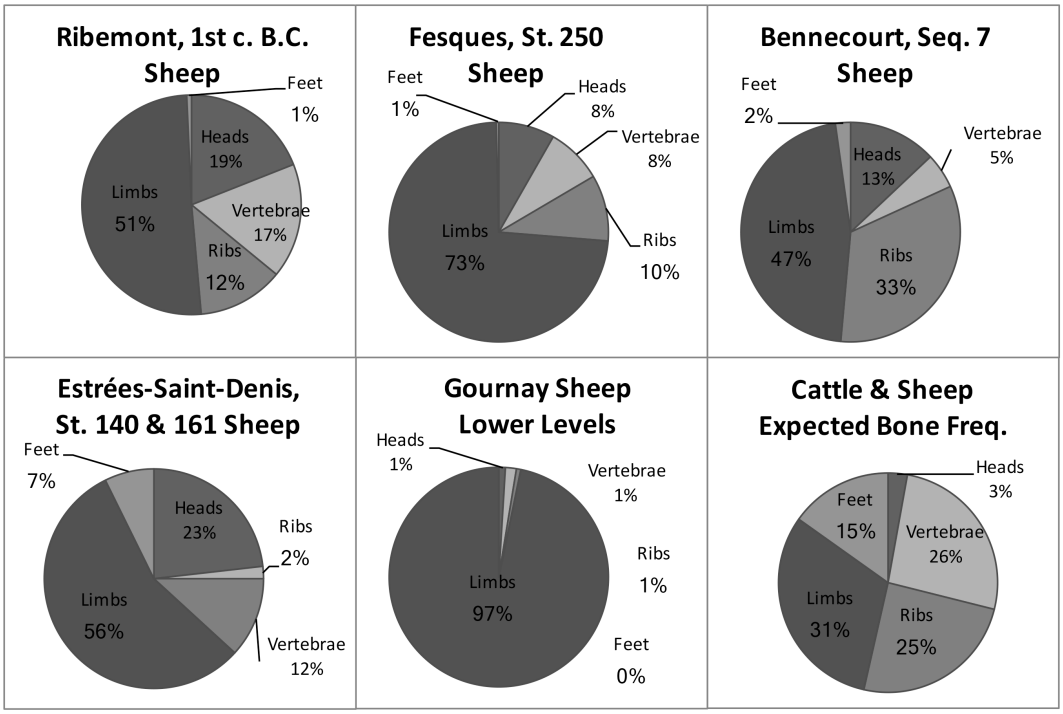

Figure 4.29. Distribution of sheep bones from Ribemont, Fesques, Bennecourt, Estrées-Saint-Denis, and Gournay, based on the count of remains, compared with the expected bone distribution (data from Méniel 1998b, fig. 12; Mantel et al. 1997, 102; Bourgeois 1999, 157, Table XXII, Brunaux 1985, 146; Méniel 2002c, 263, fig. 3.)

Figure 4.30. Illustration of butchering marks on sheep bones from the enclosure trench at Gournay (after Brunaux et al. 1985, 134, fig. 87)

4.5.3. The Sheep Hecatombs of Acy-Romance

Acy-Romance provides a special ensemble of sheep bones connected with banqueting practice, the sheep hecatombs, which have provided around 5,000 sheep

bones, from four rectangular pits found 60m northeast of the central public space (fig. 4.31).[580] The sheep hecatombs seem to be the remains of a few largescale sacrifices, at each of which around fifty sheep were sacrificed, followed by banqueting or distribution of the meat, and deposition of select cuts of meat (22% of the meat cuts available in Pit 3071, and 33% from Pit 4000) with the butchering remains (feet).[581] The scale of the sacrifices, true hecatombs, is striking enough. However, in addition, at least 39 sheep fetuses were deposited whole in the primary pit (Pit 3071). The deposits were created at a very particular time in the settlement's history, c. 80–70 B.C., when it first began to experience a decline in livestock production, a consequence of exhaustion of the land.[582]

[580] Méniel 1998c, 163–4; 2001, 71–3; Verger et al. 2000, 91–3.
[581] Méniel 1998c, 97–102; 2001, 71–3.
[582] Around 80 B.C., the richness of the deposits in the settlement's silos was reduced. The lesser parts of animals, feet and heads, previously not consumed, began to be consumed in significant numbers. Sheep were bred preferentially, to the detriment of pigs. Occupation of the settlement declined, and at the turn of the century, only a few dispersed houses remained (Viand et al. 2000, 103). The quantity of meat deposits in the necropoleis surrounding the settlement also dropped precipitously at this time (Méniel 2001, 52–3).

Figure 4.31. Pit 3071, the "Sheep Hecatomb" (Verger et al. 2000, 93, fig. 55 & 56)

When the sheep hecatombs were created, the central public area of Acy-Romance had been abandoned for several years, and the distribution of cattle and horse meat it previously hosted had ceased.[583] Thus, the sheep hecatombs could represent either communal banqueting practice, as Méniel has proposed, or a brief resumption of the distribution of meat from largescale sacrifices. Yet the scale of the sacrifices, offering of a significant proportion of the consumable meat, and presence of fetuses in Pit 3071 indicate that we are not looking at typical practice or a simple continuation of the distribution of meat and display of crania and spines as in the central public space.

The magnitude of the sacrifices, their repetition over a decade, dedication of consumable meat, and sacrifice of pregnant sheep and their fetuses seem to reflect

[583] The central public area was established c. 200–180 B.C., and abandoned c. 100–80 B.C. (Verger et al. 2000, 102).

particularly desperate pleas, and payment for future fertility when the settlement began to experience difficulty with crop and livestock production. The deposit of consumable meat, which had not been part of the ritual slaughters hosted within the central public space, and was a true sacrifice, was surely to reinforce the sincerity of the community's vow.

4.6. Minority Consumption of Cattle

Cattle bones primarily featured in displays of sacrificial remains and rituals of non-consumption, which will be discussed in sections 4.3 and 4.4 respectively. Cattle only make up a small percentage of the consumption remains from all banqueting sites, typically 5–10%. Cattle are represented primarily by ribs with a minority of bones of the limbs.[584] Where age determination is possible, the data indicates that cattle were selected according to general consumption practices: Young adults were preferred, but cattle of all ages were consumed.[585] Butchering marks on the ribs confirm that the bones are consumption remains. At Fesques, ribs bear marks on their tips where they were separated from the spinal column with a knife during butchering. At Ribemont and Bennecourt, the edges of ribs bear marks where the racks of ribs were divided into meat cuts, and at Ribemont, limited furrows reveal where meat was separated from bone.[586] Given the rarity of cattle bones on banqueting sites, cattle ribs and other cuts of meat must have been brought from outside for occasional consumption.

For a significant practice of cattle consumption, we must turn to displays of large-scale cattle butchering on large settlement sites, like Acy-Romance and

[584] Mantel et al. 1997, 100–2; Méniel 1998b, 127–8; 1999b, 160.
[585] Méniel 1998b, 122; 1999b, 156.
[586] Mantel et al. 1997, 90, 92–4; Méniel 1998b, 122; 1999b, 158–9.

Titelberg, and the outer enclosure (St. 1) of the rural sanctuary of Fesques, a parallel public area. It is to these sites, and the display of sacrificial remains, that we turn next.

4.7. The Display of Sacrificial Remains

The display of sacrificial remains occupies a peculiar position in relationship to consumption and non-consumption rituals. It might be classed as a ritual of non-consumption, because the meat produced by the sacrifice was not consumed where the animals were sacrificed. However, because the meat *was* consumed, albeit elsewhere, one would classify it as a sub-category of consumption rituals. In fact, it might even be considered a complementary practice: After butchering, the meat cuts of the animals were distributed to attendees for consumption, while their emblematic parts (heads and emaciated spines), and/or butchering remains (feet) were collected and displayed as a lasting testament to the sacrifice.

The three display sites discussed here are Fesques, Acy-Romance, and Titelberg. They will be considered together in order to construct a more complete image of the multiple ways display manifests. At all three sites, displays consist of the remains of large-scale cattle butchering.[587] The cattle bones from Acy-Romance and Titelberg come from their public spaces, where rituals central to the settlements' public life were performed.[588] The cattle bones from Fesques come from the sanctuary's outer enclosure trench (St. 1), which seems to mark the boundary of a public area surrounding the sanctuary proper (within St. 250), paralleling the public spaces of the former two settlements in dimensions and evident use.[589]

[587] At Acy-Romance, horses were butchered in addition to cattle.
[588] Metzler et al. 2006, 206, 210.
[589] See section 4.2.3 for discussion.

The display of sacrificial remains was also practiced at Gournay as part of the sanctuary's ritual of exposure and decay, in deposits of cattle bones accumulated on either side of its entrance. Although part of a non-consumption ritual, this final aspect of the ritual treatment of cattle at Gournay shares the common purpose with Fesques, Acy-Romance, and Titelberg of highlighting the sanctuary's prolific sacrificial practice. They will be briefly compared at the end of this section.

4.7.1. Identifying the Remains of Display

Displays of sacrificial remains may be identified by a large percentage of cattle bones in an assemblage, coming from a demarcated or enclosed public space, with a distribution favoring emblematic butchering remains (crania and vertebrae), or, as at Fesques, an initial butchering discard (feet) (fig. 4.32 and 4.33).

At Fesques, the large quantity and dominance of cattle bones (4,299, 92% of the count) in the single mixed fill of the outer enclosure trench (St. 1) indicates a deposit of the remains of a display of sacrificial practice, which had accumulated beside the trench for decades prior to their deposit. The assemblage is dominated by bones of the head and feet, both initial butchering discards, and heads, the emblematic part of the animal.[591] More than three-quarters of the cattle were between 1.5 and 2.5 years at slaughter, indicating that the meat was high quality.[592] The excavated portions of the enclosure trench have provided bones from over a hundred cattle, and based on the regularity of their distribution, Méniel has suggested that the entirety of the trench

[591] The dominance of heads (63%) over feet (30%) in the bone distribution of Fesques St. 1 is due to the inclusion of teeth. The MNI distribution displays a relatively even dominance of bones of the head and feet (around 100 of each), while other types of bones are nearly absent (e.g. MNI for humeri is 8, radii 6, coxae 6, etc.) (Mantel et al. 1997, 86).

[592] Mantel et al. 1997, 83, figs. 3 & 4, and table II. The age estimates for bone wear are based on 901 bones (metapodals and phalanges), a MNI of 120 animals. Dental age estimates are based on 167 mandibles (Mantel et al. 1997, 83).

may contain the bones of five hundred cattle; and the original count may have been one thousand.[593] The practice may certainly be described as prolific, on-par with Titelberg, a large and important regional *oppidum*.[594]

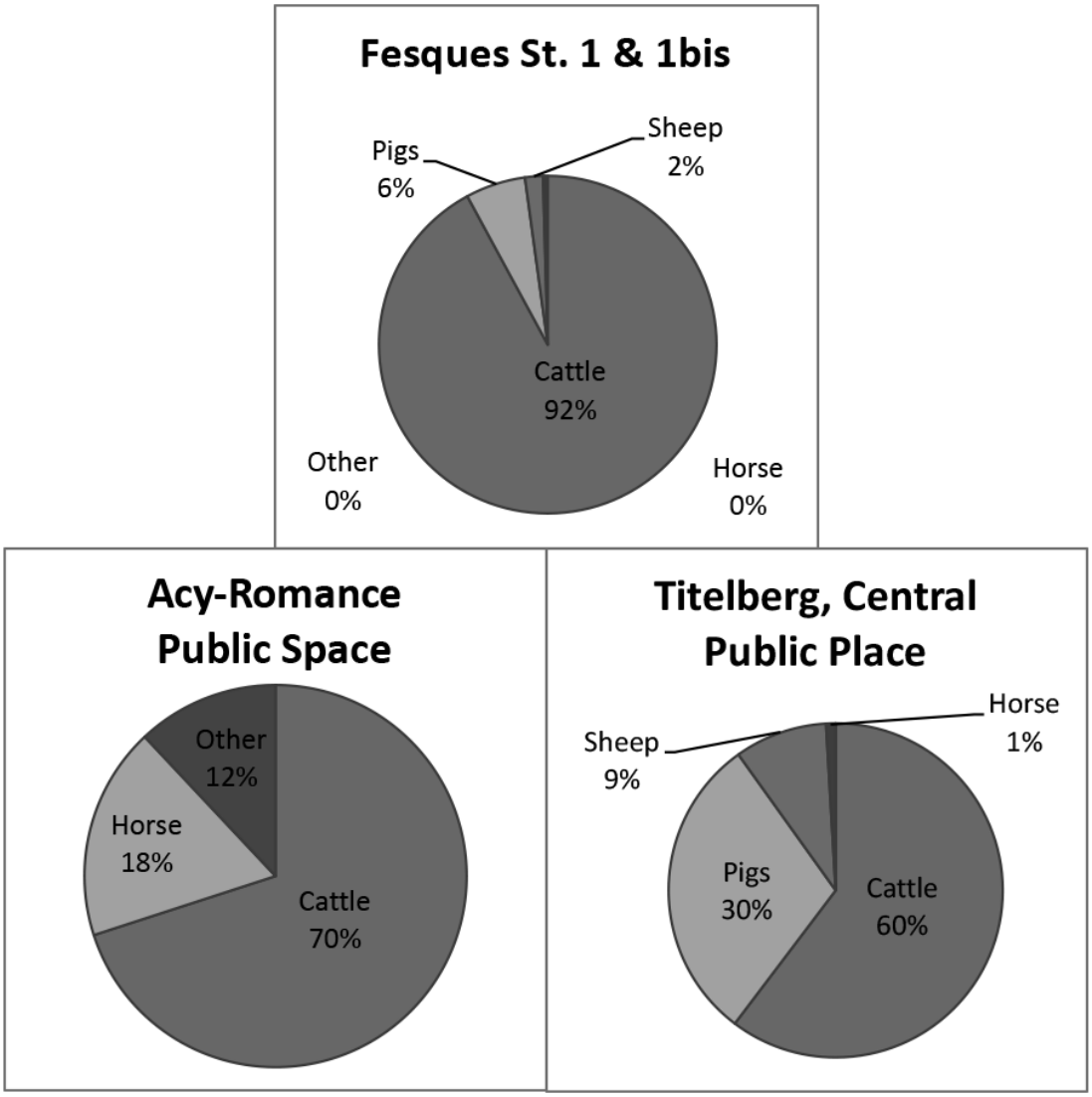

Figure 4.32. Distribution of species in display assemblages by number of bones (data from Mantel et al. 1997, 83, Table 1; Verger et al. 2000, 29; Metzler et al. 2006)

[593] Méniel 2001, 83. See also Mantel et al. 1997, 26–46.
[594] Metzler 1995; Metzler et al. 1991.

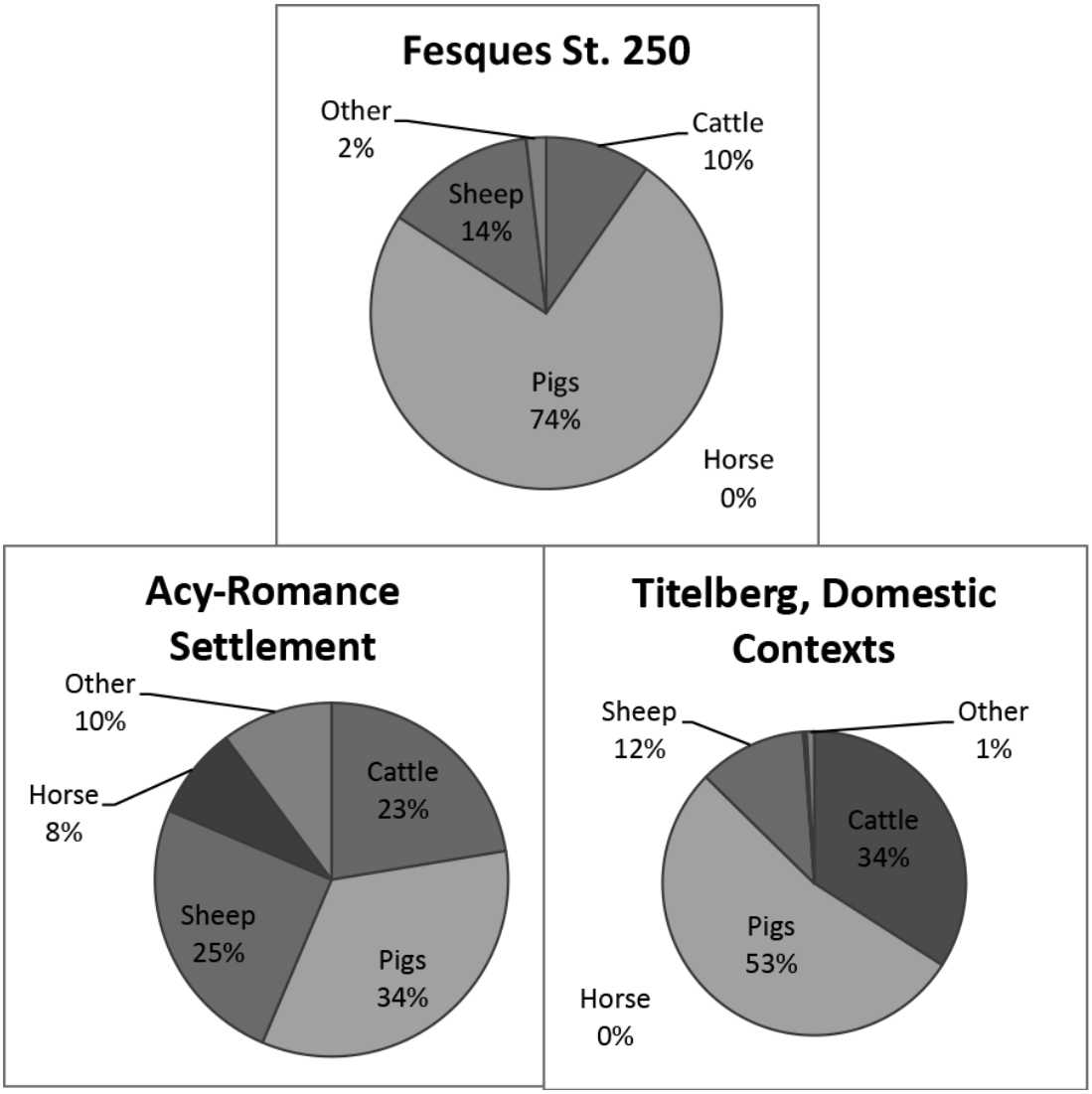

Figure 4.33. Distribution of species in assemblages from other contexts (data from from Mantel et al. 1997, 83, Table 1; Verger et al. 2000, 29; Metzler et al. 2006)

A similar practice seems to be in evidence at Acy-Romance within the central public space, although it has provided a considerably smaller assemblage of 781 bones (480 identified). Cattle (70%) and horses (18%) dominate the assemblage, revealing their importance in the public life of the settlement.[600] Their predominance in this context is not surprising, given that we may expect that these animals were only sacrificed in communal rituals, and only periodically, given the resources required to

[600] Verger et al. 2000, 29; Méniel 1998c, 163; 2010, 61–2. As a whole, Acy-Romance provides a typical settlement assemblage for northern Gaul, with balanced counts of the three major species.

breed and maintain them, their other uses (labor, transportation, milk, etc.), and the sheer volume of meat and other products (horn, leather, etc.) that their slaughter produced.[601] The bones are predominantly heads and vertebrae, as both the bone counts and MNI values reflect.[602]

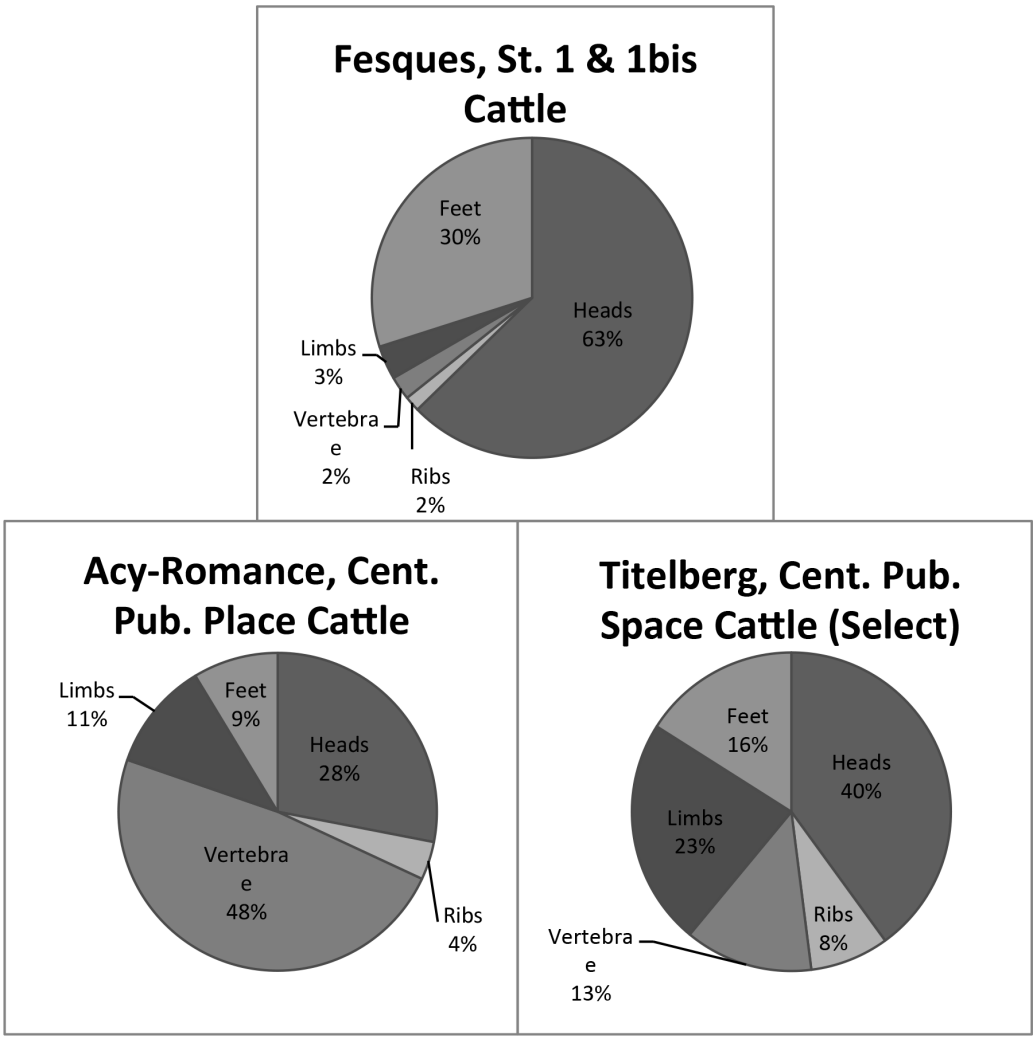

Figure 4.33. Distribution of cattle bones from Fesques (St. 1 & 1bis), Acy-Romance's central public space, and Titelberg's central public space on the basis of number of bones[603]

[601] Méniel 2001, 22–3; 2007, 270. Méniel (1998c, 77–8) indicates that there is evidence of the slaughter of pigs and dogs for consumption in the domestic areas of the habitat, but none for cattle and horses. He speculates that cattle and horses may well have had a special status that prescribed they only be sacrificed on special occasions, if the bones from the central enclosure bear any witness.
[602] Méniel 1998c, 94–5.
[603] Data for Fesques from Mantel et al. 1997, 100–1. N=4,305. Data for Acy-Romance from Méniel 1998c, 94–5 and Verger et al. 2000, 30–1. N=335. Data for Titelberg from Méniel 2008a, 172, fig. 7. N=5,441.

The bones were found in the post-holes of the enclosure's palisade fence, where they fell when it was demolished at the closure of the central public space.[604] Based on their find spot, excavators have concluded that the bones are the remnants of a massive assemblage, arranged along the length of the palisade to display the settlement's public sacrificial practice. The collected bones would have served as testament to the sacrifices performed within the enclosure, and impressed inhabitants of the settlement and visitors alike with the magnitude of the slaughtering activity practiced there.[605] The bones surviving are only remnants of the original assemblage, as the trench is highly eroded.[606]

Titelberg provides the final example of large-scale sacrificial practice and meat distribution, but a more complex image than the two preceding sites. In the central public space of the *oppidum*, young cattle (3.5 years on average) were slaughtered in what seem to have been public sacrifices, followed by distribution of their meat. Shortly thereafter, the remains were buried in individual deposits crowded in the most prominent locale within the public space, a 1,680m^2 area surrounding an altar installation within the esplanade of a large public hall. While not a display like the preceding two sites, the deposits' placement indicates that cattle sacrifices at Titelberg were public events with high visibility, and the clustered deposits may, in fact, be considered a manner of display.

As a whole, the assemblage from Titelberg contains a mixture of bones from all parts of the body.[607] It is only in the individual deposits, falling into two classes,

[604] Verger et al. 2000, 22–6.
[605] Méniel 2008b, 136.
[606] Méniel 2000, 269.
[607] Méniel 2008a, 170.

butchering remains and culinary discards, that the practice emerges.[608] Deposits of butchering remains, like the assemblages from Fesques and Acy-Romance, are characterized by higher quantities of heads and feet. Fifty spine sections, lines of vertebrae with their transverse processes sheared away, the final discards of butchering, have also been found. The spine sections at Titelberg reflect the Gallic butchering practice of separating the racks of ribs from the spine by running a blade along the length of the spine between them.

In a pronounced variance from Fesques and Acy-Romance, the vertebrae at Titelberg preserve their anatomical connections, and some are associated with crania (fig. 4.34). This difference is due to the fact that spine lengths were buried immediately after butchering at Titelberg, resulting in the preservation of their anatomical positions in the soil.[609] They were not accumulated for decades on the ground surface as at Fesques and Acy-Romance. The only other site also providing articulated cattle spines is Gournay, and there, only as a consequence of the special ritual treatment in which complete carcasses were exposed before their partially-decayed remains, among which were lengths of spine, were relocated to the enclosure trench where they completed their decay.[610]

[608] Metzler et al. 2006, 209.
[609] Méniel 2008a, 170–1.
[610] See section 4.4 for discussion and citations.

Figure 4.34. Illustration of a cattle spine fragment maintaining its articulation found within the central public space of Titelberg (Méniel 2008a, 171, fig. 6)

4.7.2. Nature of the Cattle and Horse Assemblages

4.7.3. Ages of Cattle

The distribution of the ages of cattle at slaughter from Fesques and Titelberg are consistent with a preference for young cattle, a preference more pronounced at Fesques (St. 1), as was the case for the pig bones from Fesques' sanctuary enclosure (St. 250). The sample at Acy-Romance (89 vertebrae, a MNI of 15 cattle) is not sufficiently sizeable for comparison with Fesques and Titelberg, and does not seem particularly representative.[611] The distribution of ages from the settlement as a whole are consistent with the preferences observed at the first two sites, particularly Fesques: More than half of the cattle from the settlement were slaughtered around two.[612]

[611] Méniel 2001; 2008b.
[612] Méniel 1998c, 59–60. N for bone wear = 1,874. While the MNI of cattle for the whole of the settlement is difficult to determine, it seems to be in the hundreds (Méniel 1998c, 57–8).

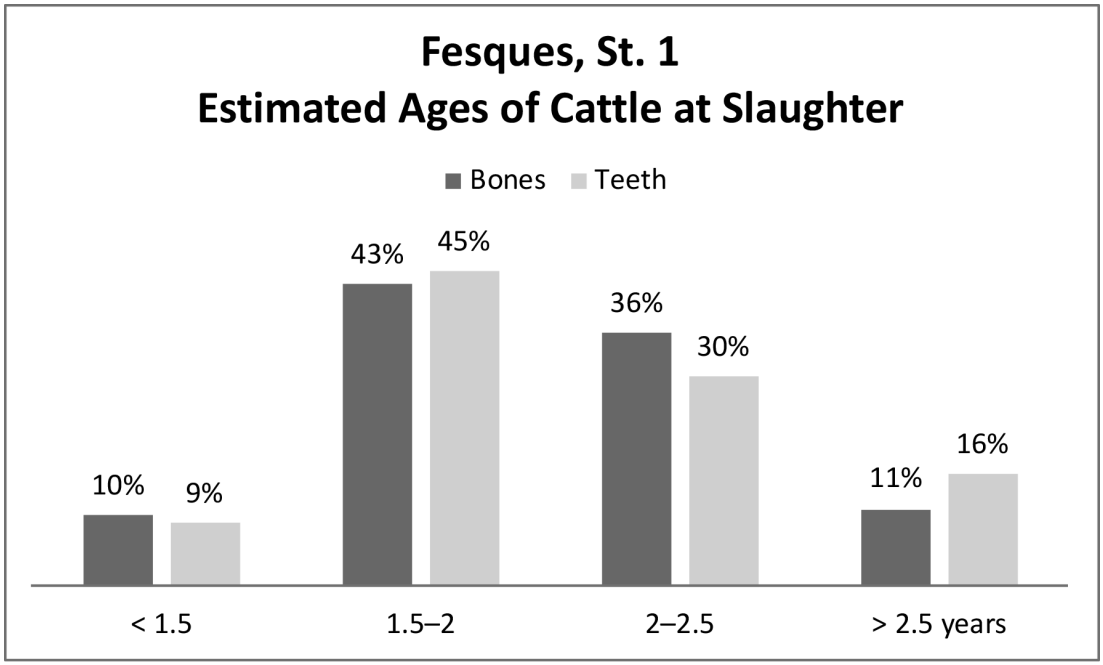

Figure 4.35. Estimated ages of cattle at slaughter for Fesques, St. 1, based on bone and teeth wear (data from Mantel et al. 1997, 83. N=901 for bone wear, an MNI of 120 cattle. N=167 for tooth wear)

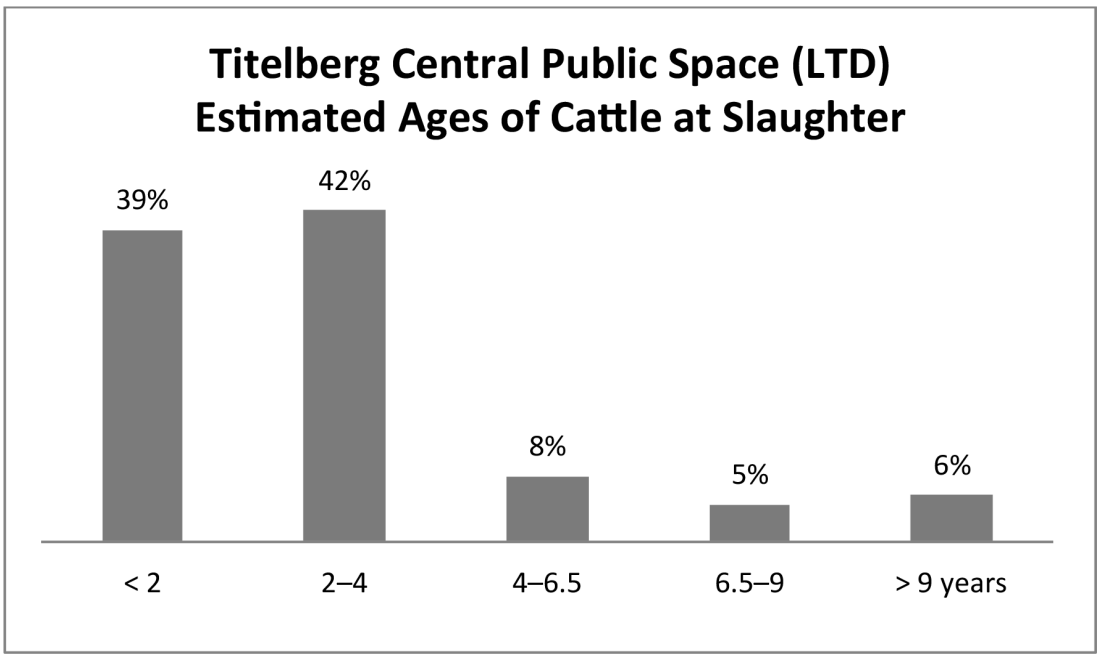

Figure 4.36. Estimated ages of cattle at slaughter for the central public space at Titelberg in the LTD period on the basis of bone wear (data extracted from Metzler et al. 2006, 208, fig. 5. N=84)

In sum, the strong preference for young cattle in Fesques, St. 1 is characteristic of the general preference for young animals of all species at banqueting sanctuaries.

But, while part of the rural sanctuary, the 10 hectare area enclosed by trench St. 1 and the large-scale cattle sacrifice practiced beside it have more in common with the activity within the public spaces of large settlements like Acy-Romance and Titelberg than sanctuaries. The only significant difference is a somewhat stricter age selection at Fesques. Yet Titelberg was also selective, slaughtering cattle on average just over 3.5 years, as was Acy-Romance, slaughtering cattle on average at 5 years.[613] This selectivity was presumably facilitated by large herds at both settlements. At Fesques, lacking an associated settlement, we must presume that the surrounding rural settlements gathered their herds periodically for mass sacrifices on the sanctuary's periphery. The sanctuary, then, served as a true central place in the rural landscape.

4.7.4. Distribution of Bones and Marks on the Bones

Vertebrae, crania, and mandibles dominate the cattle bones from the central public space at Acy-Romance, while bones of the ribs, limbs, and feet appear in very small quantities (fig. 4.37). The cervical vertebrae provide a MNI of 15 cattle, which corresponds relatively well with the MNIs of mandibles (9) and crania (7) arguing for an aboveground display of bucrania and spines after butchering.[614] The transverse processes of the vertebrae have been cut away, indicating that the spines were stripped of meat in the usual manner during butchering.[615] The near total absence of the meat cuts indicates that they must have been distributed to the settlement, and not consumed within the enclosure.

[613] Méniel 1998c, 60; 2008b, 170.
[614] Data from Méniel 1998c, 94–5 and Verger *et al*. 2000, 30–1.
[615] Méniel 2008b, 136. See section 4.2.1.6.

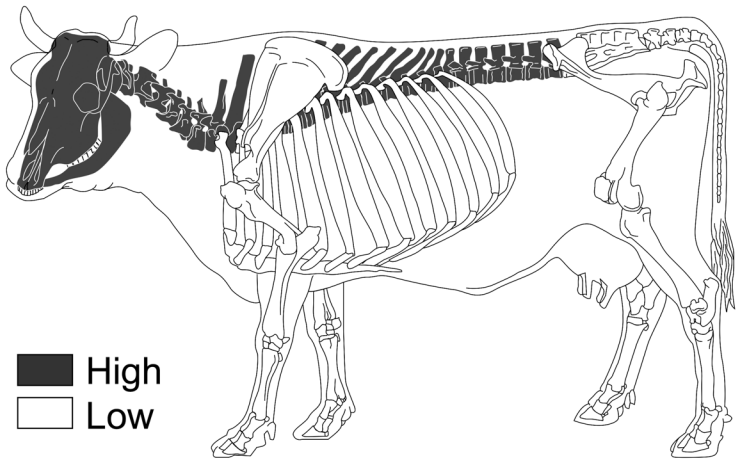

Figure 4.37. Illustration of the distribution of cattle bones from the central public space of Acy-Romance (after Méniel 2007, 236, fig. 6)

At Titelberg, mandibles, scapulae, and feet, butchering discards, make up 47% of the cattle bones from the public space, followed by crania, vertebrae, and radii.[616] There seems to be a complementarity between the bone types from the central public area, and those from the settlement (fig. 4.38), supporting the argument that the public sacrifice was followed by distribution of the meat, as at Acy-Romance. Unfortunately, such a complementarity cannot be established at Acy-Romance.

[616] A specialized butchering process at Titelberg resulted in shoulder cuts being deboned early, making them a butchering discard, rather than consumption remains (Metzler et al. 2006, 209). A similar specialized process is found at Meaux. See Lepetz 1998, 114.

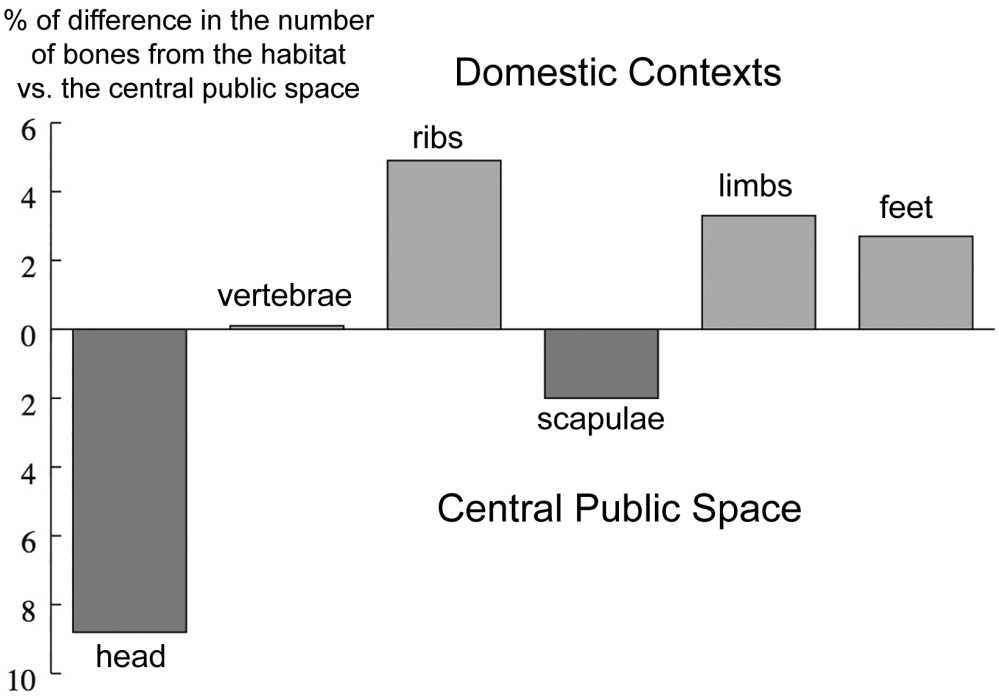

Figure 4.38. Comparison of the frequency of particular types of cattle bones from the central public space versus the domestic contexts of Titelberg (modified from Méniel 2007, 245, fig. 10)

The bones from trench St. 1 at Fesques are nearly exclusively heads and feet (63% and 30% of the count). While heads make up a considerably higher percentage of the count than feet, their MNI values are roughly equivalent, with feet even in slightly higher numbers. This balance supports the argument that butchering was practiced immediately beside the enclosure trench, because feet never appear in large numbers on sites where meat was consumed, and are often effectively absent entirely. The minimal numbers of consumption remains from outer enclosure trench St. 1 indicate that the meat produced by the mass slaughtering practice diffused to the rural settlements surrounding the sanctuary and was not consumed onsite.[617]

[617] There is no complementarity between the cattle bones from Fesques outer enclosure (St. 1) and its inner enclosure (St. 250), so the meat was not consumed on sanctuary grounds.

The collection of heads at Fesques might suggest a display of crania, as at Gournay and Acy-Romance, but the equal representation of bones of the feet seems to indicate a simple accumulation of butchering remains instead, as feet lack emblematic value. Nonetheless, such an accumulation would have testified to the magnitude of the sanctuary's sacrificial practice, and its importance as a source of quality meat.[618] Fesques was both a site for communal worship and a center for the public life of the surrounding communities: its inner enclosure (St. 250) hosting banquets, and its outer enclosure (St. 1) hosting public sacrifices and the distribution of meat.

The display of sacrificial remains at Acy-Romance, Fesques, and Titelberg also finds a parallel in the mounds of cattle bones on either side of the entrance to the enclosure at Gournay. The layered deposits of long bones and skulls in the enclosure trench at Gournay testified to the periodic sacrifice of ten cattle, and their accumulation to the sanctuary's antiquity and prolific activity.[619] Those who frequented the sanctuary could have observed the display as they approached the sanctuary enclosure's entrance. The conceptual difference between Gournay and the display sites is that the cattle bones displayed at Gournay were not the remains of largescale butchering and distribution of meat, but the sacrifice of the entirety of the animals to the gods, and abandonment of their meat to decay. The display at Gournay also differs in its context. At Fesques and Acy-Romance, aboveground displays were created through the accumulation of butchering remains. The displays concluded with the deposit of these remains in the enclosure trenches, which were subsequently filled and closed. At Gournay, the enclosure trench was the location of display, and the display

[618] 79% of cattle were between 1.5 and 2.5 years old at slaughter (Mantel et al. 1997, 83, Table II).
[619] Brunaux et al. 1985.

was perpetually renewed with additional deposits layered over the preceding deposits until the enclosure trench was filled.

4.7.5. Context of Display, and Final Deposit of Remains

The displays of sacrificial remains at Acy-Romance and Titelberg were both created within the settlements' public spaces, host to a variety of activities central to the public life of their inhabitants and surrounding communities. The outer enclosure (St. 1) at Fesques seems to have been a locale comparable to these public spaces, given its size and the large-scale cattle butchering practiced beside it. The sanctuary of Gournay has similarly been described as an important gathering place for inhabitants of the surrounding rural landscape, associated with the local and regional warrior class.[620]

Méniel comments that the diversity of activities hosted within Titelberg's public space, to which the animal bones attest, evoke a 'fairground', rather than the 'place of cult practice excavations have revealed'.[621] Yet he hesitates to describe the area as sacred, given its location in the center of an *oppidum*'s public space, and the likely mixed use of the public hall within the same space. In truth, 'fairground' seems to be an appropriate term for the spaces at all of these sites, because their sacred and profane uses were concomitant, and certainly not differentiated in antiquity.[622] To make such a distinction at Titelberg as Méniel attempts, is a modern concept, as the public space was simply a gathering place for the local community, which hosted both public rituals and other activities, such as markets. Further, as a consequence of its significance, the La Tène public space became a sanctuary in the Roman period,

[620] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 232.
[621] Méniel 2008a, 173.
[622] Fernández-Götz 2014a, 171.

following the trend of founding sanctuaries over Iron Age sites significant to the identities of local communities.[623]

Relatedly, the central public space at Acy-Romance, whose 3,500m^2 space could accommodate the entire population of the settlement and visitors from surrounding areas, was intimately associated with the line of temples along its western side, both by proximity and visual design.[624] The accumulated cattle and horse remains would have been part of this structured experience. Visitors passed beneath a gate ornamented with bucrania before they were surrounded by the piles of bones lining the 3m tall palisade on all sides. [625] The collected remains of sacrificial practice would have demonstrated the community's devotion, in addition to creating an impressive display for those entering the enclosure to attend subsequent sacrifices.

We can expect that periodic markets, religious festivals, and other gatherings were hosted within the public spaces of Acy-Romance and Titelberg. They would have drawn large assemblies, at which public sacrifices had a prominent role.[626] At Acy-Romance, Fesques, and Gournay, bones were heaped at or near entrances to sacred spaces in order to create impressive assemblages visitors would observe as they approached and passed through the gateways. Despite the differences in their ritual treatment at each site, the displays of cattle remains testified to the magnitude of the sites' sacrificial practice, and their role as gathering places for their associated communities.

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[623] Poux 2012, 162; Rose 2016, 69 & 73; Nouvel and Barral forthcoming.
[624] Verger et al. 2000, 22; Lambot 2007; Méniel 2007; 2010; Poux 2006. Reconstructions have demonstrated that the sizes, design, and positioning of the temples would have created an impressive visual effect when viewed from the south where visitors entered the public space (Verger et al. 2000, 35–53).
[625] Verger et al. 2000, 24, 42–8.
[626] Verger et al. 2000, 35.

4.8. Rituals of Non-Consumption

4.8.1. Cattle and Horse Sacrifice at Gournay

The best-known example of non-consumed animal sacrifices is found at the sanctuary of Gournay, where the bones of numerous cattle (MNI of 52) and horses (MNI of 8) were discovered in the sanctuary's enclosure trench (fig. 4.39).[627] After sacrifice, the cattle and horses were subjected to a two-stage chthonic ritual. First, they were placed in the sanctuary's central ritual pit, where they were left until they decayed to the point where ligaments held limb fragments and lengths of spine together, but limbs easily disarticulated from the trunk. Next, their remains were carefully collected and moved to their secondary context, the enclosure trench.[628] Cattle remains were arranged in structured deposits, displayed on either side of the entrance where they were displayed as they completed their decay and weathered in the open air.[629] Horse remains were deposited individually along the length of the enclosure trench, and covered with soil shortly thereafter, as their good preservation state indicates.[630]

[627] Brunaux et al. 1985, 168. Cattle make up 58% of the count of bones, horses 12%.
[628] Brunaux et al. 1985, 144–6.
[629] See discussion below.
[630] Méniel 1991, 260; 1992b, 65.

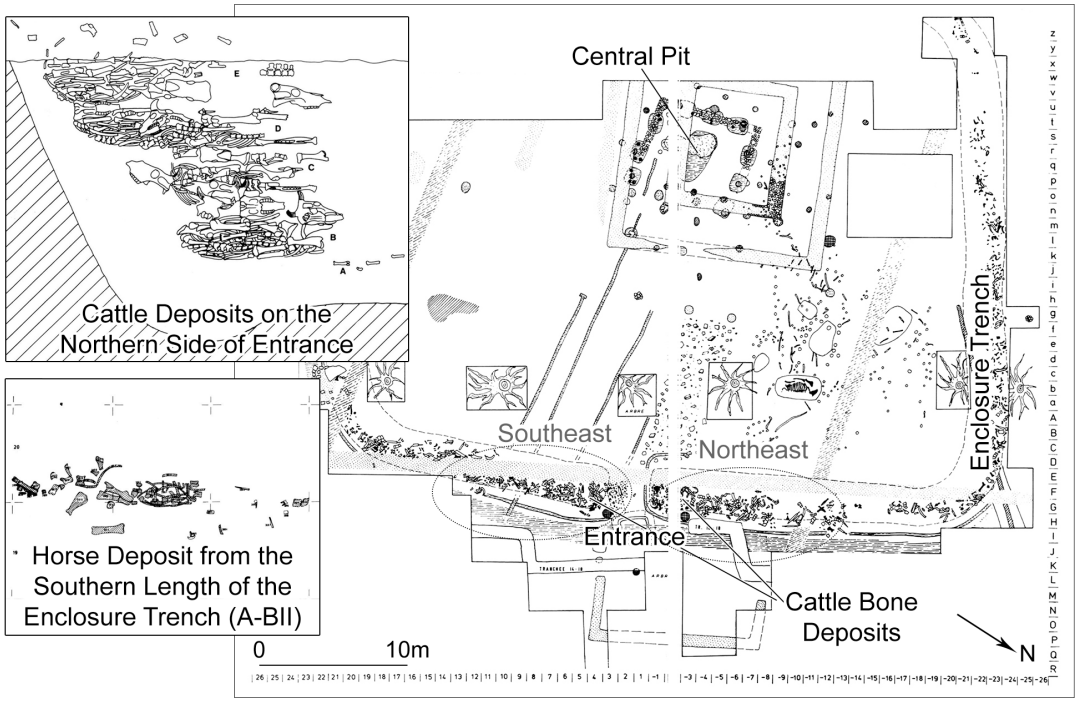

Figure 4.39. Plan of the enclosure at Gournay and illustration of cattle bone deposits on the north side of the entrance (Brunaux et al. 1985, 60, fig. 35; 132, fig. 85; 209–10, A–BII)

4.8.2. Nature of the Deposits

The cattle bones on the northern end of the enclosure trench are grouped into four discrete layered deposits, each containing select bones from around 10 cattle, slightly staggered toward the entrance as one moves upward through the stratigraphic layers (fig. 4.40).[631] The deposits are clearly structured, with the large bones, lengths of spine, and parts of limbs from multiple cattle laid flat in the trench, in compact clusters with a high density of material, each covering a horizontal area of 2–4m^2. Each deposit contains multiple layers of bone, and the bones on the top layer display weathering on their upper sides, reflecting the periodicity of the deposits. Examination of modern deer decomposition suggests that deposits were exposed to the elements for approximately a decade, and kept clean of any sediment accumulation in the pit during

[631] Méniel 1992a, 215.

that time.[632] Successive deposits were made periodically over the course of a century, filling the ends of the enclosure trench.[633]

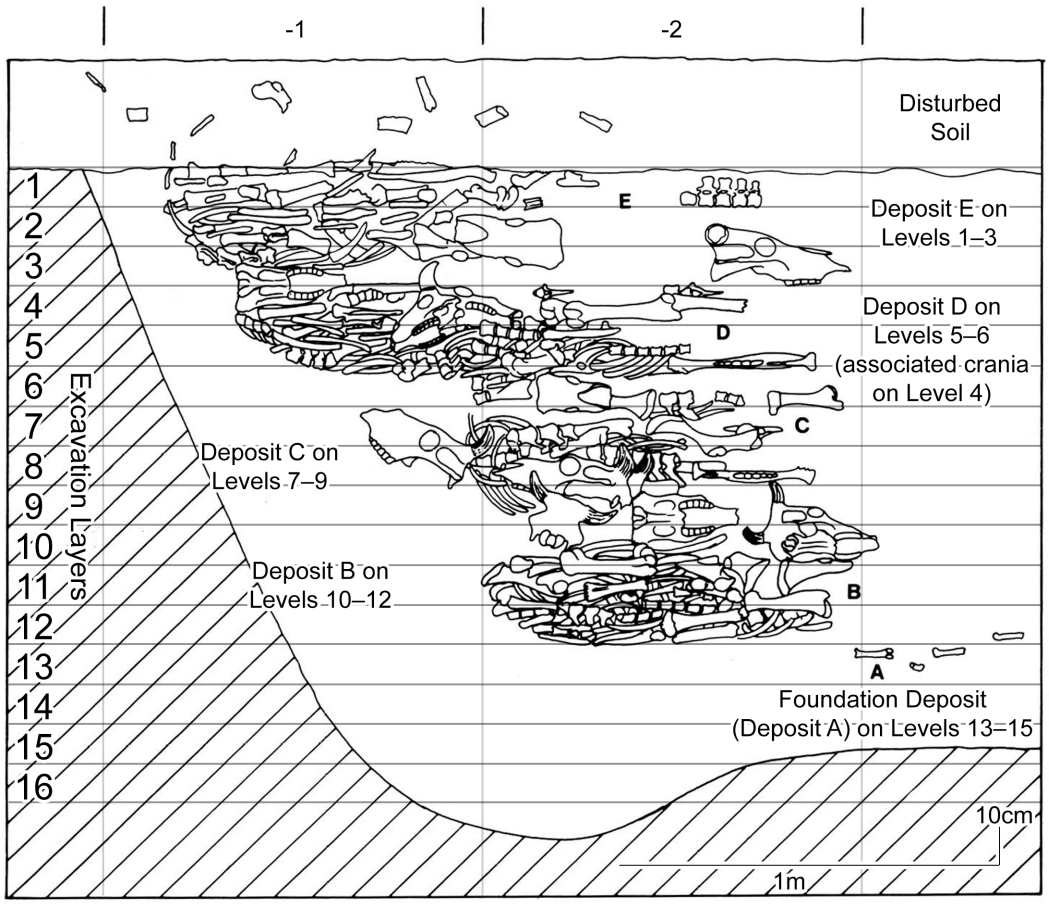

Figure 4.40. Northern end of the enclosure trench, illustrating the excavation levels and the layered deposits of cattle bones (modified from Brunaux et al. 1985, 132, fig. 85)

Cattle skulls were interspersed between each of the deposits in their own layers, as may be seen in the profile of the enclosure trench (fig. 4.41), and trench plans. They appear above all the deposits, some breaking into the layers below, except for above deposit E, the uppermost deposit. It sits immediately beneath the disturbance layer, indicating that the crania layer originally above it was either lost or destroyed. In two cases at least, deposits C and D, crania seem to have been inserted into the clusters of

[632] Brunaux et al. 1985, 144–5; Méniel 1992a, 215; 2008b, 155.
[633] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 61.

spines and long bones. The cranium projecting upward from the extreme end of deposit C, at approximately a 45° angle, is not directly incorporated into the deposit, and seems likely to have been pressed into the soil beside it. The cranium at the center of deposit D faces downward, and may have been pushed into the bone mass, but it is part of the layer of crania above the deposit, which tapers off on the rear side, so the cranium's positioning might be incidental.

Figure 4.41. Bucrania from Gournay (after Brunaux et al. 1985, 142, fig. 98)

Méniel reports that, unlike the weathered bones on the top layer of each deposit, the crania all have a fresh look, indicating that they would have been protected from the elements prior to their deposit in the enclosure trench.[634] Their good preservation, and the fact that they appear in independent layers, indicate that the crania must have either been removed from the central pit before the rest of the carcasses, and reserved for later deposit, or separated from them at a sorting following extraction of the remains from the pit. Early sampling of the crania seems most likely, given the near absence of atlas vertebrae, which would have remained attached to the crania for some time after the early break between the atlas and axis, and consequent separation of the head from the carcass.[635] Sometime during subsequent

[634] Brunaux et al. 1985, 144.
[635] Brunaux et al. 1985, 140–5.

manipulations, before crania were deposited in the trench, the atlas vertebrae would have disconnected and been lost. In either case, crania were reserved in a protected location nearby until the large bones, spine lengths, and limb fragments, deposited together, had weathered, after which they were arranged in layers over them in what may have been closing deposits of a sort, marking the conclusion of the ritual treatment of each group of ten cattle.

Examination of the trench plans shows that a similar layering was found on the south side. Cattle bones appear on the same levels, and seem similarly clustered. However, excavation on the south side was not as systematic, and the enclosure trench is partially eroded, so discussion below only examines the northern side in detail.[636]

4.8.3. The Ritual Sequence of Sacrifice, Exposure, and Display

The enclosure trench, in which the cattle bones were arranged, was a secondary context, as the preservation of primarily large bones, significant number of missing bones, lack of most joint relationships, and absence of cutting marks on the bones indicate.[637] The large pit in the center of the enclosure has been proposed as the primary location, because three cattle sesamoid bones were discovered there, presumably overlooked when the carcasses were removed from the pit.[638] In the first stage of the ritual after sacrifice, cattle carcasses were left in the central pit inside the enclosure until they had partially decayed. The carcass fragments were then removed and arranged in the structured deposits in the enclosure trench described above.

[636] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 59–63 & 177.
[637] Brunaux et al. 1985, 144–6.
[638] Brunaux et al. 1985, 144.

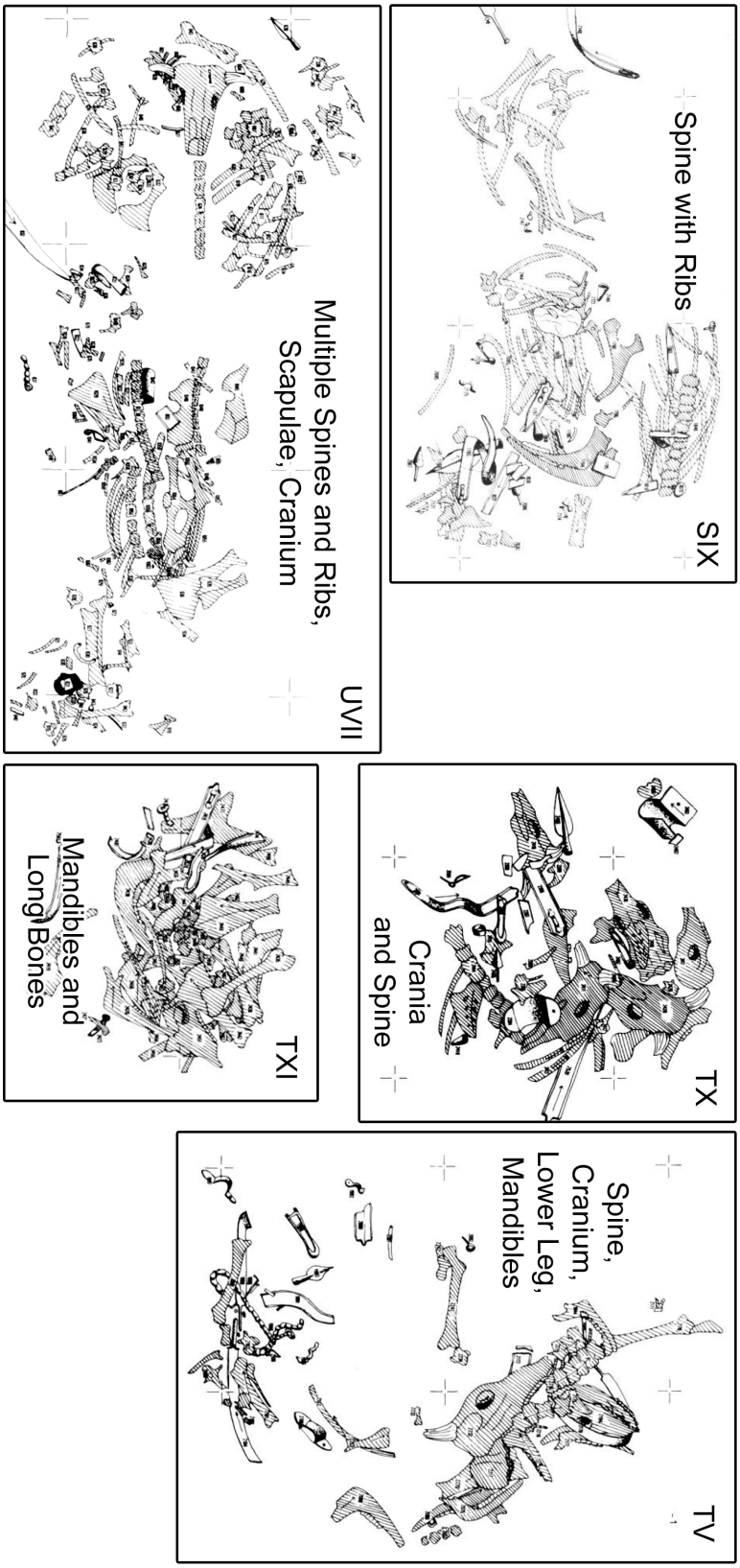

Figure 4.42. Illustration of cattle bone deposits displaying the clustering of material and preservation of spine lengths (modified from Brunaux et al. 1985, Annexes)

When the partially decayed remains were relocated, many of the anatomical connections must still have been maintained by ligaments, particularly spine lengths, which were frequently found.[639] Sacra are commonly associated with lines of thoracic and lumbar vertebrae in the deposits, and a number of spine lengths even retained their association with ribs (fig. 4.43). Several anatomical ensembles of lower limbs have been excavated, indicating that some limbs also maintained their articulation when they were moved from the central pit. For bones that had completely disconnected, the largest and longest were most commonly relocated (e.g. mandibles, scapulae). These deposits, on either side of the entrance, would have created an impressive display, and attested to the scale of the site's sacrificial practice, particularly the later deposits, which Méniel suggests may have originally mounded above the top of the enclosure trench.[640] They and the armament dedications interleaved with them represent decades of continuous and consistent ritual practice during the sanctuary's occupation period.

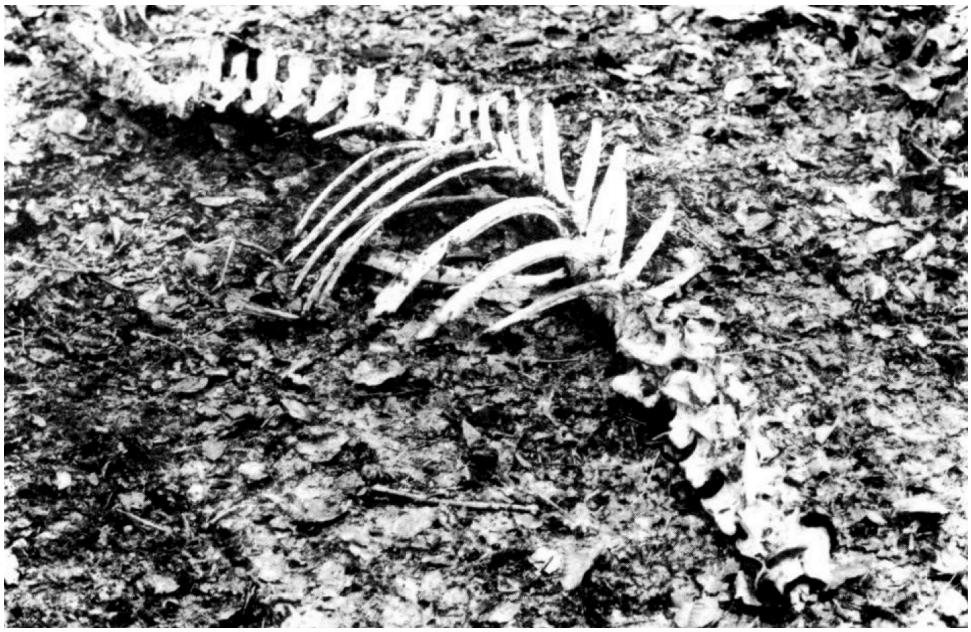

Figure 4.43. Cattle spine from Gournay with ribs still attached (Brunaux et al. 1985, 145, fig. 101)

[639] Brunaux et al. 1985, 144–5.
[640] Brunaux et al. 1985, 165; Méniel 1991, 260.

4.8.4. Ages and Bone Distribution

Examination of the ages and bone distribution of cattle from Gournay reveals profound differences from the cattle sacrificed at the mass-butchering sites discussed in the last section. The trends in cattle ages at slaughter are reversed: On mass-butchering sites like Fesques and Titelberg, cattle were slaughtered quite young, most before 4 years, and many around 2.[642] On non-consumption sites like Gournay, cattle were kept until they were quite aged. Nearly all of the cattle at Gournay were over 6.5 when sacrificed, and they were slaughtered in increasing frequency thereafter up to 15 years (fig. 4.44).[643] Given the chthonic nature of the sacrificial practice, there would be no interest in the quality of the meat to prompt earlier slaughter, and aged cattle may have even been viewed as more appropriate than younger cattle.

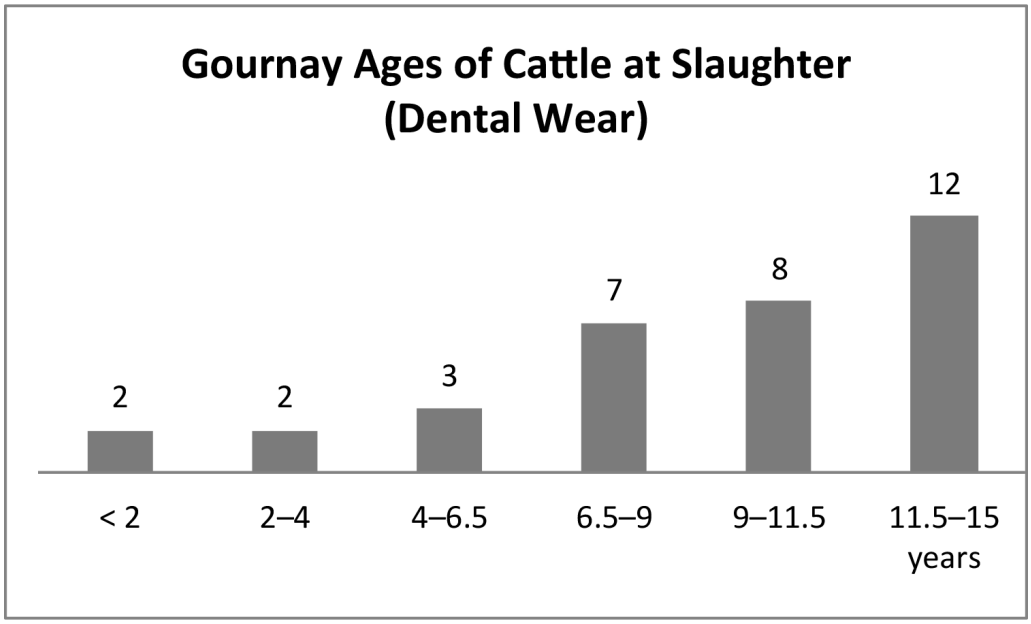

Figure 4.44. Ages of cattle at slaughter at Gournay calculated on the basis of dental wear (data from Méniel 2008a, 168, fig. 1) (n=34)[644]

[642] See section 4.3.
[643] Cattle were sacrificed at St. Just-en-Chaussée according to similar patterns (Méniel 2008b, 128, fig. 102).
[644] See also Brunaux *et al*. 1985, 127–8.

While crania, spine lengths, scapulae, and coxae are the most plentiful, followed by ribs and long bones, distribution of the cattle masses displays some discrepancies.[645] This distribution varies from that of the mass-butchering sites where only crania and spines (and feet at Fesques), butchering discards, were numerous. This difference is a consequence of the fact that the cattle at Gournay were not butchered for consumption. Numerous meat-bearing bones are present, and none bear butchering marks (fig. 4.45). It was complete carcasses that were exposed in the central pit at Gournay, and all of their remains were available for collection and display in the enclosure trench, not only butchering discards. Sorting and selection of carcass fragments must have been performed between the carcasses' removal from the central pit and their deposit in the enclosure trench, because only around one-fifth of the total bones of forty cattle are present in the cattle masses, and only three sesamoids were found in the central pit.

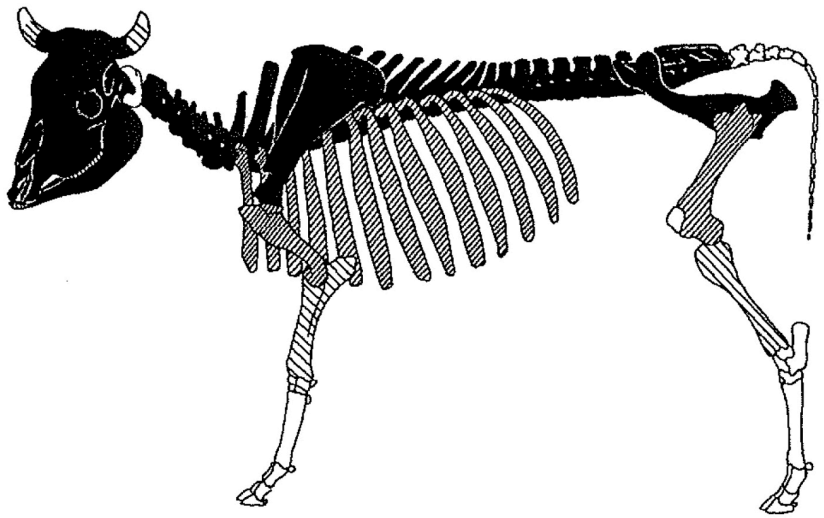

Figure 4.45. Anatomical distribution of cattle bones from the fill of the enclosure trench at Gournay on the basis of the count of bones (Méniel 1992a, 214, fig. 8) (Darker shading indicates a higher frequency of a particular bone.)

[645] Méniel 1992a, 213–5.

While the crania, mandibles, and numerous lengths of spine found in the mass of cattle bones surely possessed symbolic value, justifying their collection, anatomical assemblages of lower legs found in the same context most assuredly did not (fig. 4.46). The individual bones within the anatomical assemblages were spaced only centimeters apart, suggesting that partially-decayed limb fragments were transported to the enclosure trench where they completed their decay.[646] If the joint relationships had been lost in the central pit, we would expect small bones to have been overlooked during collection of the larger pieces, like the three sesamoids that were left in the central pit.[647]

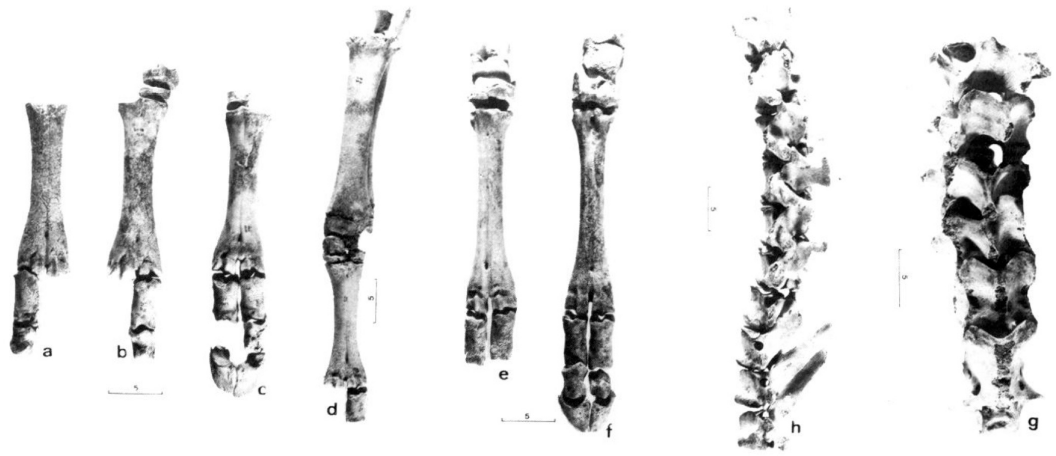

Figure 4.46. Reconstructed anatomical assemblages from the mass of cattle bones (A–F, lower limbs, G & H, cervical and thoracic lengths of spine) (Brunaux et al. 1985, 139, fig. 93)

Méniel has suggested that there may be a correlation between the length of bones and their frequency in the assemblage, illustrating what appears to be a 1:1 relationship in a graph (fig. 4.47). Replotting of the data on a fixed scale (rather than the variable scale Méniel uses) reveals that the correlation is not quite 1:1. Its trend

[646] Brunaux et al. 1985, 139.
[647] Brunaux et al. 1985, 144.

line does have a strong slope of 0.75 and an R-value of 0.81, provided Méniel's adjustment of dividing the phalangeal counts by 4 (presumably to provide some correction for anatomical frequency) is retained.[648] Méniel indicates that the overrepresentation of the tarsal bones, and extreme underrepresentation of the atlas vertebrae do not fit the correlation, but refrains from presenting an overarching theory to explain these divergences. He postulates that the tarsal bone counts may be elevated as a consequence of residual ligaments connecting them to tibiae and each other, increasing their overall length, which would make their survival more likely.[649]

Méniel's explanation may be applied more generally to all of the small bones: There are 6 carpals, 5 tarsals, 10 metapodals, and 21 phalanges within the anatomical ensembles, 38% of the total count of bones of these types.[650] Numerous connections were found within these bones. For example, one ensemble contained tarsal, metatarsal, and phalanx 1; another, two carpal, metacarpal, and phalanges. Additional connections with long bones of the limbs were also present, albeit considerably rarer (2 connections of tarsal to tibiae, and 3 of carpal to radius). The increased frequency of small bones and the connections between them indicate that fragments of the partially decayed carcasses, lower legs among them, were relocated from the central pit to the enclosure trench as individual units. The bones did not disarticulate until the fragments completed their decay in the enclosure trench. Thus, in addition to the emblematic pieces, many of the largest and most easily collected bones and limb fragments were relocated from the central pit.

[648] R-value indicates the accuracy with which a trend line matches the data, in this case 81% accuracy.
[649] Brunaux et al. 1985, 137–40.
[650] Data from Brunaux et al. 1985, 139, fig. 94b.

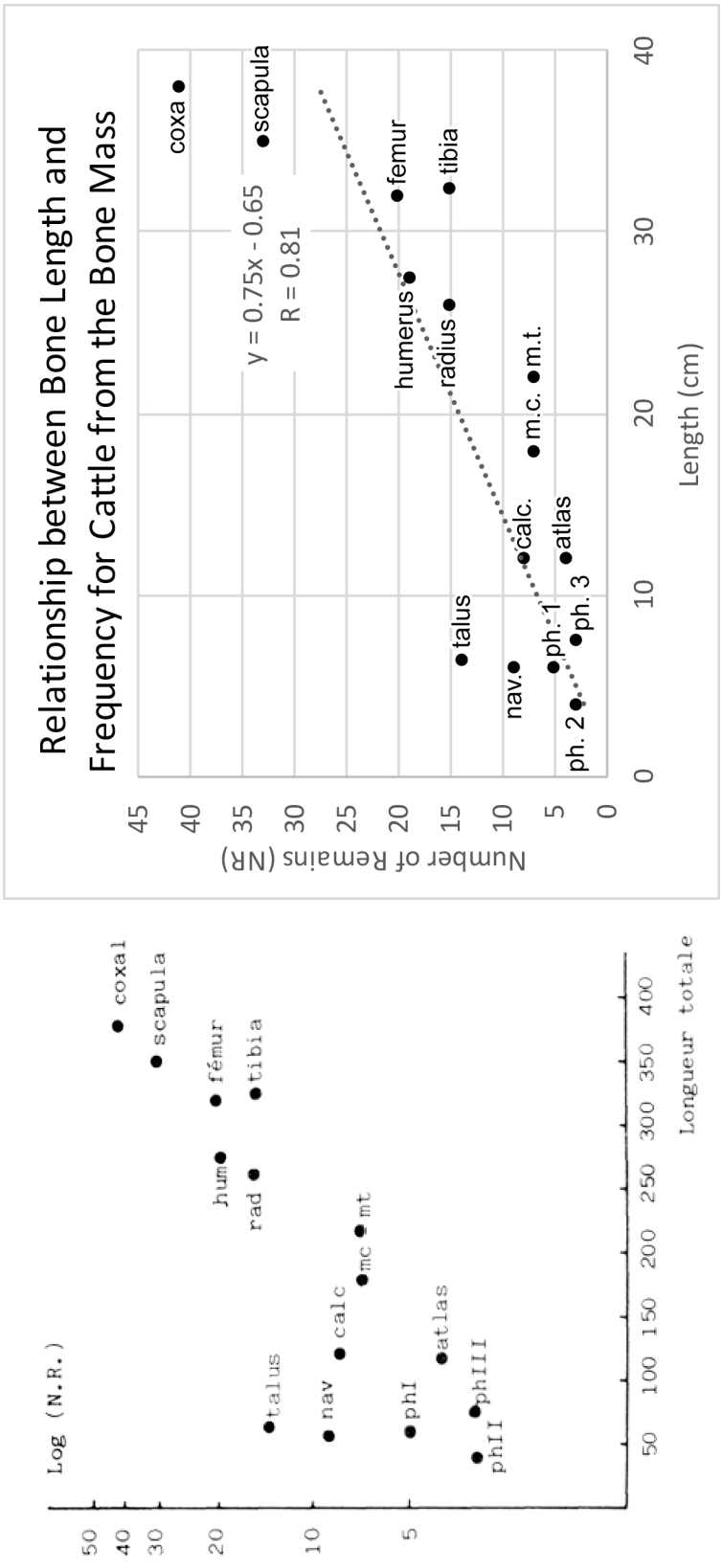

Figure 4.47. (left) Méniel's illustration of the correlation between bone length and count and (right) re-graphing of the data for analysis (adapted from Brunaux et al. 1985, 140, fig. 95)

4.8.5. Horse Sacrifice at Gournay

At Gournay, horses must have possessed equal status with cattle, as they were subjected to the same two-stage chthonic ritual, although their number (MNI of 7 or 8) is considerably smaller than cattle (MNI of 52).[654] After horses were sacrificed, they were left to decay, probably in the central pit like cattle, before their remains were relocated to the sanctuary's enclosure trench. The loss of a number of anatomical relationships and absence of small bones indicate that their deposition in the enclosure trench was, like the cattle, secondary.[655] The horse deposits primarily consist of ribs and lengths of spine, like cattle, a distribution that may, likewise, simply reflect the largest bones and carcass fragments, and/or those possessing emblematic value.

Like the cattle, partially-decayed horse carcasses were relocated to the enclosure trench in pieces (lengths of spine with ribs, limbs, etc.), as several anatomical connections were broken when the remains were extracted from the primary context. These breaks resulted in division of the carcass into several ensembles, which were deposited beside one another in the enclosure trench.[656] In some instances, bones from the same region of the body were placed near one another, resulting in the deposits reflecting the original skeletal organization. Thus, while skeletal integrity was not preserved, several anatomical connections were; and the original organization of the skeleton was partially reconstructed in individual deposits. For example, the spines of two of the horses are divided into three lengths laid beside one another – neck and thorax, thorax, and lumbar lengths.[657]

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[654] Brunaux et al. 1985, 168.
[655] Méniel 1991, 260; Brunaux et al. 1985, 146.
[656] Méniel 1992b, 64–5.
[657] Méniel 1992b, 64–5.

The ritual treatment of horses and cattle only seems to differ in the final deposit: Groups of cattle were collected into a series of layered deposits at the ends of the enclosure trench. Individual horses were deposited independently along the length of the enclosure, but never at the ends of the trench where the cattle bones were collected. Further, the lack of weathering on the horse bones reveals that, unlike cattle, they did not remain exposed to the elements, but were quickly covered in soil.[658] Thus, display does not seem to have been part of their ritual treatment.

Given their common ritual treatment, we might question why cattle and horses were deposited in different locations and manners. Key differences between the cattle and horse sacrifices include: a profoundly different scale (MNI of 7 or 8 horses to MNI of 52 cattle), different age distributions (horses were of various ages, cattle predominantly aged), and, ultimately, inconsistent deposit (horses spread across variable lengths of enclosure trench and placed at various points along its length, cattle clustered in dense deposits on either side of the entrance). The scarcity of horses and the irregularity of their sacrifice and deposit causes one to question whether the sacrifices are directly comparable at all.

Perhaps, horses were viewed as part of the equipment of elite warriors, like the armament dedicated at the sanctuary, and were one of the types of offerings made by individual warriors at the sanctuary. Because they were of comparable size and status to cattle, horses were given the same ritual treatment of exposure in the central pit, followed by relocation of select remains to the enclosure trench to complete their decay. One should note that weapons too were subjected to exposure after dedication

[658] Méniel 1991, 260.

at Gournay – for an extended period while their organic elements decayed, before they were mutilated and deposited in the enclosure trench.

The comparable treatment of these three different types of offerings suggests both a parallelism and unity in the sanctuary's ritual practices. The ritual treatment given to the particular offering, and the context of its deposition were adjusted according to the type of offering and its purpose within the sanctuary: An amassing of cattle sacrifices and armament dedications would have been displayed on either side of the entrance. The bucrania would have been removed from the pit early in the decay process, and may have been mounted over the entrance, protected from the elements. When each deposit of partially-decayed cattle remains was transferred from the central pit to the enclosure trench, the bucrania were collected as well and placed in their own layer over the other remains.

4.8.6. Ritual Treatment of Horses at Ribemont

The second example of non-consumption ritual treatment comes from Ribemont, Ossuary 82, within the quadrangular enclosure, where the long bones of at least forty horses were integrated with the human bones in the ossuary's bone frame (fig. 4.48).[659] Despite its small size (122 bones), the assemblage of horse bones from Ossuary 82 is compelling, because its horses were subjected to the same ritual treatment as the humans from Ossuary 82, and integrated with them in the bone frame, indicating equality of status.

[659] Méniel 1995, 5–6. The human bones are discussed in chapter 3, and the quadrangular enclosure in chapter 2.

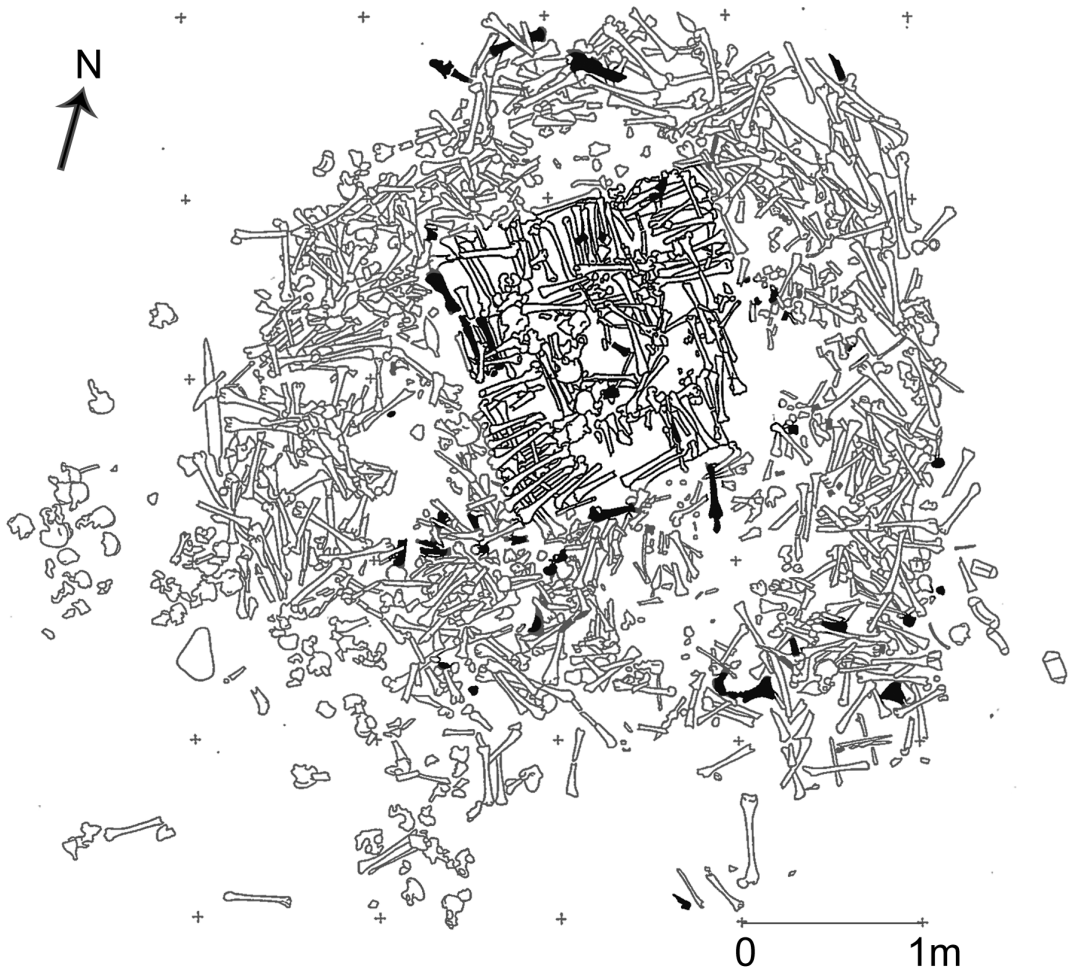

Figure 4.48. Ossuary 82 with bone frame and animal bones accented (modified from Méniel 1995, fig. 1)

The assemblage from Ossuary 82 is not isolated or unique within the quadrangular enclosure. Additional horse bones were found among the human bones in all of the other ossuaries. Most notably they are present in Ossuary 91, which features the remnants of a second bone frame paralleling that of Ossuary 82, and Ossuary 2000, which one has argued in chapter 3 is comprised of the dismantled, relocated, and reconstructed bone frame of the West Ossuary. Consequently, one would conjecture that horse and human bones were utilized in the construction of the bone frames for all three of the quadrangular enclosure's original third century B.C. ossuaries.

Like the human bones, the horse bones from the bone frames are the final products of a multi-stage ritual treatment. The first stage of the ritual consisted of exposure of the corpses and carcasses at a primary context, likely just outside the quadrangular enclosure, where they were left until they decayed to bones and ligaments.[660] They were then dismembered, and select long bones and partial limbs brought into the staging area with quadrangular enclosure and used in the bone frames' construction. Several anatomical ensembles of human bones, leftovers after the completion of the bone frames, were found on the ground surface.[661] Fragments of horse carcasses may have been placed in the same area, accounting for the horse bones in the same area. A horse cranium and other bones were found among the bone material and armament on the third century ground surface a few meters southeast of Ossuary 82, and horse bones were broadly scattered around Ossuary 91, most frequent on its northwest periphery.

4.8.7. Bone Distribution

The assemblage is dominated by bones of the limbs (81% of the count), and includes a significant number of phalanges (11%), and other small bones of the feet.[662] This distribution directly parallels the human bones, which likewise consist primarily of bones of the limbs (75%), and include a significant minority (11%) of foot bones.[663] The elevated quantities of small (carpal, tarsal, metapodals, and phalanges) and lower limb bones (radius, ulna, and tibia), and frequent anatomical connections (16 of the 29 carpals and tarsals connected), indicate that like the human remains, the horse remains

[660] The absence of vertebrae, ribs, and sesamoids indicates that Ossuary 82 is a secondary context (Méniel 1995, 12).
[661] See chapter 3 for discussion.
[662] Méniel 1995, 1.
[663] See chapter 3 for discussion.

used in the bone frame originally consisted of a number of partially-decayed limbs.[664] As with the human remains, the small bones could not have been integrated into the bone frame individually, but must have remained connected with one another and to adjacent long bones (radius, ulna, and tibia). Since the quadrangular enclosure interior and bone frame are secondary and tertiary contexts, we do not expect to find loose small bones that separated from the carcass and limbs before their relocation.

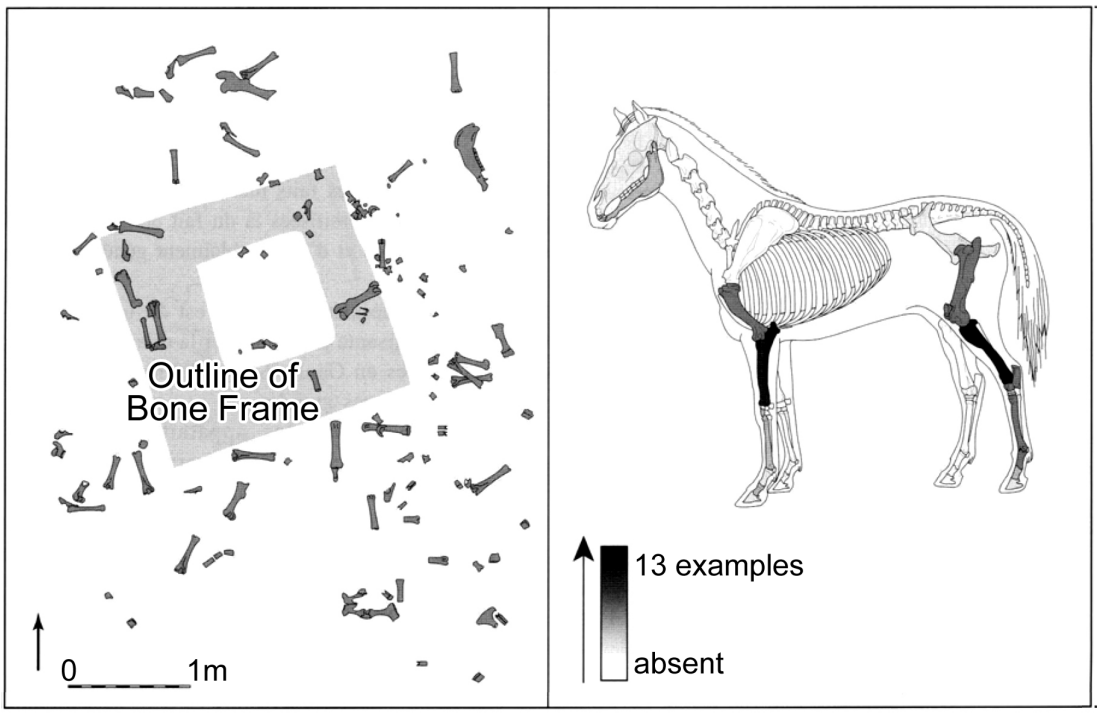

Figure 4.49. Distribution of animal bones around the bone frame, and illustration of the frequency of horse bones by type (after Méniel 2002b, 6, fig. 3)

4.8.8. Identification and Significance of Horses at Ribemont

Presumably, the horses would have been the mounts of the warriors built into the bone frame with them, likewise killed in battle and transported to the site for ritual treatment. To support this interpretation, Méniel indicates that the sole two marks on the horse bones from Ribemont are both connected to combat wounds. The first is a

[664] Méniel 1995, 6–9.

cut on the shaft of a radius, similar to the marks of sword blows on human long bones, and a wound that would be logical to incur in battle. The second is a furrow created by a knife in the distal epiphysis of a humerus, which Méniel indicates cannot be explained as a butchering mark and describes as more enigmatic than the first mark.[665]

Judging from the mark's location and parallel marks found on the human bones, I believe the mark is probably connected with separation of the limb from the torso at a joint that had not yet separated. While marks on human bones are generally rare, as corpses were partially decayed when limb fragments were separated from the body, a limited number of marks indicate that blows were occasionally required during dismemberment to sever surviving anatomical connections.[666] One expects that the parallel mark on the horse humerus indicates that a similar blow was required during disarticulation of the horse carcass.

I believe that the shared ritual treatment of horses and warriors from the quadrangular enclosure, particularly the incorporation of both human and horse limb fragments in the bone frames over the ritual pits, indicate they were of equal status. Like humans, the horses were probably collected from the battlefield, a common collection that probably contributed to less differentiation between horses and men. Given the massive scale of the collection of rapidly-decaying corpses and carcasses from the same large field, there would not have been much differentiation when material was sampled to construct the bone frames.

An unresolved particularity in the horse bone deposit remains: Horse bones were present in the quadrangular and circular enclosures, but not the mass grave.

[665] Méniel 1992b, 70; 1995, 17.
[666] See chapter 3, section 3.3, for discussion of the marks on human bones.

Ricard argues that the absence of horse bones from the mass grave indicates that the warriors within the deposit were of lower status.[667] To support this argument, Ricard observes that the long bones of the warriors from Ossuary 82 are significantly longer than those of the men from the mass grave.[668] However, one has argued in chapter 3 that the few-centimeter difference in stature, within Ricard's own 3cm margin of error, is not significant.

If the mass grave is to be interpreted as a collection point for material destined for the interior of the quadrangular enclosure, we would expect horse bones to be present. They are not. Ricard has proposed a separate deposit of horse bones, which is possible, but we do not have any evidence to support this proposal.[669] The only other possibility one can imagine is that human corpse fragments and fragments of horse carcasses were brought directly within the quadrangular enclosure and the mass grave did not collect any horse remains because none were rejected from the interior.

4.9. Conclusion to the Discussion of Animal Bones

4.9.1. Review

Méniel comments that, while the idea of banqueting at sanctuaries is compelling, the lacunae in the assemblages of animal bones can mostly be explained by 'voluntary or accidental destruction, removal of the body with the feet, and meat distribution for consumption outside of the sanctuary instead'.[670] Most assuredly, the correlation between bone size and frequency for the pig bones from the three major banqueting sanctuaries in northern Gaul – Ribemont, Fesques (St. 250), and Bennecourt – indicates that preservation conditions and/or selection of the largest and

[667] Ricard 2014, 214.
[668] Ricard 2014, 199–200.
[669] Ricard 2014.
[670] Méniel 2008a, 169.

most identifiable bones by banqueters or officiants were the primary determinants of the bone distributions.

However, the bones are still consumption remains, not butchering discards like the cattle heads and feet from Fesques (St. 1), or emblematic remains like the bucrania and spine lengths from Acy-Romance and Gournay. The selection of young pigs and exclusive presence of meat cuts (heads, limbs, and ribs, but not feet and few vertebrae/spines) demonstrate as much, even if the distribution of bones cannot be used to determine what meat cuts were preferred. Assemblages of butchering remains, after meat distribution for consumption elsewhere, as seen at Fesques, Acy-Romance, and Titelberg, do not resemble banqueting assemblages. Consequently, one would argue that consumption remains, like those at Ribemont, Fesques (St. 250), and Bennecourt, are the signs of banqueting on sanctuary sites, not evidence of meat distribution, and that the bones that survive are at least partially reflective of the meat consumed on sanctuary grounds.

Méniel's doubt of banqueting on sanctuary sites is ameliorated by the combination of various rules for selection observed in this chapter and summarized above. Méniel asserts that most of the selection rules taken in isolation are insufficient to demonstrate ritual practice, but their combination around a single, or multiple, species are much more significant. The selection rules specified are: predominance of one species over three-quarters of the remains, selection of young animals, and selection of prime cuts. All of these factors are found to various degrees at the banqueting sanctuaries discussed above. The most striking is the dominance of pigs at Ribemont (70% of the animal bones) and Fesques, St. 250 (74%), and their somewhat reduced, but still significant, percentages at Bennecourt (66%) and Estrées (59%).

Also noteworthy is the continued predominance of pigs at Ribemont in the second century A.D. (59%) and the minimal changes in consumption practice from the first century B.C. to the second century A.D. (sections 4.1.2.1 and 4.2).

As stated in the introduction, one would classify the displays of sacrificial remains at Acy-Romance, Fesques, and Titelberg as a sub-category of consumption rituals. To take the consideration further, the practice of display is distinct from, but complementary to, banqueting practice. Cattle dominate the animal bones from display sites, and bone assemblages largely consist of the emblematic parts of the animal, and/or the butchering remains: skulls and vertebrae, but also the feet in the case of Fesques. Like the pigs on banqueting sites, cattle at the peak of their maturity were preferred, slaughtered in the highest numbers between one and two years at Fesques, and shortly thereafter at the settlements of Acy-Romance and Titelberg (section 4.3).

Sacrificial displays seem to have served as testament to large-scale public sacrifices of cattle, in accordance with their larger size and consequent different class of animal they occupy. It also follows that only one of the three sites where cattle sacrificial remains were displayed, Fesques (St. 1), was a sanctuary site, as large assemblies of individuals were required to consume the significant quantity of meat produced by cattle sacrifices. Such assemblies could easily be gathered in the public areas of large settlements, as they had sizeable fixed populations. Rural sanctuaries did not necessarily have such populations directly associated with them, so the smaller scale of pig sacrifice was more appropriate, and thus more frequent. Fesques seems to be a peculiar site in that it hosted two very different practices: conventional banqueting in which pigs made up three-quarters of the animal bones within enclosure St. 250, and mass-sacrifice of cattle, and distribution of the meat produced beside enclosure St.

1. The most significant difference between display and banqueting sites is that the meat distributed from the sacrifices at display sites was removed for consumption elsewhere, and represents an uncommon diffusion of the sacrificial product from the sacred area to the profane world.

4.9.2. Butchering, Banqueting, and Display in Northern Gaul

The banqueting remains from sanctuary and sacred areas present an interesting contradiction. While the animal bones testified to communal gatherings, ostensibly for worship, they were not truly sacrifices, because they carried no meat. They were the remains after consumption of the meat, testifying to the sacrificial act, but not sacrifices themselves. However, they should not be dismissed as waste, because they were intentionally collected into aboveground displays of various extent and only significantly later deposited in enclosure trenches.

They are often found in the same context as metal votive dedications, but, excepting the chthonic cattle sacrifice at Gournay and uncommon sheep hecatombs, the meat of the animals was not dedicated to the gods. Further, for all of the sites discussed, the enclosure trenches in which the bones were discovered were secondary contexts. In most cases, the bones were not deposited until long after the banquets at which they were produced, either during later ground cleanings, or the decommissioning of enclosure trenches.

Consequently, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine how banqueting remains were viewed after consumption of the meat. In this regard, display sites are considerably more comprehensible. The butchering remains and emblematic parts of cattle were collected as testament to the sacrifices, commemorating them long after the meat had been taken away and consumed. Perhaps banqueting sanctuaries

collected the complementary parts of the animals for a comparable purpose, commemorating the sacrifice and consumption of animals onsite. The reasoning behind the differential collection of consumption, instead of butchering, remains may simply have been the differing status of the animals. Pigs were valued only for the meat they produced, while cattle butchering remains, particularly bucrania and spines, possessed emblematic value of their own. Further, pig heads carried meat and were consumed, while cattle crania were butchering discards.

The participants in each ritual differed as well. Large and small groups of worshippers could gather within sanctuary enclosures for communal banqueting on various occasions, consuming pork primarily. Large groups, gathered on special occasions, in sizeable spaces were required to remove and consume the meat produced by cattle sacrifices. Ultimately, the two practices are intimately related, and perhaps should be considered as two facets of the same practice instead of two distinct practices.

4.9.3. Non-Consumption Rituals

Rituals of non-consumption, on the other hand, are quite distinct from consumption rituals, and each non-consumption ritual seems to have its own character. At Gournay, cattle and horses were subjected to the same chthonic ritual of exposure and decay, indicating that they possessed equal status while human sacrifice was only a minor aspect of the sanctuary's ritual practice (chapter 3). In contrast, at Ribemont, horses were elevated to equal status with humans in the third century B.C. ossuaries within the quadrangular enclosure. They were subjected to the same ritual of exposure and decay, followed by further manipulation consisting of dismemberment and use in construction of the bone frames over the enclosure's three ritual pits.

Despite these differences, the central components of the rituals were the same at both sites: Exposure of the carcasses until they were partially decayed, followed by collection of select remains (long bones and limb fragments primarily, but also bucrania and spine lengths at Gournay) and further manipulation. At Gournay, the remains were arranged in structured deposits prominently positioned on either side of the entrance. At Ribemont, they were incorporated into human and horse bone frames over ritual pits where bones of both species were cremated.

Yet the purpose and significance of these rituals, particularly the manipulation of decaying carcasses and corpses, remain enigmatic. These central components of non-consumption rituals involving animals are the same as the central components of the ritual treatment of human corpses at the various sites discussed in the last chapter. At Ribemont, elements shared between the rituals practiced in the two distinct third century structures might be explained as reflecting common patterns of practice over the period of a few decades, probably within the same cultural group. Commonalities shared across northern Gaul may point to broader cultural patterns and a common ritual repertoire.

Chapter 5. Armament

5.1. Introduction

5.1.1. Questions to be Explored

In this chapter, in the course of an extended presentation and comparison of the armament assemblages from the warrior sanctuaries of Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Gournay-sur-Aronde, the following questions will be explored:

1. What does the distribution of armament by type tell us about armament assemblages?
    a. How do preservation conditions affect our ability to quantify and assess assemblages?
2. What was the situation and state of armament at dedication?
    a. What was the source of the armament and what course did it follow before dedication?
    b. What was the armament's condition at dedication?
    c. Was the armament grouped at dedication? If so, how?
3. How was the armament displayed within the sanctuary?
    a. What was the nature of the display?
    b. What was the meaning and purpose of the display?
4. What was the nature and purpose of ritual mutilation?
    a. How were different types of armament mutilated differently?
    b. Were there any changes to mutilation practice over time?
5. What was the nature of the final deposition?
    a. When, where, and how was the armament deposited?
    b. What was the ritual sequence from dedication to final deposition?

5.1.2. Overview of the Armament Assemblages to be Considered

Ribemont and Gournay are the only two sites in northern Gaul that provide comparably-sized assemblages (around 1,500 pieces from Gournay, and around 2,500 pieces from Ribemont).[671] The sanctuaries were contemporary, founded within a few decades of each other in the third century B.C., and dedications at both sites were dominated by armament. The chronologies of their assemblages overlap, although their levels of activity, reflected by the number of dedications made in each period, vary considerably (fig. 5.1). Ribemont had a brief period of intensive dedicatory activity, followed by minimal activity, while Gournay received offerings in consistent numbers throughout its period of activity, as the diagram below reflects.

[671] Only the primary categories of armament (swords, sheaths, spearheads, and *umbones*) will be addressed in detail. Related armament finds, like spear butts and shield borders, are mentioned in the course of the discussion of the primary categories. Minor armament finds, like equestrian equipment and chariot fittings, which only appear in small numbers, are referenced in various chapters where they illuminate the meaning of other classes of material.

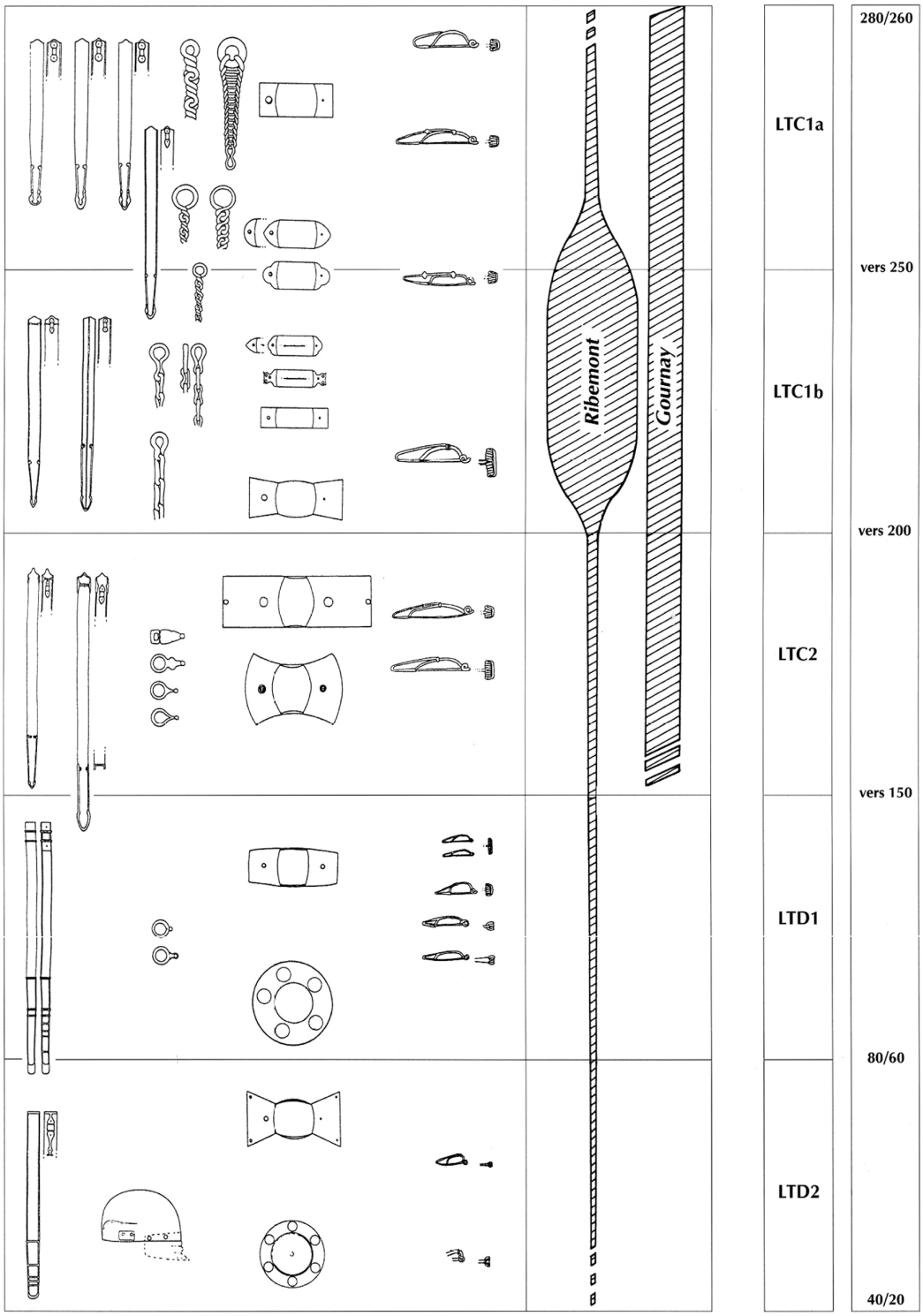

Figure 5.1. Chronological distribution of armament from Ribemont and Gournay compared (Lejars 1999, 251, fig. 63)

Dedication at Gournay began at the end of the LTB2 period, with a foundation deposit at the base of the enclosure trench. Afterward, the sanctuary received a

consistent flow of offerings from the LTC1 period through the LTD1, before its first closure and abandonment in the early first century B.C.[672] Gournay has provided an impressive ensemble of metal finds, totaling 1,946 identifiable pieces, of which 79.0% (1,537 pieces) are armament.[673] Apart from a few fragments scattered near the entrance to the enclosure, all of the metal finds, like the animal bones, come from the enclosure trench.[674]

At Ribemont, dedication began in the late LTB2 period with small-scale activity within the quadrangular enclosure, an early sanctuary composed of an enclosure trench with an interior embankment, paralleling Phase 1 of the sanctuary at Gournay.[675] Over the course of a few decades in the LTC1b period, the sanctuary received a massive influx of armament and human remains that was divided between the interior and exterior of the quadrangular enclosure. The quadrangular enclosure interior has provided almost 1,400 pieces of armament in a corpus of almost 2,400 iron finds.[676] Most of the material outside the enclosure was concentrated into a large deposit on the ground surface dubbed the 'mass grave', which has provided nearly 300 (MNI values) pieces of armament.

After the few decades required to complete the ritual processing of the material, activity within the quadrangular enclosure abruptly declined, and the mass grave was abandoned and left untouched. While dedications continued to be made within the quadrangular enclosure, activity remained minimal until the site's reoccupation in the LTD2b period (late first century B.C.).

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[672] See chapter 2 for discussion of Gournay's phases.
[673] The counts provided in this paragraph are the numbers of remains, based on totals provided in Brunaux et al. 1985, 71, updated in Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 180–1 and Lejars 1994, 9–11.
[674] Lejars 1994, 95.
[675] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 192–4. Further discussion may be found in chapters 2 and 3.
[676] Pourrier 2003, 74 and one's corpus.

The circular enclosure, contemporary with and founded beside the quadrangular enclosure in the LTB2b period, collected just over 150 pieces (MNI) of armament, a residual assemblage of fragmented and incomplete arms deposited with the human remains and all of the other material from the circular enclosure in its enclosure trench. The armament has been attributed to the warriors buried in the same context, but is vastly insufficient to have supplied them. Further discussion of this attribution will be provided below.

Thus, Ribemont provides three assemblages, one from the quadrangular enclosure, a related one from the mass grave, and a third, distinct from the first two, from the circular enclosure. The determined iron finds from the quadrangular enclosure are exclusively armament, with the exception of limited numbers of *fibulae*, equestrian accoutrements, scattered structural supports, and a group of LTD period tools. Metal finds from the mass grave are effectively exclusively armament as well (90%). Likewise, the circular enclosure provides exclusively armament with the exception of a few *fibulae* and harness and chariot pieces.

Most of the finds from the quadrangular enclosure come from within the enclosure, because the ground surface within the enclosure at Ribemont was not simply cleared at the late first century B.C. decommissioning of the La Tène facilities, like at Gournay. Items on the higher western half of the interior were relocated to the lower central and southern half and covered in earth. Some material was deposited in the enclosure trench as well. Then, the entire surface was sealed beneath a soil fill, which covered the interior, enclosure trench, and exterior area where the quadrangular enclosure had been and contained fragmented iron pieces (mostly armament). At Ribemont, the enclosure trench was not used as a place for the deposition of

dedications throughout the sanctuary's period of occupation, as at Gournay. It was only used for deposition at the few points in its history when the enclosure was modified (discussed in chapter 2), and at the late first century B.C. decommissioning just described. As at Gournay, the armament at Ribemont is primarily composed of the three standard elements of the Gallic warrior's panoply, the sword, shield, and spear. However, the distributions of armament by type differ significantly between the two sanctuaries, as will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

A few other northern Gallic sanctuaries, Villeneuve-au-Châtelot, Fesques, Montmartin, and Nanteuil-sur-Aisne, provide minor armament assemblages, but none approach the quantity of dedications from the two warrior sanctuaries. Among these, only Villeneuve-au-Châtelot, with 313 pieces of armament (MNI value), and Fesques, with 49 pieces, have provided more than a handful of weapons.[679] Villeneuve was a warrior sanctuary like Gournay and Ribemont, and it directly parallels them in its history, plan, and the dedications it received. Its only significant difference is its scale.[680] The armament assemblage from Villeneuve displays several commonalities with those from Ribemont and Gournay and is sufficiently sizeable to warrant comment. Its material is referenced during discussion of Gournay and Ribemont, and discussed briefly at the end of this chapter.

At Fesques, armament dedication was not a central part of the sanctuary's ritual activity. Offerings began in the LTB2 period with small quantities of fibulae. At the end of the LTC1, the first armament finds began to diversify offerings. However, offerings are fairly evenly divided between armament and women's personal items. At

[679] MNI stands for minimum number of individuals, and is typically applied to bones. However, Bataille (2007b; 2008, 231–2) has convincingly argued for its application to metal finds as well.
[680] Bataille 2008, 129–30; Brunaux et al. 1985, 63; Pourrier 2003, 9–10. Out of a total of 509 metal finds, 313 (61.5%) were armament.

the beginning of the LTD1, armament dedications ceased, and dedication declined until activity stopped in the LTD2a.[681] The armament Fesques provides is too corroded and fragmentary to be analyzed and compared with the other sites.

Lastly, while the armament assemblage from cult Enclosure 56 at Montmartin is quite small and not particularly illustrative in itself, its find context and relationship to Enclosure 56 are important, because they parallel those of the assemblage from the circular enclosure at Ribemont and contribute its understanding. These aspects of the assemblage from Montmartin will be discussed in section 5.10.2. The composition of the armament assemblage from Enclosure 56 at Montmartin, and ritual mutilations to which it was subjected, are discussed near the end of this chapter (5.10) and considered in comparison to Gournay and Ribemont.

5.1.3. Overview of the Armament Types to be Examined

The armament examined in this chapter composes the three standard elements of the Gallic warrior's panoply from the third century B.C. to the mid-first century (fig. 5.2): the sword (sword, sheath, and chain belt), the spear (spearhead and spear butt), and the shield (*umbo*, handle, and shield border).[682] Only swords, sheaths, spearheads, and *umbones* display intentional mutilation, so they will be the focus of discussion. The other metal armament pieces will be mentioned where they help to understand the nature of the armament assemblages and activity on each site. Related classes of metal finds, like equestrian equipment and tools are noted briefly as well to likewise contribute to understanding the armament assemblages. Before discussion

[681] Bataille 2008, 190–1.
[682] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 136–7. Handles are referred to in French studies as 'maniples' and shield borders, 'orle'.

begins, however, a brief overview of the elements of the various types of armament is necessary.

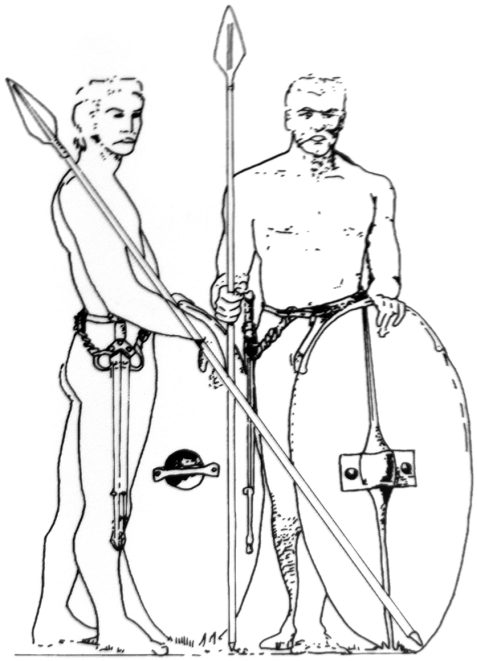


Figure 5.2. Hypothetical reconstruction of the way in which Gallic warriors carried their armament (A. Rapin, Musée de Picardie, Amiens)

Sheaths were composed of obverse and reverse plates, joined by gutters on the obverse plates clamped around the edges of the reverse plates, and tip-guards affixed to the ends to protect sword points (fig. 5.3). Early (LTB–LTC1a) gutters projected significantly and early tip-guards were thick and rather ungainly, distinct appendages affixed to the ends of sheaths, which were commonly broken away in ritual mutilation. Later (LTC2–LTD) gutters and tip-guards were more streamlined, closely following the profile of the sheath, and tip-guard gutters directly aligned with those of the sheath plates.[683] Tip-guards provided an opportunity for decoration, and early examples

[683] Lejars 1994 provides the fullest discussion.

sometimes featured elaborate engraving that coordinated with suspension straps (fig. 5.3, GSA 2693).

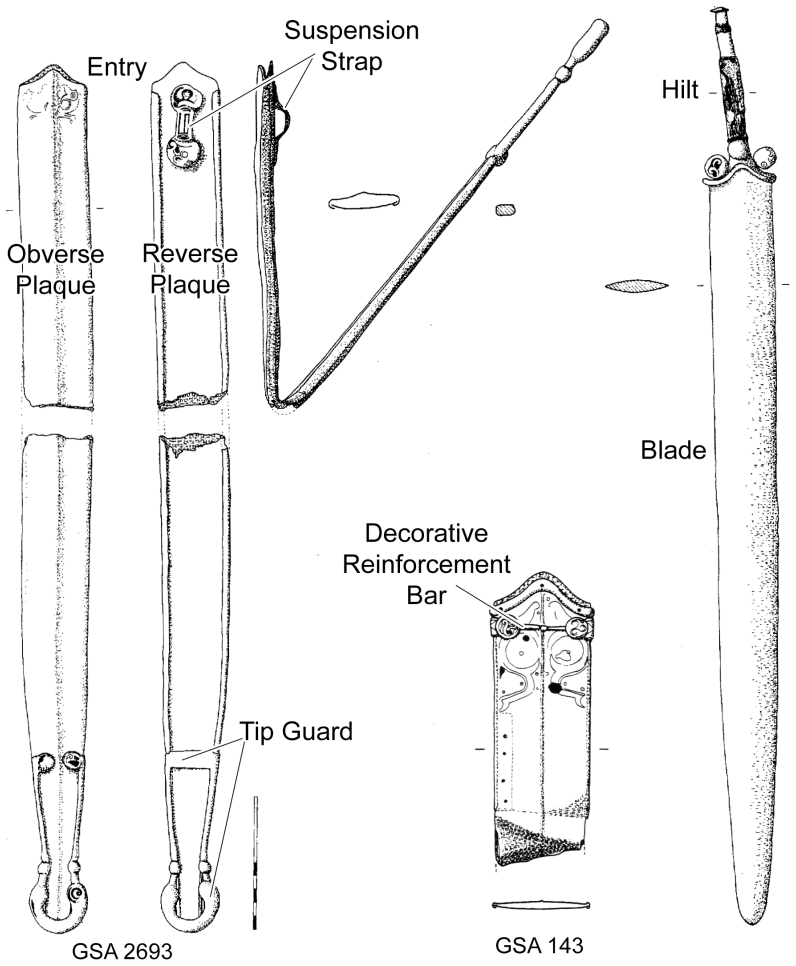


Figure 5.3. Diagram of the parts of a sword and sheath (adapted from Lejars 1994, 169 & 224)

Sheaths were suspended from chain-belts fastened around the waist, which were threaded through suspension straps welded to sheaths' reverses. Suspension straps provided another opportunity for decoration, and often coordinated with tip-guards in early LTC examples. In some cases, reinforcement bars were affixed to sheaths' obverses at the same height as suspension straps and could also be decorative. Some obverse plaques were engraved as well, particularly at entries.

Tip-guards, suspension straps, and decorative reinforcement bars are the primary means by which sheaths are typologically characterized, and often allow

sheaths to be dated quite precisely. Designs varied geographically as well, and sheaths' designs inspired by pieces from sometimes-distant provenances can suggest the extent of tribal campaigns, like the Group 4 sheaths at Gournay of Hungarian style, or the Group 5/6 Swiss style sheaths.[684]

Swords were quite simple in their morphology, their blades, hand guards, and hilts all very generic in appearance, and only rare and minimal changes were made to swords' form over time. Together, these characteristics prevent precise typo/chronological characterization. The narrow metal hilts were encased in wood to create their handles. The nature of the production of blades and their cutting edges are discussed later in section 5.3.4.

Spears were composed of considerably fewer elements (fig. 5.4), only a spearhead and spear butt affixed to a wooden shaft by nails. Later spear butts featured tangs that could be hammered directly into the wooden shafts without the need for nails, and were accompanied by ferrules that made the fitting tighter and prevented the wood from splitting over time. Spearheads come in various shapes and sizes, which may be typologically and chronologically categorized like sheaths. However, they cannot be dated as precisely, because spearheads did not transform as significantly over time as sheaths.[685]

[684] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 169–70; Lejars 1996, 116–7.
[685] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 115–9, 132–4.

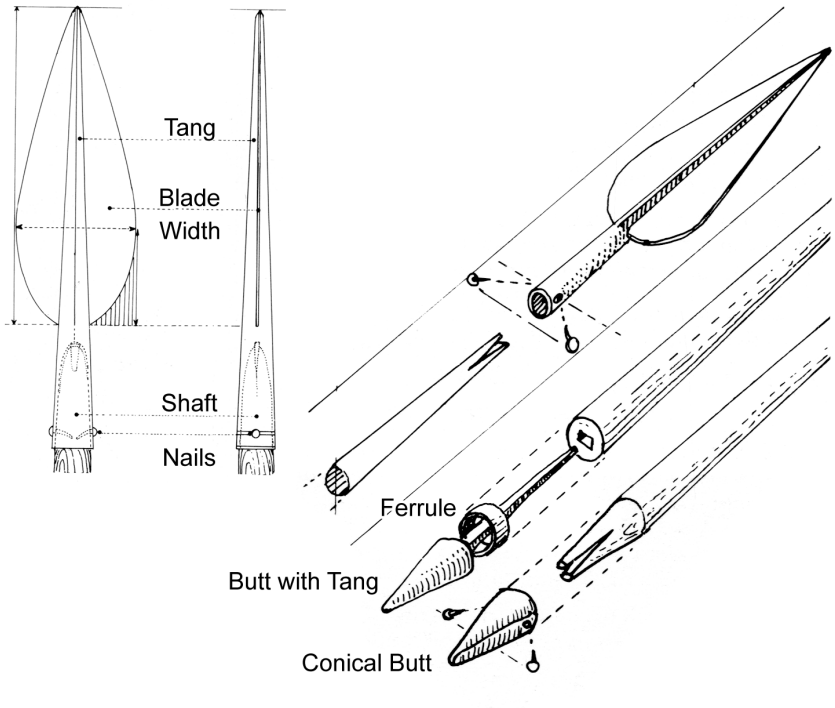


Figure 5.4. Diagram of the parts of a spear and spearhead (adapted from Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 12, fig. 1 and 87, fig. 42)

Shields (fig. 5.5) were composed of large wooden plates in an oval shape, held together and stabilized by metal borders and a wooden central rib called a *spina*. The *spina* was held in place at its center by the metal *umbo*, or shield boss, and at its far ends by metal borders nailed to the top and bottom of the shield. The metal handle, with a wood support behind it, was nailed opposite the *umbo* on the inside of the shield. *Umbones* provided the central decorative element of shields, and, like sheaths, they may be dated fairly precisely by morphology/typology.

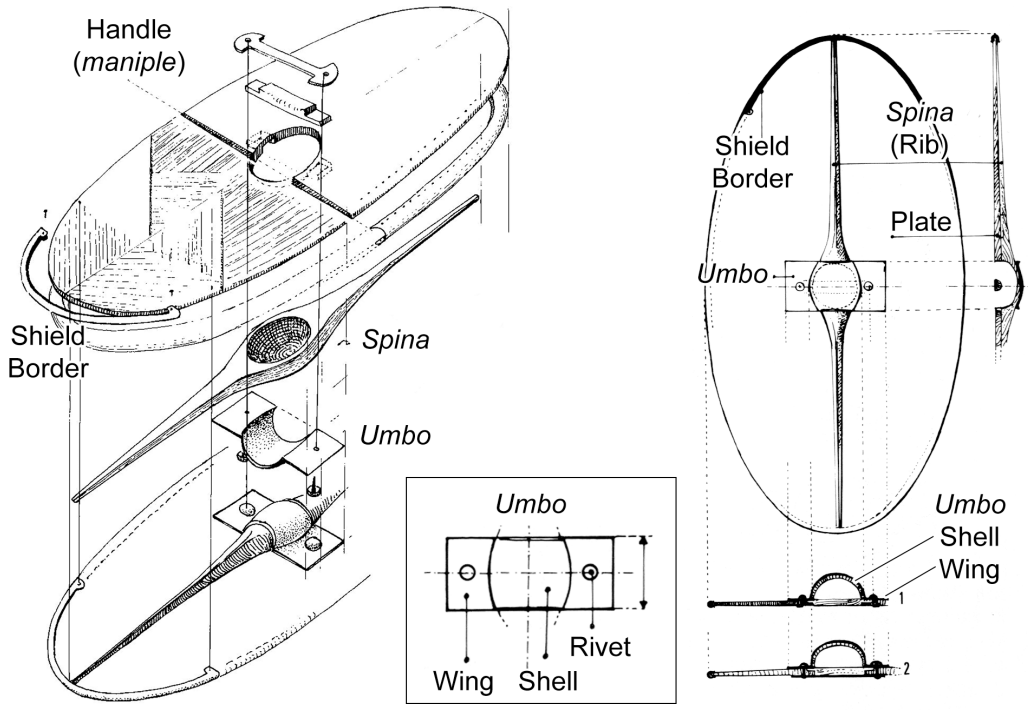


Figure 5.5. Diagram of the parts of a shield and umbo (after Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 12, fig. 1 & 13, fig. 2)

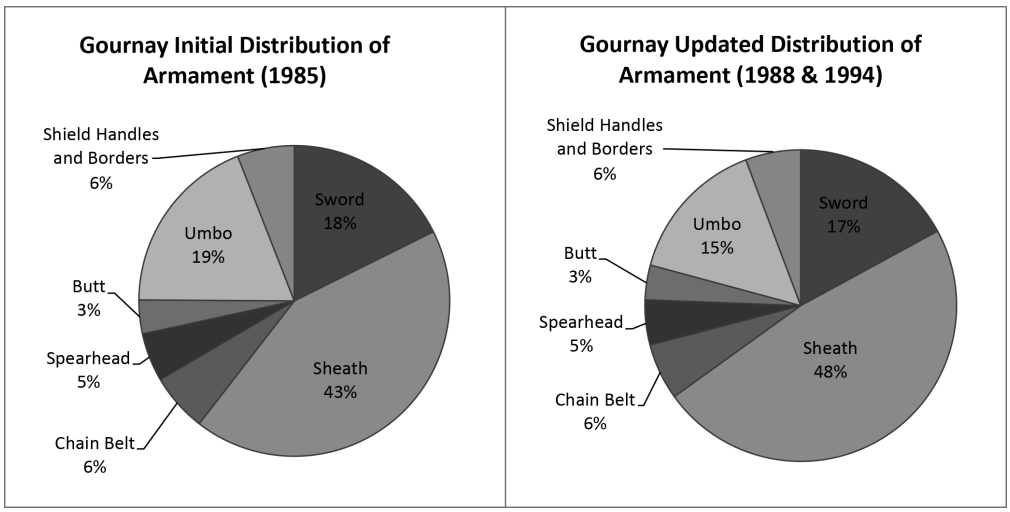
Other armament remains, like shield handles and borders, chain belts, and spear butts contribute to understanding the relative quantities of the primary classes of armament, and can potentially provide ancillary information, like the locations of armament displays, and where ritual mutilation was performed. For example, shield border fragments can suggest shields' place of display, exposure, or disassembly as part of ritual mutilation, as at Ribemont within the quadrangular enclosure. Likewise, spear butts on the ground or implanted in the soil can indicate locations where spears were set upright. However, care must be taken to consider the contexts from which these pieces come, and the implications of whether they are primary, secondary, or tertiary contexts. At Gournay, the secondary or even tertiary nature of the enclosure trench where spear butts and shield borders were found raises considerable doubt that their find-spots may be used to determine the locations of trophies lining the enclosure

trench. Yet at Ribemont, spear butts found in primary contexts, implanted upright in the third century ground surface, indicate locations where spears were set vertically in a line along the enclosure trench. Both cases are discussed in detail later in this chapter.

5.2. Assessment of the Armament Assemblage from Gournay

5.2.1. Counting and Grouping of Armament and the Question of Panoplies

When examining the distribution of armament in the assemblage from Gournay, it is essential to take the preservation state of the various types of armament into consideration. Examining the distribution of armament by the number of remains (complete items and fragments) causes sheaths to make up an inordinate percentage of the finds, because they are highly fragmented. According to Lejars, the 720 sheath fragments compose a MNI of only 180 sheaths, making the original count of sheaths dedicated at Gournay only a fraction of the fragment count.[686] A high fragmentation rate is to be expected of a relatively fragile, multi-part item. Further, sheaths were commonly broken and disassembled during ritual mutilation, practices that intentionally fragmented sheaths.



[686] Lejars 1994, 9–11.

Figure 5.6. Distributions of armament fragments (NR) reported in the initial excavation report (1985) updated with revised counts from 1988 & 1994

Table 5.1. Initial and updated inventory of metal finds by number of remains from Gournay with updates shaded		
Type	**Initial Counts**	**Updated Counts**
Swords and Fragments	256	256*
Sheaths and Fragments	621	720
Chain Belts	88	88
Spearheads	73	70
Spear Butts	51	54
Umbones and Fragments	275	226
Shield Handle and Border Pieces	86	86
Belt Fasteners	37	37
Fibulae	110	110
Other	299	299
Indeterminate	167	167
Armament Total	1,450	1,500
Metal Finds Total	2,063	2,113
Percentage of Total made up by Armament	70.3%	71.0%
Data from Brunaux et al. 1985, 71; Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 180–1; Lejars 1994, 9–11		

For swords (Table 5.1), only the initial count of 256 swords and sword fragments has been provided. No MNI calculation has been performed, and swords are not cataloged, preventing direct counting, as has been possible for spearheads and *umbones*. The sword pieces have a variable rate of fragmentation, described as ranging in size from 'a third of a sword to a very small fragment'.[687] On the plans of the enclosure trench, this author was able to identify 187 of the 256 sword pieces. They displayed a high fragmentation rate, and variable sizing of fragments, consistent with the description above: 63 appear complete or largely complete, 54 are proximal or distal sections, or lengths of blade one-half to three-quarters of the swords' original

[687] Brunaux et al. 1985, 71. Pourrier's (2003, Pl. 85–96) illustrations of sword pieces from Ribemont provide an idea of the extreme variability of fragmentation swords may display.

length, and 70 are fragments. Most or all of the remaining 69 sword pieces that one was unable to identify were probably fragments, as many pieces on the plans are too small to identify, and the smallest fragments are not included on plans at all.

In order to estimate a MNI for swords, we might count only the first two groups, complete or largely complete swords and sections of swords, which total 117. Allowing for losses *in situ* and during and after excavation, it seems reasonable to round the number upward, following the same procedure that Brunaux and Rapin employed when estimating the count of *umbones*.[688] Perhaps as many as 150–160 swords were dedicated in the sanctuary, a count similar to the MNI of 180 sheaths. Such rounding would support Brunaux and Rapin's argument that swords and sheaths were brought into the sanctuary together, but the discrepancy in counts should not be ignored entirely. Given the decorative appearance of many of the sheaths at Gournay, some sheaths were probably dedicated individually without their swords.

Despite their relatively comparable numbers, we should not assume simple pairings between swords and sheaths. Only a limited number of swords were found in their sheaths, and swords and sheaths are not paired in the enclosure trench, but grouped in disparate numbers in bundles and concentrations of material in the enclosure trench (fig. 5.7). While many may have been brought into the sanctuary in pairs, nearly all must have been separated for ritual treatment, because in the dense spread of material on either side of the entrance, particularly in the first three levels, mutilated individual swords and sheaths were discarded in large, unpaired groups (five sheaths folded together, three bent swords beside one another) in the enclosure trench. Grouping, for all classes of armament, was simply a deposit of multiple pieces of the

[688] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 47.

same type beside one another, always in disparate numbers and there is no evidence of intentional grouping of sword with sheath with *umbo*, which would compose a panoply. The horizontal and vertical distribution of finds will be addressed later in this chapter.

The scattering of sword and sheath elements in UI (fig. 5.7) illustrates the distribution of armament described. Individual elements were grouped (e.g. 5–7 sheath lengths 3 sword lengths, 30 sheath fragments), but none placed in such a way as to suggest pairings. A few bundles, like the bundle in F4, composed of two swords and four sheaths tied together with a fifth sheath, were also found in the upper levels. Immediately beneath it (in U2, F4–7) was another bundle consisting of over a dozen sheaths but only five swords. All such bundles included examples in varying states of completeness with too much variance in size, style, counts, and mutilation for any to be paired.[689]

[689] Lejars 1994, 102.

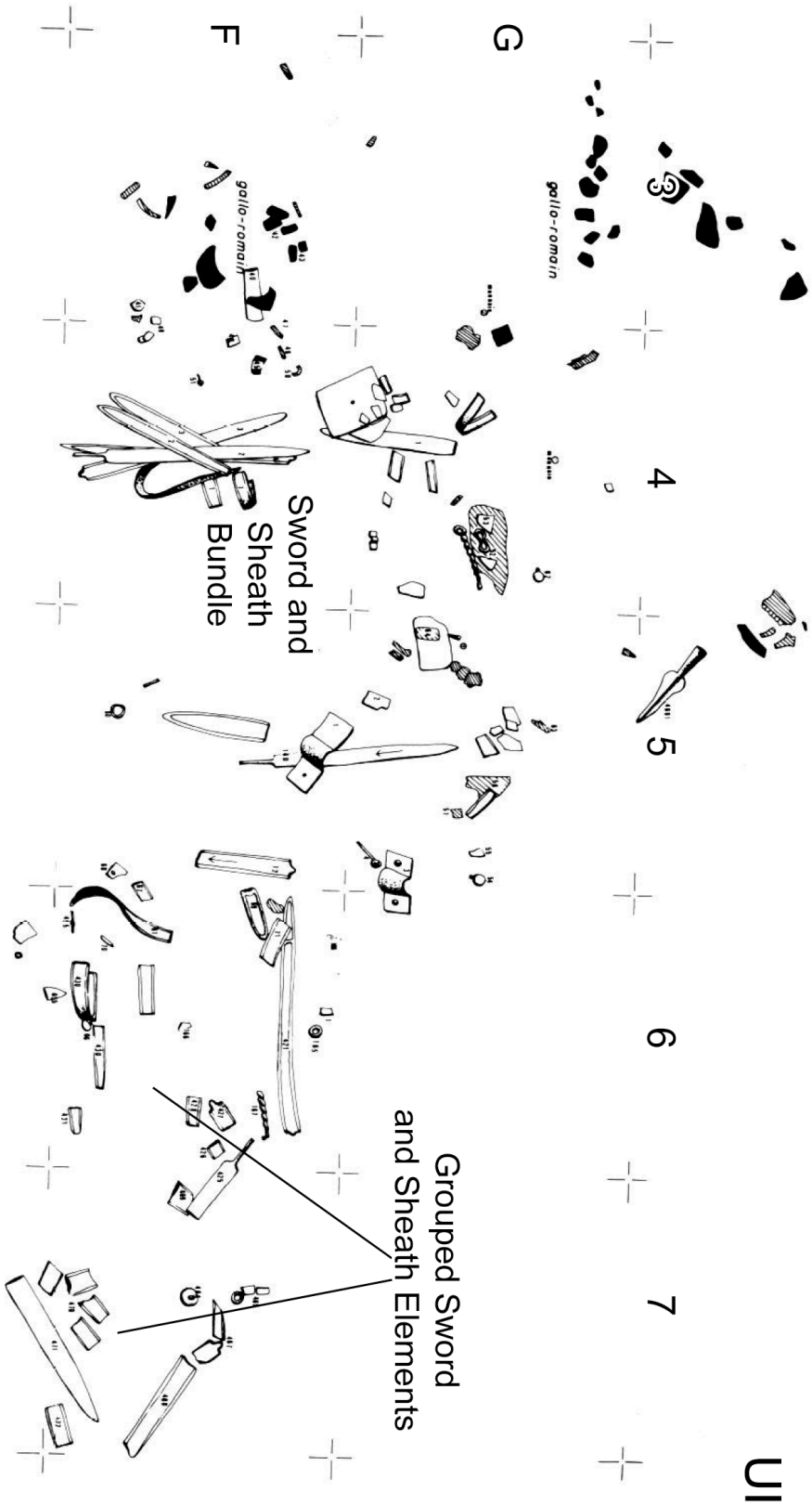


Figure 5.7. Section of enclosure trench at Gournay containing sheath bundle (Brunaux et al. 1985, 206)

Because most *umbones* are well preserved, the number of shields dedicated may be estimated by direct counting (226 surviving *umbones*).[691] It is unexpected for *umbones* to have such a low rate of fragmentation, given their similarity to sheaths in their low ratio of thickness to surface area, and ease of mutilation after removal from their shields. More than half (55%, 112 examples) are complete, or only missing a small piece of metal, and another quarter (25%, 51 examples) are largely complete, with only a wing or part of the shell missing. *Umbo* fragments and highly fragmentary *umbones* are very much in the minority, making up only 20%, 41 examples.

Brunaux and Rapin estimate an original count of 250–300 *umbones* in the enclosure trench before post-excavation losses.[692] Their estimate seems reasonable, although one would trust the more conservative count of 250 *umbones*, given that only 226 survive. Only residual numbers of highly fragmented shield handles and borders were found, so they cannot contribute to the counting of shields.

Spearheads (Table 5.1) were preserved significantly better than swords and sheaths, but were found in considerably fewer numbers than swords, sheaths, and *umbones*. Most (66%, 46 examples) of the 70 catalogued spearheads were complete or missing only a small part of their blades, and the remainder (34%, 24 examples) were largely complete, with their sockets and overall profiles preserved, except in two cases.[693] A low rate of fragmentation may be expected for spearheads, as Brunaux and Rapin note, given their tensile strength, higher ratio of thickness to surface area than sheaths and *umbones*, tapering shape, central rib, and their blade edges, which prevented their bending by hand. Tools would have been required to grasp and bend

[691] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 47 and 173–8. Only 213 are catalogued.
[692] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 47.
[693] Spearheads 2002 and 3648 preserve only their sockets and the lower part of their blades (Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 230, Pl. XLVIII and 232, Pl. L).

spearheads, or their tips could be pressed or struck against a hard surface. Examination of the spearheads' bends reveals that tools were used in most cases, as the bends are too sharp or too much of an angle to have been affected through pressure on the tip.

As will be discussed shortly, spearheads and swords have similar tensile strength, and may be expected to be preserved at comparable rates. They were mutilated similarly as well, mutilations primarily consisting of bending them to varying angles (fig. 5.8), and lateral blows and cuts to their blade edges with minimal metal loss. The lack of fragmentation under blows and cuts supports the argument that spearheads were in a good state of preservation at the time and retained their tensile strength. In contrast, the spearheads from Ribemont, which were mutilated after lengthy exposure, displayed significantly greater metal loss under blows to their edges because of their brittleness after corrosion.

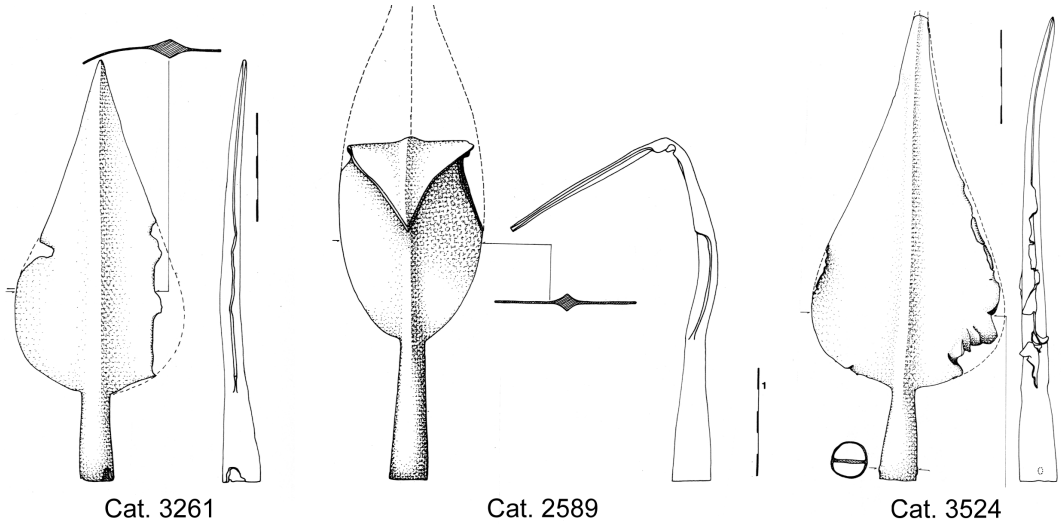


Figure 5.8. Mutilated Spearheads (after Brunaux and Rapin 1988, Plates XLIX and L)

Brunaux and Rapin indicate that the 70 spearheads catalogued at Gournay represent all of the examples found in the enclosure trench, because spearheads are more robust than *umbones*, and, thus, would not have provided any fragments to

parallel the few dozen *umbo* fragments found.[694] While it is true that spearheads are more robust than *umbones*, swords would have possessed a robustness comparable to spearheads, and there were fragments of varying size among the count of swords. Consequently, we may expect that some of the unidentifiable fragments in the collection may have come from spearheads.

To estimate a count of spears dedicated, one would take the higher value of spearheads (70) versus spear butts (54), because butts would certainly not have been collected for dedication without their spearheads, i.e. butts would only have been brought into the sanctuary as part of complete spears. Nonetheless, this estimation is made with caution, because it is rarely possible to associate a spearhead with its butt.

Brunaux views the comparable MNI values of swords, sheaths, and *umbones* as supporting his proposal that 250 complete prestige panoplies – each composed of a sword in its sheath with a chain belt, a shield, and a spear – made up the armament assemblage at Gournay.[695] The idea that complete prestige panoplies were standard dedicatory practice at sanctuaries seems to be derived from the limited evidence from elite graves in the area in which sword ensembles, shields, and spears appear in equal numbers.[696] Brunaux acknowledges the fact that at Gournay spears are significantly less numerous than the other classes of armament, explaining the disparity by arguing that spears were offered in fewer numbers because they were a more common and less prestigious dedication.[697]

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[694] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 110.
[695] Brunaux 2004, 94.
[696] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 136–7.
[697] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 166–7. Brunaux (2004, 90) makes it clear that the arguments in Brunaux and Rapin 1988 and some of the arguments in Lejars 1996 are his, not necessarily those of Rapin or Lejars. Lejars contradicts him at some points in Lejars 1994.

Bataille assessed the distribution of armament by panoplies in the assemblages from Gournay, Villeneuve-au-Châtelot, Bennecourt, and Montmartin, and concluded that dedicatory activity on all of the sites began with armament and *fibulae* offerings made by small groups of warriors (less than 10).[698] As ritual practice developed and grew in importance at these sites, subsequent dedicatory activity assumed a particular character: A majority of weapons dedicated were mismatched elements (individual swords, sheaths, spearheads), and a minority were complete panoplies (fig. 5.9). Bataille interprets the first as dedication of armament from the battlefield after victory, and the second as dedications of panoplies in honor of heroic ancestors. One would add that panoplies might also have been dedicated by retiring warriors.

Bataille's study revealed that at Gournay, about 60% of dedications were complete sets of equipment (panoplies), and about 40% are individual pieces.[700] At Villeneuve, the distribution is similar: 65–70% individual pieces, and 30–35% complete panoplies. To be sure, panoplies were among the armament dedicated at Gournay, but they do not seem to have been the sole, nor even majority, of dedications.

[698] Bataille 2008, 193 & 234.
[700] Bataille 2008, 162.

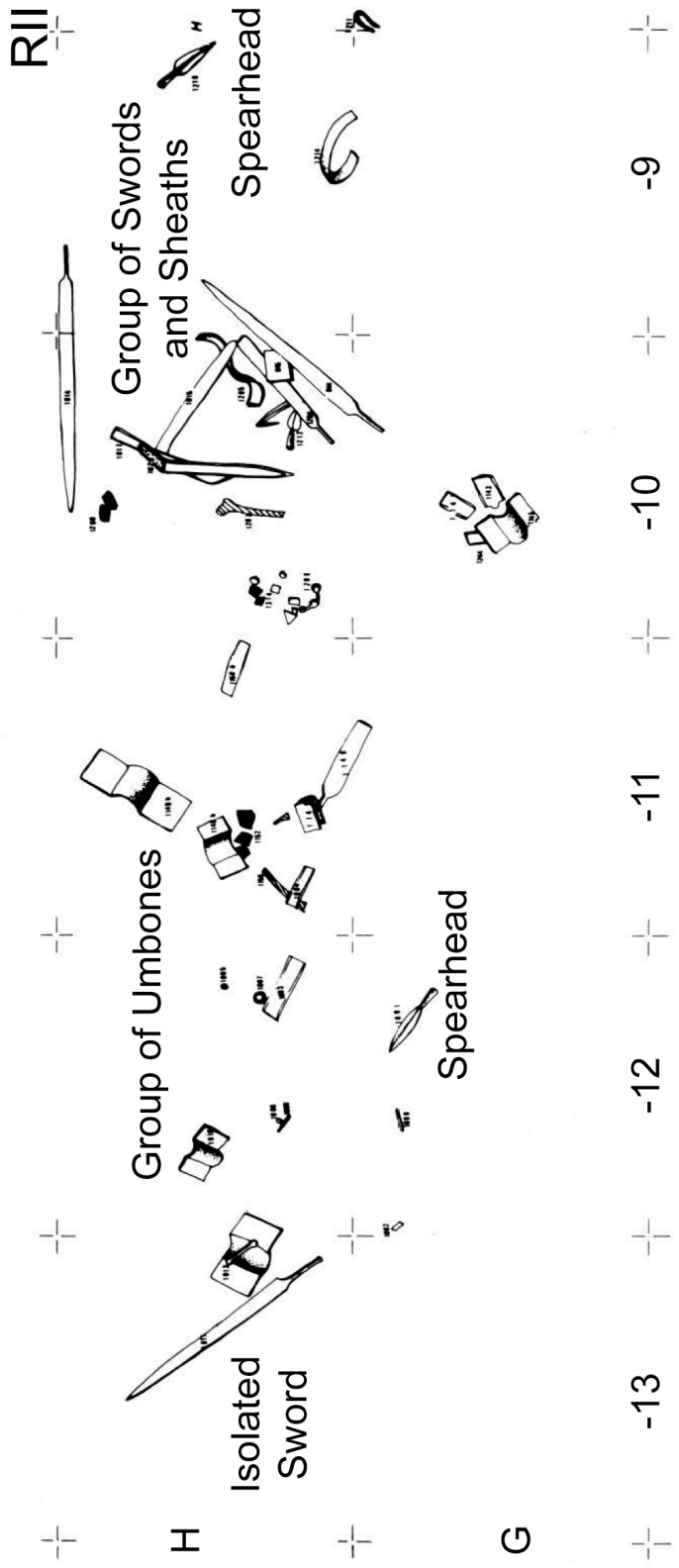


Figure 5.9. Section of the enclosure trench at Gournay showing weapon 'panoplies' (Brunaux et al. 1985, 214)

One believes that the nature of offering practice at Gournay should be reconsidered: Instead of offerings primarily composed of more-or-less complete panoplies (sword, sheath, spear, and shield), or the prestige panoplies Brunaux proposes (sword and sheath), the evidence indicates a duality of practices. Most dedications were individual pieces, and panoplies were in the minority. The grouping of armament by type in the enclosure trench, and the diverse typologies of armament, reflecting styles from throughout Gaul, are consistent with most of the dedications at Gournay being battlefield spoils brought to the sanctuary and dedicated in groups.[701]

The situation is similar at Ribemont. Bataille claims that the distribution of Ribemont's armament, excepting the assemblage from the mass grave, reflects the same mixture of a minority of complete panoplies and majority of individual pieces.[702] His assessment fits well with the new chronology of Ribemont that indicates the quadrangular enclosure served as a sanctuary for a few decades before the LTC1b influx of armament and human remains.[703]

The dedication of a greater percentage of panoplies within the quadrangular enclosure in its initial phase would be consistent with the 'small groups of warriors' Bataille proposes began dedicatory activity at the warrior sanctuaries (Gournay, Ribemont, Villeneuve-au-Châtelot). That is, as yet lacking a major battlefield source for armament to dedicate, individual warriors or small groups of warriors would have deposited panoplies of their own (or ancestors') equipment. This is not to say that dedications from the battlefield were not made before the LTC1b influx, but that dedicatory practice at Ribemont at its inception probably had a different character than

[701] Brunaux and Rapin (1988, 169–70) discuss their diverse origins.
[702] Bataille 2008, 216–7; Viand et al. 2000.
[703] See chapter 2 for discussion of dating.

later practice – a higher number of panoplies dedicated, originating from a small group of warriors. In this, the early dedicatory activity at Ribemont may resemble the foundation deposit of armament at Gournay made by a small group of warriors who treated the armament differently than later dedications. The differences between the foundation deposit and later dedicatory activity at Gournay are discussed in the next section (5.2.2).

However, we must keep in mind that Bataille's determination of the percentage of arms dedicated as panoplies only considers statistical distribution, which must be reconciled with examination of finds *in situ* to verify the statistical distribution is consistent with the find contexts. The nature of offering practice (whether dedications were panoplies or individual pieces of armament) during the quadrangular enclosure's initial period (the first few decades of the third century B.C.) is difficult to characterize. This difficulty is caused by two aspects of the material:

First, armament from the quadrangular enclosure was extensively intermixed. No discrete ensembles that could be identified as panoplies have been found (not even in the undisturbed third century B.C. contexts). We might look for panoplies among the human bone Ensembles lining the eastern interior. However, the armament found among them does not compose panoplies, nor is it even directly associated with the Ensembles. Armament was freely and randomly intermixed – above, beneath, and beside the Ensembles – without relationship to them.

Secondly, most of the armament within the enclosure (approximately 75%) comes from the LTC1b conflict. Some panoplies are sure to have been found within the armament collection brought from the battlefield. Swords in sheaths would have been stripped from enemy corpses and kept together. Bundling of armament by

wrapping two or more pieces together with the chain belt would maintain groupings. Both of these cases have been found in the mass grave, which is the most likely to supply panoplies. The bundled swords in sheaths could be what Brunaux calls prestige panoplies. Notably, the grouping of multiple swords in sheaths, common enough at Ribemont, was only found in the foundation deposit at Gournay where two swords in sheaths were grouped. Other groupings of swords in sheaths at Gournay are certainly possible, but one has not come across any during study of the enclosure trench.

According to Brunaux and Rapin, shields were collected for dedication in high numbers because they were particularly evocative and expressive. They believe that shields served a didactic purpose: either to dissuade foreign warriors passing through the territory, or provide exemplars of distinguished warriors for a hero cult observed at the sanctuary, or a combination of both.[704] Brunaux describes these shields as affixed to the trophies he proposes lined the enclosure trench (discussed later in this chapter), the palisade wall, and the sanctuary's propylaeon.

5.2.2. The Beginning of Dedicatory Practice at Gournay: The Foundation Deposit at the Base of the Enclosure Trench

A foundation deposit (deposit A) of armament began the collection of dedications in the enclosure trench at Gournay. The deposit was found at the bottom of the enclosure trench in layers 13–15 (1.3–1.5m below ground level) at the head of the enclosure trench on the north side of the entrance (fig. 5.45), immediately below the first cluster of cattle bones (deposit B). The foundation deposit is composed of 21 pieces of armament clustered in a $2m^2$ area (F-2 to F-3 from levels 13–14). Beside the foundation deposit is another deposit contemporary with but subsequent to the

[704] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 139–40.

foundation deposit. It contains 18 pieces of armament clustered in a $1m^2$ area (G-4) on levels 13–15.[705] The two deposits do not differ significantly in their distributions of armament by type. There are significant overlaps in the typo-chronologies of the armament with only a few differences that indicate that the clusters in G-4 slightly postdates the foundation deposit.

[705] Brunaux et al. 1985, 96; Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 60.

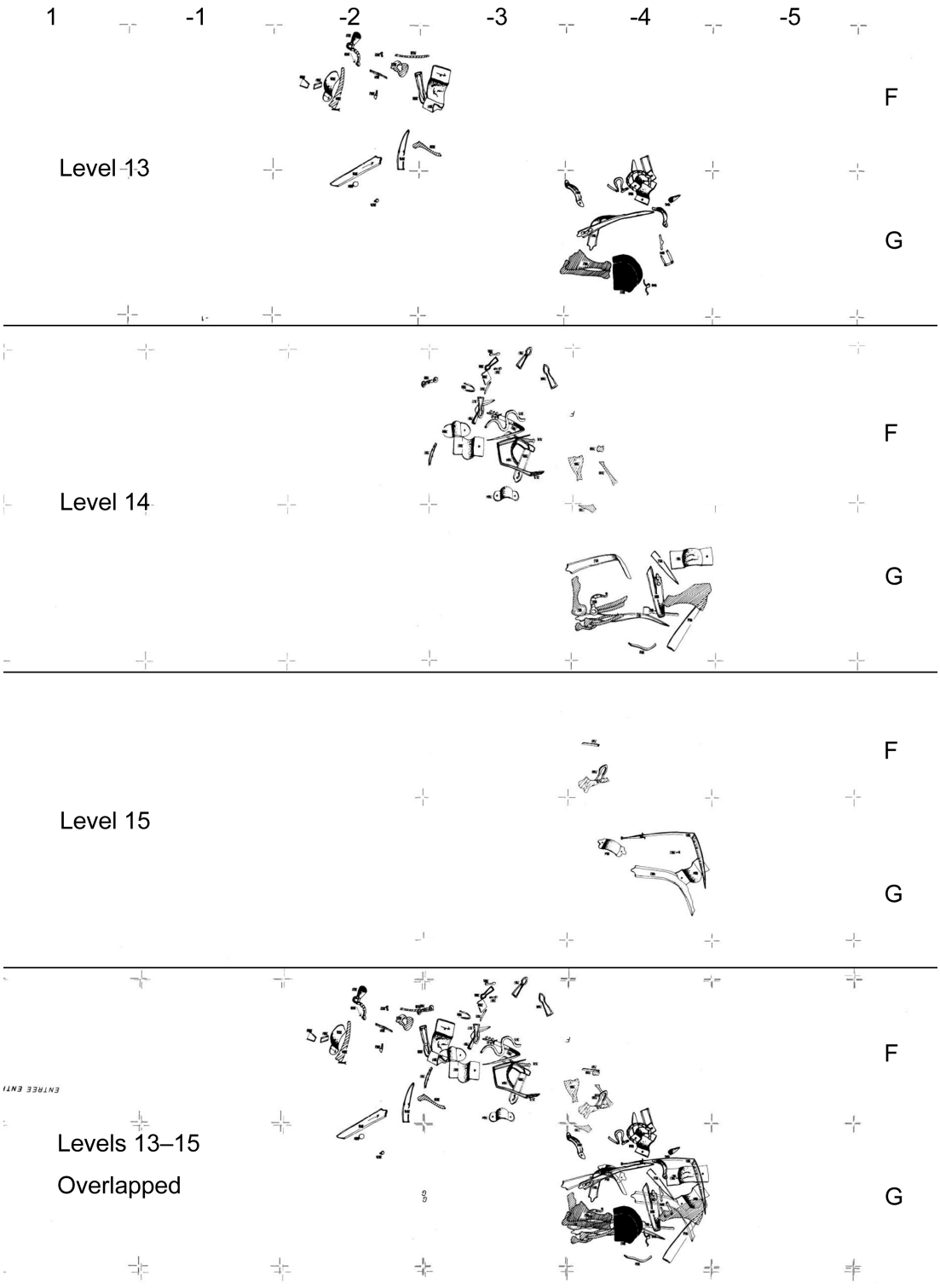


Figure 5.10. Illustration of the foundation deposit in zones F-2, F-3, and G-4 in excavation squares S and T (after Brunaux et al. 1985, 266, SXIII–268, TXV)

Table 5.2. Inventory of armament in the foundation deposit					
Cat. No.	**Item**	**Typology**	**Excavation Square**	**Level**	**Position**
Cluster 1 in F-2/-3 on levels 13–14					
2637	Spear Butt		T	13	F-2
2617	Umbo	1b	T	13	F-2
2635	Umbo	2a	T	13	F-2
2676	Sword in sheath	3	T	14	F-3
2693	Sword in sheath with chain belt	1b	T	14	F-3
2691	Spearhead		T	14	F-3
2669	Umbo	2b	T	14	F-3
2674	Umbo	2c	T	14	F-3
2692	Umbo	1b	T	14	F-3
	+6 sheath tip-guards		T	14	F-3
	+6 sword and sheath fragments				
Cluster 2 in G-4 on levels 13–15					
1847B	Sheath	3/4	S	13	G-4
Uncatalogued fragment	Sheath length (bent); beneath 1847B	Indet.	S	13	G-4
GASN 1	Umbo	2b	S	13	G-4
1841	Umbo	3a	S	13	G-4
1845	Spear butt		S	13	G-4
1847	Umbo	3a	S	13	G-4
GASN2/1858	Umbo	2b	S	13	G-4
1855	Sword distal half	Indet.	S	14	G-4
1856	Sword distal third	Indet.	S	14	G-4
1882	Sword handle	Indet.	S	14	G-4
1851	Sheath	3/4	S	14	G-4
1853	Sheath missing tip-guard	2	S	14	G-4
1860	Sheath missing tip-guard	2	S	14	G-4
1861	Umbo	1b	S	14	G-4
1865	Sword	Indet.	S	15	G-4
1863	Sheath plate	2	S	15	G-4
1864	Umbo	2a	S	15	G-4
1866	Umbo	2a	S	15	G-4

The two deposits were also connected by their conservation state and commonalities in their patterns of mutilations. The armament in both groups was mutilated when fresh, permitting disassembly and pronounced bending, and buried immediately thereafter. In the first cluster of material, the chain belt of sword in sheath 2693 was fused to the sheath. In the second, chain belt 1858 was fused to *umbo* GASN2/1858. These indicate that the armament pieces were fresh at deposit, held together under the soil, and corroded together in a closed context. The armament from the two clusters was also subjected to common ritual mutilations, including bending swords and sheaths, and striking and hammering *umbones*. Most notably, isolated tip-guards, broken away from their sheaths, were found in the foundation deposit (fig. 5.11), among the deposit in G-4, and in the space between them. The separation of tip-guards was common at Gournay, but not ubiquitous. Isolated tip guards made up 40% of the total count.[706]

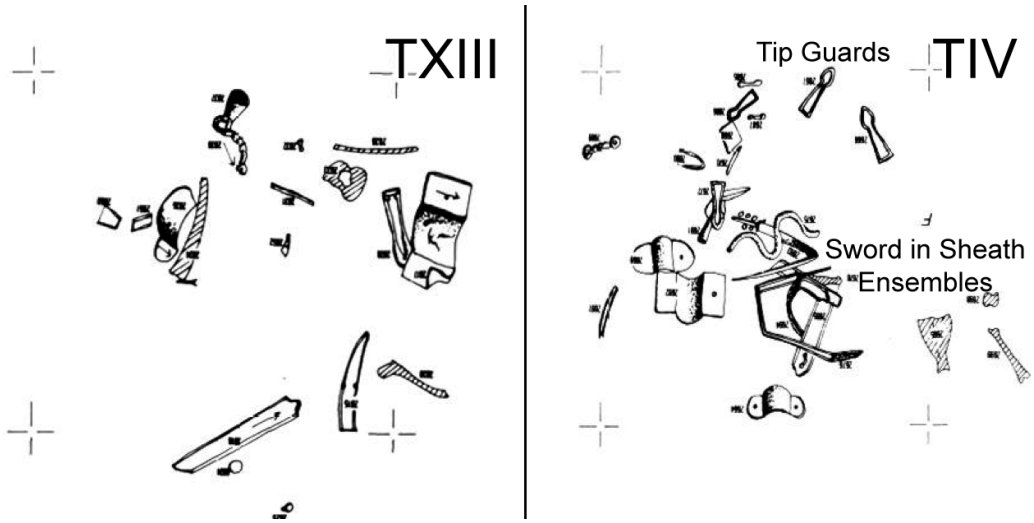


Figure 5.11. The cluster of material in F-2 & F-3 (Brunaux et al. 1985, 266–8)

The foundation deposit includes two sword in sheath ensembles, mutilated and laid next to each other (fig. 5.12): The first ensemble, catalogue 2676, is a largely

[706] Lejars 1994, 104–6.

complete sword in its sheath, sharply bent twice along its length. Its tip-guard was broken away, probably intentionally, given that several detached tip-guards were found in a group nearby. The second, cat. 2693, is another sword in sheath bent together approximately 135º.[707] The sheath's chain belt remained connected to it, found in functional association with its suspension rivets, and fused to the sheath by iron oxide. This fusing and the traces of mineralized leather straps indicate that the two were held together and corroded under a covering of earth.[708]

Six detached tip-guards and around six sword and sheath fragments were found in the ensembles' immediate proximity. The tip-guards were located on the fringes of the dense cluster of material, suggesting that they were broken away from their sheaths intentionally and deposited beside them. Lejars comments that disassembly seems to be a key part of the mutilation practice, and that it was often accompanied by bending or breaking of the object, as the isolated tip-guards and sheath fragments indicate.[709]

[707] Lejars 1994, 109.
[708] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 40, 101, 109.
[709] Lejars 1994, 101–2 & 109.

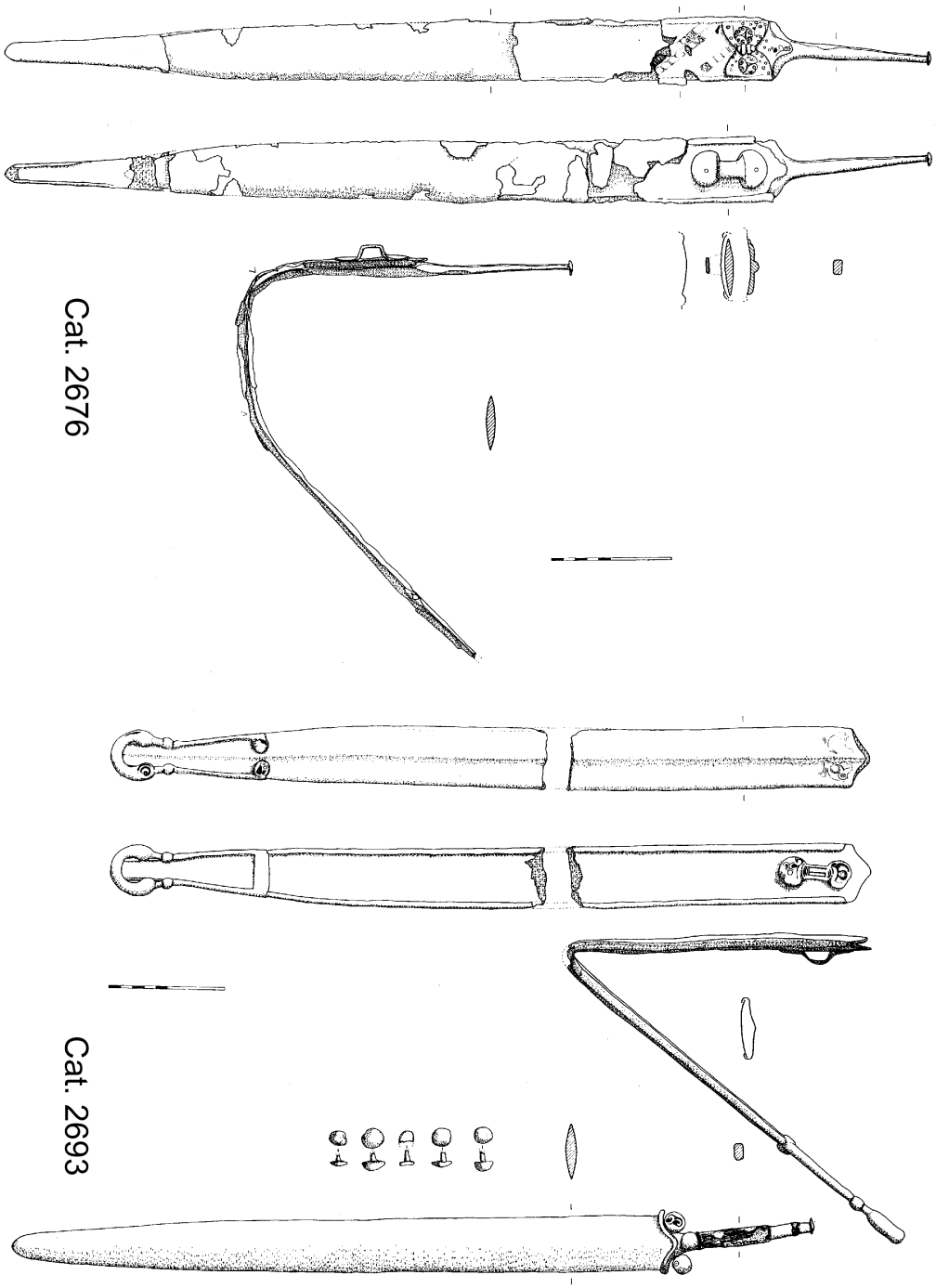


Figure 5.12. Sword and sheath ensembles (Lejars 1994, 222 & 224)

A spearhead and butt, and several *umbones* (fig. 5.13), complete the cluster. Spearhead 2691 was mutilated by shearing on either side of the blade at its midpoint, and bent downward 80º. All of the *umbones* seem to display evidence of intentional

mutilation, although some marks could be combat damage. *Umbones* 2617 and 2669 were most certainly intentionally mutilated, because both received repeated blows to their shells, 2617 struck with a blade edge, and 2669 with a blunt instrument. Both *umbones* must have been removed from their shields prior to mutilation. The collapse of the shell of *umbo* 2617 indicates lack of the support of its *spina*.[710] Further, the *umbo* bears a shearing blow to the side of one of its wings that could not have been performed while the *umbo* remained attached to its shield. *Umbo* 2669 was completely flattened, splaying outward in both directions until it was reduced to a flat metal sheet.

[710] The *spina* could not have been rotted as the armament in the foundation deposit was fresh and was not exposed for a prolonged period like later dedications.

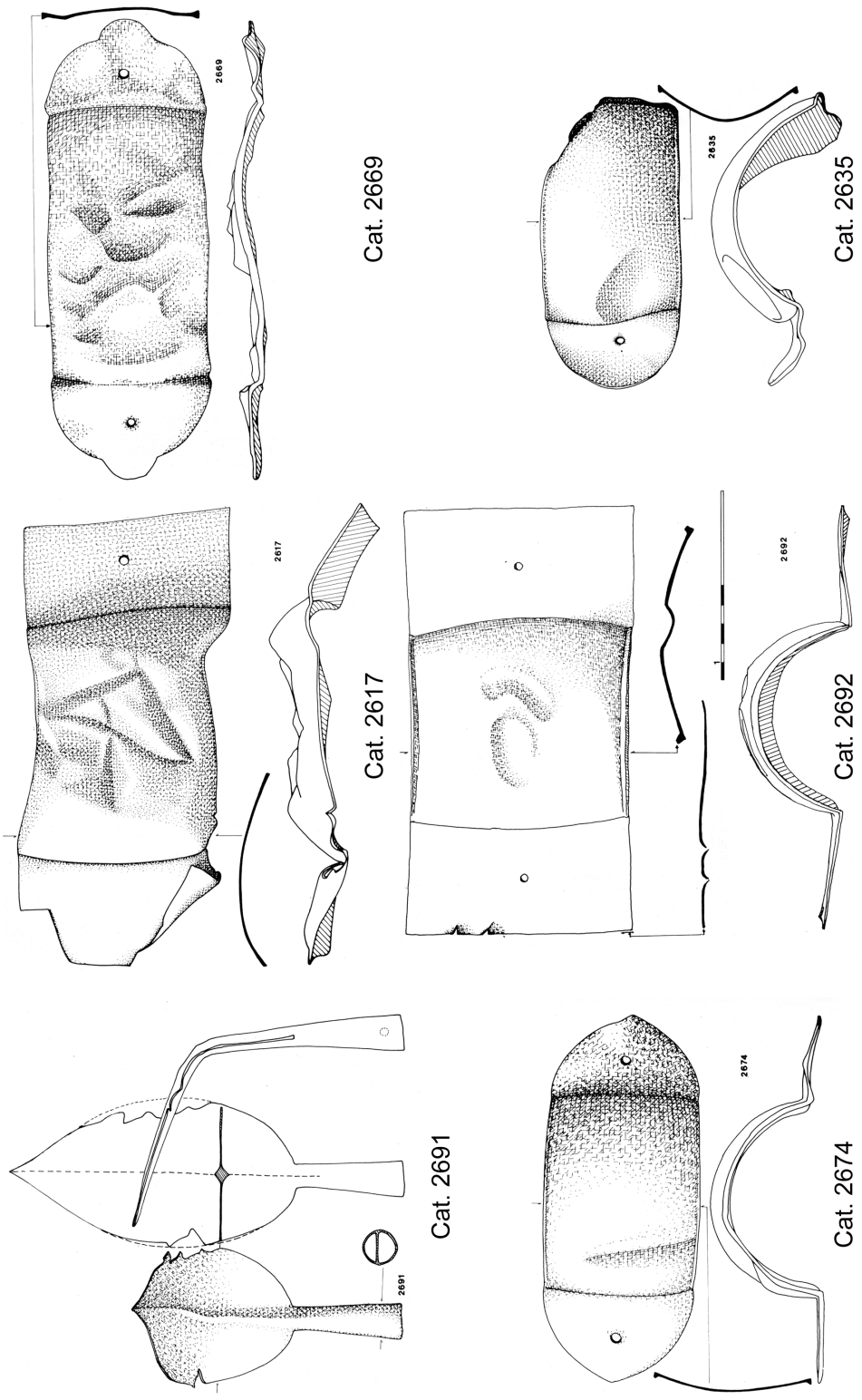


Figure 5.13. Spearhead and umbones from the foundation deposit (Brunaux and Rapin 1988, XLIX, XXIX, and XXX)

For the remaining three umbones (cat. 2674, 2692, and 2635), it is more difficult to distinguish intentional mutilation from combat damage. All bear the marks of strikes to their shells, but the shells did not collapse, suggesting that the *umbones* remained attached to their shields, and had the support of their *spinae* when the blows were struck. *Umbo* 2674 bears the mark of a single blow with a bladed instrument. The damage could have occurred in combat, if the shield were held up to block a blow. *Umbo* 2692 displays the marks of two slight blunt blows to its crown, which could be equally be combat damage or intentional mutilation. However, one of the *umbo*'s wings bears two parallel shear marks that could not be affected in combat, because they required the *umbo*'s removal from its shield prior to the operation to allow access to the edge of the wing. *Umbo* 2635 bears a similar blunt blow to the edge of its shell, and one of its wings was torn away. Both could be combat or incidental damage, but the torqueing of the shell, torn wing, and the upward bend of the other wing suggest damage incurred while separating the two wooden plates at the shield's disassembly. The distinct upturn of the surviving wing may indicate that the *umbo* was pried free from its mounting on that side.

The second deposit in G-4 (fig. 5.14) likewise provides several sword and sheath elements, including a complete bent sword (1865), two sword points (1855 and 1856), a sword handle (1882), and a nearly complete sheath missing its tip (1847B), another largely complete sheath missing its distal end (1860/2651), and an uncatalogued sheath fragment. Three obverse plates were also part of the cluster: one complete (1863), another almost complete (1851), and one proximal and medial length (1853).

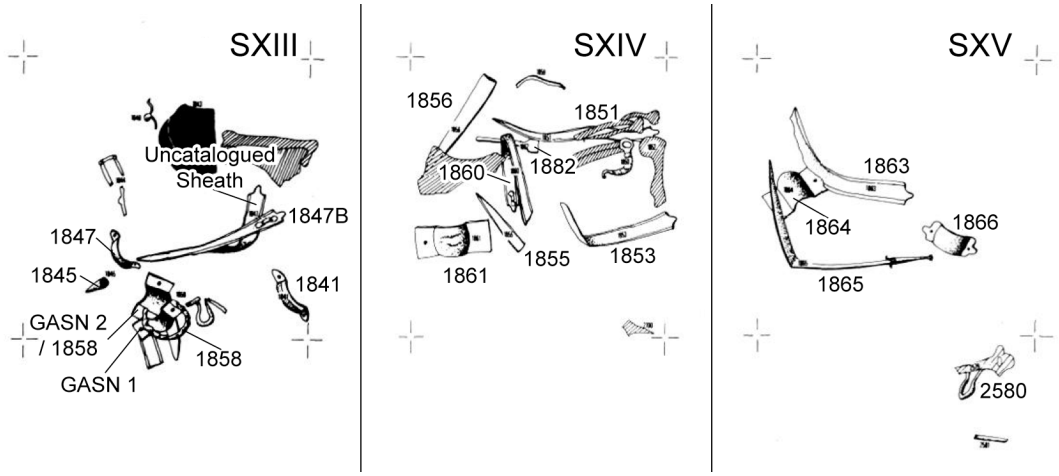


Figure 5.14. The cluster of material in G-4 (Brunaux et al. 1985, 266–8)

Intentional mutilation may be identified with confidence for all of the swords and sheaths (fig. 5.15). Mutilation by disassembly characterizes sheath 1847B (tip-guard snapped away), and the three obverse plates (1851, 1863, and 1853), the former two of which were also bent. The largely complete sheath (1860/2651) was also bent twice. Lejars describes most of the sheaths as having been mutilated by breaking in addition to their other mutilations. Typically, breaking could be either intentional mutilation or incidental fragmentation of corroded iron. However, given the abnormally-high rate of fragmentation of sheaths at Gournay, Lejars' interpretation of breaking as intentional mutilation seems reasonable.[711]

[711] Lejars 1994.

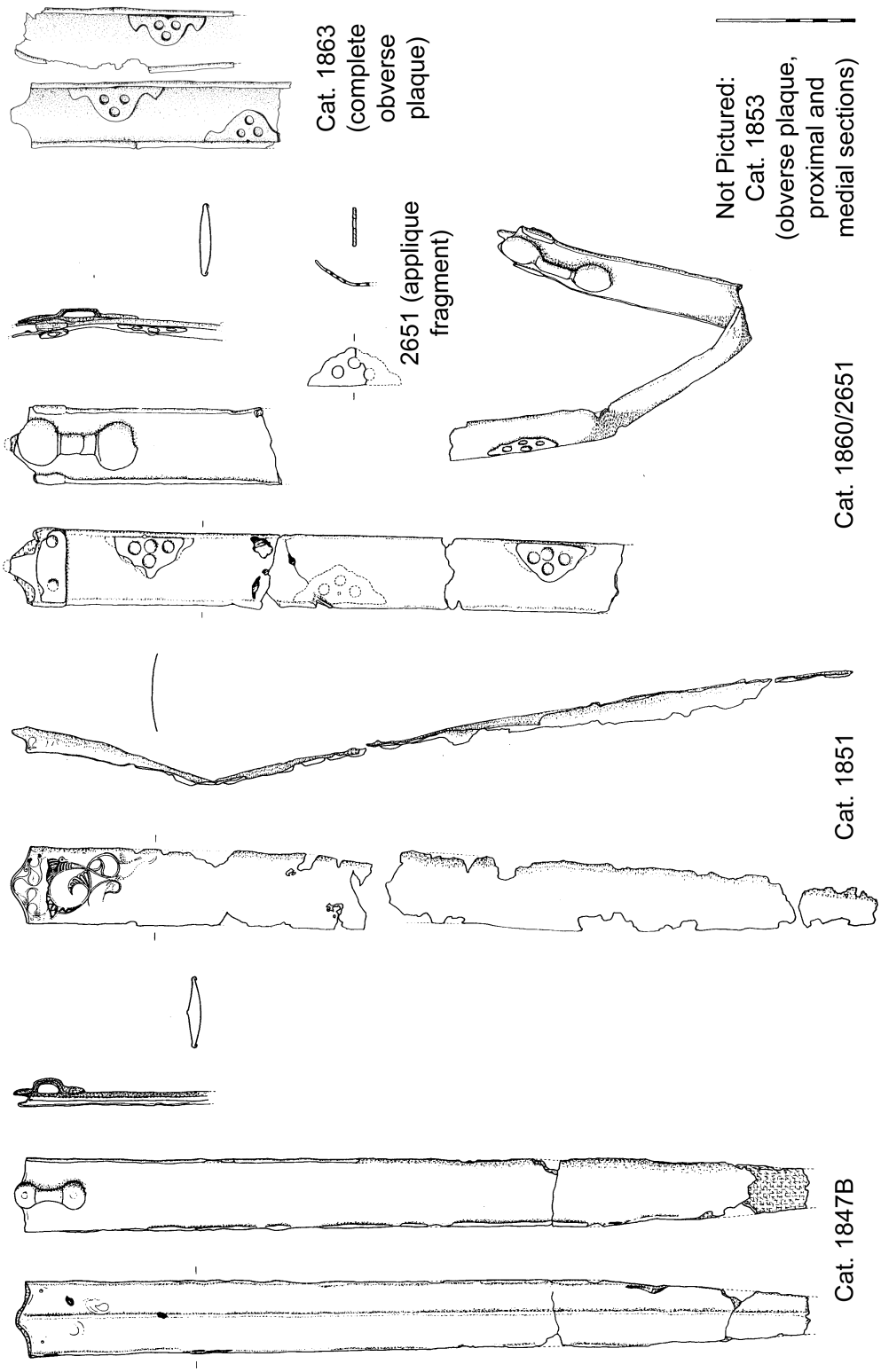


Figure 5.15. Sheaths from the foundation deposit (Lejars 1994, 196–7, 199 and Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 168)

To these, we may add seven *umbones* (fig. 5.16), six of which received blows to their shells. Except *umbo* 1841, struck with a bladed instrument, all of the blows were applied with blunt instruments. The blows caused only limited compression of the shells in four cases, and no splaying of their wings. Nails were preserved in three cases (GASN1, 1841, and GASN2/1858), indicating that the *umbones* remained attached to their shields, and retained the support of their *spinae* when they were struck. The first of the remaining two *umbones* (1861) displays crumpling under repeated blows. Its wings seem to be somewhat splayed, and its profile is distorted. The second (1866) collapsed downward, its shell crumpling over one wing. It is not clear whether this *umbo* remained attached to its shield at mutilation or not. The nature of this collapse, the preserved nail, and the lack of splaying of the wings seem to indicate that this *umbo* remained attached. However, the degree of the crumpling suggests the *spina* did not provide support, despite the fact that it should not have been rotted since the armament was fresh at mutilation. As in the first cluster, one *umbo* (GASN 2/1858) was fused to a chain belt (1858) by corrosion, suggesting multiple pieces of fresh armament deposited together and quickly buried, fusing together as their organic elements decayed and the iron corroded.

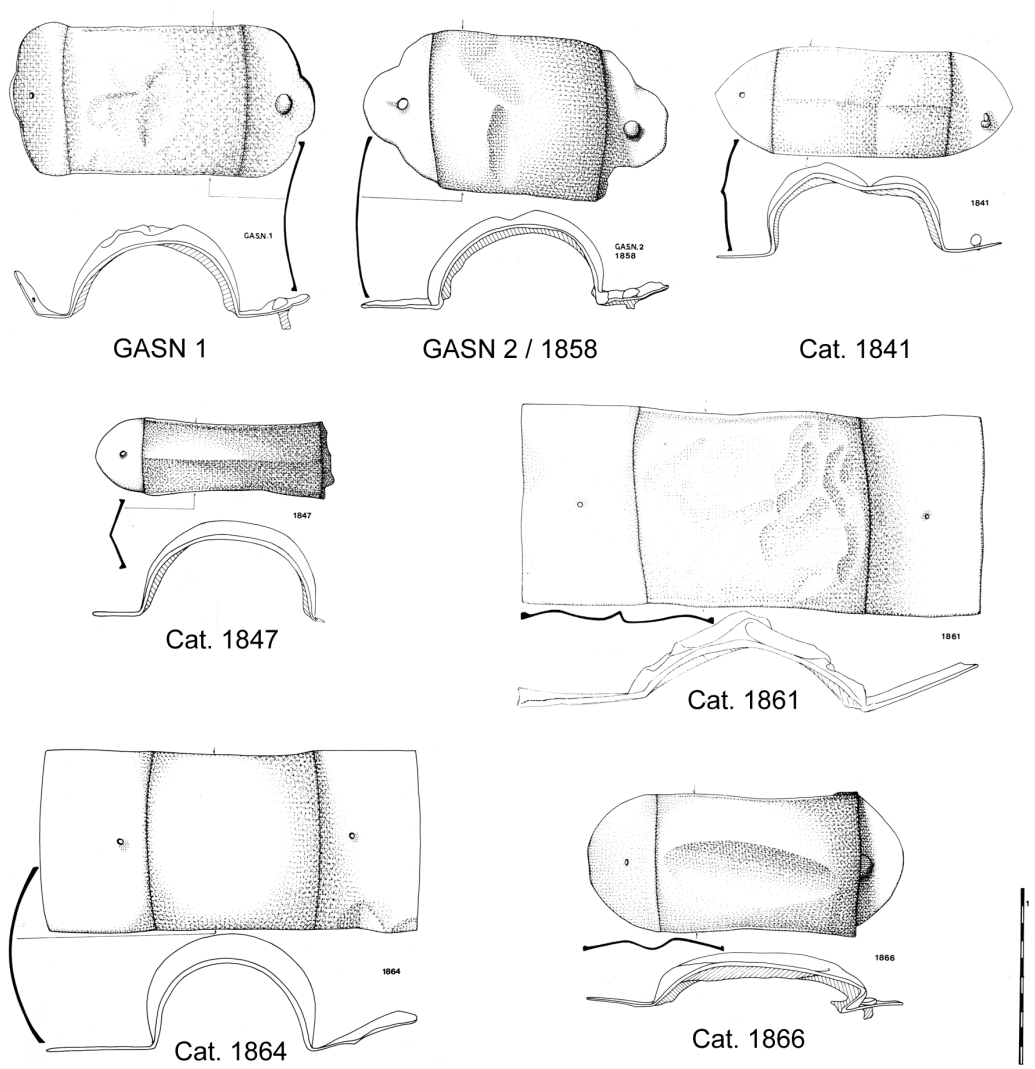


Figure 5.16. Umbones from the foundation deposit in the northern end of the enclosure trench (Brunaux and Rapin 1988, Plates I, XXI, and XXII)

The parallel assemblages are distributed thus: 1 spear, 5 *umbones*, 2 sword and sheath ensembles, and 12 additional sword and sheath fragments in the first, 1 spear butt, 7 *umbones*, 2 sheaths, 1 sword, and 7 additional sword and sheath fragments in the second. As noted, several pieces from each deposit have common typologies, linking the two assemblages.

Sheaths found in both clusters feature elaborate decoration, reflecting an interest in attractive and higher quality armament. In the first cluster, one sheath (cat.

2676) features an elaborate butterfly-shaped applique with relief and engraved decoration affixed to a plate featuring geometric patterning in repoussé, and a second (cat. 2693), a pair of dragons (type 1) engraved on the entry obverse, and matching curvilinear engraving on the sheath's belt strap and tip-guard, and sword's hilt attachments. In the second cluster, two sheaths (cat. 1860 and 1863) feature very similar complex openwork appliques, possibly suggesting common manufacture. The second cluster also features two Gournay Group 4 Hungarian style sheaths (cat. 1847b and 1851) from the same region, if not the same workshop. The distant stylistic influence on the design of the sheaths is a testament to the regional prowess of the Bellovaci, and suggests some pieces may have been brought back from distant battlefields for dedication at Gournay.[713] The audience of the foundation deposit and deposit in G-4 would have been limited to the local warriors who created the deposits, as they were buried immediately.

The profile of items composing these initial deposits and the mutilations to which they were subjected correspond to the deposits made in the enclosure trench in the decades following. However, dedicatory practice changed for all subsequent deposits, which were left uncovered, exposed to the elements.

Such a coherent collection in the foundation deposit, and such systematic treatment of the items reflects a structuring of ritual practice at Gournay from its inception. Brunaux and Rapin have noted the likelihood that a group of priests was associated with the sanctuary at Gournay and oversaw its ritual activity.[714] Deposition in the enclosure trench on either side of the entrance was certainly highly organized,

[713] Lejars 1996, 116–7.
[714] Brunaux et al. 1985, 119–23; Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 159.

beginning with the foundation deposit, followed by interleaved structured deposits of cattle bones and armament, and a final closing deposit of armament spread across the eastern façade. Additionally, the consistent and systematic mutilation of armament dedications and grouping of armament by type in the trench support the argument for highly structured ritual practice, at least overseen by a group of priests, if not wholly performed by them.

5.3. The Ritual Mutilation of Armament at Gournay

5.3.1. Overview

Mutilations take various forms, dependent on the morphology of the weapon. Sheaths were bent, folded, frequently disassembled (suspension brackets and tip-guards broken away, and obverse and reverse plates separated), and struck and sheared by lateral blows (fig. 5.17). These mutilations are roughly in order of frequency. Disassembly was more commonly practiced on the older sheaths, which featured prominent projecting gutters and tip-guards, facilitating the breaking away of parts and disassembly of their plates.[715]

[715] Lejars 1994, 109–11.

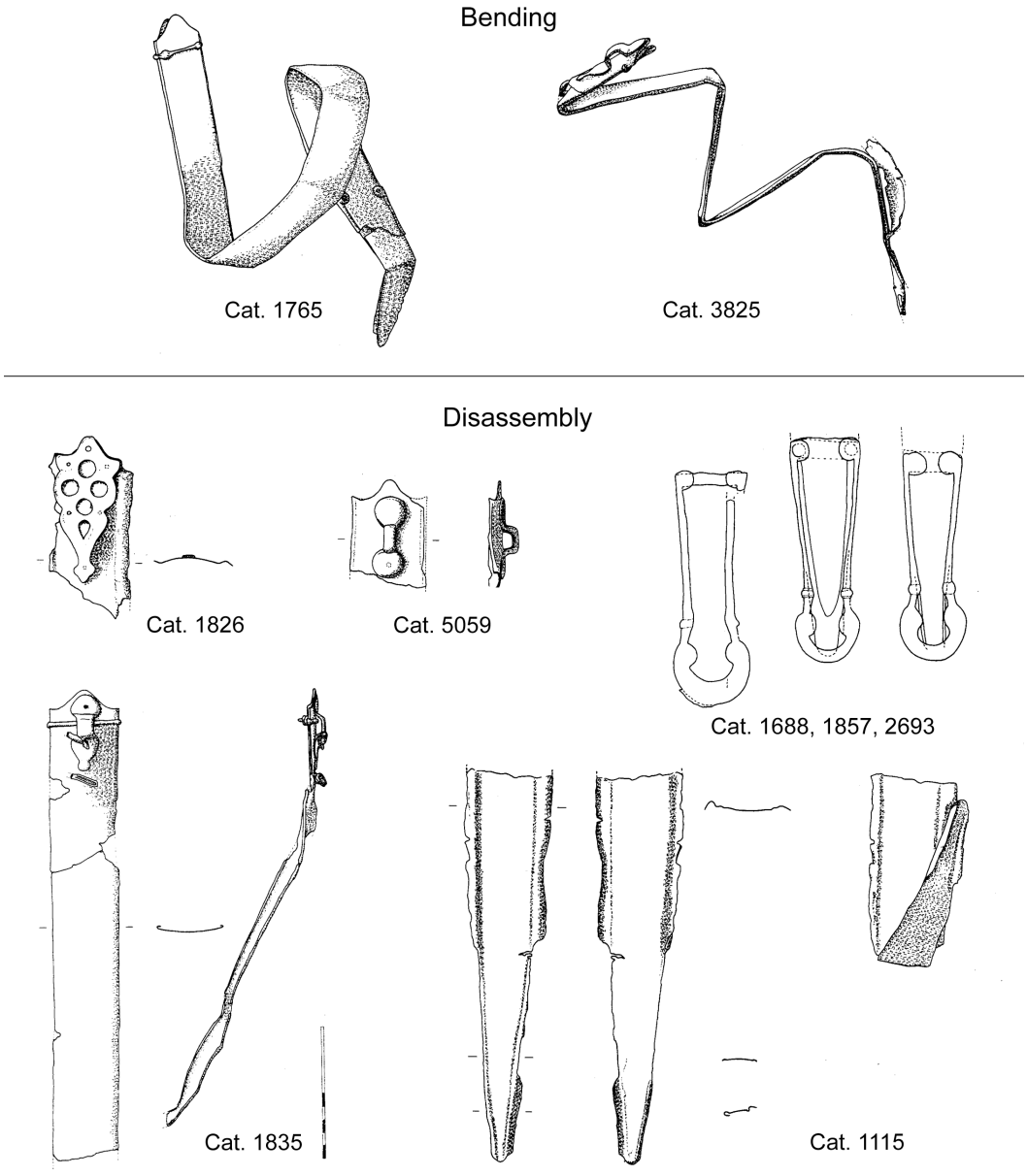


Figure 5.17. Examples of the mutilation and disassembly of sheaths (after Lejars 1994, 152, 177, 188, 193–4, 232–3)

Swords were ritually mutilated by bending, folding, curling, and breaking like sheaths (fig. 5.18). At times, their blade edges were serrated to render them unusable, a mutilation shared by spearheads.

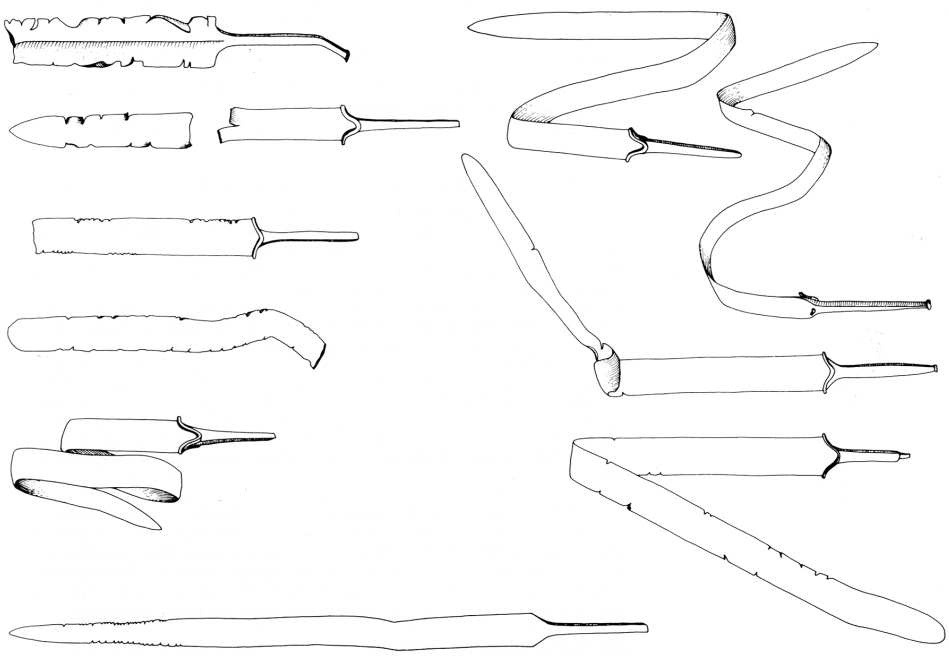


Figure 5.18. Illustration of the mutilations of swords at Gournay (Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 165, fig. 1)

Spearheads were most often bent (fig. 5.19). Some were struck laterally with a sharp instrument to chip or shear into their blades and remove metal (513, 1336, 1722, 3957) (fig. 5.20). The blade edges of others were serrated with hand shears (370 and 1500). A few blades were gripped with pliers and their edges bent (3957) or their entire bodies twisted out of shape (1746, 3068). Most mutilated blades display multiple manipulations, and some are quite dramatic (fig. 5.21).

In all of these cases, the distortions of the metal in response to the various types of ritual mutilations indicate that the spearheads were mutilated while fresh, when their metal was still flexible and they had not corroded significantly. Bending spearheads to the profound angles at which they were found (fig. 5.19) without snapping would only have been possible to perform on fresh blades. In the case of lateral blows and shearing that removed metal, the profiles of the blades are distorted in response to the stress to

the metal (e.g. 513, 1336, 3957, and even 1722). Serration, likewise, bent the metal upward and downward at each cut with the hand shears (e.g. 370, 1500). Finally, bending the edges of blades (1746, 3068, 3957, and one of the bent spearheads, 2589) and the profound torsion of blades like 1746 and 3068 would not have been possible on brittle, corroded blades that had been exposed to the elements for any significant length of time. Notably, the tip of spearhead 513 broke away, but this break must have occurred *after* the blade had corroded, because there is no curvature of the metal at the edge of the break that would reflect metal stress on a fresh blade before it snapped.

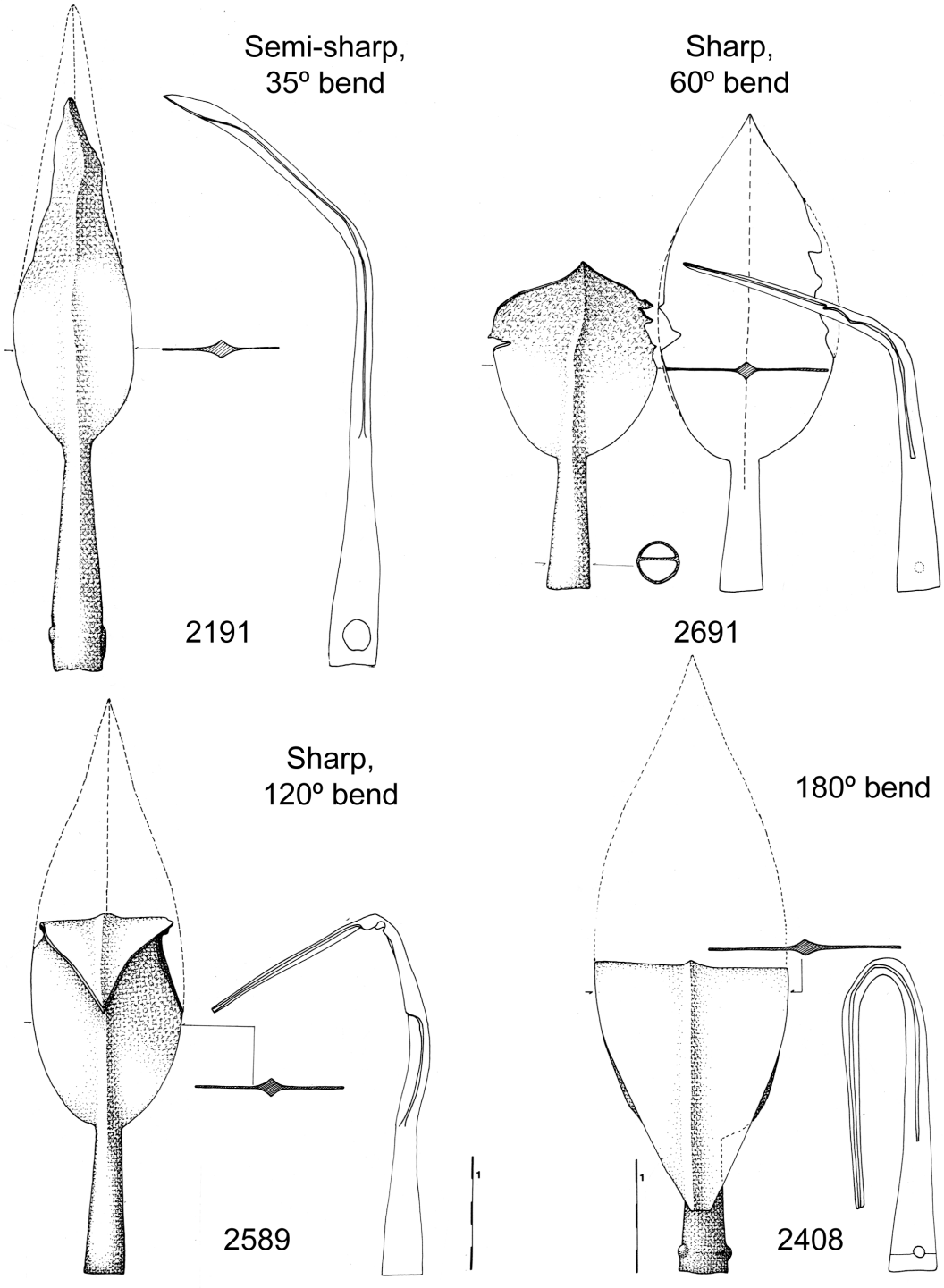


Figure. 5.19. Examples of bent spearheads (Brunaux and Rapin 1988, various)

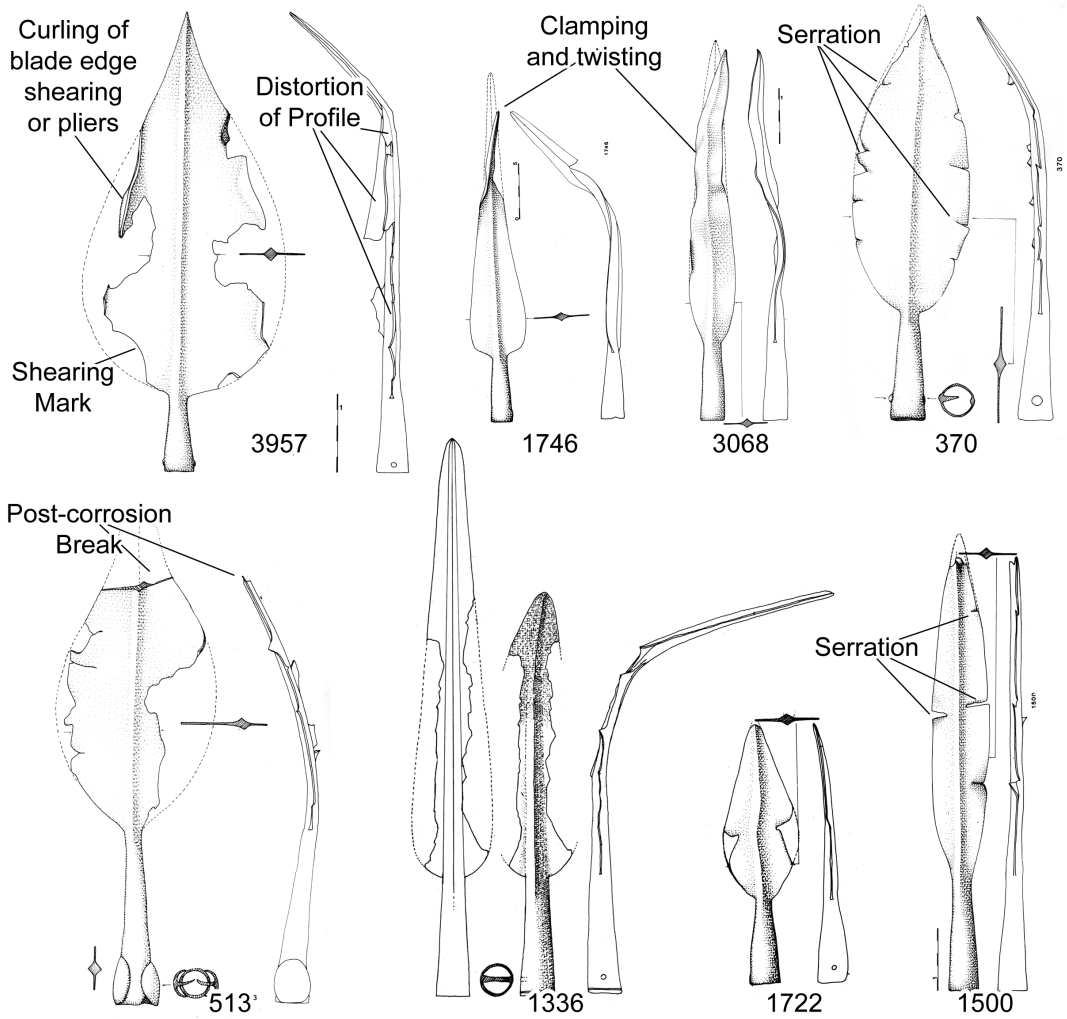


Figure. 5.20. Examples of mutilations performed on spearheads (Brunaux and Rapin 1988, various)

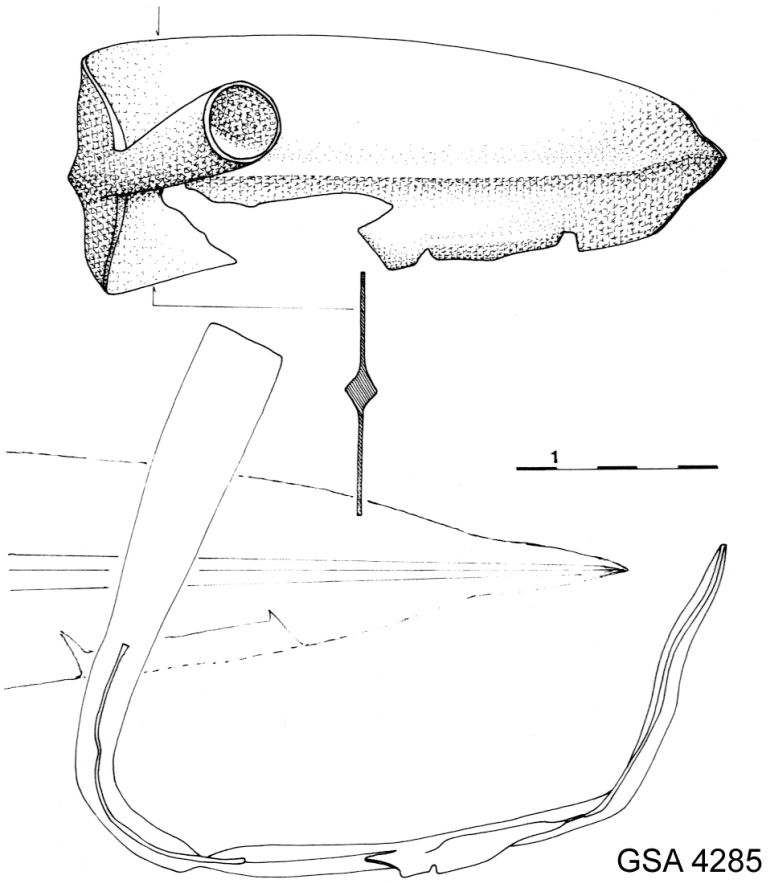


Figure. 5.21. Spearhead 4285 (Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 226, Pl. XXIV)

Umbones could be mutilated while still attached to their shields, or after they were removed (fig. 5.22). Mutilation after removal seems to have been more common. *Umbones* were bent (folded, torqued during shield plate disassembly, wings bent upward during removal from their shields), and struck (with hammers and blunt instruments) primarily. Less commonly, they were pierced (by blunt and sharp instruments including spear butts, swords, and axes), and sheared (most commonly on their wings by manual shears). Breaking and losses of *umbo* parts seem to have been fairly exclusively incidental, due to the brittleness of the proportionately thin metal sheets after corrosion, as none of the mutilations to which *umbones* were subjected seem to have been intended to fragment them. Mutilations were performed directly

(bending), with the use of other weapons (*umbones* struck by blades and spear butts), and sometimes with tools (pliers to facilitate disassembly of sheaths and bending of spearheads).

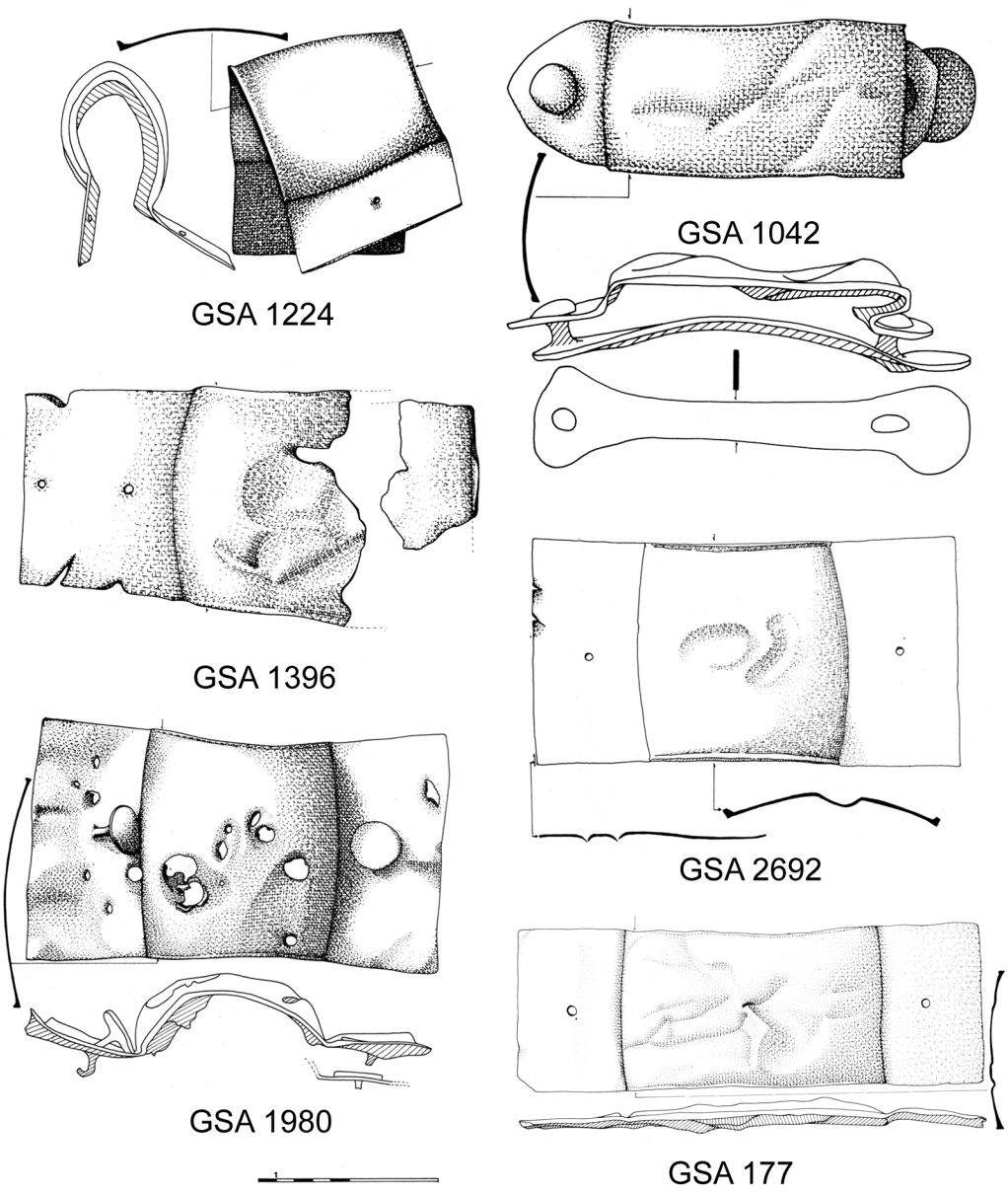


Figure. 5.22. Examples of mutilations performed on spearheads (Brunaux and Rapin 1988, various)

During the examination of armament, it is sometimes necessary to distinguish ritual mutilation from combat, incidental, or *in situ* damage. For example, spearheads could be bent in combat by impact on a hard surface like a shield, or intentionally with

pliers. In order to identify bending as mutilation, it is necessary to examine the angle of the bend (a 180º bend is clearly intentional mutilation; a 50º bend is not necessarily) and its sharpness (sharp bends are more likely intentional bending with a tool, while smooth curves are likely combat damage caused by impact). Likewise, blows to an *umbo* from the outside could have been incurred in combat, while *umbones* flattened under multiple blows may be identified as repetitive hammering during ritual mutilation. For *umbones*, an easy way to distinguish ritual mutilation from combat damage is whether or not inflicting the damage required prior removal of the *umbo* its shield. If removal was required, as in the case of folded *umbones*, the damage is clearly ritual mutilation.

Initially, Brunaux described the armament found at Gournay as 'sacrificial remains', because he believed that it was mutilated at its dedication, and then immediately deposited in the enclosure trench.[716] However, after restoration and examination, Brunaux revised his interpretation, and concluded that armament was whole and functional at dedication, and was put on display exposed to the elements for decades before it was mutilated.[717]

In Brunaux's interpretation, armament was arranged in trophies and exposed to the elements for several years to a few decades, long enough for the perishable parts to decay completely (wooden *spina* and spear shafts, leather sheath straps, etc.) and the armament to corrode thoroughly. [718] According to Brunaux, after this period of exposure, the decayed remains were collected and ritually mutilated immediately before their final deposit in the enclosure trench. Brunaux believes that it was not

[716] Brunaux et al. 1985, 118–24.
[717] Brunaux 2004, 96.
[718] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 159–61. Brunaux (2004, 99) indicates this is his argument.

weapons and equipment as such that were mutilated, but their residual metal parts. He prefers the term 'inhumation breakage', rather than 'sacrifice', on the grounds that the mutilation of armament immediately prior to final deposition more closely resembles funerary customs of mutilating and breaking armament before deposit with the deceased than the sacrificial custom of mutilating and breaking offerings at their dedication.[719] He views the armament mutilations, which he believes were performed on decayed remains, as a rite of de-sanctification rather than sacrifice, a final act of destruction to mark the conclusion of the ritual sequence. He rejects other scholars' description of the ritual as sacrifice.[720] Brunaux also argues that the decayed remains were more appropriate gifts to the gods and agrees with Poplin that the enclosure trench at Gournay was more of a dump than a sacred place of deposit.

However, given the flexibility required of the metal to perform the systematic mutilations of armament observed at Gournay – including deep bending, folding, disassembly, and crushing – I believe that the armament was either mutilated at dedication, or after a short period of display in a context that protected the armament from the elements, delaying the iron corrosion. At the conclusion of an aboveground display period, the armament was deposited in the first few meters of the enclosure trench on either side of the entrance. It was grouped by type, and typically placed behind the area where the cattle bone deposits were made, but sometimes overlapping in the same area. Like the weathering observed on the upper faces of the cattle bone deposits, the armament deposits continued to corrode under exposure to the elements before they were covered by the next deposit. The periodicity of the deposit of both

[719] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 48, 135, 157, and 159–61; Lejars 1994, 104. Haffner 1989, 197–209. Lejars (1994, 116) comments similarly. For evidence of the destruction of the deceased's equipment in Gaul, see Rapin 1993.
[720] Brunaux 2004, 99; Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 135 and 160.

cattle bones and armament suggests that major festivals / religious gatherings were hosted at the sanctuary every few years, during which the ritual treatments of cattle remains and armament dedications were performed.

I believe the high concentration and broader spread of armament in uppermost layers of the enclosure trench (30–50cm depth) represents the final collection of all of the armament that was on display aboveground when the sanctuary was closed. It seems likely that additional dedications were made on the occasion of the sanctuary's closure and deposited with the earlier dedications.

5.3.2. Consequences of the Ritual Mutilation of Armament for Preservation

Returning to the counts of fragments, one should address the relationship between the numbers of fragments of each type of armament, the nature of their ritual mutilation, and any post-deposition damage (figs. 5.23 and 5.24):

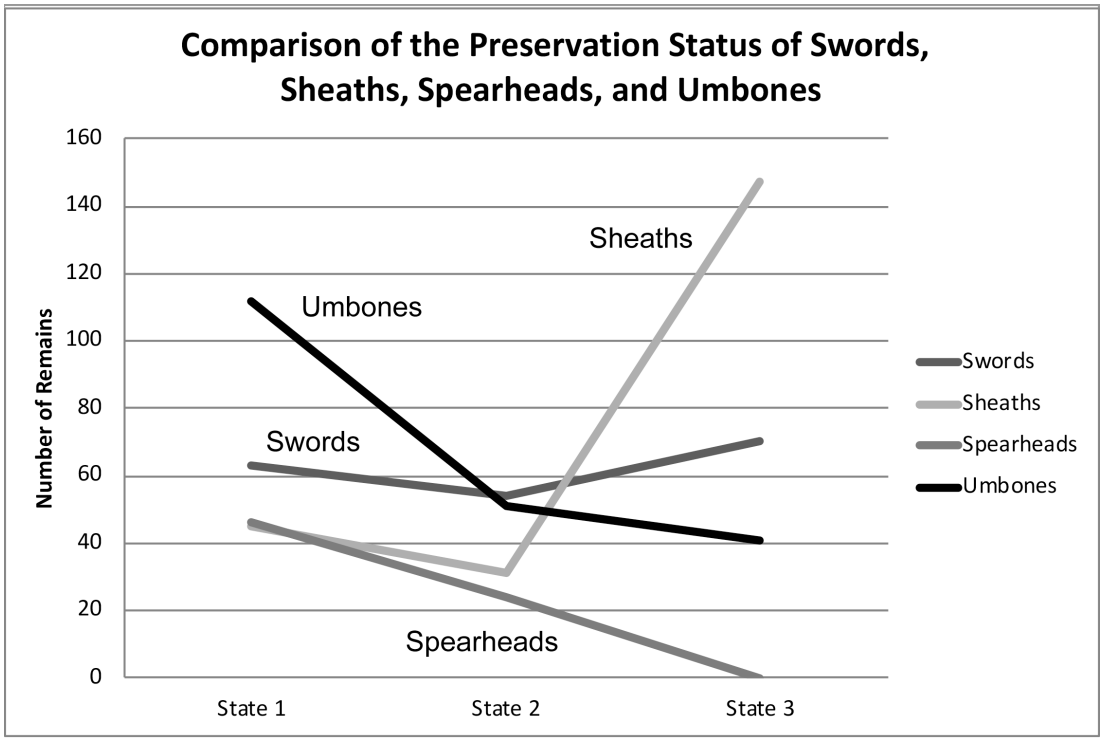


Figure 5.23. Graph comparing the preservation status of swords, sheaths, spearheads, and umbones (State 1 items are complete or largely complete. State 2 items are largely complete, but may be missing significant parts of the original object. State 3 items are fragments or highly fragmentary.)[721]

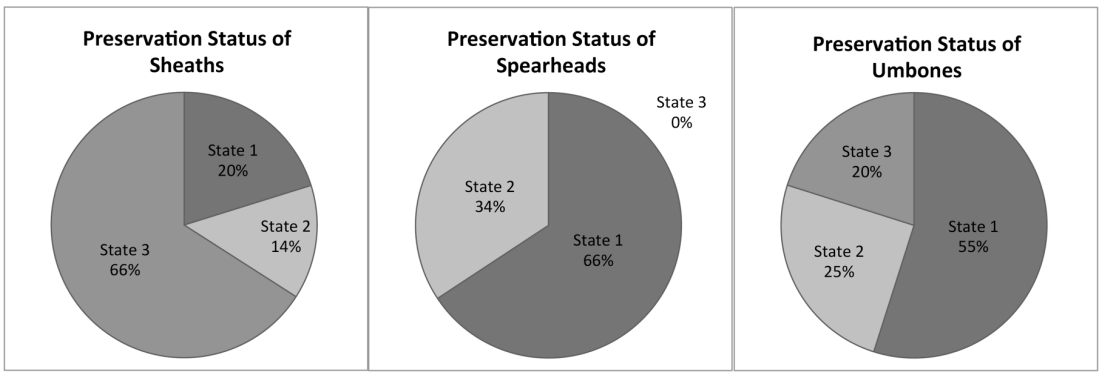


Figure 5.24. Preservation status of inventoried sheaths, spearheads, and umbones according to defined states of preservation

Few of the swords found are illustrated, so one cannot assess their mutilations systematically. Brunaux et al. indicate that those in the lower levels of the trench were

[721] The preservation status of sheaths, spearheads, and *umbones* were determined by examination of the inventoried finds. That of swords was determined by examination of swords identifiable on excavation plans.

primarily bent, often only once, and some while they were still in their sheaths (e.g. cat. 2676 in the foundation deposit, discussed below). Later examples in the middle fills displayed lateral blows and shearing on their blade edges, which serrated the blades and rendered them unusable. In the upper fills, sword fragments were the most common.[722] The sword mutilations practiced match those performed on spearheads, logical given the morphological similarities between the two.

Notably, the finds of loose swords, bent and serrated, not in their sheaths, indicates a certain separation between swords and sheaths, and supports one's argument that a significant number of swords and sheaths were brought into the sanctuary separately. Further, serration of blade edges is a treatment of the sword independent of its sheath. It required the separation of the two elements of the panoply at an early stage, if they entered the sanctuary together in the first place.

Sheaths have both a low ratio of thickness to surface area, and multiple attachments – including belt straps, tip-guards (some of which were openwork), and narrow gutters – that could easily be broken away. Sheaths' significant flexibility also made it possible to bend and even fold complete sheaths and separated obverse and reverse plates. These characteristics contributed to sheaths' attractiveness for intentional mutilation, as they facilitated low effort, high effect mutilations.

Some of the fragmentation must have been incidental during exposure and relocation. However, in some cases, like the tip-guards, fragmentation may be identified as intentional: 47 of the 125 tip-guards surviving (almost 40%) were found without their sheaths, and many of these were grouped, 4–6 tip-guards deposited

[722] Brunaux et al. 1985, 123.

together.[723] Fragments grouped by type in this way were certainly intentionally created. Most tip-guards broke away with the distal end of their sheath plates because of their brittleness after exposure. In some cases, the tip-guard gutters are preserved without the support of their plates, fragile elements that must have been broken away while the sheaths were fresh and the metal retained its flexibility and tensile strength. A few of the isolated tip-guard gutters were bent outward at their proximal ends, as if pried away from intact sheaths. These bends would not have been possible for brittle corroded iron (e.g. GSA Sn. 2).[724] In addition to these mutilations, sheaths' obverse and reverse plates were also separated.

Brunaux and Rapin argue that all mutilations, including disassembly, were performed after the sheaths had been exposed to the elements for some time. They believe disassembly, facilitated by the iron corrosion, was performed by hand without the aid of tools, and argue disassembly of fresh sheaths would have been difficult.[725] While delayed disassembly is certainly possible, the preservation status of the individual plates and plate fragments suggests instead that sheaths were disassembled while fresh, with the use of tools if disassembly by hand truly was impossible. For example, in the case of sheath plate fragments 1826 and 1115, their gutters bent outward at disassembly rather than snapping away, as would be expected on brittle corroded iron plates. Plate 1115 (fig. 5.17) was even folded in half after disassembly, something again unlikely, if not impossible, for brittle iron. Reverse sheath plate 1835 preserves its gutters still bent inward. For the reverse plate to survive intact in this way,

[723] Lejars 1994, 106.
[724] Lejars 1994, 152.
[725] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, PAGE.

one would propose that the obverse plate was slid out from within it, or, given the distortion and bends in the plate, was partially pried, partially slid free.

The difference in the preservation state of sheaths and *umbones* might be explained by the different modalities of their ritual mutilation. Many of the ritual mutilations to which sheaths were subjected directly led to or were clearly intended to fragment them. Mutilations include bending, breaking away pieces (like tip-guards), and disassembling sheaths by separation of their obverse and reverse plates. *Umbones* were struck, hammered, cut, sheared, punctured, folded, and torqued, none of which directly lead to or would have been intended to cause fragmentation.[726]

5.3.3. The Removal of *Umbones* from Shields Prior to Mutilation

The good state of preservation of most *umbones* should not be attributed to the possibility that they remained attached to their shields, as many display evidence that they were removed prior to mutilation. Several of the mutilations performed were simply not possible without first removing *umbones* from their shields. They include shearing, flattening (one of two results of hammering), folding, and torqueing. For example, all of the *umbones* with shearing cuts on the edges of their wings (fig. 5.25) must have been removed prior to mutilation, as the wings would have been inaccessible otherwise.[727]

[726] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 52–3.
[727] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 53.

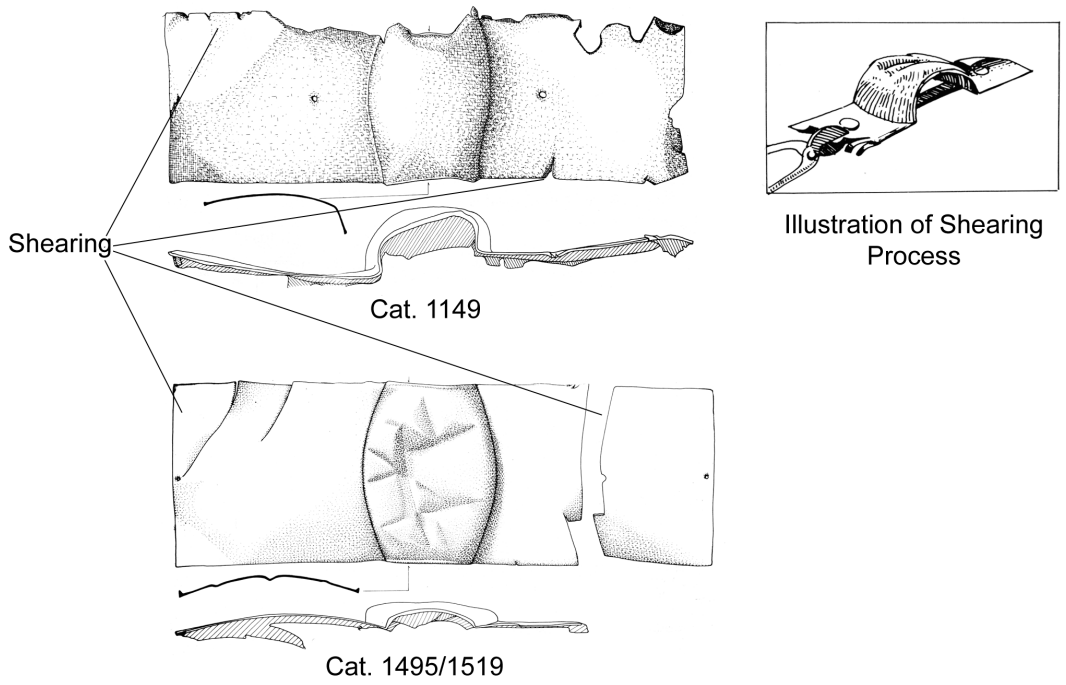


Figure 5.25. Umbones 1149 and 1495/1519 and illustration of mutilation by shearing (after Brunaux and Rapin 1988, Plates XI, XVII and 52, fig. 26)

In addition to the ritual mutilations requiring removal of *umbones*, there is other evidence that *umbones* were removed from their shields prior to deposition. For example, excavators note that two *umbones* (cat. 1681) (fig. 5.26) from the northern end of the enclosure trench were placed in the trench with their undersides facing each other. They also note two other *umbones* (cat. 2138) (fig. 5.26) that were closely nested. The precise nesting of the *umbones*' peaks and the absence of rivets and handles precludes the possibility that two shields deposited on top of one another decayed and their *umbones* nestled by chance. Further, the upward curling of their wings suggests that they were pried from their shields. The positioning of the *umbones* in both of these examples would have been impossible if the *umbones* had not already been removed from their shields.

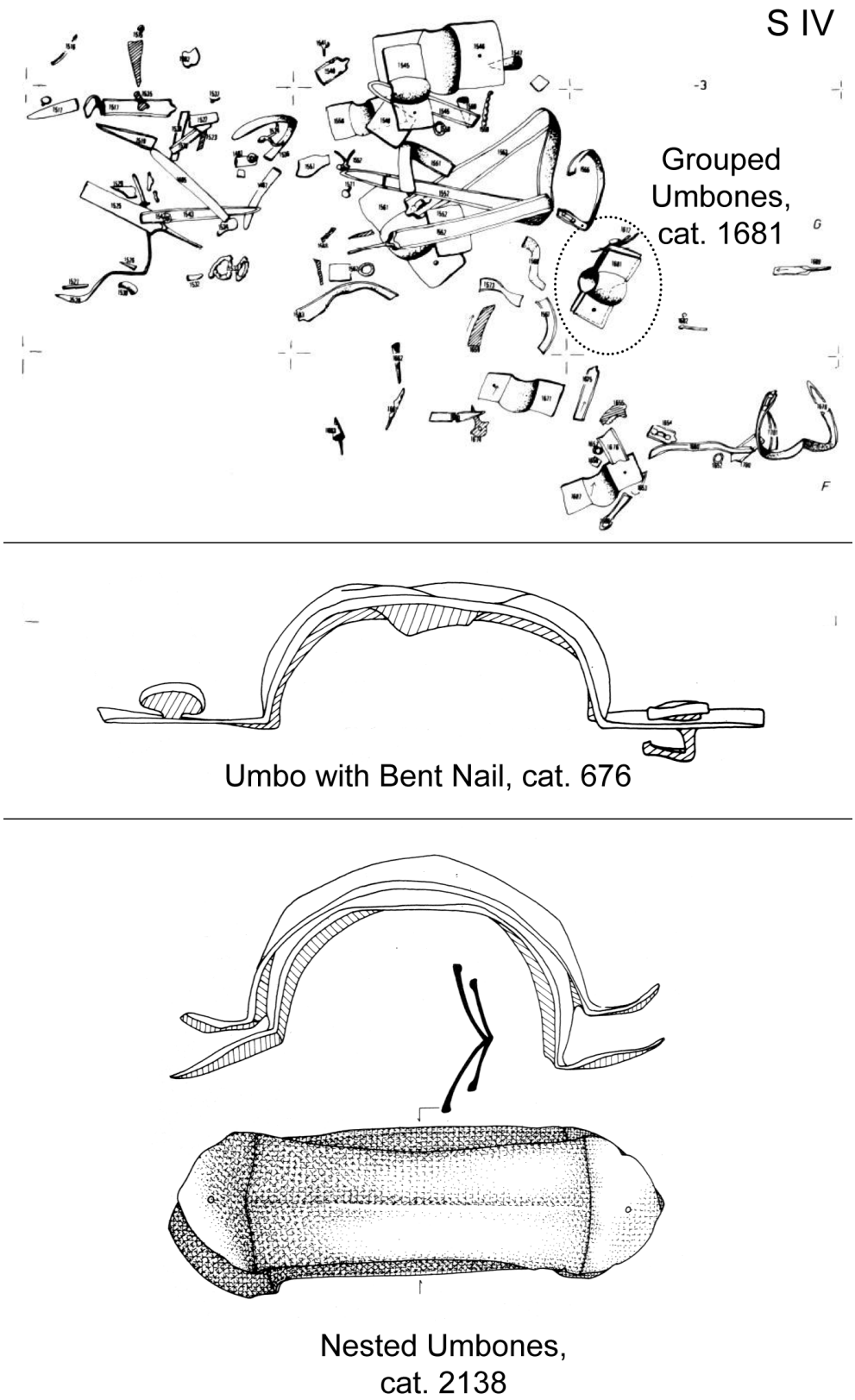


Figure 5.26. Grouped (cat. 1681) and nested (cat. 2138) umbones from the enclosure trench at Gournay (after Brunaux et al. 1985 and Brunaux and Rapin 1988, Plate XXV, 207)

One would like to propose another possibility that does not seem to have even remotely come into consideration: Perhaps some *umbones* were removed from their shields on a distant battlefield and transported back to Gournay alone for dedication. Many *umbones* were large enough to be significant items without their shields. Given the focus placed on the *umbones* during mutilation (shearing, hammering, piercing, and folding), all but torqueing unrelated to disassembling a shield, it seems clear that *umbones* were viewed as shields' essential element. Transporting whole shields may have been impractical, or simply unnecessary if *umbones* were viewed thus. It does not seem inconceivable that *umbones* were brought back alone as spoils to be mutilated and dedicated at the sanctuary. Their frequently-attested removal from shields indirectly supports one's proposal.

Umbones that were hammered flat (e.g. cat. 177, 214, and 2669 in fig. 5.27) must have been removed, from their shields prior to mutilation, because their wings splayed outward when their shells were flattened. If they had remained attached, their rivets and handles would have provided resistance, preventing the splaying of the wings, as in cat. 1042, 1545, and 3646 (fig. 5.27), resulting in the shells either compressing downward or crushing inward. In the case of *umbo* 1042, compression under multiple blows caused the shell to balloon outward and overlap one of the wings. For *umbo* 3646, a single sharp blow collapsed the shell inward in the middle. *Umbo* 1545 was subjected to multiple blows like *umbo* 1042, but compressed somewhat differently due to its variant morphology – a narrower shell.

The presence of handles might suggest that these examples were still attached to their shields at the time of mutilation. For *umbones* 1042, 3646, and possibly 1545 (fig. 5.27), there is space between the *umbo* wings and the handles, seeming to reflect

the thickness of the now lost wooden shield plates to which they would have been attached. For examples that remained attached to their shields, the crushing of their shells would indicate limited or no resistance from their wooden *spinae*, which Brunaux and Rapin have suggested indicates that the *spinae* had rotted, after years or decades-long exposure to the elements.[728] They also suggest the alternate possibility that *umbones* and their handles may have been pulled through the rotted wooden plates of their shields without disassembly. They point to examples of rivet nails that maintain their bends (e.g. *umbo* 676, fig. 5.26) as evidence of this practice.[729]

[728] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 48–9, 157–8, and 170–1.
[729] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 49–50.

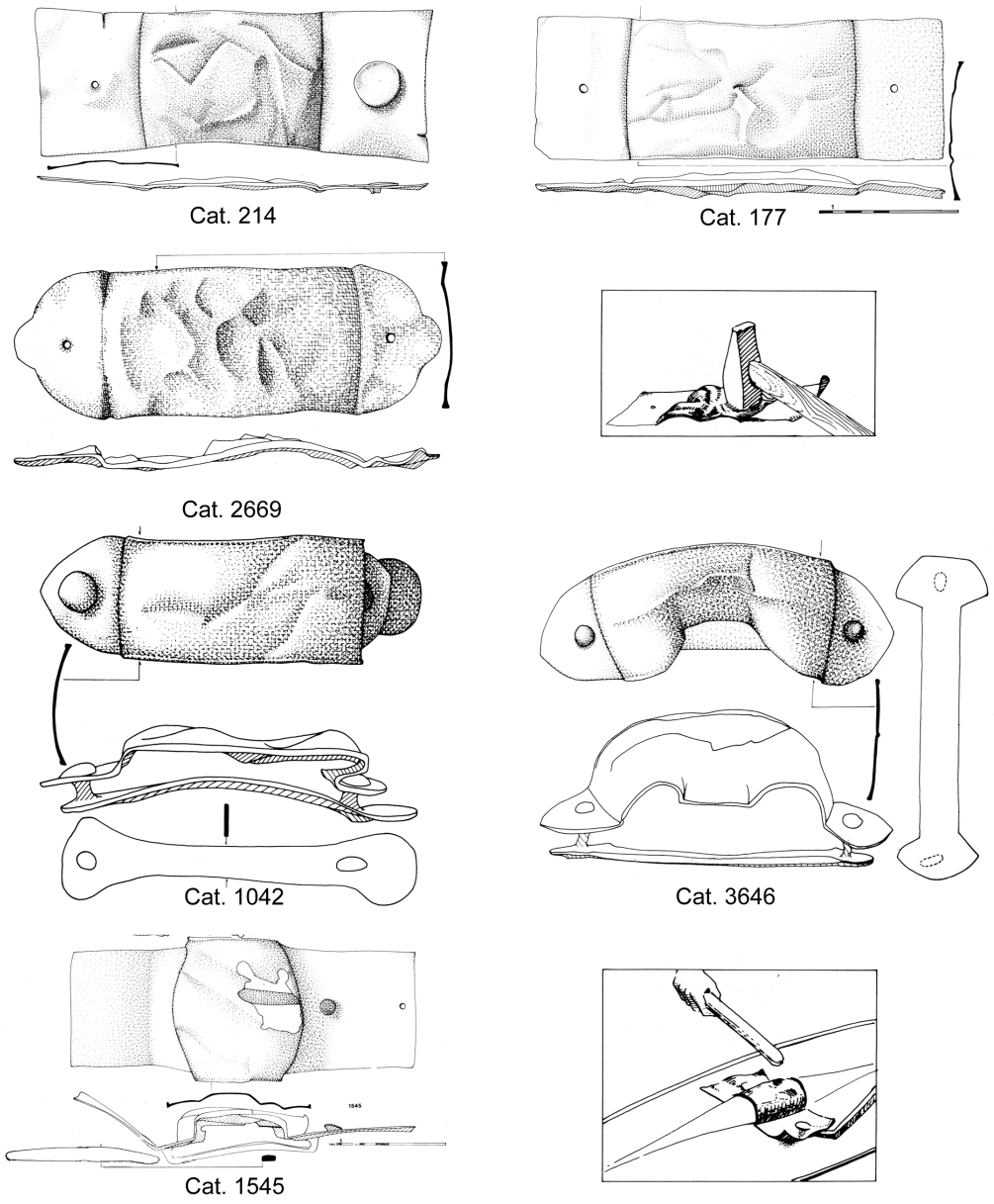


Figure 5.27. Hammered and struck umbones and reconstructions of the process (after Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 52, fig. 26 and Plates V, VI, XXX, XI, XVII, XXXVI)

However, the inward crushing of only the peak of *umbo* 676's shell, and lack of splaying of its wings despite the absence of its handle, suggest that the *umbo* remained attached to its shield at the time of mutilation, and its *spina* provided some resistance, allowing only the peak of the shell to collapse inward, rather than the whole shell, as for *umbo* 3646. In the case of *umbones* 1042 and 1545, their handles are bent

upward, suggesting resistance from an uneven surface below. These *umbones* seem to have been separated from their shield plates prior to being struck. Otherwise, the shield plates would have held the handles flat, like *umbo* 3646. The overall warping and upward bending of the handles still attached to *umbones* suggest that they were pulled loose from rotten shield panels prior to mutilation, as Brunaux and Rapin suggested.

A number of *umbones* were folded (fig. 5.28), paralleling the folding of swords, sheaths, and spears, which easily rendered them unusable. In the case of *umbo* 2160, a bladed instrument was used to strike the crown and flatten the *umbo* after it was folded. One wing, bent backward, flattened against the shell. This thorough process went beyond ritual mutilation to complete destruction, transforming the *umbo* into a lump of metal before its discard.

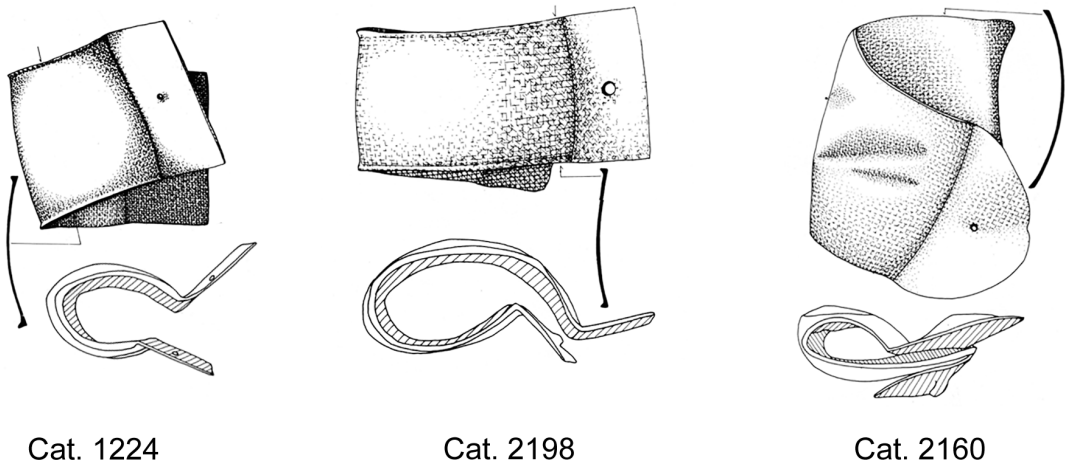


Figure 5.28. Folded umbones (cat. 1224, 2160, and 2198) (after Brunaux and Rapin 1988, Plate XII, XXV, and XXVI)

Several *umbones* seem to have been torqued during disassembly of their shields (fig. 5.29). They were likely bent and distorted when the two wooden plates of their shields were separated from one another (fig. 5.29), as such distortions seem difficult to perform by hand. However, the 90º bend of *umbo* 3246 may be too regular to be a

consequence of disassembly. It could have been performed by hand or hammer after the *umbo* was removed from its shield.

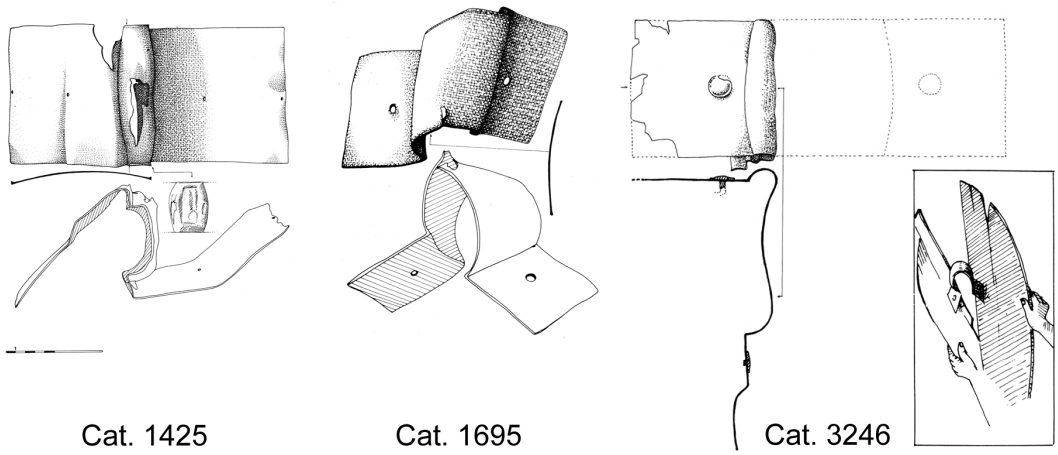


Figure 5.29. Torqued umbones and illustration of disassembly of a shield that torques umbones (after Brunaux and Rapin 1988, Plate XVI, XX, XXXIV, and 52, fig. 26)

Many of these mutilations required healthy, malleable metal to be performed without breaking or fragmenting the objects. Mutilation then seems more likely to have been performed *prior* to the onset of iron corrosion, either at dedication, or sometime later before the onset of significant corrosion, provided the shields were protected from the elements. Removal of *umbones* from their shields is not simply attested at Gournay, but common.

5.3.4. Mutilation of Fresh vs. Corroded Metal

One would also like to address Brunaux's major claim that it is was not feasible to mutilate armament that was 'fresh' and in a good state of preservation. In his opinion, healthy metal would not have been sufficiently flexible to perform the deep bends and disassembly of sheaths, nor the crushing of *umbo* shells. Instead, Brunaux claims that the iron only became flexible enough to bend after decades of exposure

when it was heavily corroded.[732] After exposure, he claims, highly oxidized iron and decayed wood elements, providing no resistance to blows, enabled the crushing and collapse of *umbo* shells.

However, scientific studies of the composition of Gallic iron have revealed that, when fresh, Gallic armament (including swords) was quite sufficiently flexible to bend manually with a hammer and tools. Among these studies, Uran's is particularly notable because he examined eighty-five swords from Gournay. Secondly, corrosion affects both iron's outward appearance and internal structure, rendering it extremely brittle and subject to fragmentation under stress.[733] Thus, corroded iron would have broken and fragmented under any attempt to bend it.

Pleiner notes importantly that "most [forges] produced soft, malleable iron, which was wanted by customers as an easily workable material for structural parts, sheet, and wire. However, a portion of the metal could be carburized, and used for hard steel cutting edges and points."[734] Swords, manufactured from this iron, were of two types. The first type was wrought iron (ferritic) swords, which were roughly shaped when hot, then subjected to extensive cold-work to sharpen the blade-edges and increase their tensile strength.[735] The material possessed significant suppleness, but rather poor mechanical resistance, and could be deformed easily.[736] The second type of swords were those with medium or hard steel edges, and they make up more than half of Gallic swords. Their material and manufacture were largely the same as the first type, with the distinction that various forging techniques were used to increase

[732] Brunaux 2004, 96.
[733] Lejars 1996b, 629.
[734] Pleiner 2000, 136.
[735] Pleiner 1993, 114–5, 152; Buchwald 2005, 122–4.
[736] Lejars 1989, 18.

the carburization and ensuing hardness of the blades at one or both edges, rather than cold hammering.[737] The focus on the edges meant that the centers of the blades retained some flexibility for ritual mutilation. They were of comparable hardness to the first type of swords, but considerably less brittle.

Neumann bands, shock-induced deformation of kamacite crystals (*fer maclés*), were found in half of the eighty-five swords from Gournay examined by Uran.[738] They were produced at blade edges by cold hammering and shocks in combat or ritual mutilation. At Gournay, Neumann bands are concentrated in areas where the swords were bent.[739] Lejars indicates that their concentration at bends makes it unlikely that the weapons were deformed by heating, since recrystallization at cooling should have made them disappear.[740] Thus, the evidence indicates that while swords would have been difficult to bend, given the thickness and rigidity of their blades, they could be bent into dramatic angles by cold hammering and manual torsion (fig. 5.30). Deformation of the blades did not require reheating or special working, and long exposure would cause the iron to become brittle and highly prone to fragmentation.

[737] Pleiner 2000, 136, 140–51.
[738] Uran 1983, 91–8; Lejars 1989, 18.
[739] Lejars 1989, 18–9; Pleiner 1993, 114–5. Sword 4 from Faye L'Abbesse was made of pure ferritic wrought iron, and Neumann bands are likewise concentrated at bends (Lejars 1989, 18–9; Pleiner 1993, 115 & 152).
[740] Lejars 1989, 19.

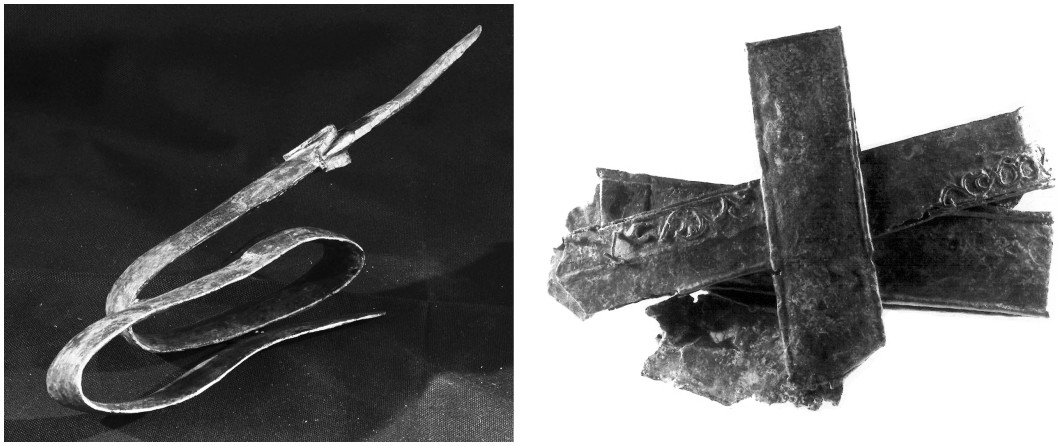


Figure 5.30. Curled sword 2296 and bent sheath bundle 2624 (after Benoit Roland, Musée Antoine Vivenel Compiègne and Lejars 1994, 94)

Spearheads were made from the same material as swords and must have possessed blade edges similarly cold-hammered to produce sharpness and rigidity. They had an elevated ratio of thickness to surface area like swords, although their blades were thinner and narrowed toward the tips, making them more flexible. Experimentation on swords with pronounced tangs has revealed that the tangs remained more malleable than their carburized cutting edges, making them easier to bend.[741] The case must have been the same with spearheads, most of which had pronounced tangs, facilitating deep bending.

Sheaths and *umbones*, made of the malleable iron plates, could easily be bent by hand or with tools. Given the number of *umbones* removed from their shields, and the upward bends of the wings of at least half of the *umbones* catalogued at Gournay (fig. 5.31), we can expect that pliers were used in many cases. It seems logical to expect widespread use of pliers for mutilation, in particular, to grasp spearheads' tips and bend them downward at various angles – the most common, and arguably the most

[741] Pleiner 1993, 160–7; 2000, 140–51.

dramatic, method of mutilation. The sharp and deep bends observed were certainly performed with the aid of tools.

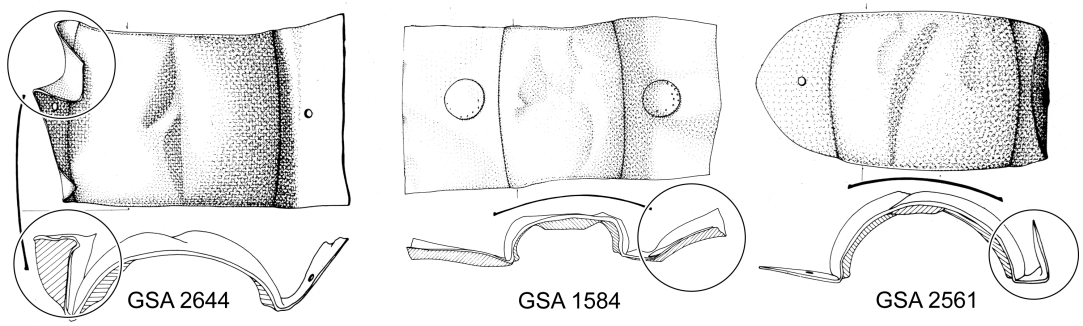


Figure 5.31. Umbones with upturned wings circled (after Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 201, Pl. XIX, 210, Pl. XXVIII, and 211, Pl. XXIX)

All of these bends must have been performed when the metal was fresh and retained its mechanical strength and flexibility. Mutilation would have occurred either at items' dedication, or after a period of display, provided the items were largely protected from the elements during their display to avoid significant corrosion. The malleability and tensile strength of the blades would have been significantly reduced after advanced corrosion set in, making Brunaux's proposal that armament at Gournay was bent after decades of exposure to the elements unlikely.

The sheaths and other armament from the mass grave at Ribemont that fragmented *in situ* illustrate the brittleness of highly corroded iron. In the mass grave, the armament was piled with human corpses and left fully exposed to the elements. After a few decades, several sheaths fragmented *in situ* under the weight of the corpses, and as the deposit compacted and shifted downward. The metal edges at the breaks are flat, indicating that the sheaths did not bend under these stresses, but simply fragmented.

Two examples that Brunaux presented as evidence that armament arrived at the sanctuary of Gournay in a good state of conservation provide cases where

armament was mutilated at the time of its dedication. Both sheaths (2693 and 3382) remained attached to their chain belts, which were fused to them by corrosion. In the case of the sword, sheath, chain belt ensemble (GSA 2693), The entire ensemble was bent together approximately 135° off vertical, a mutilation that must have taken place when the metal was fresh, because bending both together into such a deep angle would have put significant stress on the ensemble. If the iron had been corroded after exposure to the elements, the sword would have snapped and the sheath fragmented under the stress.[742] The ensemble's good state of preservation is not singular, as at least six other swords were found with their handle rivets in place (GSA 1357, 1884, 1989, 2291, 3549, and 3571). In the case of GSA 2693, we may be certain that the ensemble was not exposed prior to or after its mutilation, because it comes from the foundation deposit, a deposit that was covered in soil after its placement at the bottom of the trench.

[742] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 102.

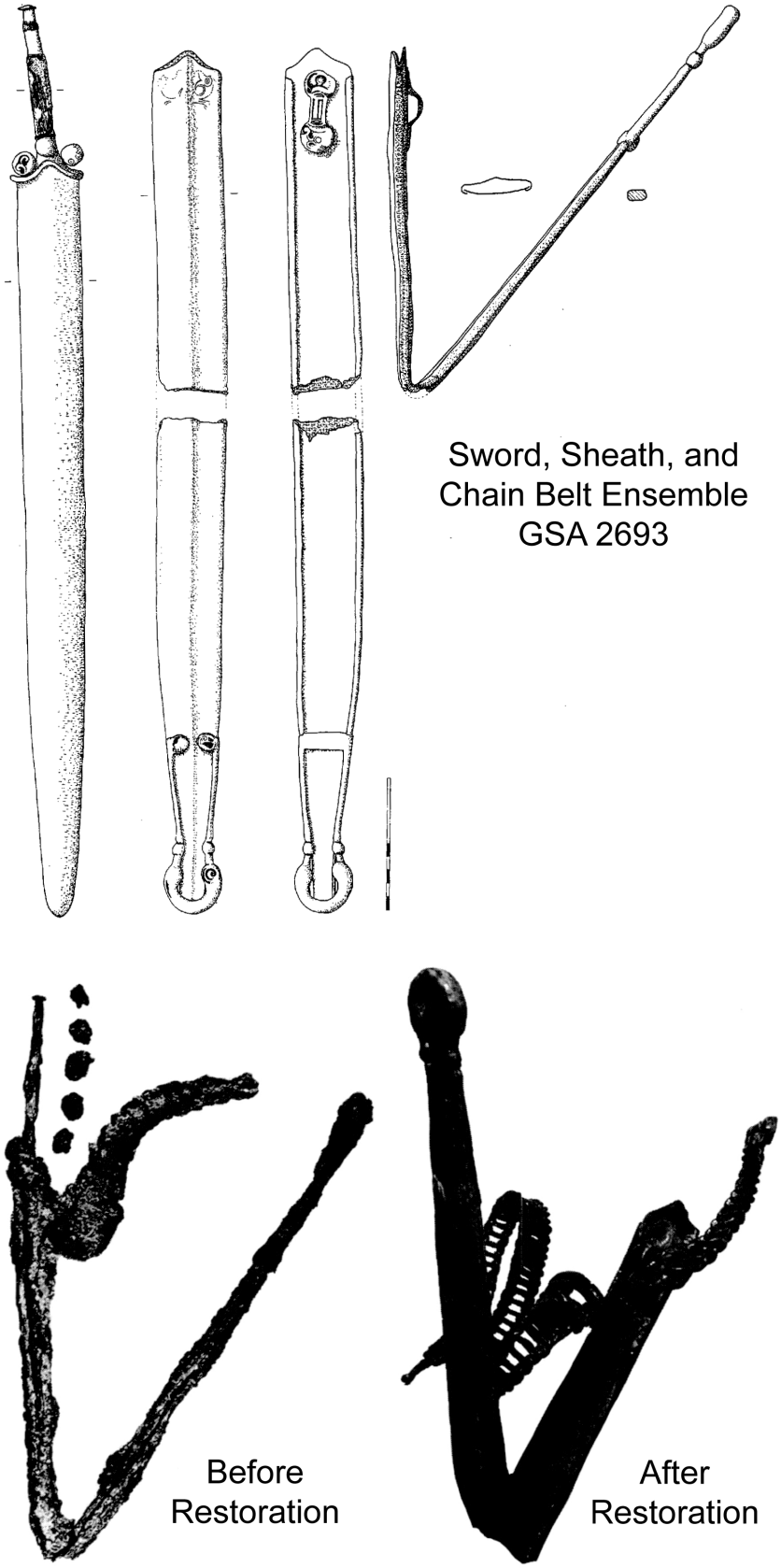


Figure 5.32. Sword bent within its sheath (after Lejars 1994, 224 and 1996, 627, fig. 9)

The second example (sheath 3382), is a proximal and medial section bent three times in two directions. These pronounced bends must have been intentional mutilation. The curvature at the edges of the metal at the distal extreme where the tip broke away suggests metal stress prior to breakage. Both the bends and metal stress indicate that the sheath was fresh when mutilated.[744] It was also struck laterally with a sharp instrument (sword, axe) at least two times. One blow beneath the entry compressed the side of the sheath, and a second sheared its edge. The compression and shearing of the sheath indicate it was fresh at the time of mutilation. If the sheath had been corroded, it would have simply fragmented on impact. With these two certain attestations of intentional mutilation, we may conclude that the sheath's bending was also intentional. Sheath 3382 is somewhat isolated in the trench, and the nearest iron remains are all small fragments. No swords or sword fragments were found nearby that would complete the ensemble.

[744] Lejars 1994, 150 and 231 (Found in level 5, a-23, square N).

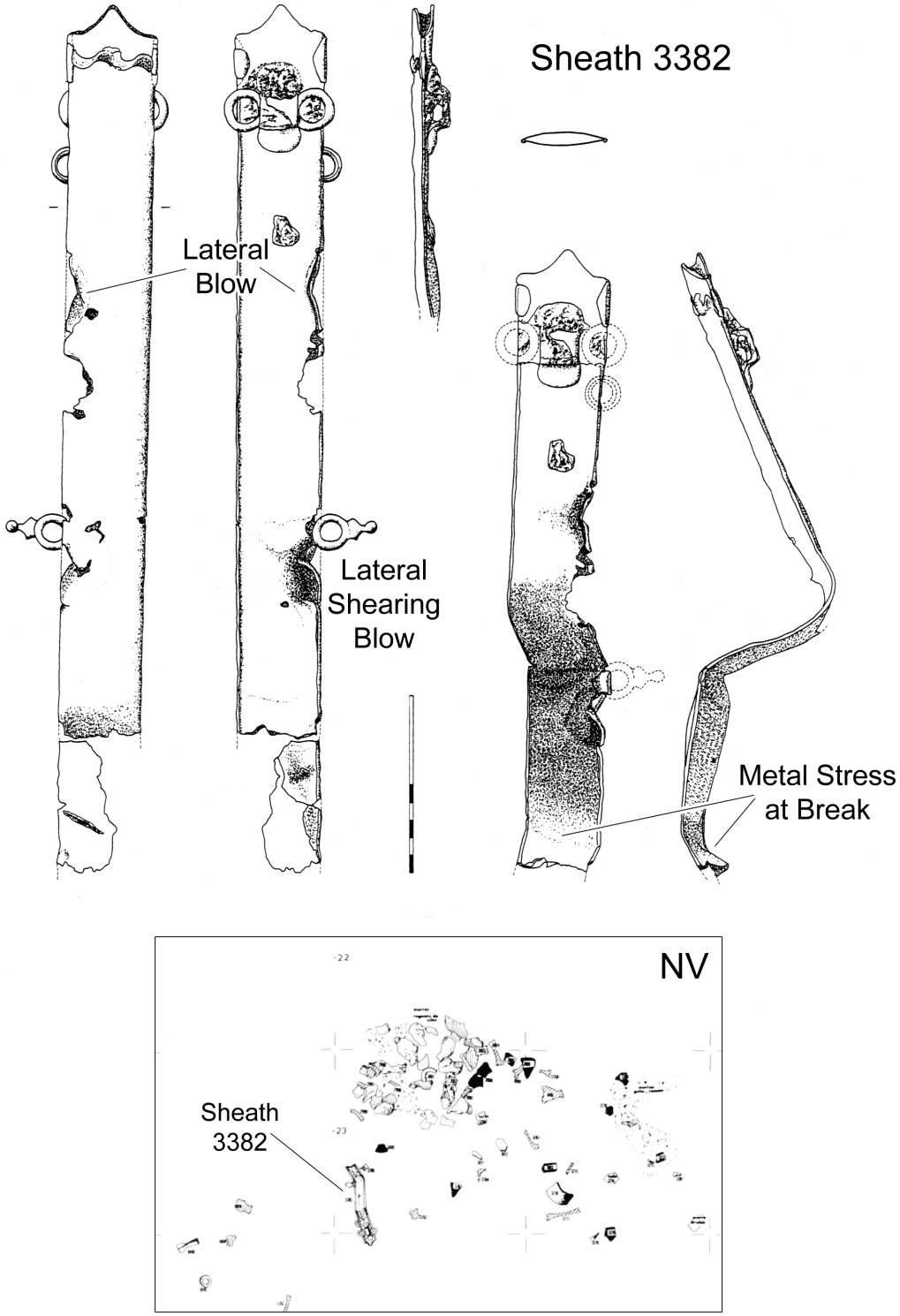
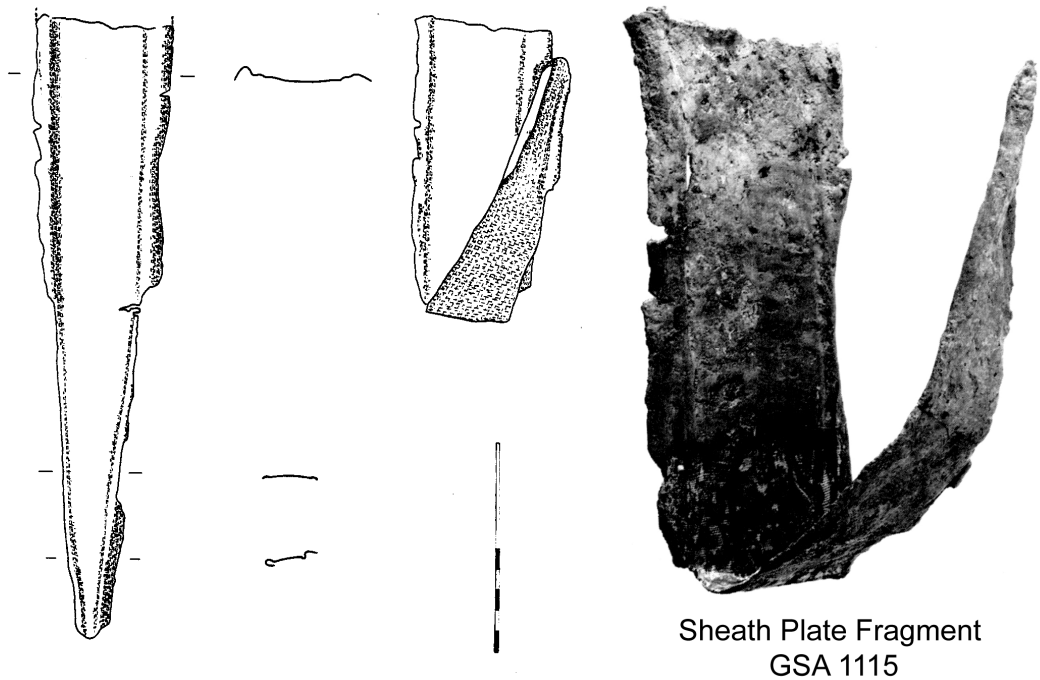


Figure 5.33. Mutilated sheath 3382 and trench plan illustrating the sheath's context (after Lejars 1994, 231 and Brunaux et al. 1985, 234–5)

Lejars proposed a period of exposure to the air long enough for weapons perishable parts (wood and leather) to decay, after which the metal pieces would have been collected. He indicated that at the time of mutilation, the metal must have still been relatively healthy and maintained its mechanical strength, because the most fragile pieces survived major compression without breaking or fragmenting.[745] Despite dismantling and folding, even fragile pieces, like gutters, resisted the mutilations, distorting in shape rather than shattering into fragments. For example, when the plate of sheath fragment 1115 (fig. 5.34) was separated from the opposite plate, its gutters unfolded rather than crumbling away. After this action, the plate fragment was further bent into its deep angle without breaking into two pieces, requiring significant tensile strength. Lejars indicates that performing the same operations on corroded iron would have had 'pronounced adverse effects'.[746]



[745] Lejars 1994, 109; 1996, 626.
[746] Lejars 1996b, 626.

Figure 5.34. Disassembled and bent sheath plate fragment (after Lejars 1994, 177 and 1996, 626, fig. 8)

Most of the fragmentation of *umbones* seems to have occurred after their deposit in the enclosure trench. Exposed to the elements, they corroded and became more brittle, and were subsequently subject to damage during renovation later in the sanctuary's history, the shifting of soil, and modern disturbances.[747] As is to be expected, fragmentation is most frequent in the more disturbed upper level, and among larger *umbones*, with a greater ratio of surface area to thickness.

The frequency of highly decorated weapons at Gournay (fig. 5.35) reflects an intentional selection of the most attractive prestige pieces for dedication, and supports Brunaux's argument that display was a significant part of the armament's ritual treatment after dedication. Sheaths are the most noteworthy with at least 60% decorated, although only a limited number of sheaths have been restored, so the sample size is small.[748] They frequently feature ornate tip-guards, decorative belt straps and reverse reinforcement bars, and complex engraving. The percentage of decorated sheaths may have originally been higher, as significant iron corrosion, which would destroy or obscure delicately engraved or repoussé decoration, is prevalent in the assemblage. Several chain belts were finely manufactured as well.[749] *Umbones* feature decorative wings primarily, but there is a group with narrow ribbed shells that have a more delicate appearance. If exhibition was the primary aspect of the ritual treatment of armament, as Brunaux and Rapin argue, the visual appeal of the items would certainly have been of interest for dedicators.

[747] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 55–65.
[748] Lejars 1994, 63.
[749] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 166–7; Lejars 1994, 166–70.

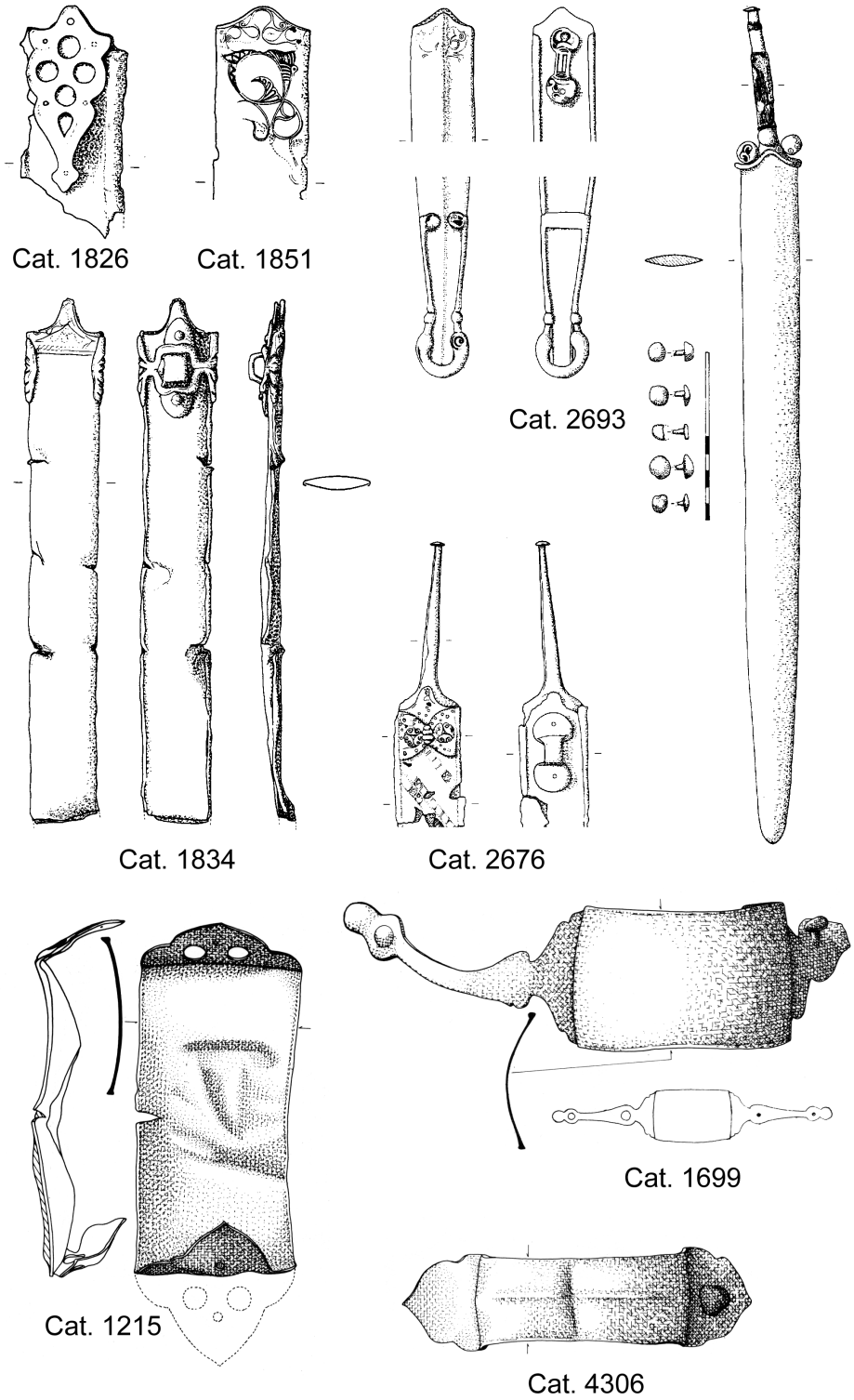


Figure 5.35. Examples of highly decorated sheaths and ornate umbones from Gournay (after Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 194 Pl. XII, 202 Pl. XX, 219 Pl. XXXVII and Lejars 1994, 193–4, 197, 222, 224)

5.4. Organization of the Deposits in the Enclosure Trench at Gournay

5.4.1. Horizontal Distribution

The distributions of each of the different types of armament along the enclosure trench (fig. 5.36) all follow the same pattern: Armament is concentrated on the east façade, particularly on either side of the entrance (excavation squares S–U) (fig. 5.37). The first 8 meters on the north side of the entrance, excavation squares S and T, hold the highest concentration of finds. Half of excavation square T is the entrance to the enclosure where the enclosure trench is interrupted, resulting in a higher concentration of finds in T than their number suggests. The first 5 meters on the south side, excavation square U, hold a secondary concentration.

Finds rapidly diminish in quantity as one moves from the area around the entrance toward the lateral branches of the trench. In fact, excavation squares S–U alone (the first 13m of the enclosure trench on either side of the entrance) contain 65% of the armament finds (718 of 1,108). The whole of the east side, excavation squares P–W, contains 83% of the finds (923 of 1,108), while the northern and southern branches of the enclosure trench contain only 6% (67 finds) and 8% (88 finds) respectively.

A modern road destroyed the west side, and most of the material from it. What survived was strongly crushed and highly fragmented, the largest fragments measuring 1–2cm, and most breaks recent.[750] Consequently, it cannot be determined whether the west side originally contained a secondary concentration of finds. This seems unlikely due to the lack of material in the northern and southern branches of the trench, lack of

[750] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 48.

features on the west side, and high concentration of material on either side of the entrance.

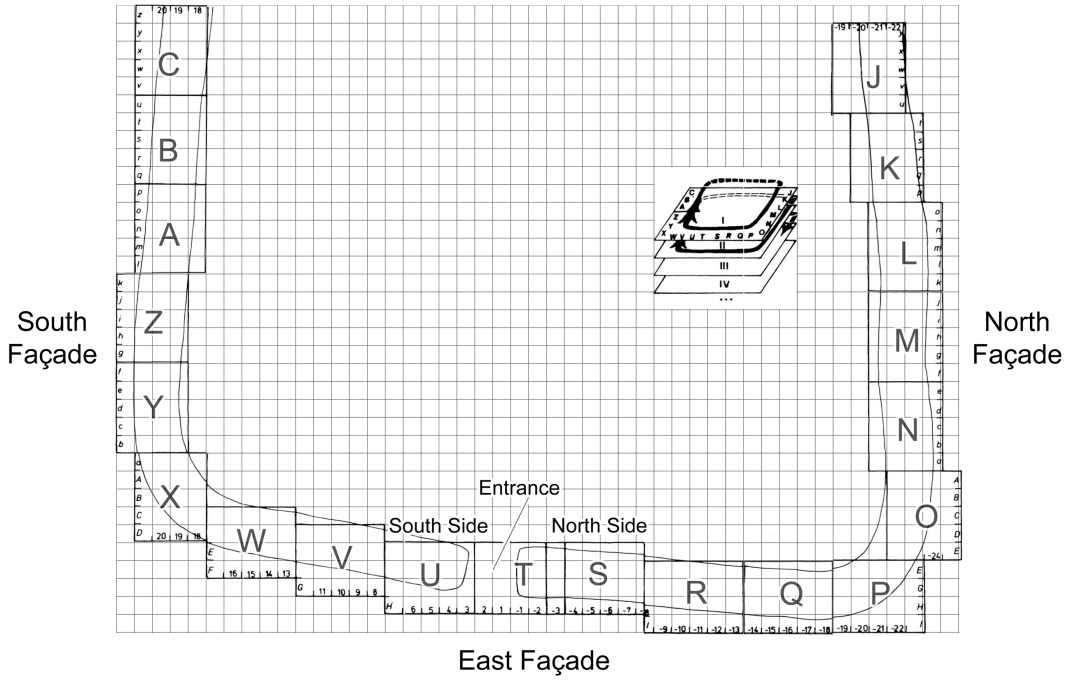
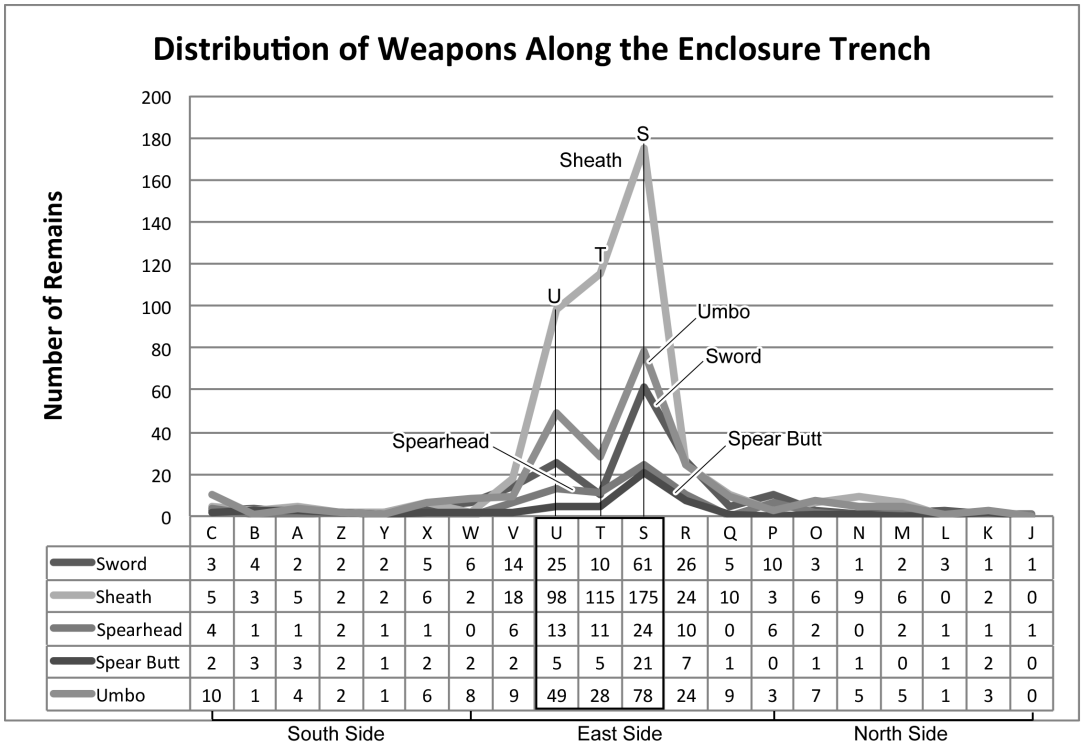
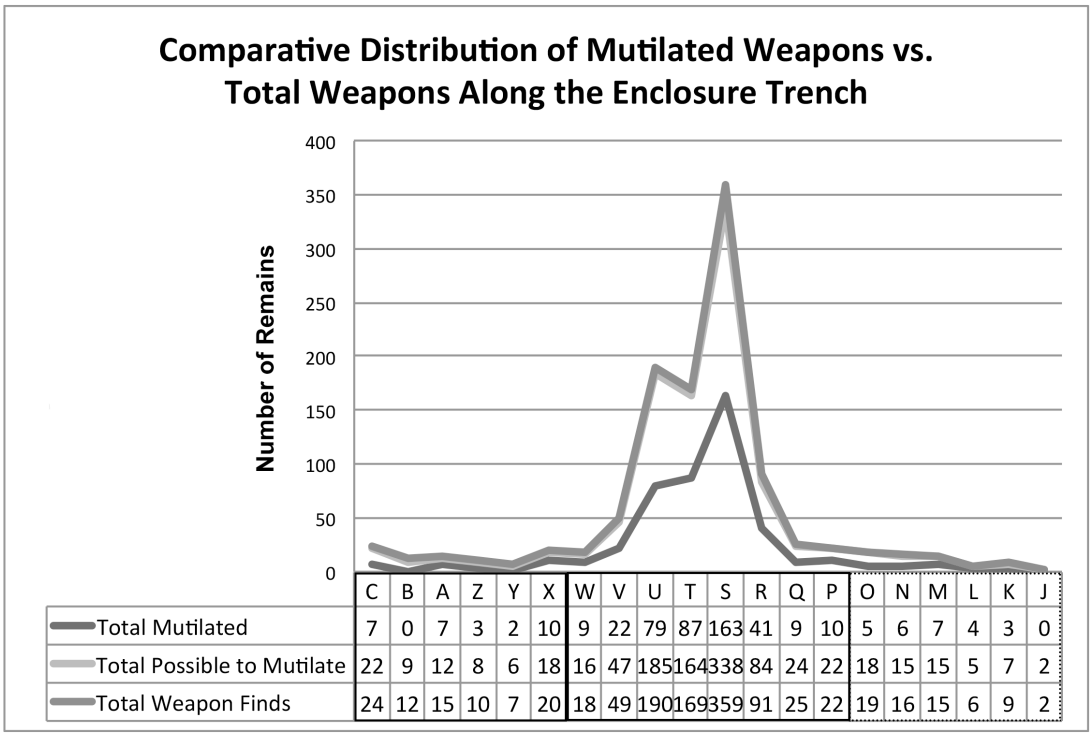


Figure 5.36. Plan of the enclosure trench at Gournay with the entrance, excavation squares, and a grid of 1m² zones overlaid (adapted from Brunaux et al. 1985, 201) Each excavation square is 5m by 4m square.



	C	B	A	Z	Y	X	W	V	U	T	S	R	Q	P	O	N	M	L	K	J
Sword	3	4	2	2	2	5	6	14	25	10	61	26	5	10	3	1	2	3	1	1
Sheath	5	3	5	2	2	6	2	18	98	115	175	24	10	3	6	9	6	0	2	0
Spearhead	4	1	1	2	1	1	0	6	13	11	24	10	0	6	2	0	2	1	1	1
Spear Butt	2	3	3	2	1	2	2	2	5	5	21	7	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	0
Umbo	10	1	4	2	1	6	8	9	49	28	78	24	9	3	7	5	5	1	3	0

Figure 5.37. Distribution of weapons along the enclosure trench at Gournay compiled by author (Counts of finds include complete and fragmentary items and fragments. These figures combine the counts of inventoried finds in Brunaux et al. 1985, Brunaux and Rapin 1988, Lejars 1994, and additional finds identified by the author on excavation plans in Brunaux et al. 1985.)



	C	B	A	Z	Y	X	W	V	U	T	S	R	Q	P	O	N	M	L	K	J
Total Mutilated	7	0	7	3	2	10	9	22	79	87	163	41	9	10	5	6	7	4	3	0
Total Possible to Mutilate	22	9	12	8	6	18	16	47	185	164	338	84	24	22	18	15	15	5	7	2
Total Weapon Finds	24	12	15	10	7	20	18	49	190	169	359	91	25	22	19	16	15	6	9	2

Figure 5.38. Comparative distribution of mutilated weapons vs. total weapons along the enclosure trench compiled by author (Brunaux et al. 1985; Brunaux and Rapin 1988; Lejars 1994. See caption above for comment on the data.)

Some of the discrepancy in the distribution of material along the trench is the consequence of environmental factors. The first few meters of the enclosure trench on either side of the entrance were protected from erosion by a hedge planted parallel to the façade, while the northern and southern branches suffered greater erosion, resulting in the loss of material. The corners of the enclosure trench, where water gathered displayed more active corrosion of iron.[754] Nonetheless, the stark discrepancy in numbers of finds between the first few meters of the enclosure trench on either side of the entrance, and the remainder of the trench indicate that, while environmental factors did play a role in the distribution of finds, they were not determinant factors in find distribution.

[754] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 48.

5.4.2. Vertical Distribution

The vertical distribution is more difficult to interpret, and less reliable for determining deposition patterns, because it is difficult to identify layering in the deposits in the enclosure trench. Excavators divided the trench into sixteen arbitrary layers, each 10cm thick, in order to facilitate stratigraphic study.[755] Upon initial examination, the intermixture of metal finds through all layers at the ends of the enclosure trench (fig. 5.39) led them to believe that the weapons and equipment were either all deposited at once in a single dump, or in a rapid succession of deposits. This impression was reinforced by the relative homogeneity of the material, most dated to the LTC period.[756]

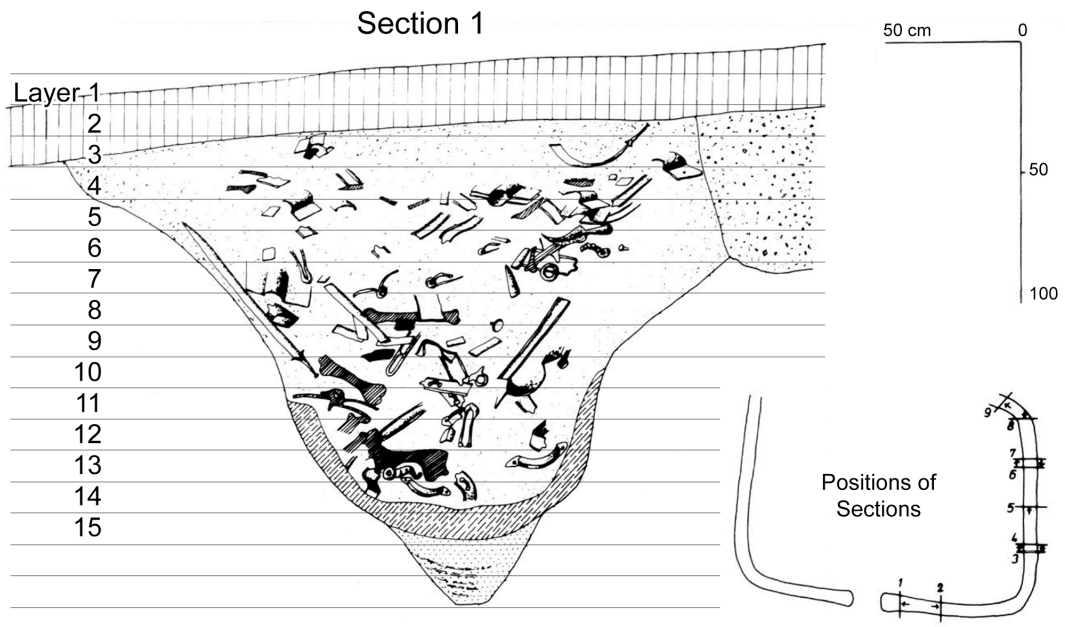


Figure 5.39. Section of the enclosure trench at the edge of excavation square T (E–H-3/-4) showing a sample of the vertical distribution of finds (after Brunaux et al. 1985, 65, fig. 39)

[755] Lejars 1994, 96–100.
[756] Brunaux et al. 1985, 71–2.

However, study of the cattle bones on the north side of the entrance (fig. 5.40) revealed a succession of four discrete bone deposits in the trench, occupying sectors F and G, -1 and -2 in excavation square T. They are mixed with large quantities of weapons and equipment on all levels the bones appear. Overlaying the armament with the cattle bones revealed that the areas of greater or lesser density for the cattle bones corresponded to those of the metal finds, indicating that the bones and armament were deposited simultaneously in successive deposits. Subsequent analysis of the typologies of *umbones* revealed a chronological progression from the base of the trench to its upper level.

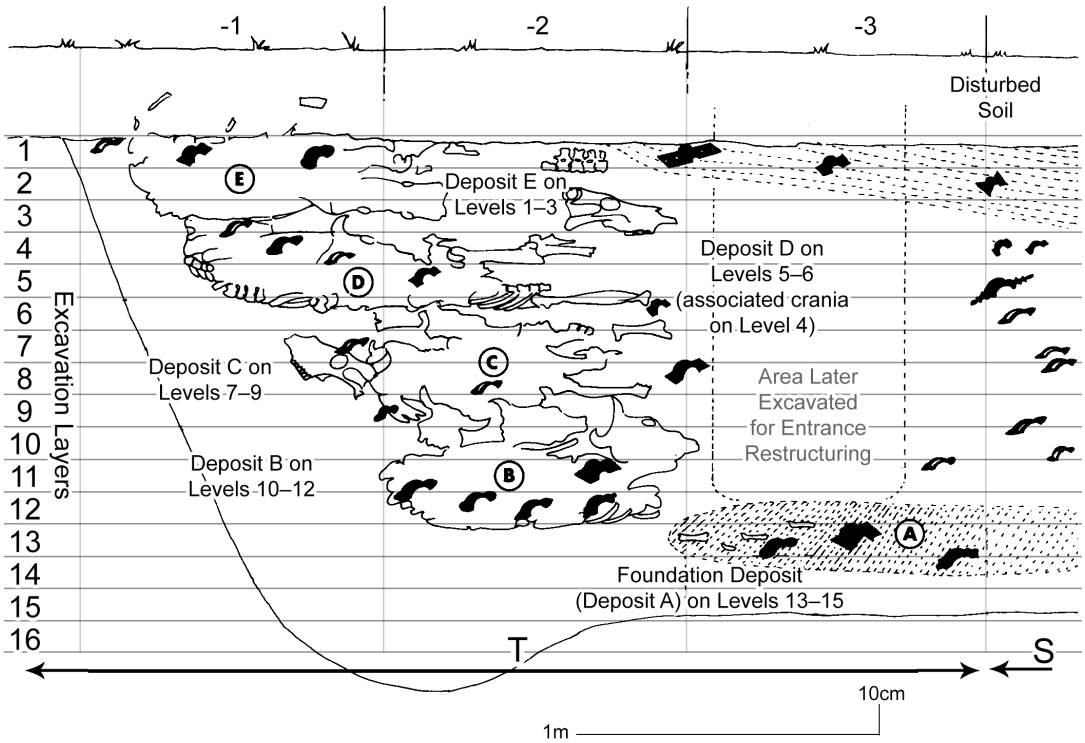


Figure 5.40. Lateral view of the end of the enclosure trench to the north of the entrance illustrating the positions of the foundation deposit and cattle bone deposits above it (adapted from Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 59, fig. 30)

Brunaux and Rapin comment that the bones and armament were not differentiated from each other.[757] While they are correct that armament and bone were frequently intermixed on some levels, clusters of cattle bones, largely excluding armament, were found immediately beside the entrance with armament clustered behind them on several other levels (figs. 5.41 and 5.42).

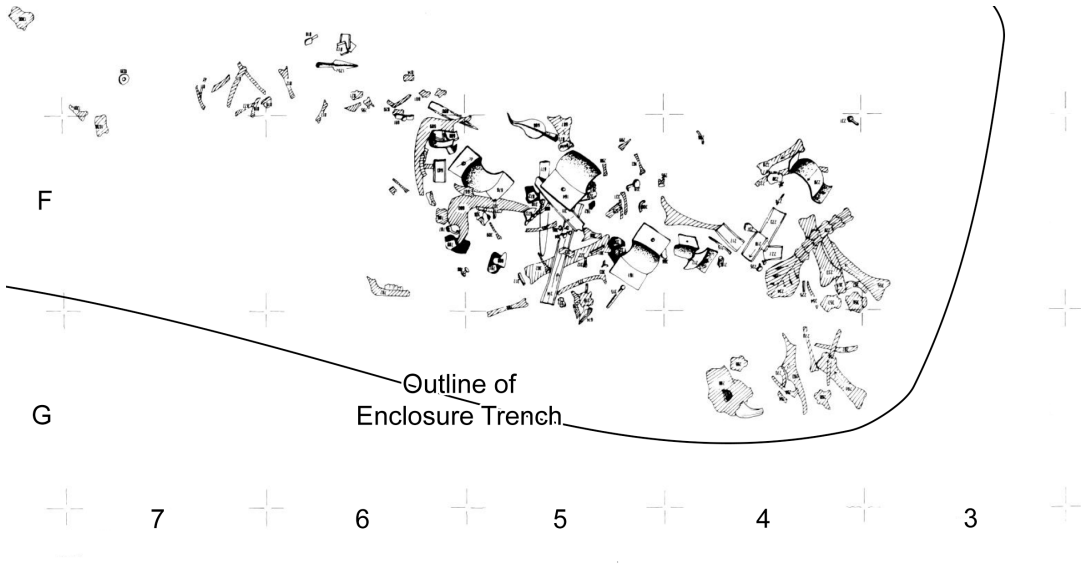


Figure 5.41. Illustration of the mixture of cattle bones and armament in the enclosure trench south of the entrance (after Brunaux et al. 1985, 229, UIV)

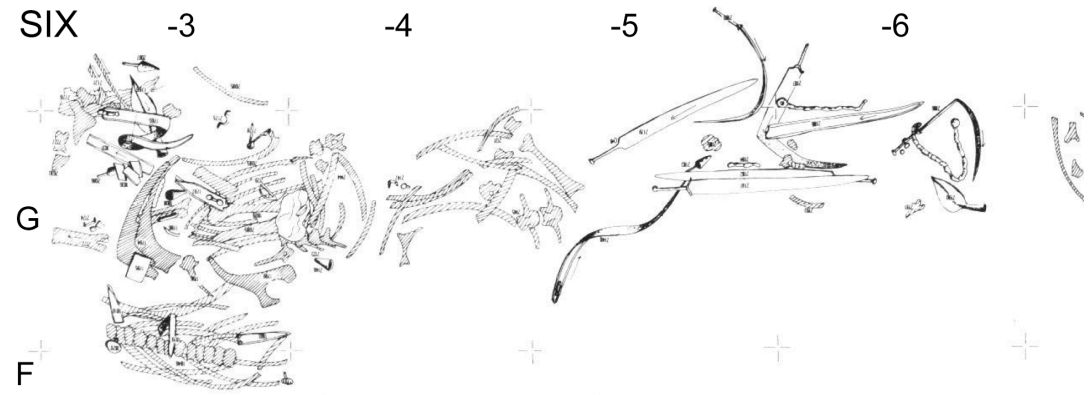


Figure 5.42. Illustration of the differentiation between cattle bones and armament (after Brunaux et al. 1985, 256, SIX)

[757] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 60.

Armament is not limited to the small area where the cattle bones were found. It stretches along the entire length of the east façade (excavation squares P–X), at variable distances from the entrance, dependent on level (figs. 5.43 and 5.44). Armament is dense and widespread on levels 1–4, but numbers drop off rapidly in the layers below. Dividing the depth of the trench in three illustrates the trend more generally: Levels 1–5 (the first 50cm depth) contain 53.4% of the finds, levels 6–10, 28.1%, and levels 11–15, 13.2%.[758] As one moves downward from the upper levels, finds contract inward on either side of the entrance to the first 8 meters on the north side, and 5 meters the south, with a greater quantity of finds on the north side.[759] In levels 10–15, no material was found outside of the first 5–6 meters of the trench on either side of the entrance. Level 12 is the base of the trench on the south side of the entrance. A few square meters on levels 13–15 on the north side are occupied by the foundation deposit.

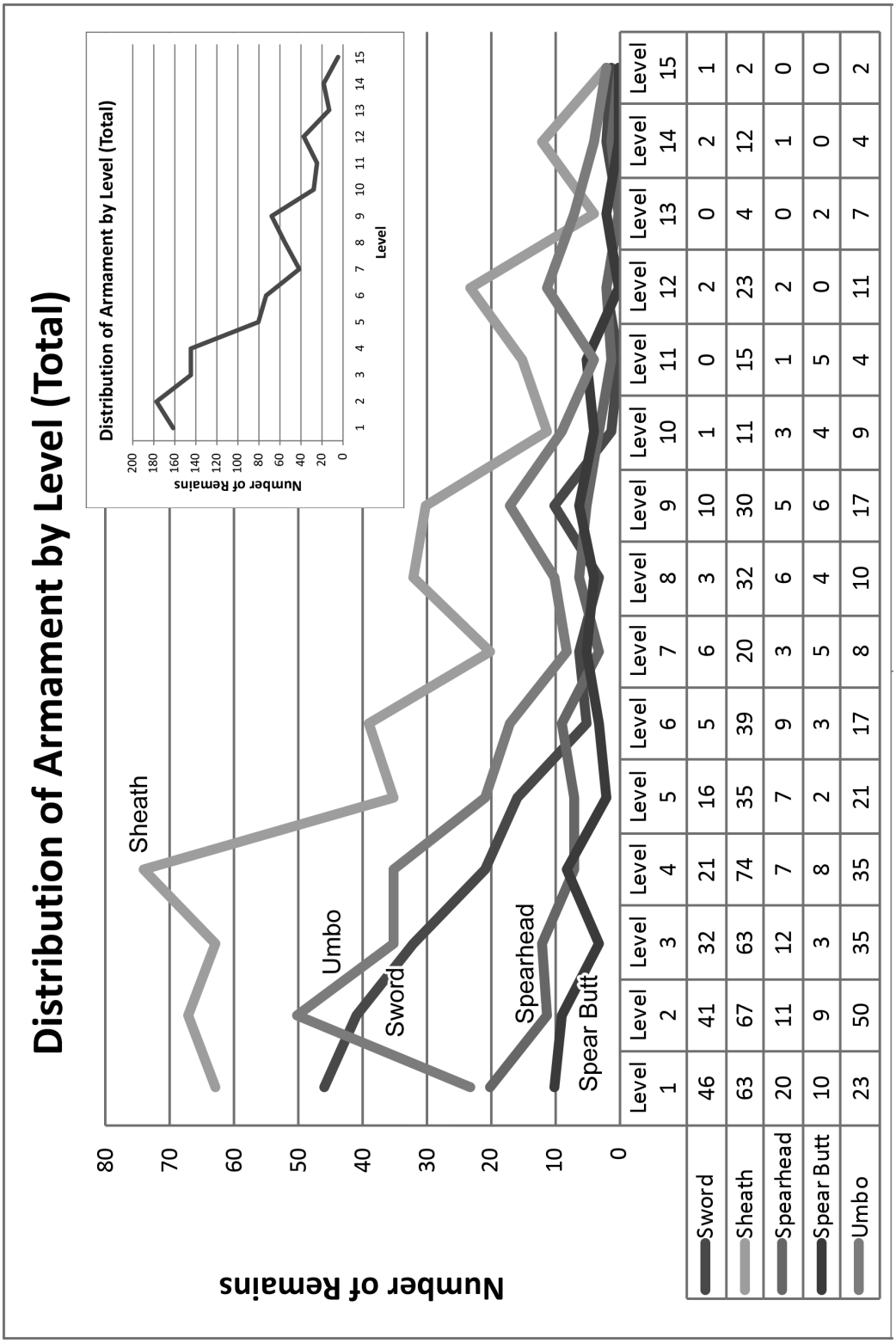
The distribution of armament on either side of the entrance is not consistent (fig. 5.43). On the northern half of the east façade, armament covers the surface in a continuous spread extending about 13 meters from the entrance in layers 1–4 (total length of the northern half is 22 meters). Armament spreads along the entire southern half (18 meters) in layers 1–3, but in lower concentrations, and the spread is not continuous.

A small area on the north side (F/G-3) was cut through the layered deposits during later reworking of the entrance (fig. 5.44). This cut only significantly affects F/G-3 from layer 5 through 12, and left the foundation deposit (discussed below)

[758] 5.3% of finds are out of context.
[759] Brunaux et al. 1985, 71.

untouched. A number of finds cover the F/G-3 area above the cut (layers 1–4), supporting the argument that the fill of the upper layers was a closing deposit of sorts, presumably made at the closure of the sanctuary in the LTD1 period before 100 B.C.[760] Dedications stored aboveground and displayed on the portico and palisade walls would have been collected and deposited in a mass-fill 30–40cm thick, which spread outward along most of the east façade.

[760] Brunaux et al. 1985; Bataille 2008, 189.



	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7	Level 8	Level 9	Level 10	Level 11	Level 12	Level 13	Level 14	Level 15
Sword	46	41	32	21	16	5	6	3	10	1	0	2	0	2	1
Sheath	63	67	63	74	35	39	20	32	30	11	15	23	4	12	2
Spearhead	20	11	12	7	7	9	3	6	5	3	1	2	0	1	0
Spear Butt	10	9	3	8	2	3	5	4	6	4	5	0	2	0	0
Umbo	23	50	35	35	21	17	8	10	17	9	4	11	7	4	2

Figure 5.43. Distribution of armament by level (stratigraphic layers) (Raw data from Brunaux et al. 1985; Brunaux and Rapin 1988; Lejars 1994)

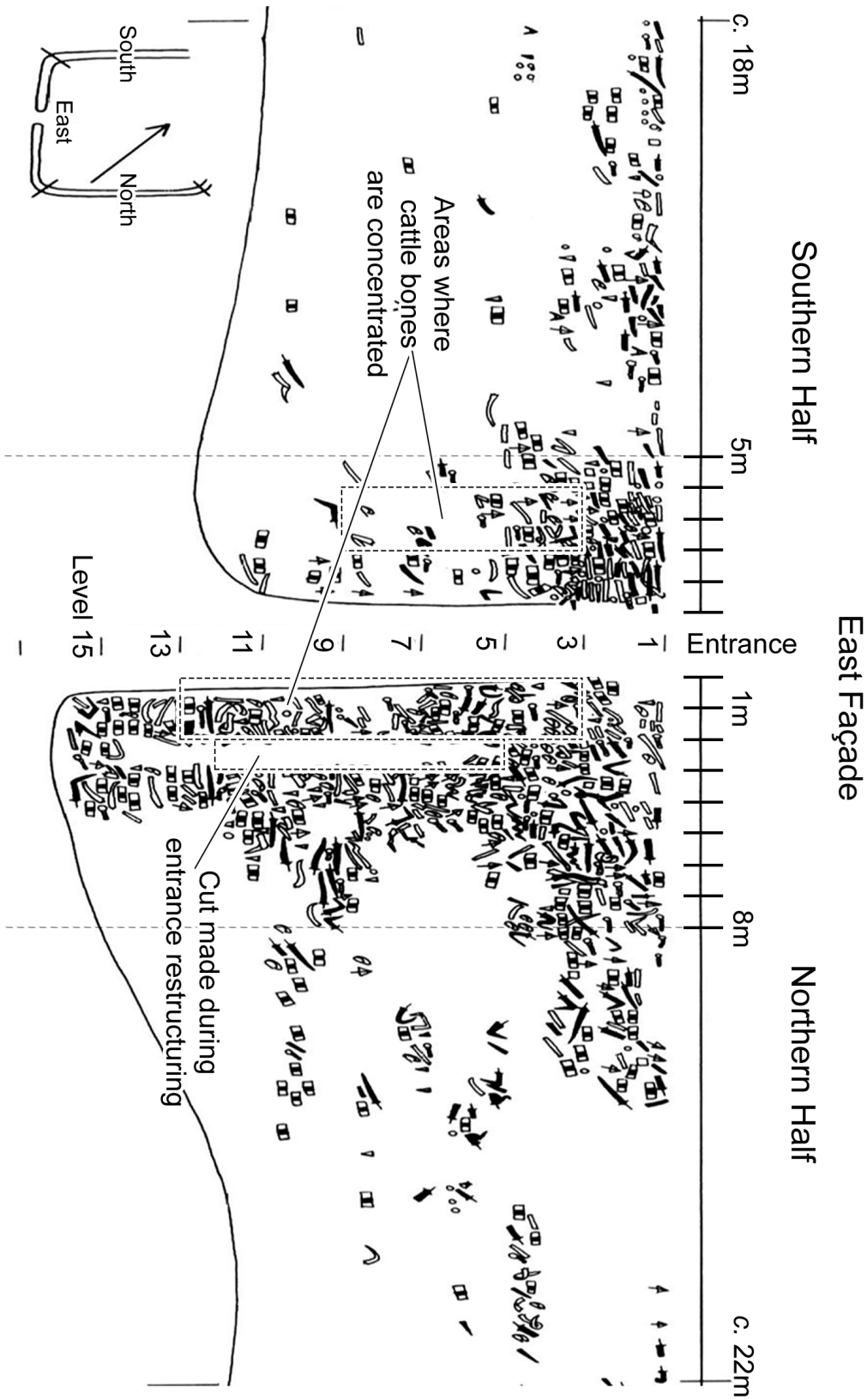


Figure 5.44. Diagram of the distribution of metal finds along the east façade, divided into its northern and southern halves (modified from Brunaux et al. 1985, 76–7, fig. 46)

The horizontal and vertical distributions of finds in the foundation trench of Enclosure 56 at Montmartin directly parallel Gournay. Almost all of the finds (102 of 106) come from the top layer of the trench fill and they are mostly (77.4%, 82 of 106 finds) limited to the trench's eastern third. They are concentrated heavily beside the entrance (nearly half of finds between meters 46 and 52 – with the entrance occupying meters 43–44).[762] This distribution, in combination with the burned plaster fragments, was interpreted as a final fill of the trench after the enclosure's wall was burned and demolished at the decommissioning of the facility.

Brunaux has proposed that while the entrance was the primary place of exhibition, with displays on the portico and beside the entrance, it was not the only place of display. He believes trophies lined the entire east façade, every 6–8 meters to its corners. He indicates that it is not clear how they were presented: armament hung on the palisade wall, simply collected into heaps, or mounted upon posts lining the enclosure trench. The first reconstruction drawing Brunaux presented imagines trophies made up of armament piled around a post with some pieces affixed (fig. 5.45).[763]

[762] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 150–5, 238. Two elements each come from layers 2 and 3.
[763] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 145–72, especially 160. Lejars (1994, 108–9) indicates that the shifting of the tip-guards on some of the sheaths from Gournay suggests their fall from a certain height. However, a similar argument has been presented to explain the same damage observed in the mass grave at Ribemont, and there, it is perfectly explainable as a consequence of material shifting *in situ*. One imagines the situation at Gournay was similar – with material shifting within the enclosure trench, and the possibility that armament was tossed into the enclosure trench at its deposit.

Figure 5.45. Reconstruction of a trophy from Gournay showing the arrangement of weapons and decay of a shield (after Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 49)

In order to correspond with his interpretation of the sanctuary of Gournay as a monument in the landscape viewed by the Bellovaci and other tribes passing through their territory, Brunaux reconstructed trophies as armament affixed to several-meters-tall poles that rose above the more than 2m tall palisade wall so that they were viewable from outside the sanctuary (fig. 5.46 and 5.47).[764] The difficulty to construct and maintain such trophies aside, the tall posts Brunaux imagines would require deep postholes, which were not in evidence along the enclosure trench at Gournay, as Brunaux indicates.[765] Postholes of appropriate depth were found around the entry, but they were associated with the palisade wall and monumental gateway (fig. 5.48).

[764] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 139.
[765] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 145–6. The fully-preserved posthole in the center of Ossuary 82 at Ribemont is 1m deep with a 30cm diameter (Brunaux et al. 1999, 203–4).

Lacking sufficient evidence for elevated trophies, we must conclude that the armament dedications were not visible from outside the sanctuary. Consequently, any display would have been for the resident community. The question of who would have been permitted entry into the enclosure to make dedications and observe the display arises. Access was surely restricted to the warrior class and priests, which may have been one in the same.

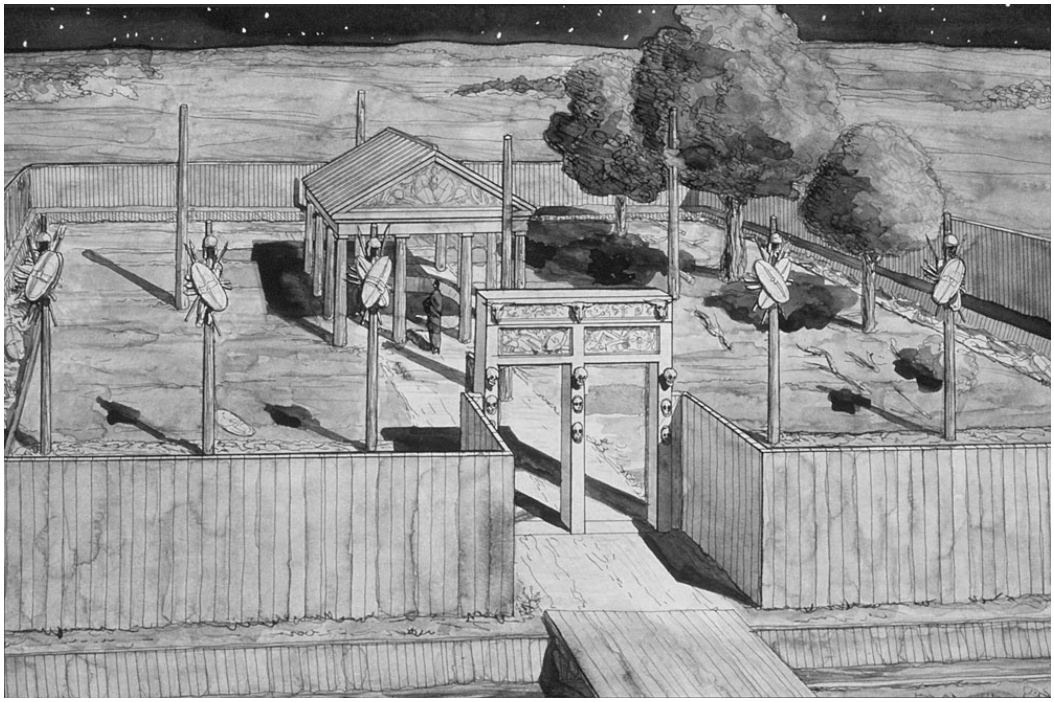


Figure 5.46. Reconstruction of the sanctuary of Gournay (illustration J.-C. Golvin, after Brunaux 2006, 94)

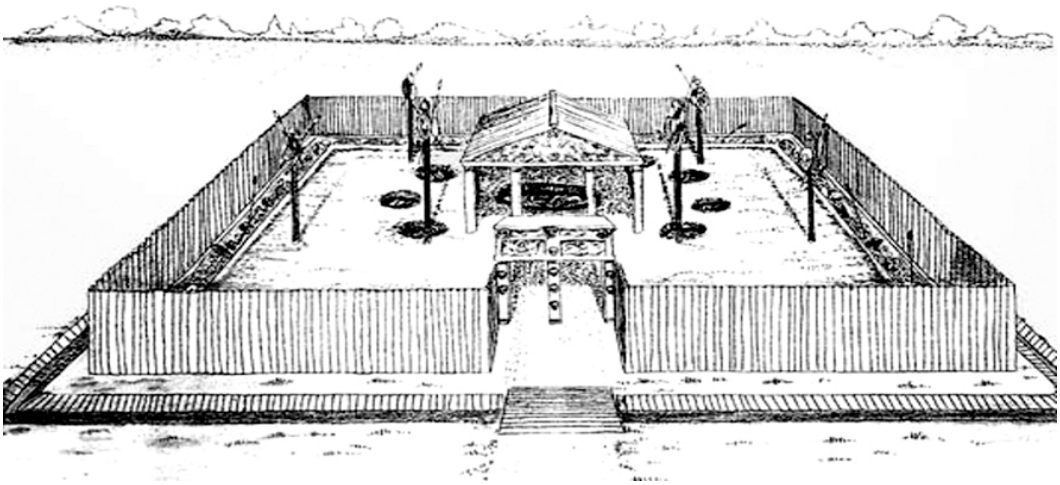


Figure 5.47. Another reconstruction of the sanctuary at Gournay illustrating tall trophy poles (J.-L. Brunaux)

Figure 5.48. Reconstruction of the sanctuary at Gournay (Maquette, Musée Antoine Vivenel)

Brunaux himself indicates that, except for the two clusters of cattle bones and armament on either side of the entrance in the enclosure trench, Gournay did not retain any vestige of the exhibition of offerings; no structures were in evidence. He also acknowledges the problem that the significant numbers of whole and large weapons in the enclosure trench creates doubt that the armament assemblage is residual, the

product of a dismantling of a trophy in a tertiary position. He suggests another ritual, like scattering the trophy's components, was performed at the dismantling of the trophy.[766]

The clusters of armament Brunaux observes in the enclosure trench, which he identifies as the remains of dismantled trophies do not reflect the distribution of the overwhelming majority of finds. On the east façade, particularly in excavation squares S–U, armament forms a continuous mass on levels 1–4 (30–40cm depth) (fig. 5.49). While more heavily concentrated at certain points in the upper layers, discrete clusters of armament do not appear until the middle layers (layers 4–10) as the counts of finds rapidly diminish. Outside the east façade, occasional clusters of material are found in the northern and southern lengths of the enclosure trench, but they are vastly insufficient in number to compose trophies and must simply be deposits of small groups of armament by individuals.

[766] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 145–6.

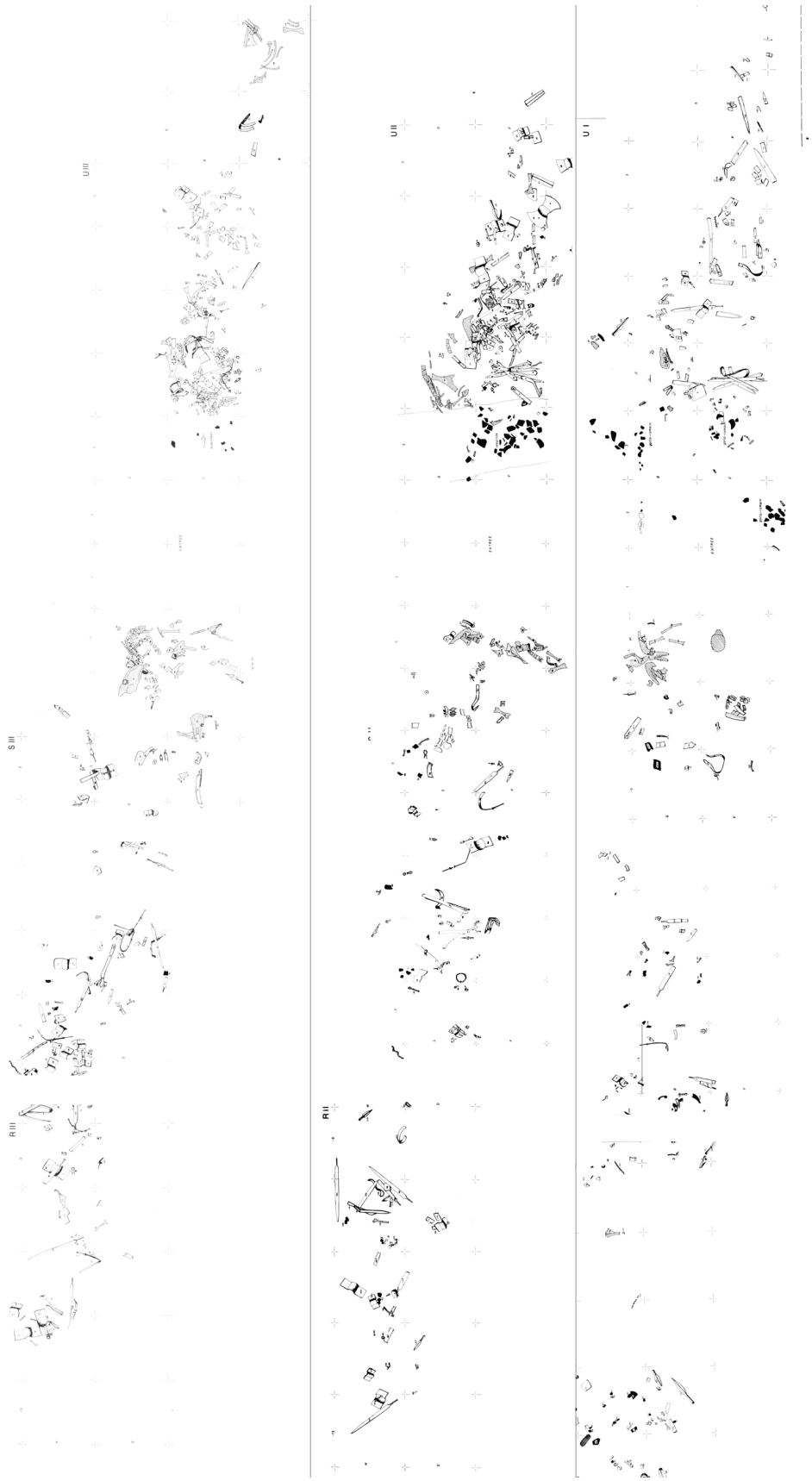


Figure 5.49. Trench plans levels 1–3 of squares R–U (after Brunaux et al. 1985, various)

The variable concentrations of armament in the enclosure trench on the east side seem to simply be points where groups of armament were deposited. The concentrations are dependent on proximity to the entrance. The largest concentrations were on either side of the entrance, and rapidly diminish in size the further away from the entrance. The concentrations were not discrete groups or concentrations of armament of similar size as would be expected for dismantled trophies.

The second proposal Brunaux makes to support his argument for trophies lining the enclosure trench at Gournay is that we should examine the distribution of smaller metal elements of armament like shield borders and spear butts, which are less likely to be relocated to secondary and tertiary contexts.[767] He argues that shield border fragments are a better determinant of the initial locations of the rotted and dismantled shields than *umbones*, because they were small, easily overlooked, and bore no aesthetic interest. They were thus unlikely to be relocated any significant distance from their primary context, and their placement in the trench would have been random and accidental, not intentional. Brunaux then examines the distribution of shield border fragments. His diagram seems to illustrate distinct clusters along the trench. Brunaux interprets these as indicators of the original locations of trophies along the inside edge of the enclosure trench.[768]

[767] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 146.
[768] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 148–50.

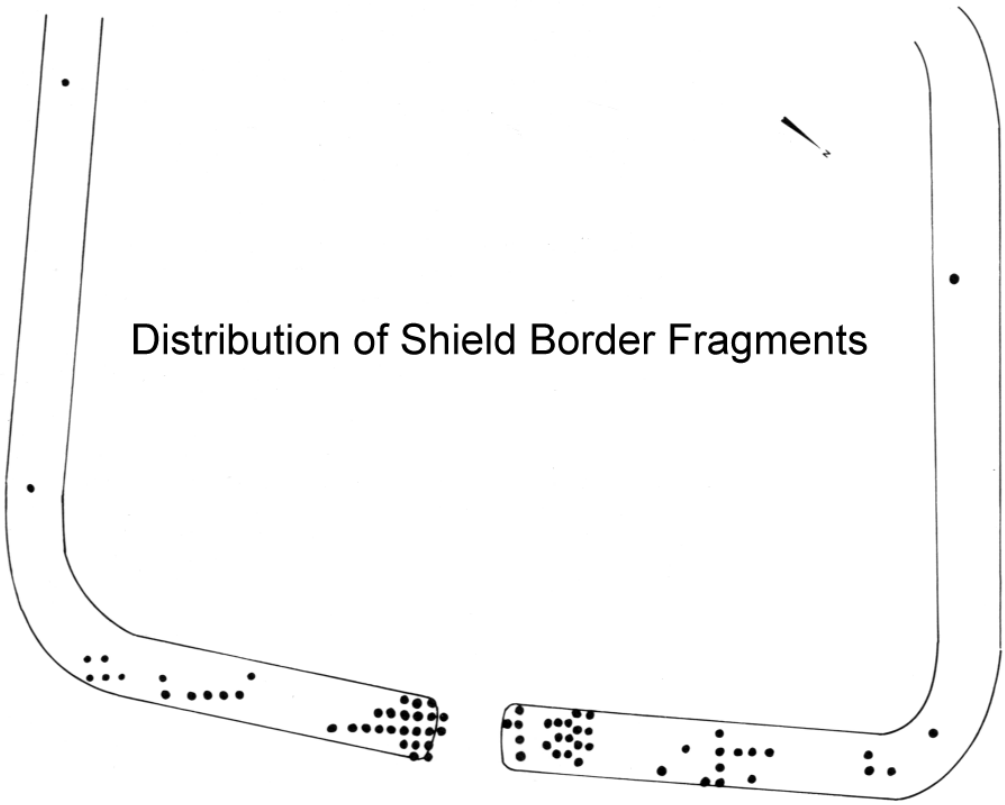


Figure 5.50. Brunaux's compressed distribution of shield border fragments (Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 149, fig. 3)

Brunaux acknowledges that the primary aspect of the shield borders' distribution is their concentration on the east façade (95%), especially in the immediate proximity of the entrance (58.9%, 43 of 73), but he perceives four distinct collections on the east façade. He allows that supposing the locations of trophies from the placement of 73 shield border fragments may be problematic.[769] Given the projected original count of a thousand medium-sized fragments from 250–300 shields, one would concur. An additional note: Brunaux's distribution does not take the shield border fragments' vertical distribution into account, and the fragments were found distributed in multiple levels.

[769] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 148–50.

Brunaux also indicates that, in contrast, the positions of *umbones* should be considered tertiary, because the evidence suggests that most were removed from their shields, they were often found grouped, and they would have been placed at particular positions in the trench and/or far from their secondary context.[770] However, mapping of the distribution of *umbones* along the enclosure trench reveals that *umbones* are distributed in the same pattern as shield borders (fig. 5.51). We encounter the inconsistency that:

1. Shield borders simply fell from trophies, their primary context, into the enclosure trench, their secondary context, and remained near the former locations of the trophies, and

2. *Umbones* were intentionally grouped and placed at particular locations, far from their secondary context, but

3. The distribution of shield borders and *umbones* along the trench matches.

[770] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 148–50.

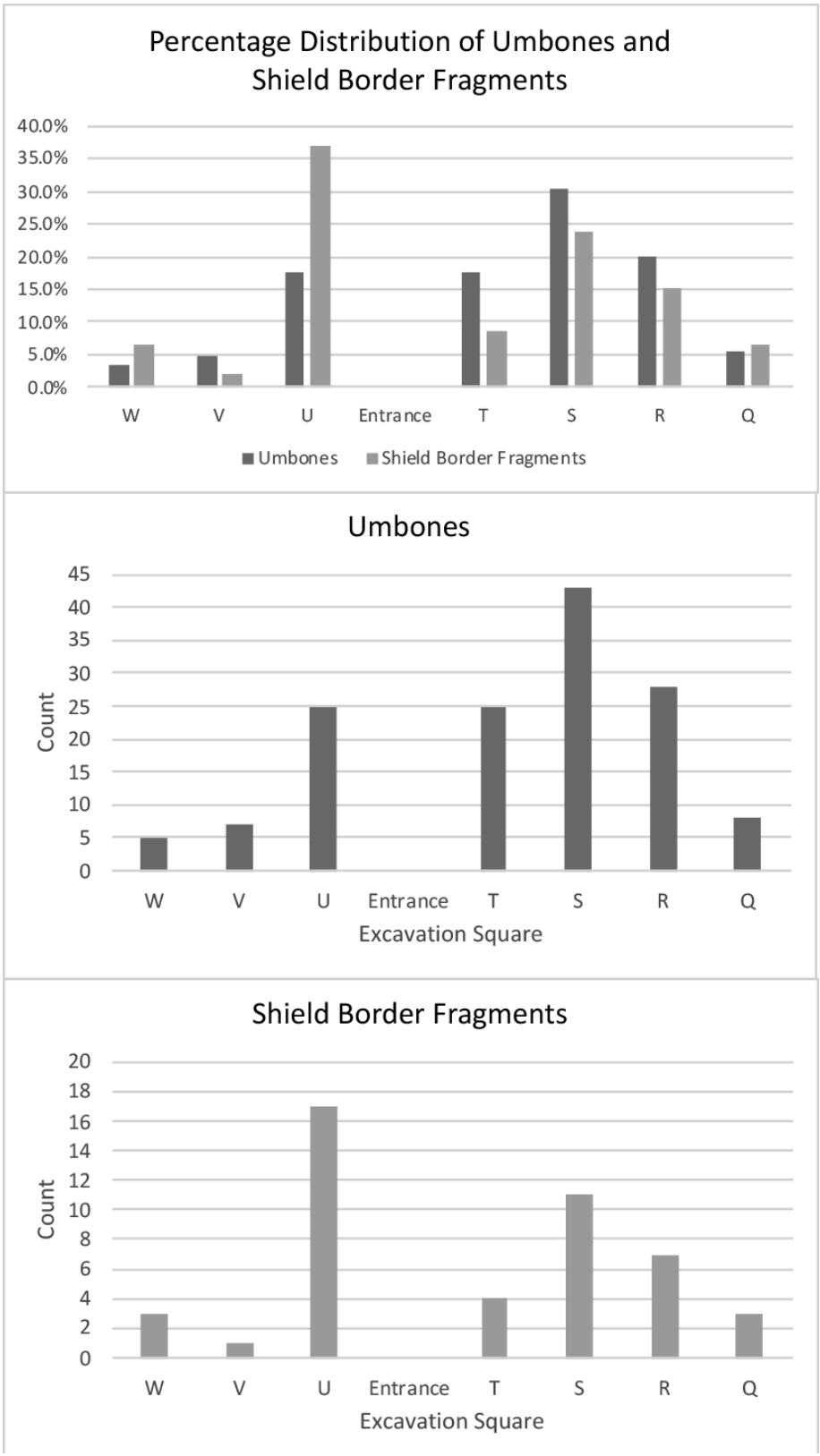


Figure 5.51. Comparison of the horizontal distributions of umbones and shield border fragments (data from Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 54, fig. 28 and 179–80)

Overlaying the horizontal distributions of shield border fragments, spearheads, and spear butts (fig. 5.52) reveals that all three closely correspond. Examination of the combined distribution above in comparison with trench plans reveals that the concentrations and breaks correspond to the overall spread of material along the eastern façade, not discrete groups of material.

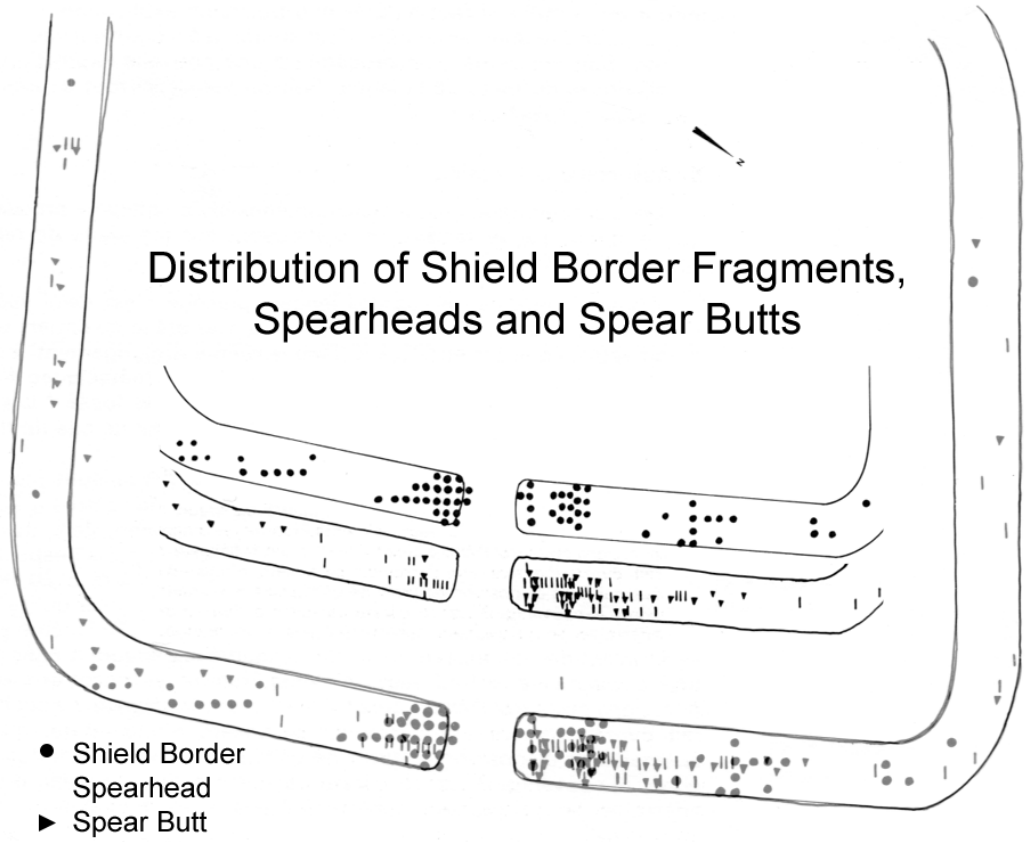


Figure 5.52. Overlay of Brunaux's three horizontal distributions (after Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 149, fig. 3 and 151, fig. 6)

The next small, immobile elements Brunaux proposes to use to determine the placement of his trophies are spear butts. Brunaux claims that the conservation of wood around the tangs of three spear butts allows him to propose the locations of a few trophies (fig. 5.53), or, at least, spears fixed upright into the ground.[771] He asserts

[771] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 108.

that only extended burial (planting the spears in the soil) prior to deposition in the trench can explain the traces of mineralized wood on the tangs of the spear butts. Brunaux proposes that the spears were exposed for decades as part of trophies.

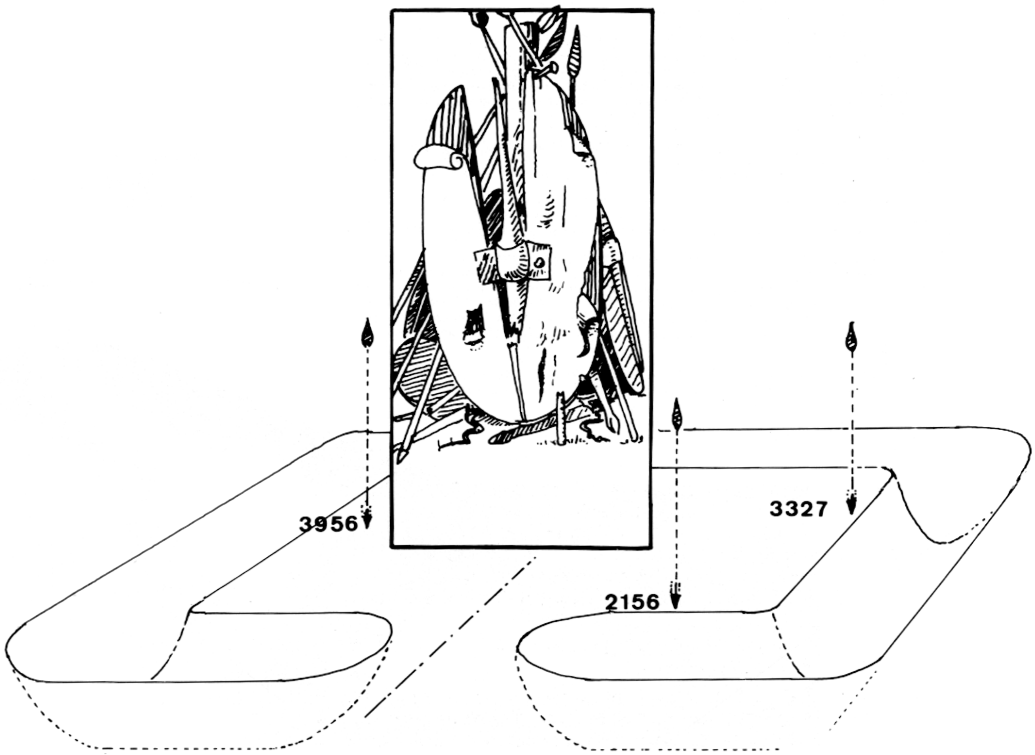


Figure 5.53. Proposed locations of trophies or upright spears (Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 108)

However, we can expect that the distal end of the spears' shafts would have broken off as the wood decayed, leaving the butts implanted in the soil at the trophies' locations. This is precisely what occurred within the quadrangular enclosure at Ribemont, which will be discussed shortly. Brunaux explains the spear butts' presence in the trench as due to two possibilities: Either the spears only partially decayed, which would have meant butts were removed from the soil when the spears were pulled free at the trophies' dismantling. Or, later cleanings or soil disturbances within the enclosure resulted in the discovery of butts buried in earlier phases, which were then

swept into the trench.[772] These proposals engage hypotheticals when spear butts seem to have been scattered in the enclosure trench in the same pattern as all types of material (including *umbones*, spearheads, and spear butts). Spear butts were surely either relocated from a primary or secondary context with the other armament finds, or the enclosure trench was their primary context (i.e. some spears were directly deposited in the enclosure trench, as one believes was the case for many finds).

In addition, the contexts of Brunaux's spear butts in the trench are inconsistent with their locations indicating the former locations of trophies. The primary problem is that arms were not clustered around the places proposed as trophy locations in sufficient numbers to compose trophies, nor were arms scattered across wider areas within which butts were found. (Brunaux proposes a wider scattering of armament from the locations of the trophies along the enclosure trench at their demolition to explain the lack of dense clusters of armament along the entire length of the enclosure trench.[773]) Multiple panoplies, which Brunaux describes as the core of trophies, were also absent.

The first case, spear butt 3956 (level 1, u19, square B) (fig. 5.54), was found in a small group of armament in the southern length of the enclosure trench. The levels beneath (2–6) provided only a few more small pieces, vastly insufficient to compose a trophy, and no panoplies. In levels 1–4, such groups are common outside the first 10–13m of the enclosure trench on either side of the entrance, where armament finds are concentrated in a dense spread. The group in which spear butt 3956 was located comes from an area featuring multiple such groups, which vary in size and spacing.

[772] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 109–10.
[773] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 145–6.

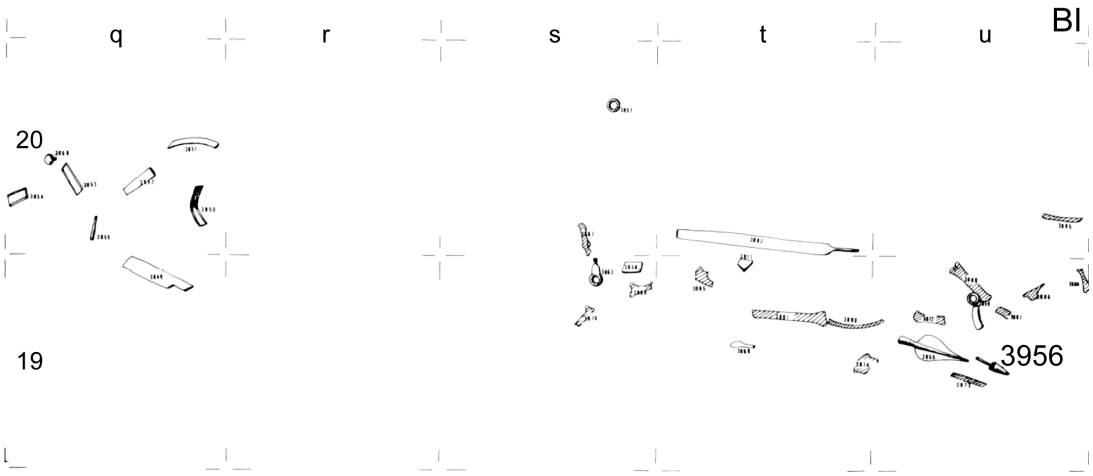


Figure 5.54. Spear butt 3956 and surrounding finds (after Brunaux et al. 1985, 202, BI)

The other two spear butts 3327 (level 8, k-23, square L) and 2156 (level 11, G-6, square S) come from the lower levels of the trench (fig. 5.55 and 5.56). Below level 8, finds in all excavation squares except S and T become very rare before effectively disappearing by level 10. In layers 13–15, there are no finds outside of S and T. Spear butt 3327 is isolated, with no other finds around it on level 8, only a few bone fragments above on levels 6 and 7, and no finds beneath, precluding the spear butt being part of a trophy dismantled at the location. Spear butt 2156 was found on level 11 in a small group of finds, beside the entrance, typical for the level. The additional finds in the levels above and below (9–12) would be sufficient to compose a trophy, but the clustering of armament finds beside the entrance is simply that, and does not indicate the location of a discrete trophy.

Figure 5.55. Spear butt 3327 and surrounding finds (after Brunaux et al. 1985, 250, LVIII)

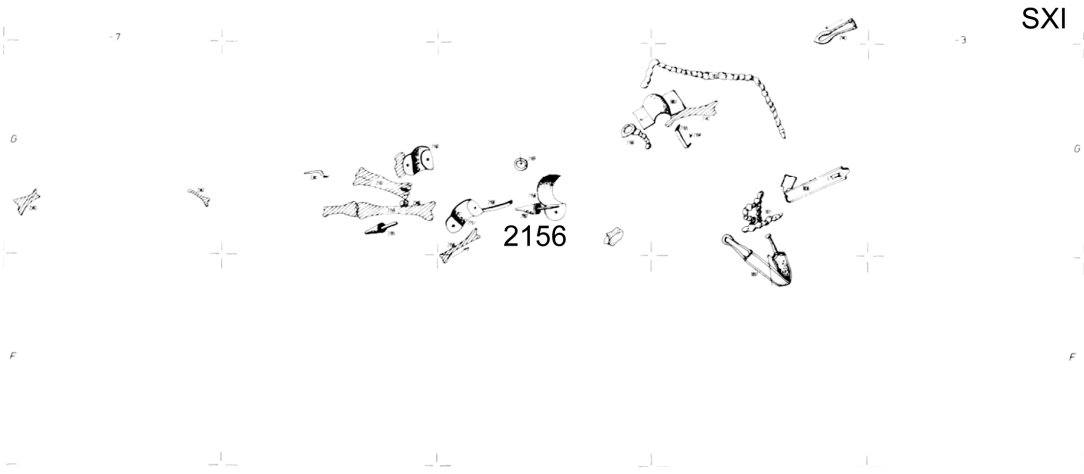


Figure 5.56. Spear butt 2156 and surrounding finds (after Brunaux et al. 1985, 261, SXI)

Lastly, the only correspondence between the spear butts' find-spots and the "concentrations" of shield border fragments, the first small imobile objects proposed for siting trophies, is for spear butt 2156. Its correspondence is not significant, however, because it is found on the east façade beside the entrance. All material is heavily concentrated at that location and remains so for several meters away from the entrance on either side. No concentrations of shield border fragments were found near spear butts 3327 or 3956. Further, spear butt 3327 was isolated, and the grouping of

armament around spear butt 3956 (including the layers above and below it) was insufficient to compose a trophy.

5.4.4. Manifestations of Brunaux's Trophies and Vertical Spears at Ribemont

Certain attestation of both a trophy and lines of upright spears were found within the quadrangular enclosure at Ribemont. They provide evidence of the type of trophy Brunaux reconstructs, and facilitate determination of whether or not trophies lined the enclosure trench at Gournay. The trophy at Ribemont (fig. 5.57), as it survived, was composed of a posthole containing the remains of a wooden post, around which two sheaths had been bent and remained in place. A third sheath, which may have come from the trophy, was found in the enclosure trench nearby. At the foot of the post, a spearhead and a fragment of a shield border were also found. Numerous other pieces of armament were scattered on the ground surface nearby, supplying more than enough material to compose a trophy. Another large posthole (P4) was found a few meters farther southeast, and additional depressions in the soil, indicating locations where posts decayed, were found north of Ossuary 91.[774] All of these finds have been demonstrated to be 'in place', in their primary context on and beneath the third century ground surface.

[774] See the discussion of Ribemont below for further detail and citations.

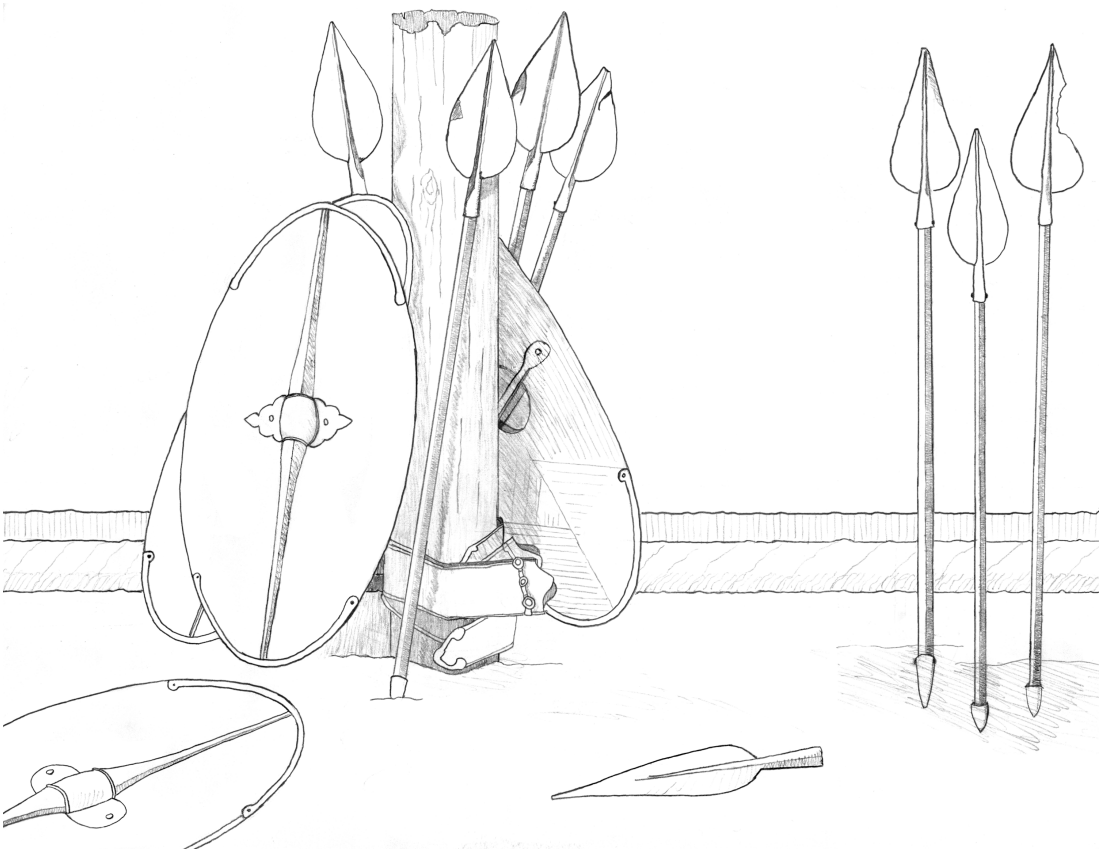


Figure 5.57. Reconstruction of the Trophy at Ribemont (D.S. Rose)

At Ribemont, two discrete lines of butts still-implanted vertically beneath the third century ground surface and at least two additional lines of spear butts lying on the same ground surface (fig. 5.58) provide the evidence that spears were planted upright along the interior edge of the enclosure trench. Such evidence is not present at Gournay where all butts come from the enclosure trench, and none were found 'in place' within the enclosure. At Ribemont, there is also a pronounced disparity in the numbers of spear butts and spearheads on the third century ground surface, greater than 3:1, indicating that butts were left behind when spearheads were displaced farther southeast along the interior edge or into the enclosure trench's fill where heavy concentrations were found. At Gournay, the distribution of spearheads and spear butts along the enclosure trench correspond precisely, clustered in the same areas along the

southern length of the enclosure trench and heavily concentrated together on either side of the entrance.[775] This correspondence contradicts Brunaux's proposal that spear butts remained close to their primary context while spearheads were displaced. Incidentally, Brunaux's descriptions of primary and secondary contexts, and the displacement of the remains of trophies at their dismantling, largely corresponds to the evidence from Ribemont, just not Gournay.

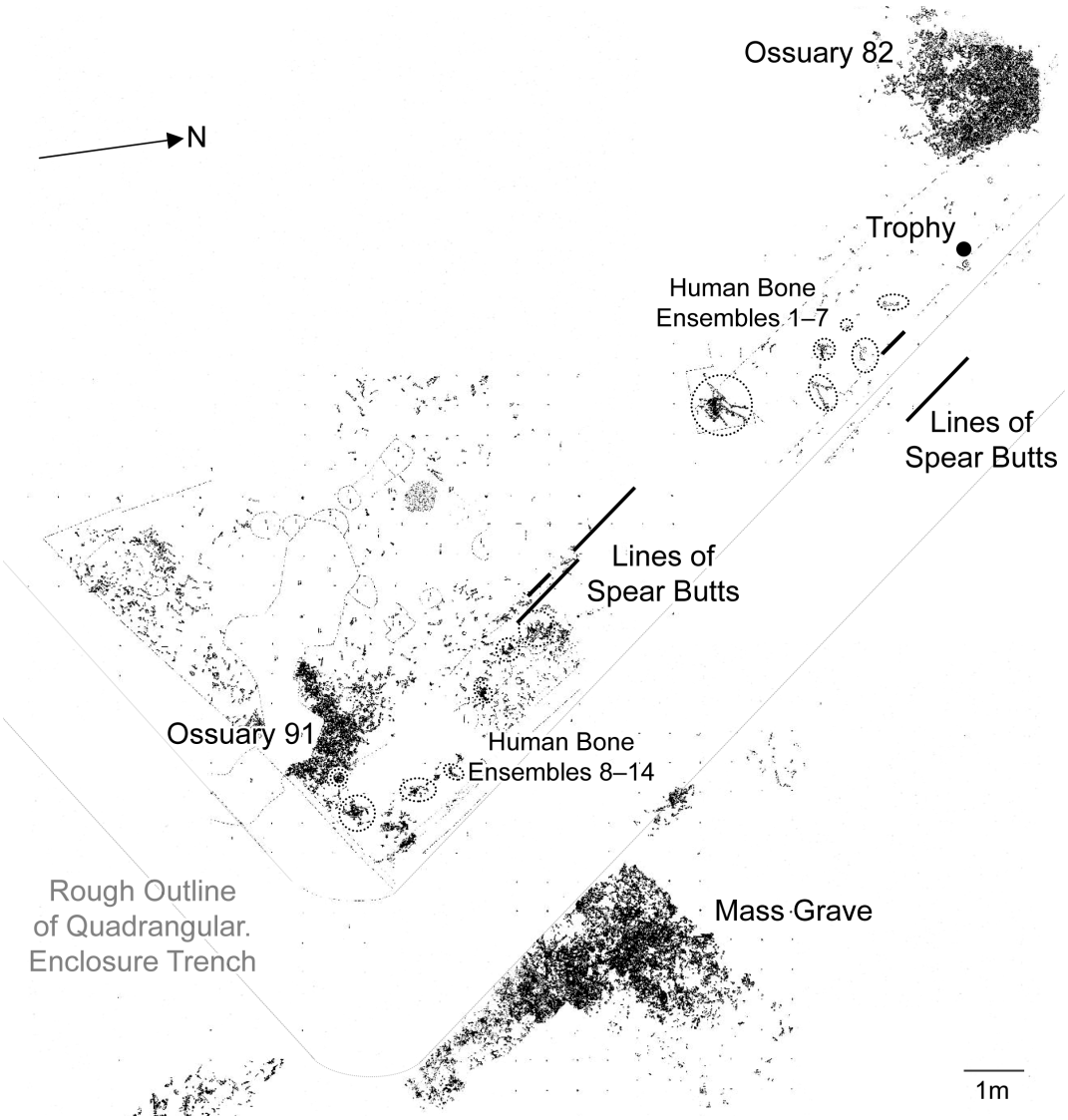


Figure 5.58. Plan of the eastern length of the quadrangular enclosure interior at Ribemont illustrating the location of the trophy and lines of spear butts (modified from Ricard 2014, 47, fig. 26)

[775] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 151, figure 6.

Lastly, one should address Brunaux's argument that the wood preserved on the three spear butts only survived because of a prolonged stay beneath the soil.[776] He claims that exposure would have prevented mineralization of the wood and destroyed all wood traces. However, at Ribemont, wood traces survived on several pieces of armament that were exposed for decades before burial. Most of the wooden handle of sword 830038, exposed on the ground surface, was preserved. In twelve cases, fragments of wood caught in the sockets of spearheads by their retaining nails were preserved through mineralization.[777] Two of the documented spear butts at Ribemont preserve wood traces, and both were likewise exposed. The evidence for trophies from Ribemont will be discussed further in section 5.7.3.

[776] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 108.
[777] Determined from search of this study's Excel database. Cadoux et al. 1984, 2; 1985, 26; Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 130.

5.5. Assessment of the Armament Assemblage from Ribemont

5.5.1. Counting and Limitations of the Data

The sanctuary of Ribemont has provided a large collection of armament from its three La Tène contexts, the circular enclosure, the quadrangular enclosure, and the mass grave. All three contexts date to the third century B.C. They have provided an estimated total of 2,000–2,500 pieces of armament (fragments and whole items) with an estimated MNI of 1,300–1,500.[778] Most of the armament from the site dates to the LTC1b period (latter half of the third century B.C.), but significant minorities come from earlier and later periods, providing an unequally-distributed collection of armament that dates from the LTB2–LTD2b period, through the Gallo-Roman period.

In addition to lacunae in the data, counting of the metal finds has not been consistent: For the finds from the circular enclosure, both fragment counts and MNI values are available.[779] For the quadrangular enclosure, only a fragment count is available, and for the mass grave, only MNI values are available. Consequently, comparison of the data from the three contexts is difficult. In order to be responsible, comparison must be limited to comparable figures (fragment count vs. fragment count, MNI vs. MNI). Detailed discussion and analysis of individual finds will be limited to select documented items, and those few that were available for inspection. While these limitations of the data are understood, it is felt that the rich and compelling nature of the material warrants an imperfect approach. The tables below illustrate the data available and its limitations summarily.

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[778] Because of inconsistencies in the documentation, precise totals cannot be calculated.

[779] MNI counting is typically used for human and animal bones. However, it has also been employed for the metal finds at Ribemont in order to compensate for the higher incidence of fragmentation of sheaths and *umbones* in order that they do not make up an inordinately high percentage when comparing the different categories of metal finds. Bataille (2007b; 2008, 23–4, 39–44) has proposed and outlined a method for systematically using MNI to evaluate metal finds.

Table 5.3. Counts of Metal Finds from the Primary La Tène Contexts at Ribemont				
Circular Enclosure				
Item	***Pieces at the End of 2001 Excavations***	***Petit 2002 Pictures***	***Pieces at the End of Excavations in 2002***	***MNI at the End of Excavations in 2002***
Swords	1	1	2	1
Sheaths	10	10+1 piece w/o inventory no.	19	9
Chain Belts	15	16	21	18
Spearheads	37	37	54	52
Butts	29	29	37	37
Umbones	26	27 pieces (25 inventory nos.)	71	35

Quadrangular Enclosure Interior				
Item	***Pieces***	***Pourrier 2003 Pictures***	***Percentage Pictured by Pourrier***	***Additional Pieces Absent from Pourrier Identified by Author****
Swords	36	23 blades + 6 fragments	80.6%	20 (11)
Sheaths	182	+/- 125 fragments (111 inventory numbers) (32 preserving straps/entries)	+/- 68.7%	52 (11)
Chain Belts	112	112	100%	6 (0)
Spearheads	345	188 (176 of which preserve at least socket, tang, and part of their blades)	54.5%	56 (12)
Butts	407	215 butts + 9 ferrules	55.0%	45 (2)
Umbones	143	70 (28 of which are whole or preserve at least the arc of their shells)	50.0%	33 (4)

* The first number indicates the count of additional pieces catalogued by the author, while the number in parentheses indicates the count of pieces for which images (allowing examination) were secured.

Mass Grave				
Item	***MNI in 1998***	***Lejars 1998a Pictures***	***MNI in 2001***	***Petit 2002 Pictures***
Swords	6	1	11	6
Sheaths	17–22	1	27	8
Chain Belts	24	4	32	4
Spearheads	121	3	153	14
Butts	29	2	46	1
Umbones	21	1	25	4
Data for circular enclosure from: Petit 2002, 15; Brunaux et al. 2002, 33 and Annexe IV. Quadrangular enclosure: Pourrier 2003, 74; Mahéo 1990; Brunaux et al. 1999; Viand et al. 2008; Ricard 2014; and items observed at the Musée de Picardie. Mass grave: Petit 2002, 21; Lejars 1998a.				

5.6. The La Tène B2b and La Tène C Armament from the Circular Enclosure

5.6.1. Nature of the Assemblage

The assemblage from the circular enclosure is residual, the composition of the assemblage quite scattered, and the finds within it highly fragmentary. Only 1 sword and 9 sheaths are represented among the 152 pieces of armament (MNI values). All of the sheaths are fragmentary, with only four entries and one strap preserved; the remainder are plate and tip-guard fragments. The largest piece is an entry fragment less than 25cm long. Most fragments are even smaller. The assemblage also includes 52 spearheads, 37 spear butts, 35 *umbones*, and 18 chain belts (MNI values), all likewise heavily damaged, and many fragmentary, particularly the *umbones*, which are mostly small fragments, only a handful preserving large parts of their shells and wings.[781]

The MNI values for *umbones* and spear butts, and the count of best-preserved spearheads (33) correspond to the MNI of 30 warriors buried with the armament in the circular enclosure trench.[782] However, the single sword and limited number of sheath

[781] Brunaux et al. 2002, 33.
[782] For the human bones, see chapter 3 and Ricard 2014, 199 & 216.

fragments are vastly insufficient to supply the warriors. Considering that the armament was exposed on the ground surface within the circular enclosure for years, and the major disturbance of the enclosure's demolition and relocation of the armament, heavy losses to iron corrosion, fragmentation, and dispersion may be expected. The heavily corroded and fragmentary nature of the surviving pieces supports this interpretation.

The ceramics from the circular enclosure date it to the LTB2b period (275–260 B.C.), but the dating of the armament has not yet been resolved. Petit and Brunaux argue that the armament dates to the LTC1b (230–200 B.C.), contemporary with the mass grave and quadrangular enclosure. However, this dating is largely based upon Brunaux's belief that all three contexts were formed at the same time, and that the typological differences between armament from the circular enclosure and mass grave indicate different geographical origins: the local Ambiani production and distant Peri-Armorican production, Brunaux's victors and vanquished.

Fercoq du Leslay indicates that the armament from the circular enclosure is poorly preserved and not sufficiently characteristic in typology to support confident dating. Further, excavators noted that some of the arms display archaic forms consistent with a late LTB2 dating (290/260 B.C.), and the morphology of fibulae and some spearheads correspond with the same dating.[783] Thus, the dating of the material from the circular enclosure and relative chronology in relationship to the quadrangular enclosure are still debated.

The distribution of armament along the circular enclosure trench at Ribemont (fig. 5.59) closely corresponds with that of all of the other classes of material (human

[783] Brunaux et al. 2001, 47; 2002, 34; Buchez 2011, 147. For the ceramics, see Chaidron and Fercoq du Leslay 2013.

bones, animal bones, and ceramics): Higher concentrations were found along the northern side where the ritual pit and hearth are located and beside the entrance on the southeast side. One expects finds will also be concentrated on the other side of the entrance in the unexcavated area if they are preserved.

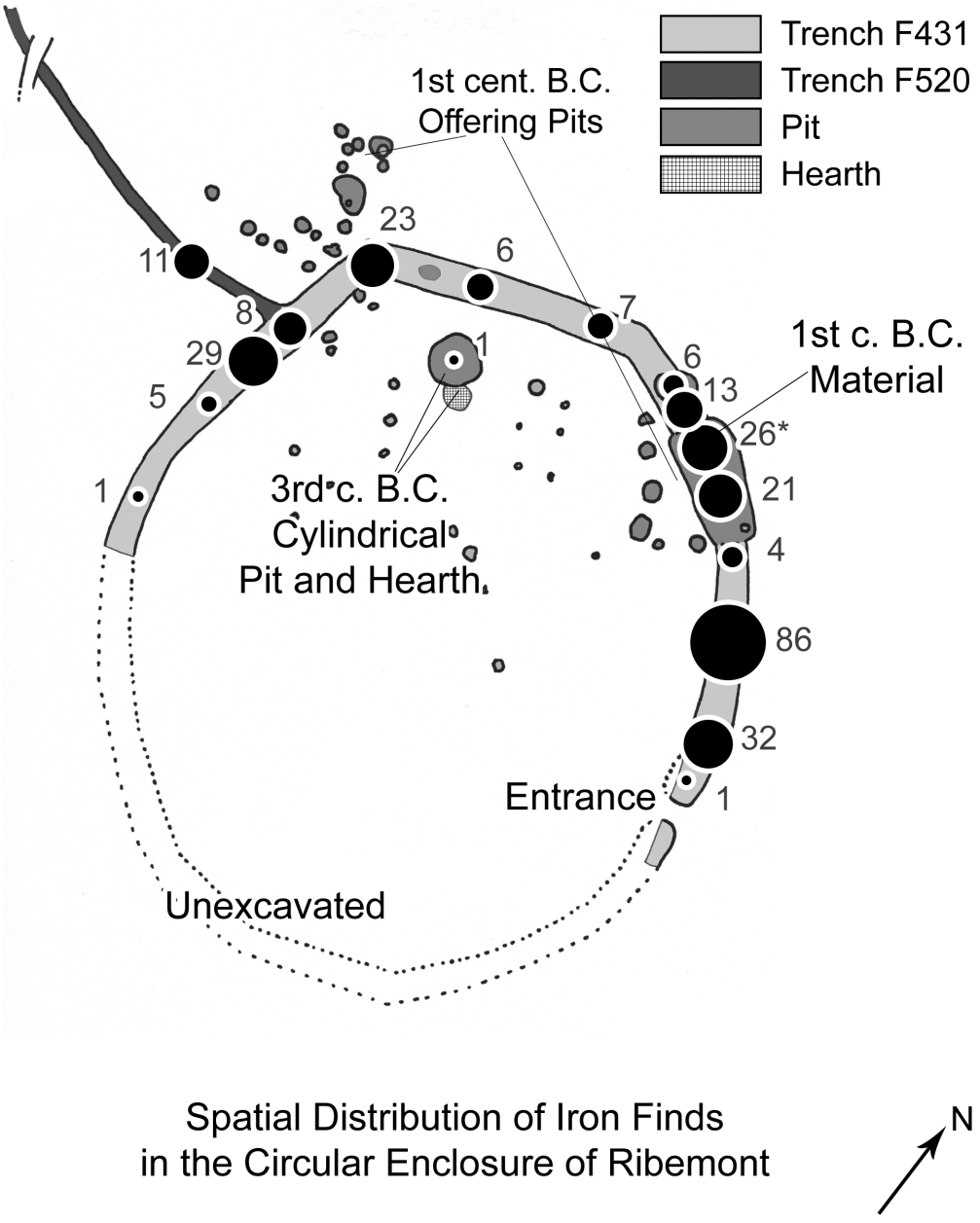

Figure 5.59. Distribution of Iron Finds (almost exclusively armament) along the Circular Enclosure Trench (adapted from Brunaux et al. 2002, 22, fig. 31)

5.6.2. The Ritual Mutilation of Armament from the Circular Enclosure

A minority of the armament finds from the circular enclosure (17 of the 118 inspected, 11.2%) display evidence of intentional mutilation. The single sword from the enclosure (010209) is bent twice along its length quite dramatically (fig. 5.60). Identification of damage on sheaths is difficult, as all (13 pieces, MNI of 9 sheaths) are fragmentary, and most relatively small fragments.[784] Sheaths at Ribemont do not display evidence of being disassembled like those from Gournay. One sheath was folded (e.g. 010289).[785] Another (011119), seems to have received a shearing blow to its entry, removing some metal and bending its corner downward (fig. 5.61). The shearing blow parallels those applied to the edges of sheaths at Gournay (e.g. GSA 2790, fig. 5.62). There are no other examples of sheared sheaths at Ribemont, although some spearheads bear shearing marks, and *umbo* 5711.09/82U07 from Ossuary 82 received a shearing blow.

[784] Of the total of 13 sheath pieces, 4 are entry fragments, the longest of which (011131) is 24cm long. The other three (010214, 011119, and 011199) average 16cm in length, and the remainder of the sheath pieces are even shorter.
[785] Petit 2002, 74.

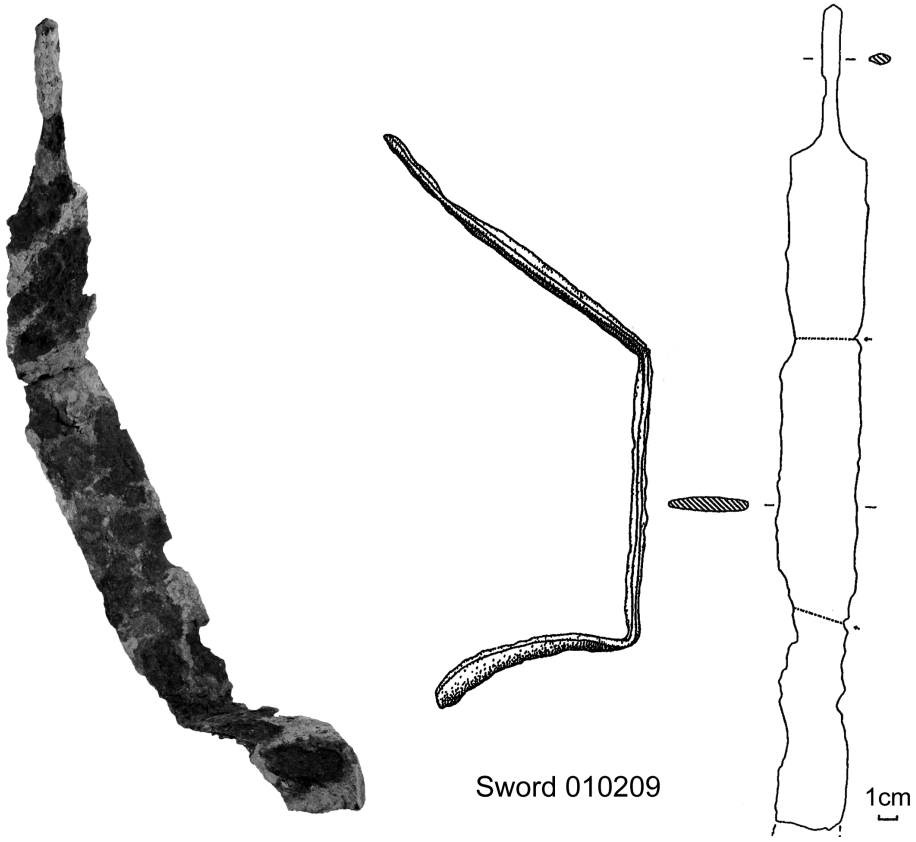

Figure 5.60. Mutilated sword from the circular enclosure (after Petit 2002, Pl. XI and Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 151, fig. 1)

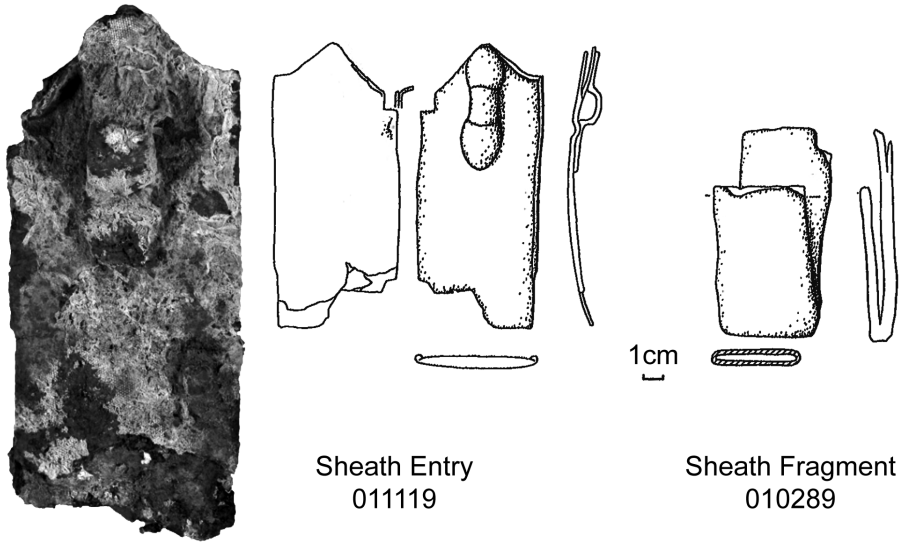

Figure 5.61. Mutilated sheaths from the circular enclosure (after Petit 2002, Pl. XIII and XIX and Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 151, fig. 2)

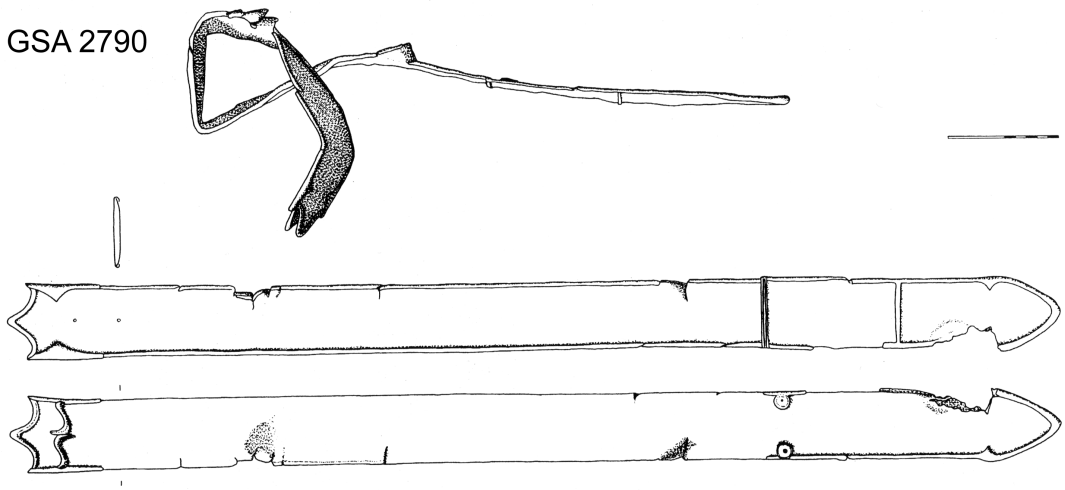

Figure 5.62. Sheath from Gournay displaying lateral shearing blows (Lejars 1994, 226)

Out of the 37 spearheads catalogued (of a total of 52), we may be confident that 9 were intentionally mutilated, a relatively small but not insignificant percentage (fig. 5.63).[786] Most of the mutilations were simple bends of the blades downward at varying angles: 011006 and 011008, 45°; 010193, 90°; 010049 and 010083, 135°; and the tip of 011124, 180°. The bends in all of these examples are too sharp to be combat damage from impacts. They must have been affected by gripping the spearheads with pliers and bending them manually, as one has argued was performed at Gournay as well. Spearhead 010049 even displays *two* sharp bends. Smooth bends to some spearheads (e.g. 010650 and 010888) are probably impact damage, equally likely incurred in combat as performed intentionally.

A few spearheads seem to have been sheared or struck laterally on the edges of their blades (e.g. 010048, 010085, 010193, 011008, 011124, etc.), although corrosion renders interpretation difficult and uncertain. We may be confident that certain examples, like spearheads 010048, 010193, and 011124, were sheared where blades' profiles are distorted by the stress, evidence that finds a parallel at Gournay

[786] Petit 2002, 15; Brunaux et al. 2002, 33.

(e.g. GSA 3957, fig. 5.63). Lateral blows are likely in cases like spearhead 011006, and possibly also spearheads 010663 and 010048, where the edges of their blades were crushed and folded inward. Spearhead 010049, 010085, and others (fig. 5.64) may also have been sheared and/or struck, although iron corrosion could be responsible for much of the blade loss observed.

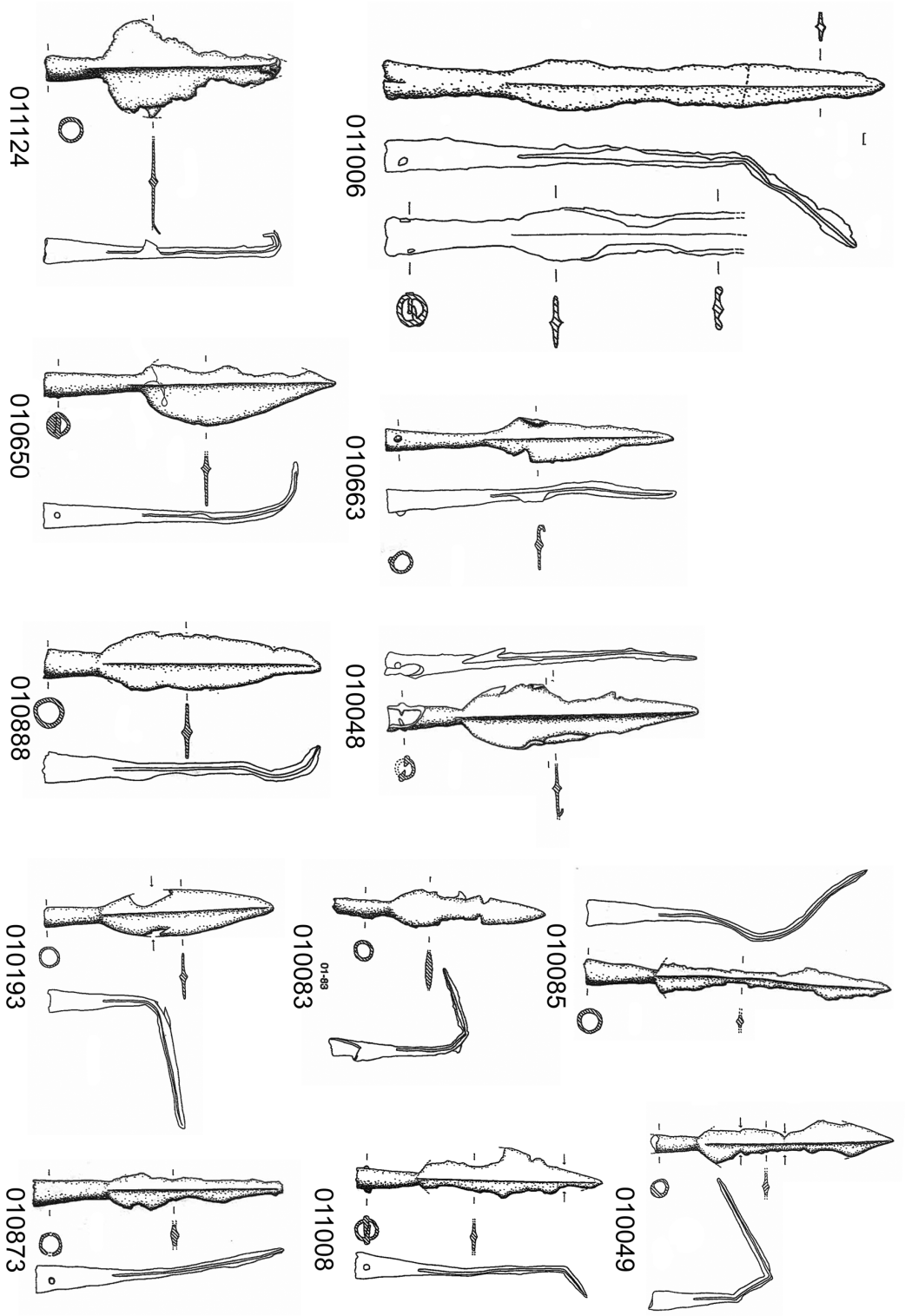

Figure 5.63. Mutilated spearheads from the circular enclosure (after Petit 2002, Pl. II, III, IV, VII, X, XI, XV, XVI, XX, XXIII)

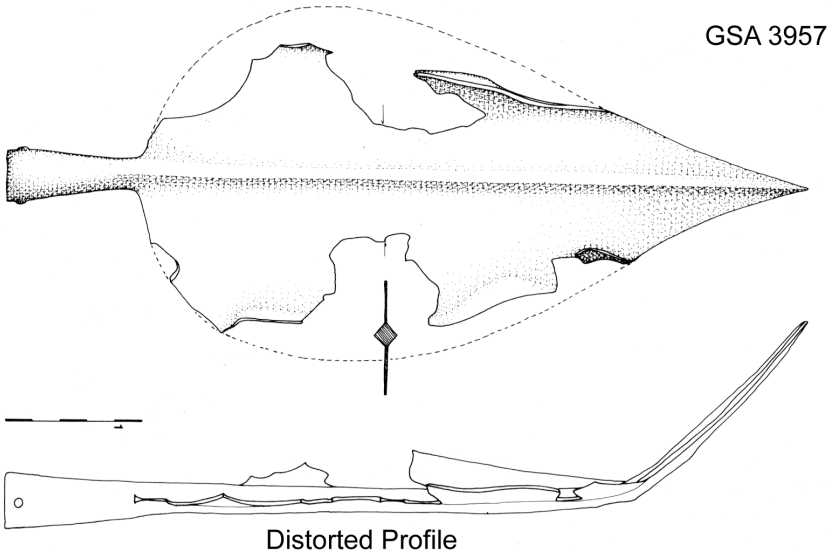

Figure 5.64. Sheared and bent spearhead from Gournay (GSA 3957) (after Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 234, Pl. LII)

Certain attestation of the striking of blade edges is provided by a spearhead that was converted to a knife by crushing one side of the blade (fig. 5.65), although no hammers are recorded among the finds from the circular enclosure.[787] Similar lateral blows are also in evidence on spearheads from the quadrangular enclosure. In their case, blade loss may be more confidently attributed to the lateral blows than iron corrosion, which is less active in the quadrangular enclosure. A hammer and axe heads have been found among the first century B.C. tools from deposit EM-294 in the quadrangular enclosure trench.

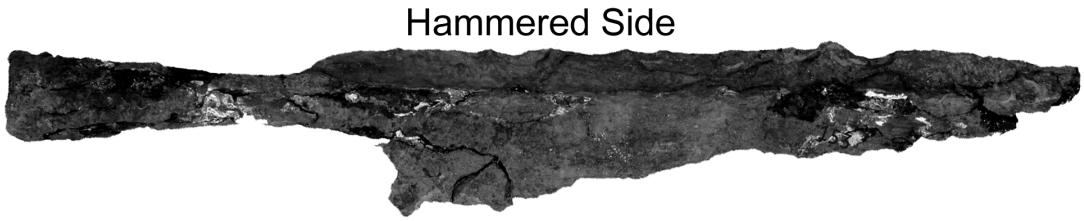

Figure 5.65. Spearhead converted into a knife (after Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 153, fig. 2)

[787] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 153.

Out of the 26 *umbones* catalogued (of a total of 35) (fig. 5.66), 5 bear certain traces of intentional mutilation, and a few others, possible traces. The virtual absence of rivet nails, significant traces of tearing on *umbo* wings, and the nature of the intentional mutilations, suggest that most *umbones* were separated from their shields before being mutilated.[788] Three (011197, 011147, and 010906) were folded. A fourth (011195) seems to have folded upon itself when it was crushed from above, requiring lack of support by its *spina*, possibly a consequence of the *spina*'s rotting during prolonged exposure, as has been suggested for Gournay, or loss to fire.

The shields from the circular enclosure were certainly exposed for a sufficiently long interval for this rotting to have occurred. However, the strong folds of several *umbones* and other armament from the circular enclosure, affected without snapping the sheet-metal, suggest that the armament was mutilated when fresh. The metal would have been too brittle after years of exposure to bend so sharply without breaking.

Another *umbo* (010217) appears to have been cut twice on its shell by a bladed instrument. Two holes on the same *umbo* may indicate it was punctured as well. Similar marks appear on another *umbo* (010219), but it is difficult to say if they are puncture marks, or simply metal corrosion. A final fragmentary *umbo* (010173) is curled at the broken edge of its shell and on the edges of its wings, suggesting warping due to heat. The jagged profile and distortion of its wing may indicate shearing as well.

[788] Petit 2002, 74.

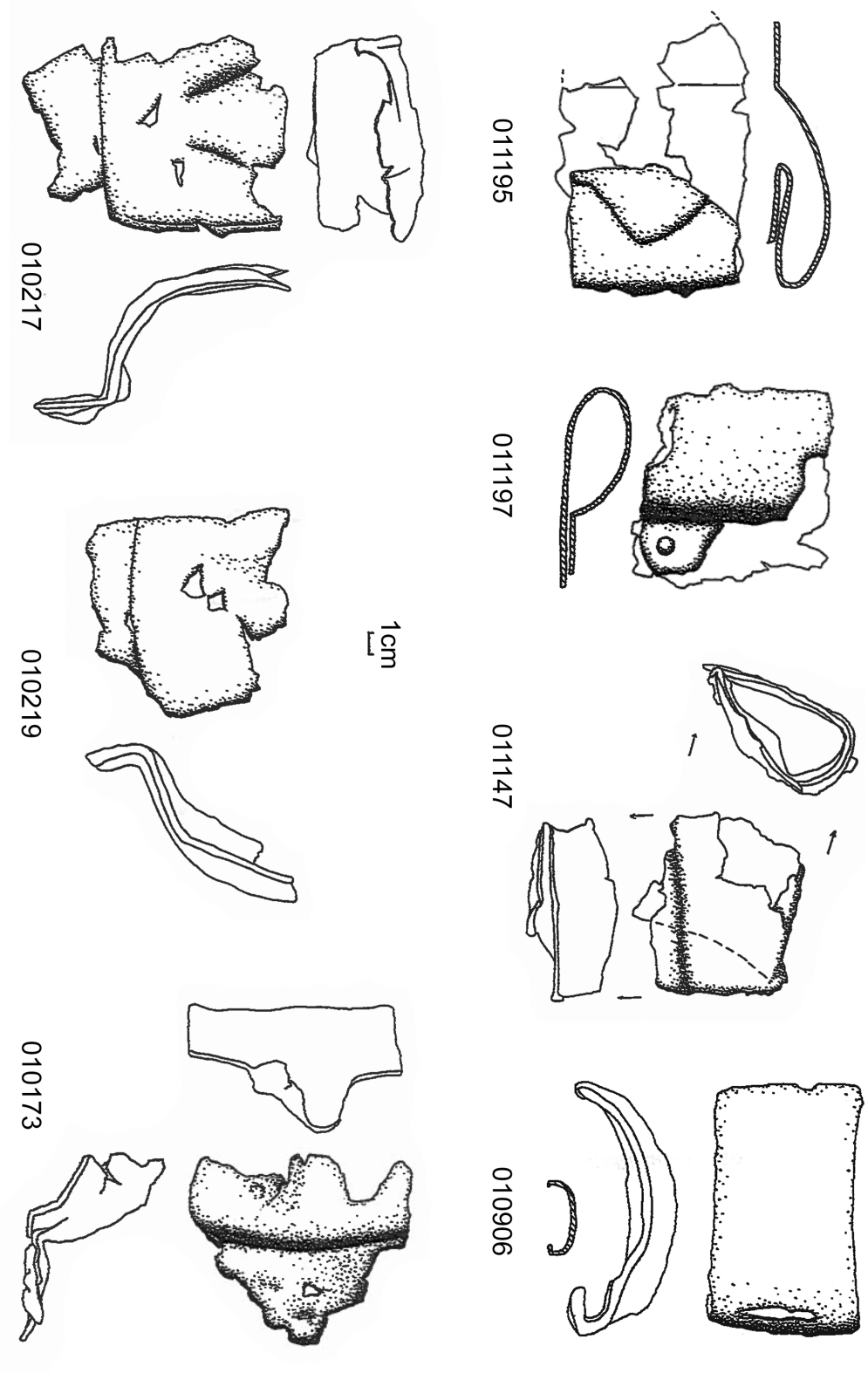

Figure 5.66. Mutilated umbones from the circular enclosure (after Petit 2002, Pl. VI, VIII, XII, XV)

Some of the damage observed on the armament from the circular enclosure appears to be due to exposure to fire and significant heat.[789] Metal surfaces display an unusual reddish oxidation, and several pieces appear to be warped. The curled edges of multiple spearheads (e.g. 010048, 010663, and 011006), presumably impossible to produce manually, are the most convincing; they must have been produced by exposure to significant heat.

Extensive traces of carbon and fired wattle-and-daub found in the enclosure trench indicate that the fire was not necessarily connected to ritual mutilation. The enclosure's palisade wall was destroyed by burning (discussed in chapter 2). The sustained heat required to burn the wood and bake the wattle-and-daub, and disposal of the charred remains in the circular enclosure's foundation trench indicate that the destruction of the enclosure by fire was intentional, as for Enclosure 56 at Montmartin.[790]

Given the armament's widespread exposure to fire, the human remains and armament may have remained in place on the paved area within the enclosure while the wall burned. This stands in contrast to the armament and bones from the cult enclosure at Montmartin, which Brunaux and Méniel indicate were removed from display on the enclosure wall to protect them prior to burning the wall.[791] The contrast between Ribemont and Montmartin seems to indicate that exposure of the human bones and armament to fire at Ribemont was a conscious choice, presumably to mark the definitive conclusion of the ritual or funerary treatment.

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[789] Brunaux et al. 2002, 34–5; Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 150.
[790] A similar sustained fire destroyed Enclosure 56 at Montmartin, and was identified there as intentional systematic destruction of the enclosure by the inhabitants of the settlement in an act of decommissioning (Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 101–5). See chapter 2 for comparison of the circular enclosure at Ribemont to Enclosure 56 at Montmartin.
[791] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 236–8.

5.7. Armament from the Quadrangular Enclosure

5.7.1. Overview

The interior of the quadrangular enclosure may be divided into two parts (fig. 5.67): The eastern length, which preserves the third century B.C. ground surface and the remains of built features beneath the late first century B.C. leveling fill, and the western half, composed of disturbed first century B.C. contexts, containing third and first century material, beneath the overall levelling fill. The eastern half includes Ossuaries 82 and 91, and the third century ground surface, both of which have provided extensive armament and bone material. All of these remained in place as they survived in the first century B.C. and were left undisturbed, simply buried in soil. The western half mixes third and first century B.C. material on the first century ground surface. The ossuaries (Ossuary 2000, EO-497, and EO-498) there were constructed in the first century B.C. from third century material relocated from the western corner of the enclosure, where the leveling work required soil grading to lower the elevation.[792]

A number of third century weapons were collected and deposited in a group (EM-495) near the center of the enclosure. Additional third century armament was deposited with first century B.C. counterparts in the southwestern corner of the trench (EM-294).[793] Subsequently, the entire quadrangular enclosure was covered in a leveling fill, which caught up 169 very fragmentary armament finds of mixed dates, predominantly third century B.C. pieces, but including a minority of first century B.C. pieces and limited numbers of second century B.C. pieces as well (discussed below).[794]

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[792] See Chapter 3 for discussion of the ossuaries.
[793] The armament collected into metal ensemble (EM-495) was either scattered on the ground surface within the enclosure, or possibly associated with the bone frame of the West Ossuary.
[794] Pourrier 2003, 11.

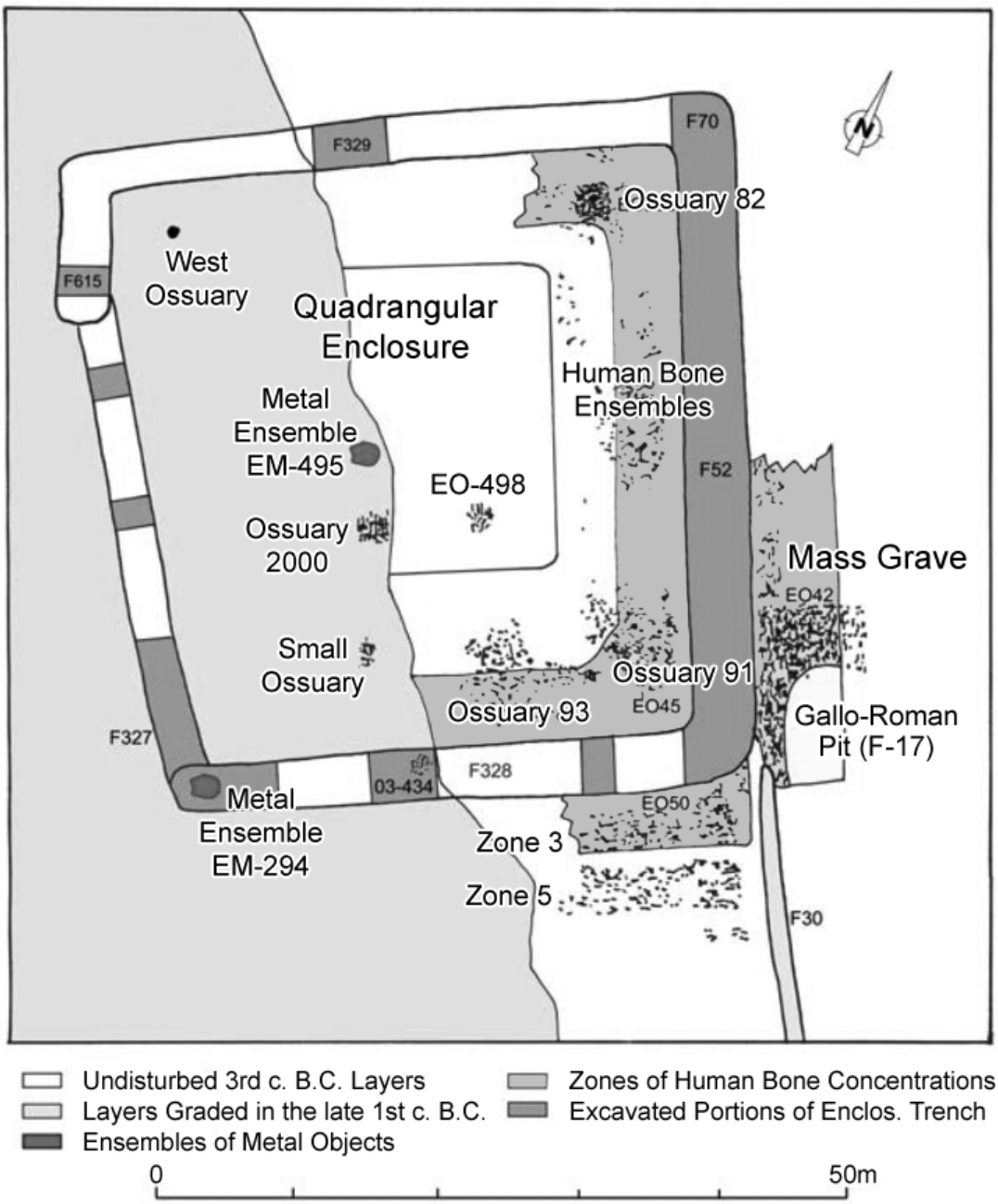


Figure 5.67. The quadrangular enclosure and mass grave at Ribemont (after Brunaux et al. 2003, 7, fig. 4)

Armament within the quadrangular enclosure is most heavily concentrated around Ossuaries 82 and 91, and Ossuary 91's immediate surroundings (fig. 5.68). The remainder is distributed across the central and southwestern areas of the interior. This division corresponds with the division of the enclosure interior into eastern and

western halves. All of the documented armament from the undisturbed eastern half dates to the third century B.C., with the exception of three items found in Ossuary 91, which will be discussed shortly.[795] The armament from the western half mixes third and first century B.C. pieces, although the material is predominantly third century B.C.

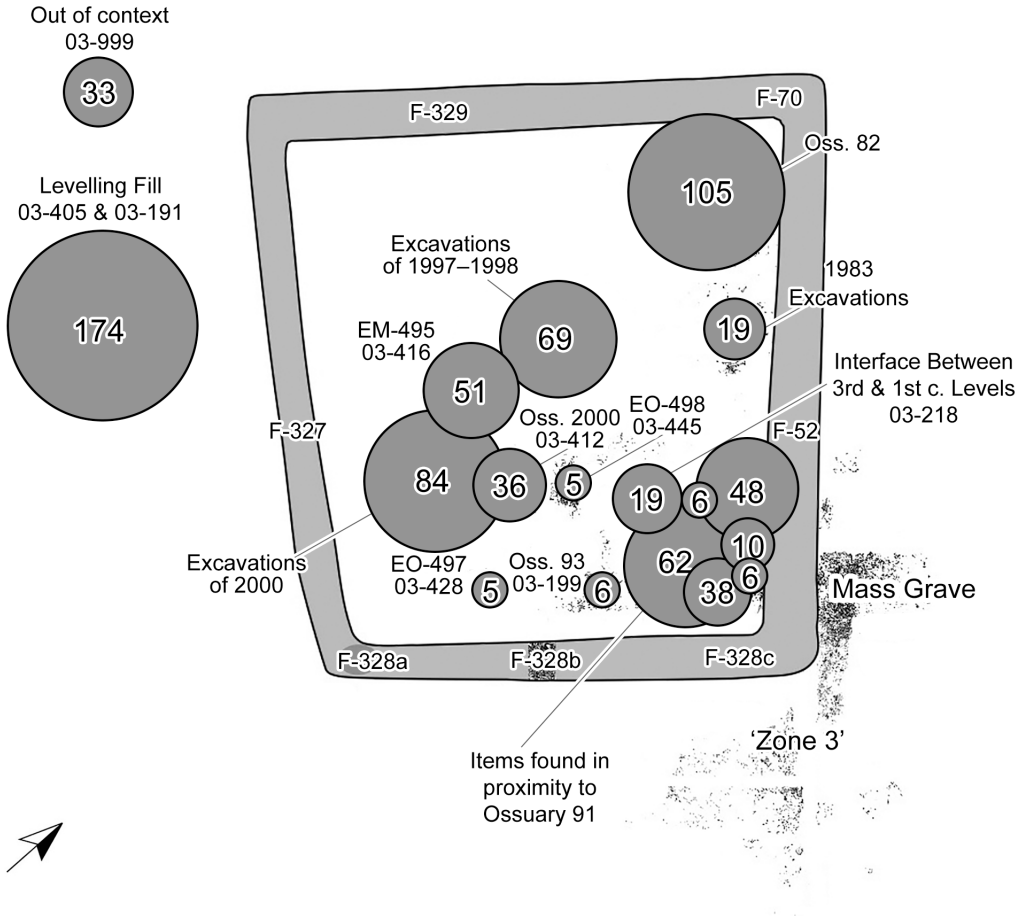


Figure 5.68. Distribution of metal finds from within the quadrangular enclosure by number of remains (adapted from Fercoq du Leslay, Conseil Départemental de la Somme)

5.7.2. Ossuary 82 & Surroundings, A Special Context within the Quadrangular Enclosure

The entire eastern length of the quadrangular enclosure provides 'in place' third century B.C. material important to understanding the initial states of the

[795] Pourrier 2003, 11; Chaidron and Fercoq du Leslay 2013, 222–3, especially 222, fig. 3.

quadrangular enclosure. However, Ossuary 82 and the material in its proximity are particularly important. The bone frame of Ossuary 82 and distribution of armament around it were largely preserved when they were covered in soil in the first century B.C. (fig. 5.69). Further, the third century ground surface just to the southeast of Ossuary 82 is densely populated with armament and human skeletal fragments (Ensembles 1–7 – all, excepting Ensemble 3, in a small area just over $3m^2$), and at least some of the armament appears to have been arranged, as will be discussed below. Together, they represent a microcosm of the original third century B.C. state of the quadrangular enclosure, providing important information about the treatment of men, horses, and armament in the site's period of greatest activity – from the LTB2/LTC1 transition to the massive influx of material in the LTC1b period. The armament assemblage from the area contributes to understanding of the third century finds from the disturbed contexts within the quadrangular enclosure, including Ossuary 91, the heavily damaged third century ossuary, and the first century ossuaries in the central and western half.[796]

[796] The distribution maps of material from within the quadrangular enclosure only employ the data in Pourrier (2003). which does not include much of the third century armament found on the ground surface in the early years of excavation (1983–1986). However, one has only begun to catalogue the early finds. The assessment of the area to the southeast of Ossuary 82 that follows is the fullest engagement with the early data possible currently.

Figure 5.69. Photograph of the excavation of Ossuary 82 in 1982 (Cadoux 1984, 54, fig. 1)

The armament deposited around Ossuary 82's bone frame seems to have largely preserved its original arrangement (fig. 5.70), only somewhat scattered by the bone frame's partial collapse. Spearheads clustered on the north, west, and southeast sides of the destruction radius seem to have originated from three corners of the bone frame, and presumably come from spear bundles originally propped against its corners. The equal counts of spearheads and spear butts from Ossuary 82 (41 and 44, respectively) supports the argument that the spears were complete when they were placed against the bone frame, and later collapsed outward with the bones.[797] In contrast, spearheads are found in a 1:3 ratio to spear butts southeast of Ossuary 82 where the evidence indicates spears were planted upright in the soil (discussed below).

[797] Cadoux 1984, 71.

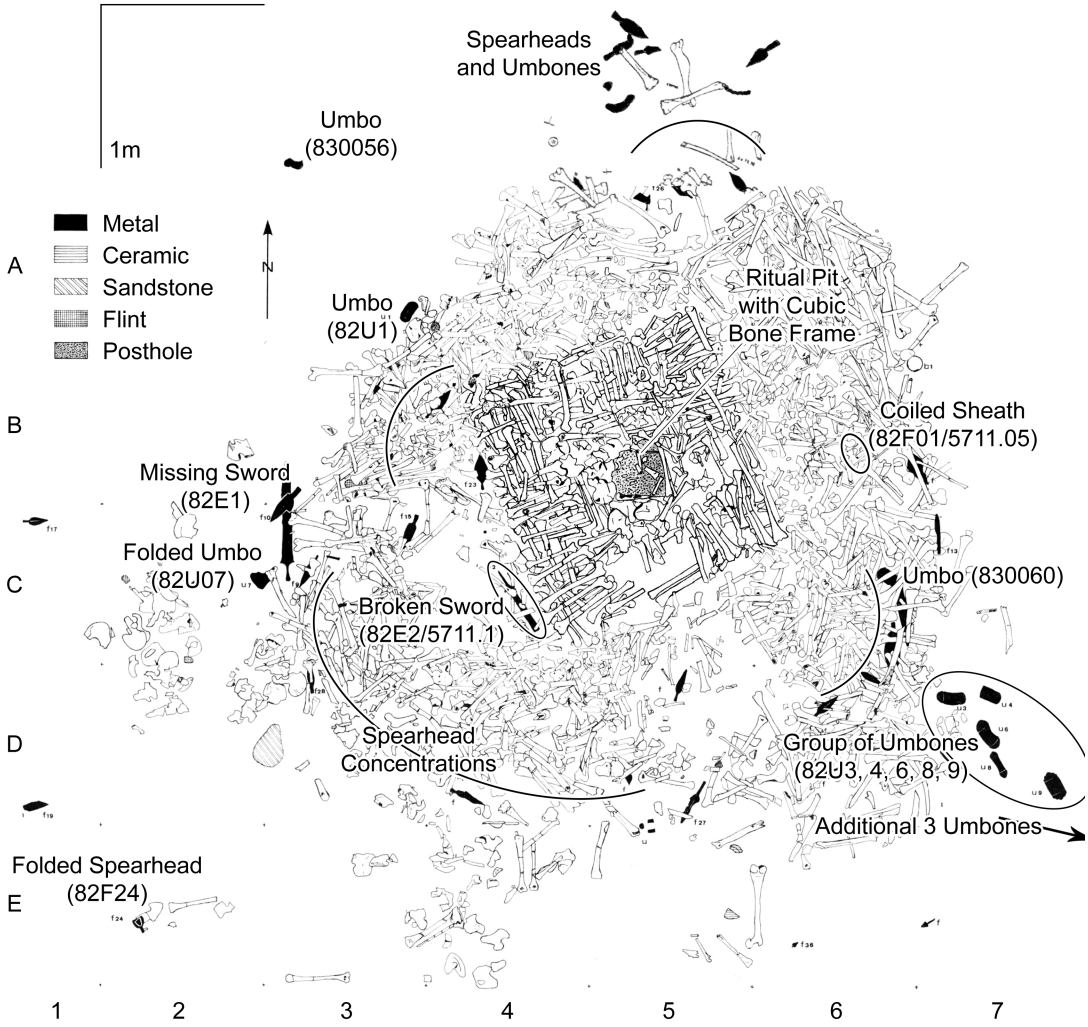


Figure 5.70. Expanded image of Ossuary 82 with armament finds highlighted in black (adapted from Cadoux 1984, 60, fig. 4 and Brunaux et al. 1997, fig. 13)

One sword (82E2), broken in an intentional mutilation, remained in place beside the surviving part of Ossuary 82's bone frame (fig. 5.71), and a second intact sword (82E1) was found nearby (fig. 5.70). Presumably, both were laid against the bone frame like the spears and shields. A sheath (82F01), coiled in five bends, was found on the southeast side of the bone frame (fig. 5.71 & 5.72) in a densely concentrated part of the destruction radius, suggesting that it too was placed against the bone frame.

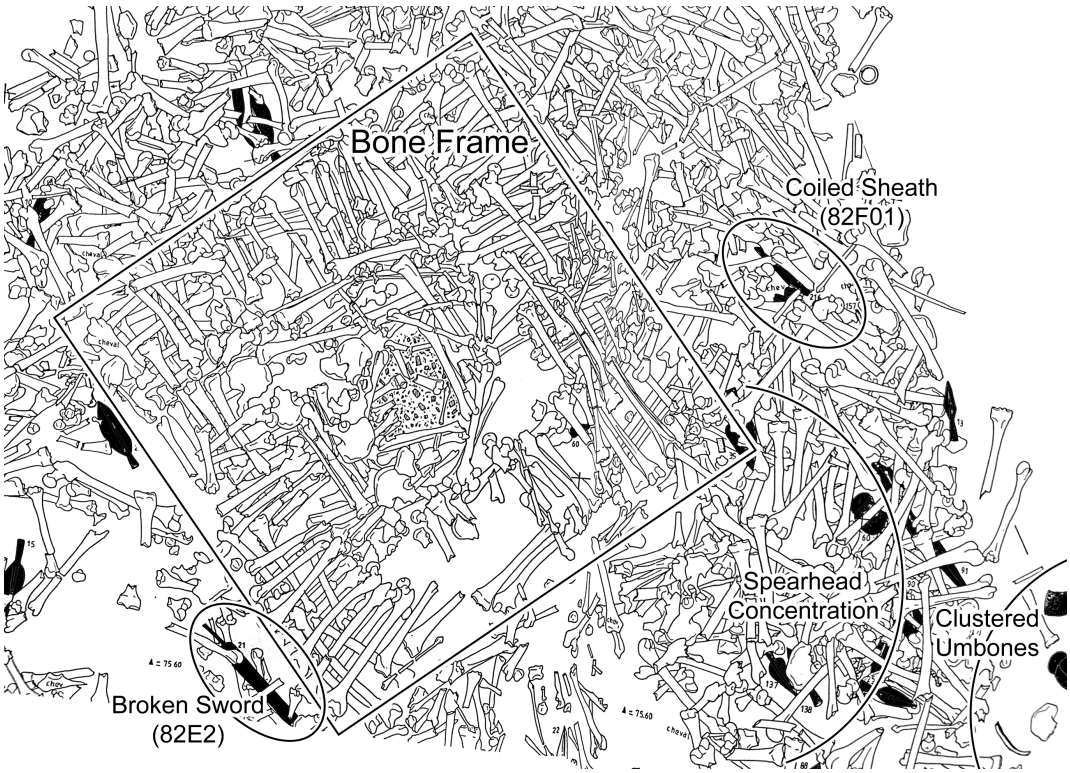


Figure 5.71. Detail rendering of Ossuary 82 and finds (after Brunaux et al. 1998, Annexe 1)

Like spearheads, *umbones* were clustered in such a way as to suggest that shields were propped against the corners of Ossuary 82's bone frame (fig. 5.73). They were clustered with the spearheads on the north, northwest, and southeast sides of the ossuary. They also extended farther northwest (82U01 to 830055 & 56) toward the enclosure trench, and farther southeast outside of Ossuary 82's destruction radius. Fragments of shield borders were found on the southeast side of Ossuary 82 and further southeast (82D08 and D12 on the east side, and 830276 on the southeast).

The *umbones* on the southeast side of Ossuary 82 form a large cluster (fig. 5.73). At least three (83U10, 14, & 18) were found in Ossuary 82's destruction radius, with another four (82U03, 04, 06, 08) just outside of it. Three additional *umbones* (830245–7) extended in a line from the latter group (82U03, 04, 06, 08) toward the enclosure trench and the postholes and armament there. The extension of *umbones* in a line, and the shield border fragments, rare at Ribemont, scattered throughout the area

suggest that shields were displayed. If the shields had simply been piled, we would expect to find a cluster of *umbones* and shield border fragments in a single small area.

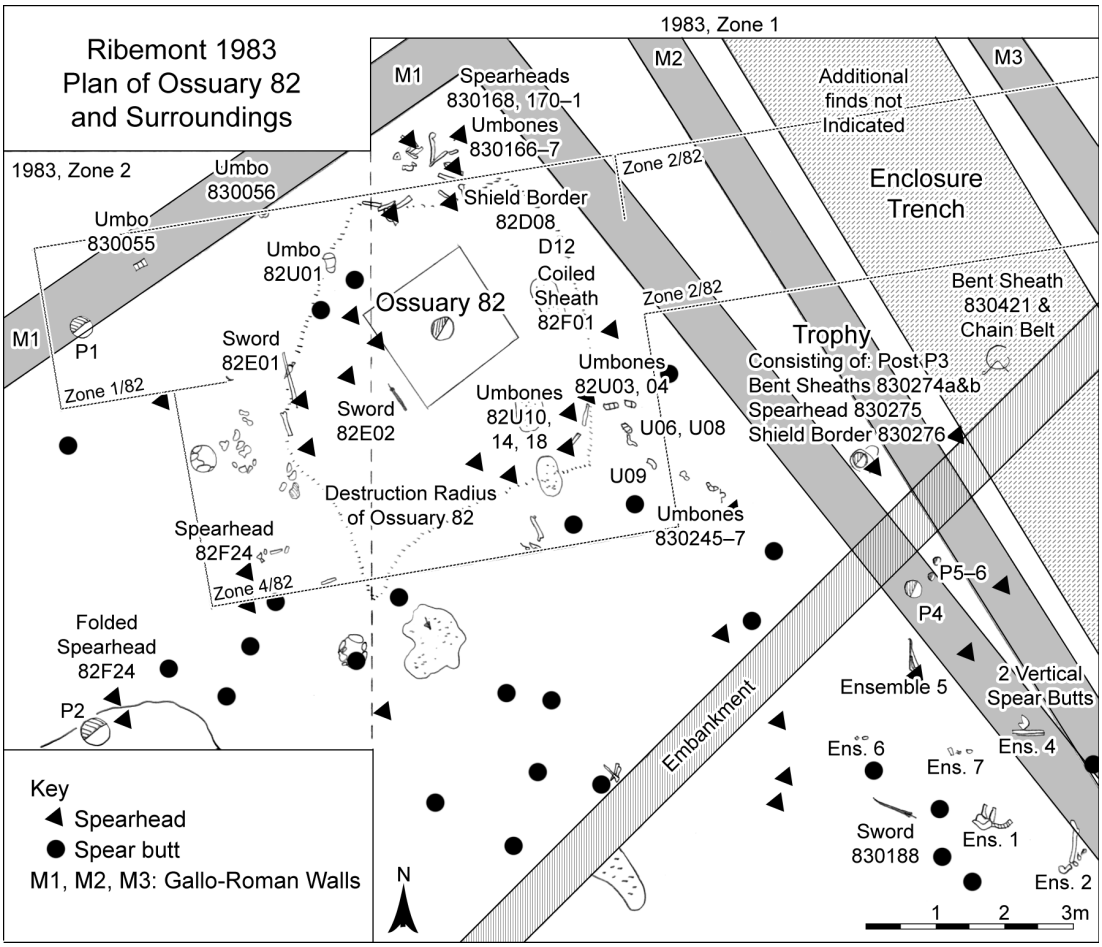


Figure 5.73. Ossuary 82 and surroundings, including part of display area to the southeast (adapted from Cadoux et al. 1983, Plan)

The large cluster of *umbones* may be broken down between those associated with the ossuary, and those that were part of an independent display of shields. A secondary concentration of *umbones* on the opposite (northwest) side of Ossuary 82 facilitates their differentiation: One of the *umbones* in the northwest cluster, 82U07, is virtually identical to *umbo* 82U18 on the southeast side, connecting the groups of *umbones* found on either side of the ossuary. *Umbones* 83U10, 14, and 18 within Ossuary 82's destruction radius may thus be attributed to the ossuary confidently. They

presumably came from shields placed against the bone frame, which fell to the southeast of the ossuary when the bone frame collapsed. The other four *umbones* found just outside of Ossuary 82's destruction radius (fig. 5.70) (82U03, 04, 06, 08) and the three additional *umbones* farther southeast (830245–7) may well be the remains of an independent display, a pile of shields, or part of the trophy built around post P3 (discussed below).

Several of the *umbones* on Ossuary 82's southeast side are considerably more decorative than is typical at Ribemont (fig. 5.74), suggesting, as at Gournay, that the most elaborate and attractive examples were intentionally selected for creation of the display: *Umbones* 82U03 and U09 have scalloped wings, and 82U04 and U08 are narrow ribbed *umbones* of more graceful appearance. Significantly, 82U08 preserves a still-bent nail, suggesting that it remained attached to its shield until the shield's wood rotted. Another example, 82U02, preserved its handle, still attached to the surviving wing by its rivet nail. Likewise, *umbo* 82U09 preserved both of its attachment nails, and both remained bent.

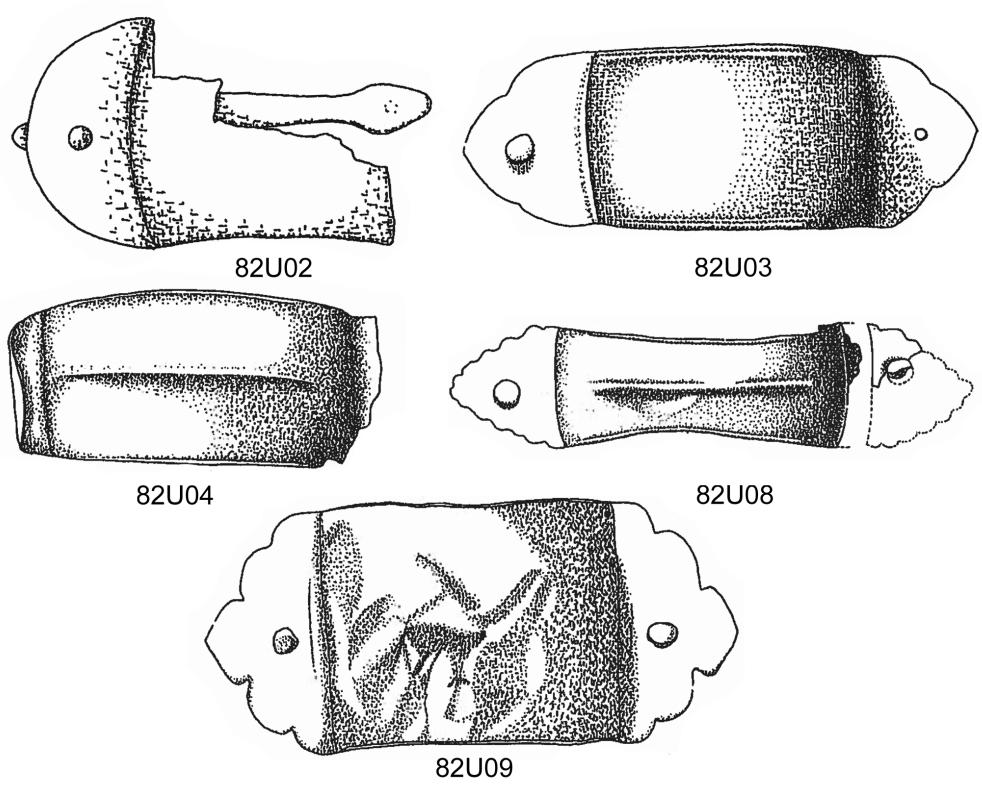


Figure 5.74. Decorative umbones from Ossuary 82's southeast side (Pourrier 2003, various)

Lastly, while ritual mutilation is common enough in the area (three bent sheaths were found a few meters away), only one of the *umbones* on the southeastern side of Ossuary 82 was mutilated. In fact, only five of the twenty-nine *umbones* from third century contexts were mutilated, and one of these (82U17/5711.71) was found beneath the bone frame, and predates its construction.[798] This extreme rarity of mutilation contrasts with the other types of armament, seeming to indicate that display was the key interest for bringing shields into the quadrangular enclosure. The shields were part of the larger display of human bones and armament lining the entire eastern length, which will be discussed below.

[798] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 95.

5.7.3. The Trophy and Lines of Spears along the Eastern Interior of the Quadrangular Enclosure

At least one trophy, largely corresponding to Brunaux's reconstruction of a trophy for Gournay, is attested with certainty at Ribemont (fig. 5.75 and 5.76). A few meters southeast of the line of *umbones* extending from Ossuary 82, the traces of a wooden post (P3) with two sheaths (830274a & b) bent around its base were found. A large shield border fragment and a spearhead also lay at the foot of the post, their proximity assuring association with the trophy. The spearhead at the base of the post and numerous spearheads and butts scattered on the ground nearby could be the remains of spear bundles laid against the post, or planted upright beside it. The shield border fragment and *umbones* and border fragments nearby suggest that one or more shields were propped against the post originally.

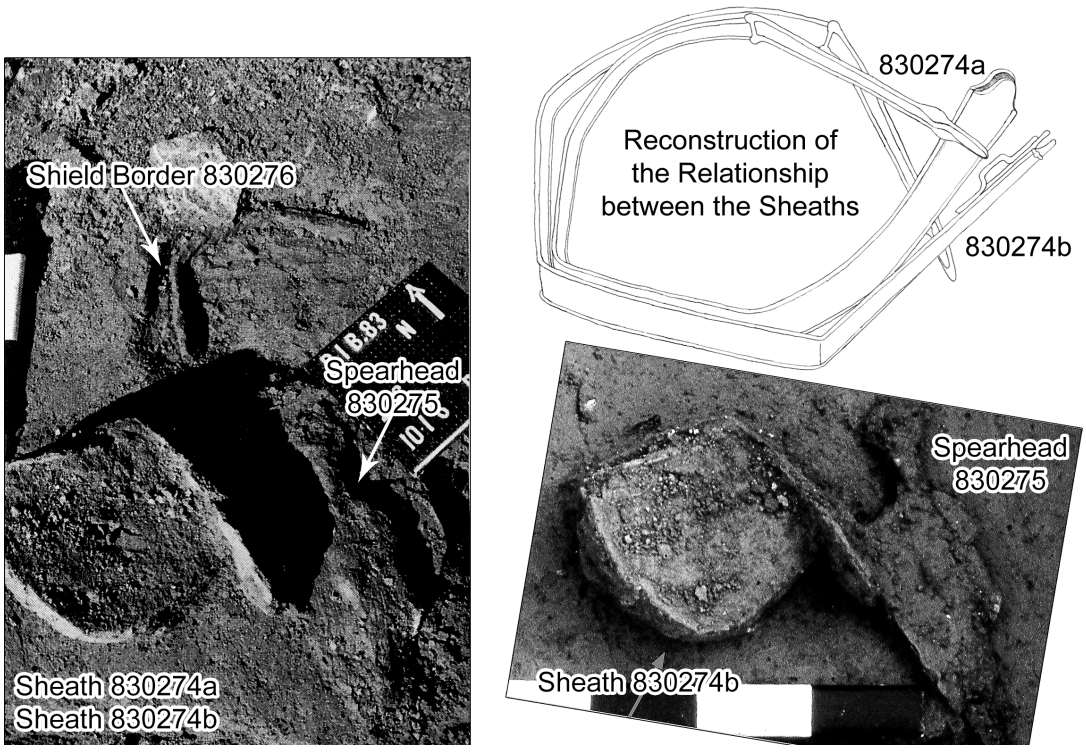


Figure 5.75. Two sheaths bent around the traces of a wooden post (P3) (adapted from Cadoux et al 1983, 35 and Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 131, fig. 1)

A third sheath (830421), contemporary with and bent in the same manner as the first two, was found a meter away in the enclosure trench with additional armament from within the enclosure, including a chain belt and four spear butts. It may have been part of the trophy, originally bent around the post as well. Its bending differs somewhat from the first two sheaths. It was bent into a C, not a closed O, a difference that could explain its displacement: The sheath may have slipped free of the post and been collected with the other material deposited in the enclosure trench. Alternatively, it may have been part of another trophy. A second posthole (P4) was found two meters southeast at approximately the same distance from the enclosure trench, which possibly provided the support for a second trophy.

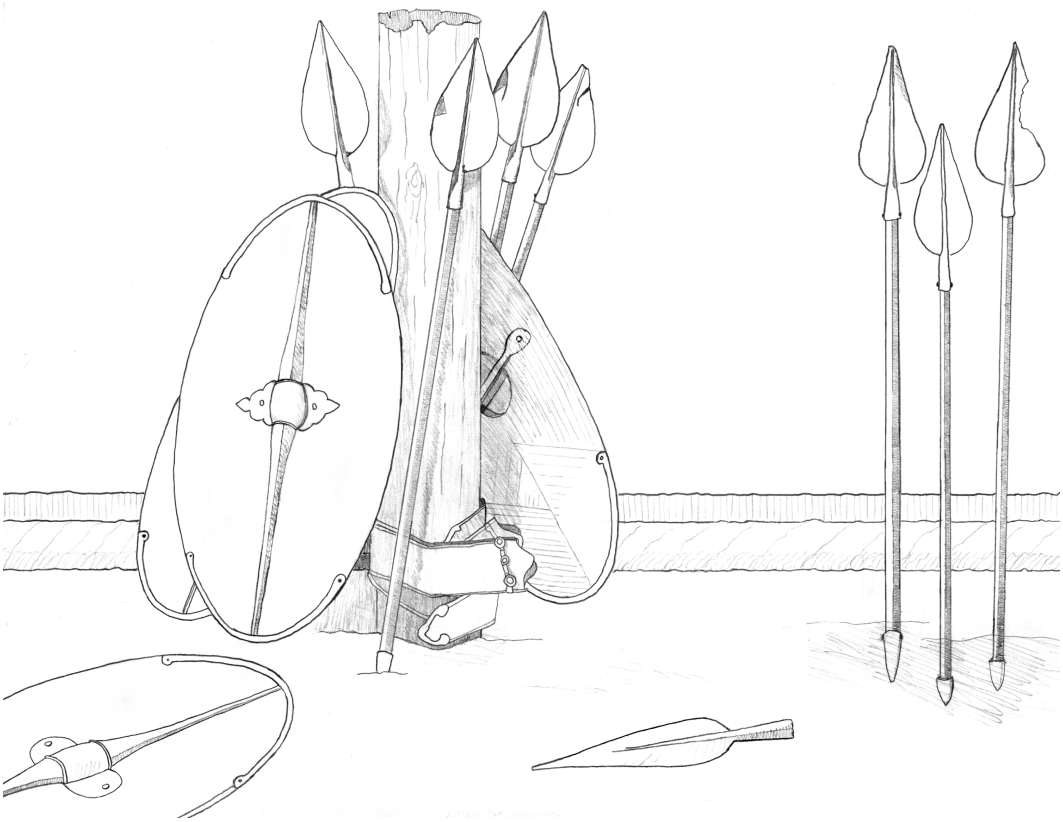


Figure 5.76. Reconstruction of the trophy at Ribemont (D.S. Rose)

Traces of additional posts remain farther south. Near Ossuary 91, a spearhead and human bones were trapped within a slight depression left by a wooden post after

its decay (fig. 5.77).[799] These posts may have been additional trophies, or may have supported upright displays of human corpses. Unlike Gournay, the considerable quantities of armament on the ground surface and material in the lower (third century) fills of the enclosure trench, which originated from within the enclosure, were more than sufficient to compose multiple trophies along the eastern interior.[800] The key distinction between Ribemont and Gournay is that postholes and traces of wooden posts that would have provided the armature for trophies have been found at Ribemont, while they are only conjectured at Gournay.

Figure 5.77. Spearhead and human bones in depression left by wooden post (Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 131, fig. 2)

During the 1984 excavations (in zone 1, 1984–85, c. 1008), two spear butts were found implanted vertically beside each other beneath the third century ground surface in a line along the edge of the enclosure trench several meters southeast of Ossuary 82. The pair of vertical spear butts were found a few centimeters beneath the

[799] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 130–1.
[800] Cadoux et al. 1986, 8–11.

foundations of a Gallo-Roman wall (M1), beside human bone Ensemble 4. Several other butts, which were nearly vertical (10–20º off-vertical), were found lining the interior edge of the enclosure trench a few meters farther south, and another line of six spear butts was found in the enclosure trench.[801] The disproportionately high numbers of spear butts (81) to spearheads (23) found in the area supports the argument that spears were fixed upright in the ground: After the spear shafts decayed and broke and/or were broken away the spear butts were left behind in the soil. The spearheads and shafts left were collected subsequently and, for the most part, discarded in the fill layers of the enclosure trench where they have been found in significant numbers.[802]

In 1986, additional, more substantive evidence that spears lined the interior edge of the enclosure trench was found 7–8m southeast in the form of six vertical spear butts still implanted in the third century soil in a 1.5m-long line (fig. 5.78). Beside these was another line of eleven spear butts on the ground surface (fig. 5.79). Five lay directly against the southern edge of a later chalk foundation (c. 4004), and the remainder lay beneath it (fig. 5.80).[803] The northern part of the same area (near Ensemble 3) contains some undisturbed finds on the third century ground surface, including seven spear butts and three spearheads in a line.[804]

[801] Cadoux et al. 1984, Inventories.
[802] Cadoux et al. 1986, 11.
[803] The foundation is of similar construction to the Gallo-Roman wall (M1), but seems to be connected to the earliest state of the Gallo-Roman temple – the gallery of the first *fanum* (Cadoux et al. 1985, 36).
[804] Cadoux et al. 1984, zone 2, mobilier des couches 2003* et 2003**; 1985, 32–3; 1986, 31.

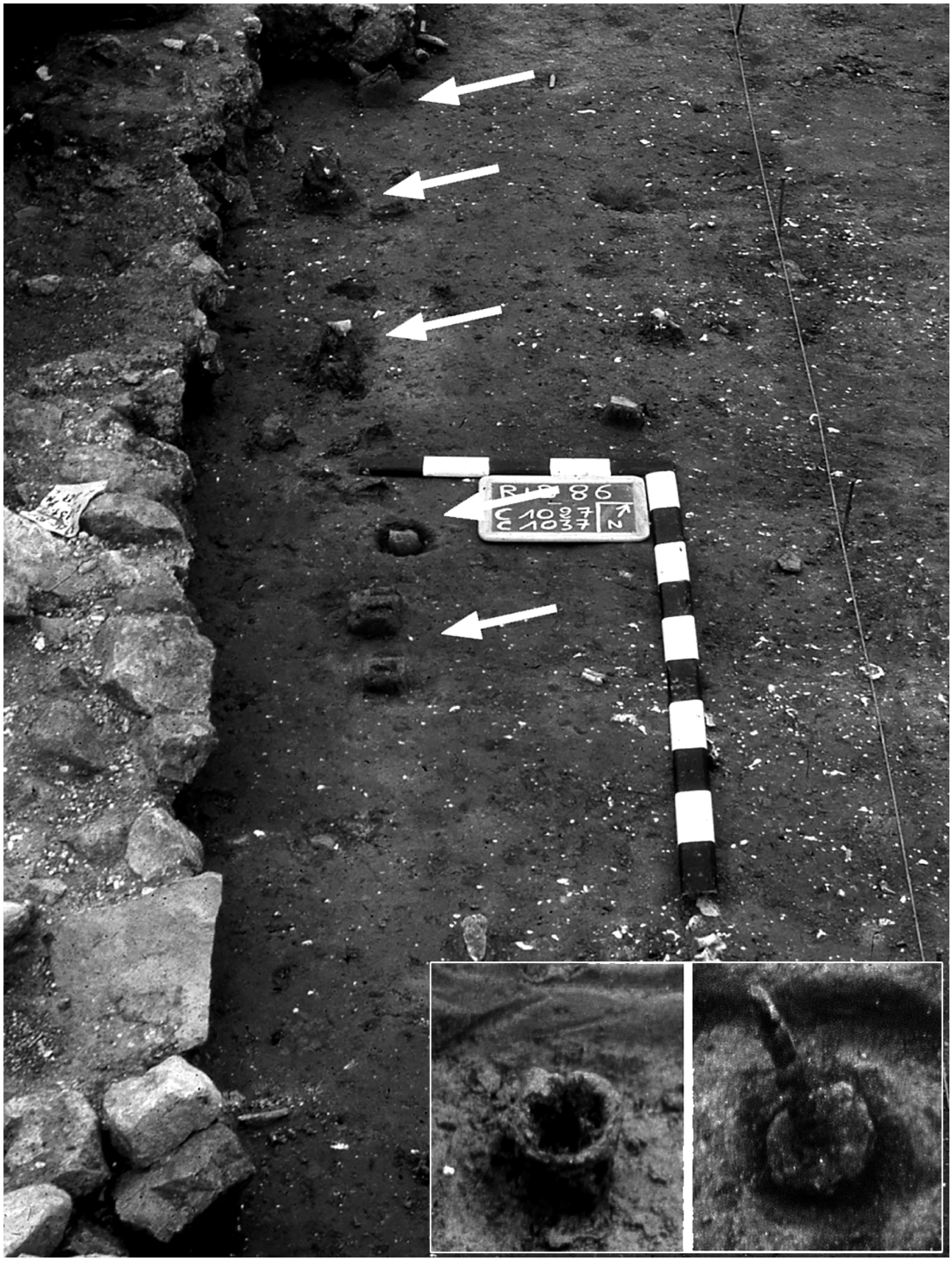


Figure 5.78. Line of six vertical spear butts discovered in 1986 (chalk foundation at left), and detail of two upright spear butts (after Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 130, figs. 1–2)

Considering the multiple lines of spear butts found implanted vertically beneath and in lines on the third century ground surface between Ossuary 82 and

Ossuary 91 (fig. 5.79), and the 1:3 ratio of spearheads to spear butts, one may claim with confidence that upright spears lined the entire eastern interior edge of the quadrangular enclosure trench.[805] Upright spears and other material paralleling the eastern length may have lined all three sides of the enclosure, but no evidence remains, because the third century ground surface was not preserved on the other two sides.

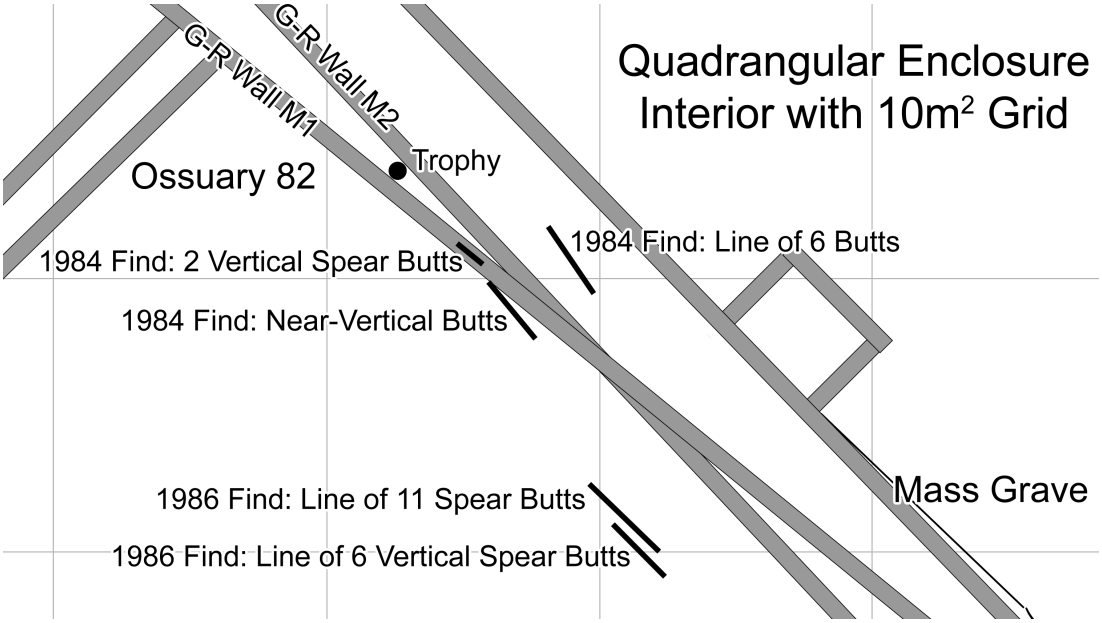


Figure 5.79. Diagram of the eastern interior of the quadrangular enclosure southeast of Ossuary 82

In addition to the lines of upright spears, postholes and cavities in the ground indicate that multiple wooden posts lined the eastern length of the quadrangular enclosure. Armament must have been arranged around some of them to form trophies. The human corpses displayed vertically in the same area (Ensembles 3 and 12, discussed in chapter 3) would have been suspended on other posts.

The vertical spear butts and the additional lines of spearheads and spear butts were intimately associated with the human bone ensembles and other armament scattered in the band of material lining the interior edge of the enclosure trench (fig.

[805] Cadoux et al. 1984, 2.

5.78). The northernmost pair of vertical spear butts was found with Ensemble 4 beneath the Gallo-Roman wall, and both lay just west of the clustered northern ensembles. The next line of seven spear butts was part of a spread of armament and bones south of Ensemble 3.

The most significant bone material is that associated with the just discussed line of six spear butts implanted vertically and the line of eleven spear butts beside them (fig. 5.80). In the area, human bones of the same types that dominate the Ensembles (a coxa and lower limb long bones), and half of a horse's lower mandible (854105) and the upper mandible and part of the cranium (854118) were found crushed in place on the third century B.C. ground surface beneath the Gallo-Roman foundation (c. 4004). Finds of horse bones, and here such emblematic parts, are particularly striking because of their rarity, and fairly exclusive association with Ossuaries 82 and 91. The horse bones associated with the spear butts were found just south of the halfway point between Ossuaries 82 and 91, and are entirely unexpected. They link the scatter of bone and armament on the third century ground surface to Ossuaries 82 and 91 in a more profound manner than mere proximity. Further, selection of a horse cranium, the emblematic part of the animal, connects these horse bones with display.

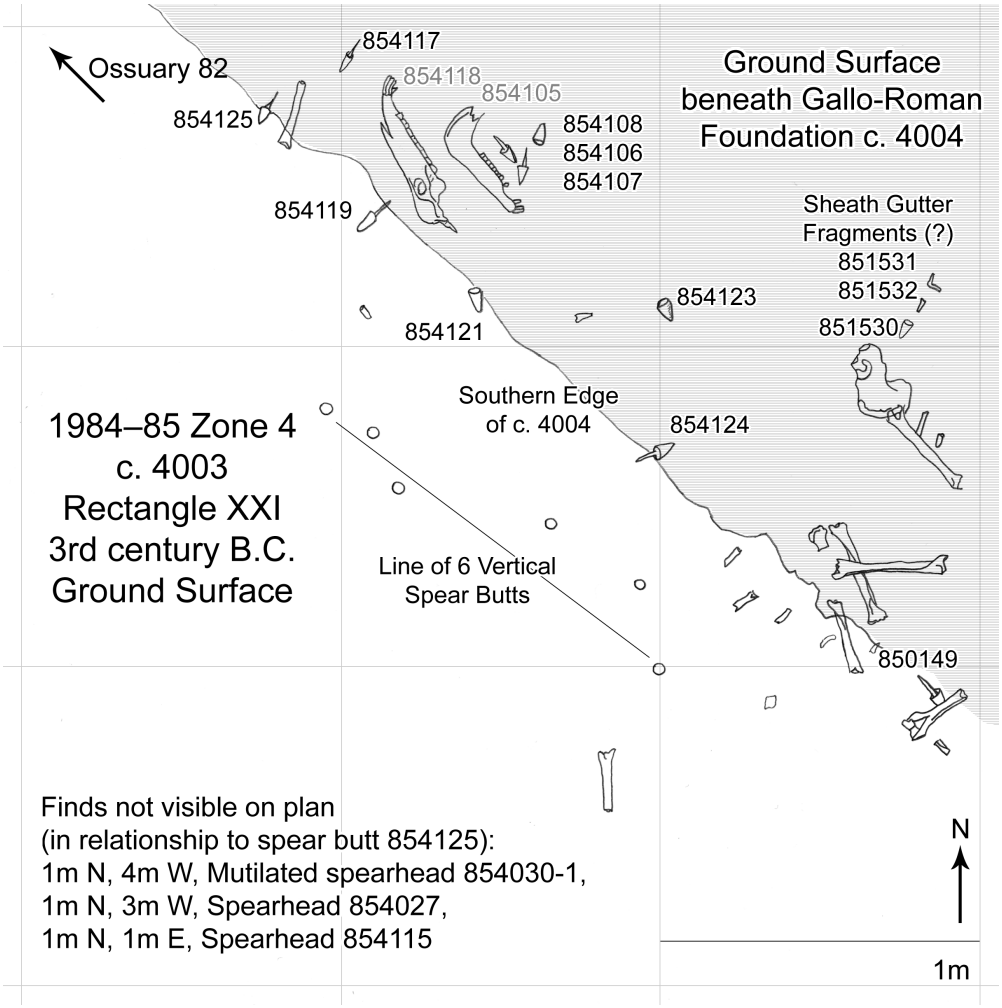


Figure 5.80. Second line of spear butts with location of first line of implanted spear butts indicated (adapted from Brunaux et al. 1998, Annexe 1, XXI)

Considering the evidence for the arrangement of armament and human and animal bones from various points along the entire eastern interior length of the quadrangular enclosure together, it is clear that the area was a structured display space (fig. 5.81). In addition to occupying the same space, the armament and human remains seem to have both been suspended on posts, a sharing of architectonic features that would have linked the two visually and conceptually. The evidence is not sufficient for a fuller reconstruction, and many uncertainties remain. However, we may be certain that armament and human corpses were manipulated and displayed in the area, and that horse remains were associated with them as well.

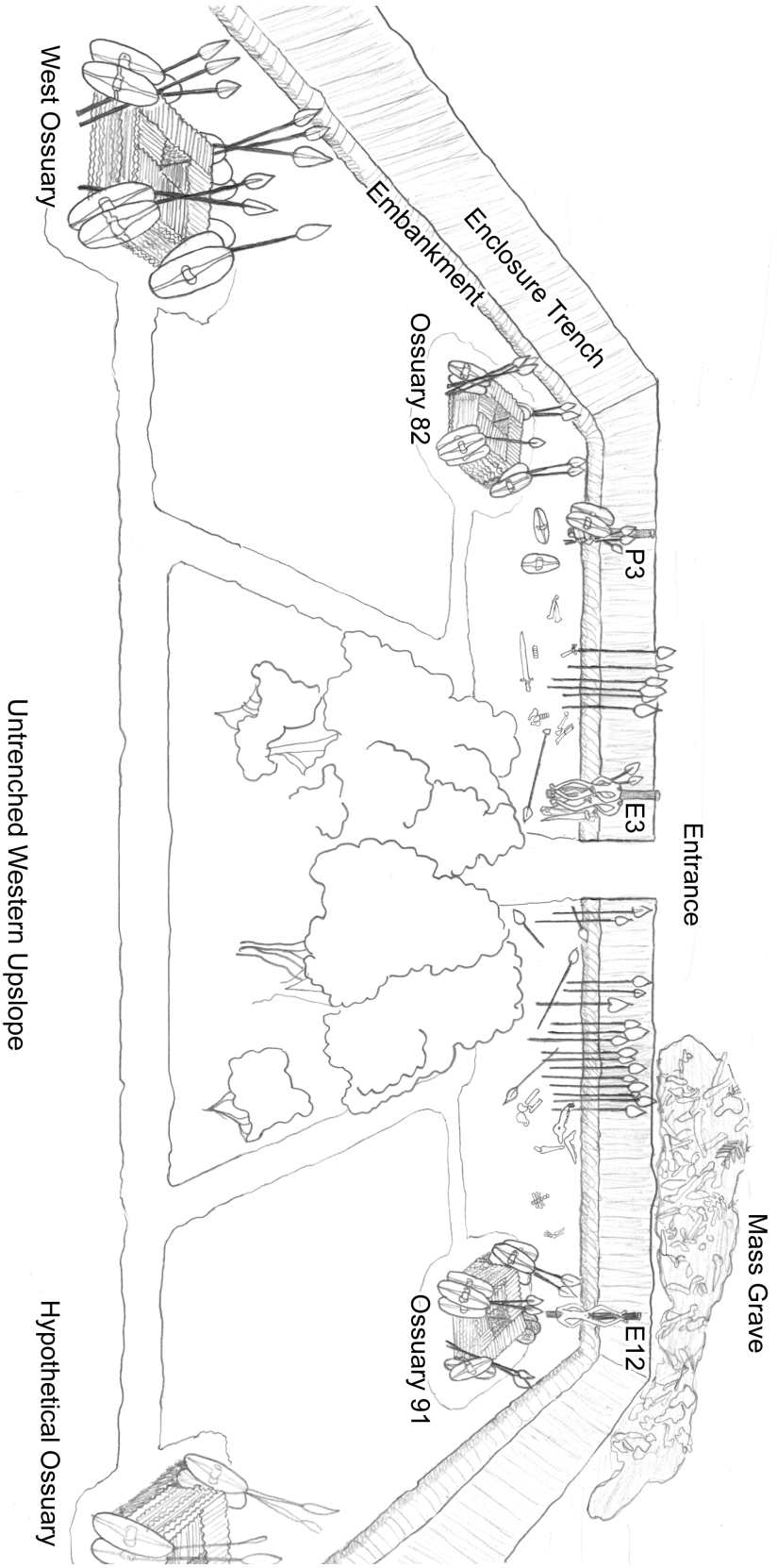


Figure 5.81. Reconstruction of the display area along the eastern interior of the quadrangular enclosure (D.S. Rose)

5.7.4. Ritual Mutilation within the Quadrangular Enclosure

The distribution of mutilated armament within the quadrangular enclosure corresponds to the overall distribution for the most part (fig. 5.82). Unfortunately, ritual mutilation of the armament around Ossuary 91 cannot be effectively examined. The ossuary was heavily damaged by a WWI trench cut through its center, resulting in significant losses and a high fragmentation rate, destroying evidence and making the identification of mutilation on armament from the area exceedingly difficult.

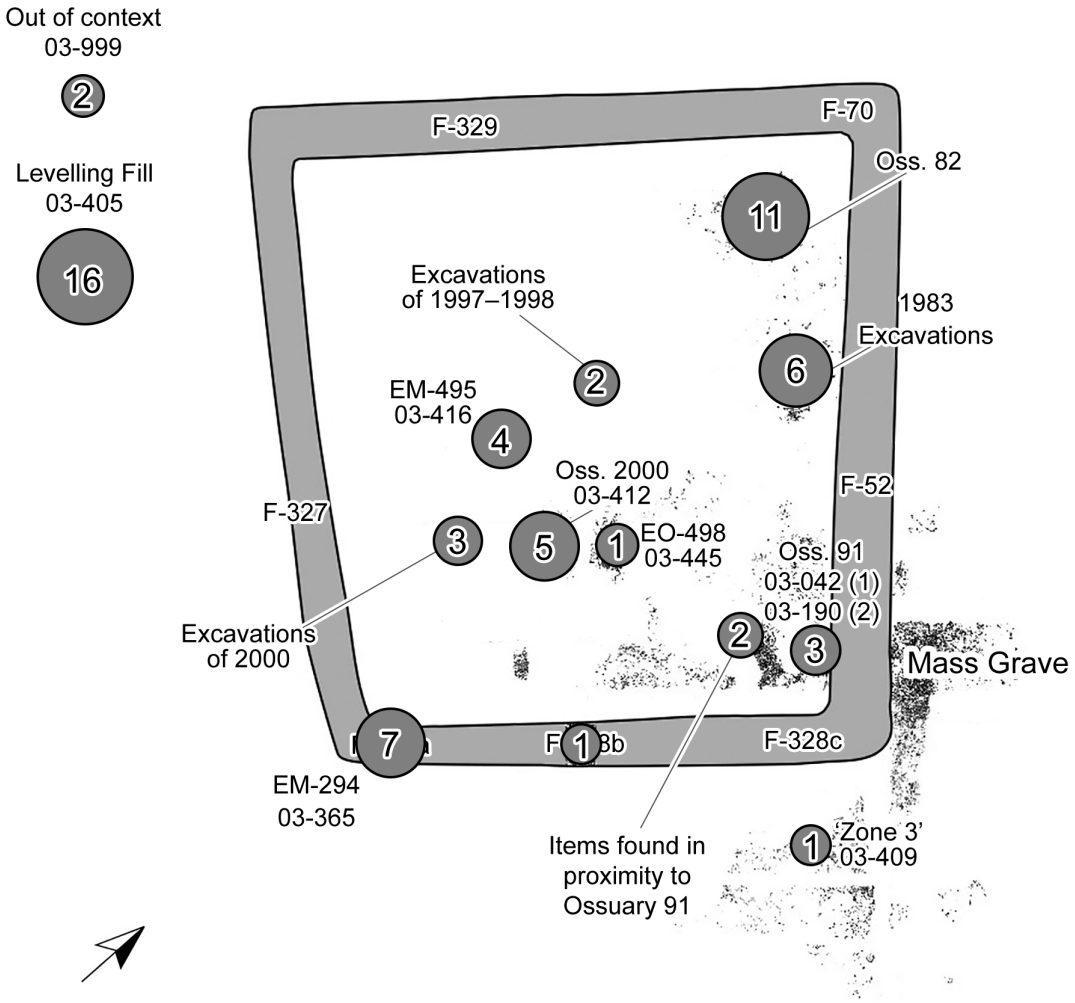


Figure 5.82. Distribution of mutilated metal finds from within the quadrangular enclosure by number of remains (Base image from Fercoq du Leslay, Conseil Départemental de la Somme)

Ossuary 82 and the ground surface southeast of it were preserved quite well, with a partially-preserved bone frame, undisturbed destruction radius (after the upper part of the bone frame collapsed), and many armament finds 'in place' on the third century ground surface. A minority of the armament finds, at least 14 of 124 finds, from Ossuary 82 were mutilated, as were an additional 6 of 49 finds from its immediate surroundings, likely originating from Ossuary 82.[806] Most finds come from the fringes of the destruction radius around the ossuary. Importantly, the armament from Ossuary 82 finds parallels both in morphologies of pieces, and the mutilations to which they were subjected, with the armament in its immediate surroundings (3m radius around its bone frame), and a 6–9 meters southeast (the 1983/1984 excavation area). Thus, Ossuary 82 and the ground surface to its east are contemporary and may be described as a continuous ritual treatment and display area.

For example, the morphologies of the coiled sheath from the east side of Ossuary 82 (5711.05/82F01) and the sheath found 5m to its southeast (830274b) bent around the remains of the wooden post (P3) correspond precisely (fig. 5.83). The two sheaths share a common design, with precisely the same entry obverse reinforcement bar, Gournay Group 4 tip-guards, and overall dimensions and proportions. The only significant difference between the sheaths is that the obverse plate of sheath 5711.05 is ribbed, while that of sheath 830274b is smooth.[807] Both sheaths must either have come from the same warrior, or from two warriors in the same force.

[806] This percentage increases to 19.7% when chain belts and spear butts, which could not really be subjected to mutilation, are removed from the total count.
[807] Their closest parallel is sheath GSA 1342, but they also resemble GSA 1943, 2539, and 1147B in appearance and dimensions. See Lejars 1994.

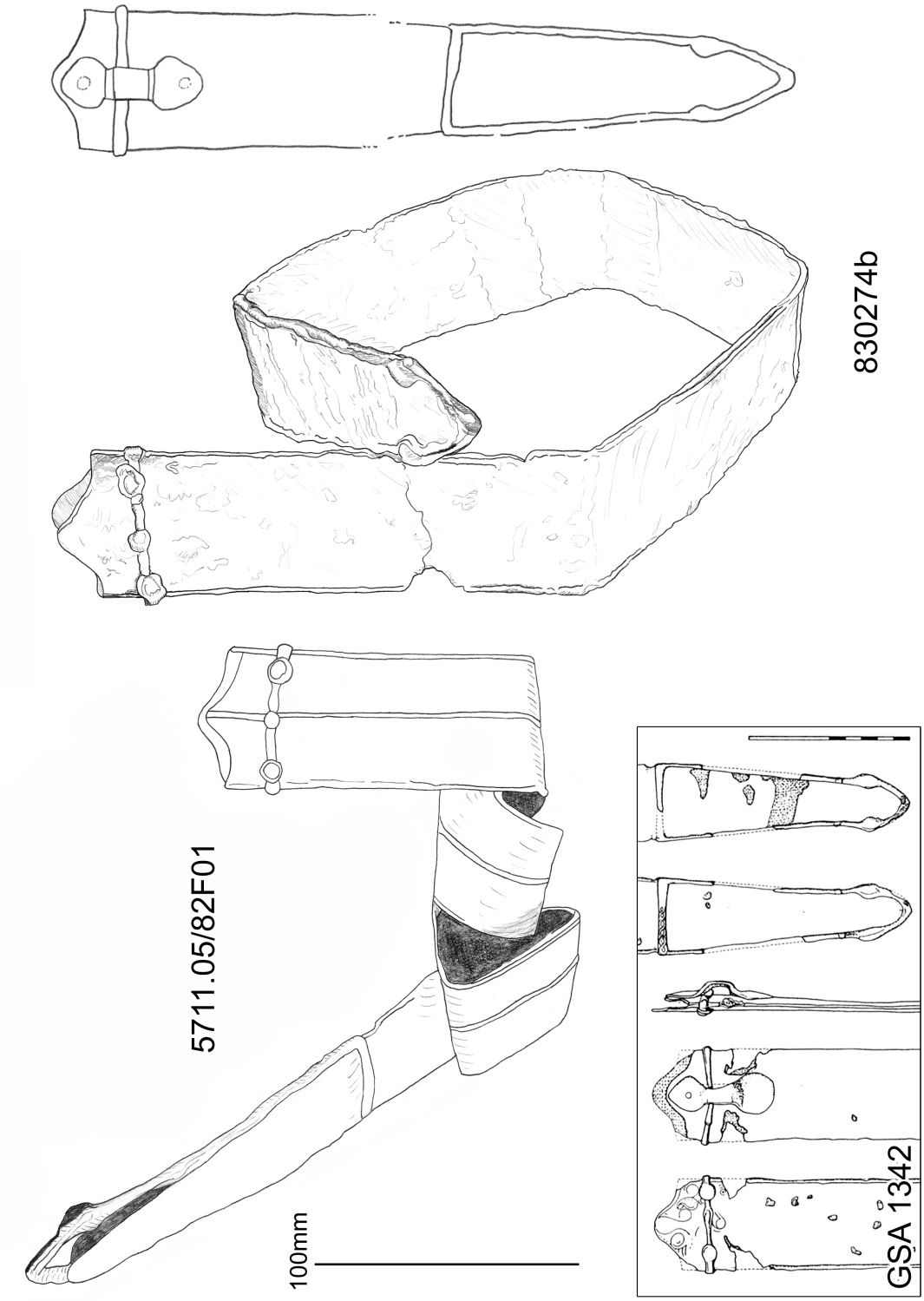


Figure 5.83. Mutilated sheaths 5711.05/82f01 and 830274b from Ossuary 82 and the area southeast (drawing D.S. Rose after Mahéo 1990, 169, no. 86 and Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 131, fig. 1.1; GSA 1342 after Lejars 1994, 180)

Of the two swords from Ossuary 82, one (5711.1) was broken, and is missing a good portion of the tip of its blade (fig. 5.84).[808] The edge of the blade is curled at the point of the break, indicating the stress point where the blade was bent before it snapped, and its length is slightly curved in the same direction as the bending. Such tensile strength indicates that the sword was bent forcefully when it was fresh, in an act of intentional destruction prior to its deposit beside the ossuary. The curvature of the sword at the break may be contrasted, for example, with a sword from the mass grave (fig. 5.85), which fractured *in situ* after the metal became brittle. The fractured pieces are flat at the points of breakage, and do not display the curling of their edges, which would indicate stress points on a fresh blade.[809]

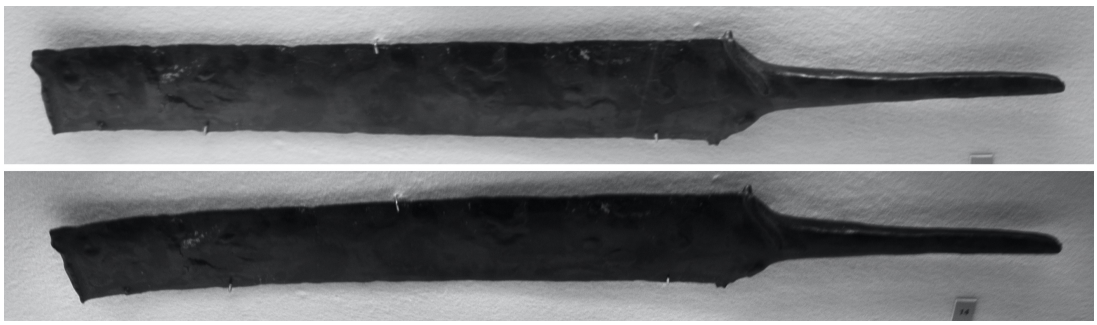


Figure 5.84. Two views of the broken sword (5711.1) from Ossuary 82 showing the stress-break and partial curvature of the blade (G. Bouchillon)

Figure 5.85. Fragmented sword in sheath from the mass grave (950718) (G. Bouchillon)

[808] Cadoux (1984, 71) mentions the sword, which is displayed in the Musée de Picardie.

[809] Lejars (1998a, 239) discusses another sheath and chain belt ensemble, 920847 & 848, which was destroyed *in situ* by crushing. He indicates that breakage must have occurred at a late stage when corrosion was well underway and the sheath had become brittle. The sheath broke into fragments under the force, several of which migrated to the bottom of the deposit. Sheath 950718 above would likely have fragmented similarly if not for the support of its sword.

One of the three sheaths found in Ossuary 82 and three additional sheaths from the area southeast of it were subjected to ritual mutilation.[810] Sheath (5711.5, 82F01) from Ossuary 82 (fig. 5.86) was coiled upon itself multiple times in a thorough ritual mutilation. The stress of the coiling caused the tip-guard to partially separate from the plates, but the sheath otherwise maintained its structural integrity.

Figure 5.86. Coiled sheath from Ossuary 82 (Centre Archéologique Départemental Ribemont-sur-Ancre)

The three sheaths (fig. 5.87) found southeast of the ossuary (fig. 5.70) were also bent, but not as dramatically. The first two (830274a & b) were found *in situ*, bent around the remains of a wooden post (P3). Their mutilation is particularly striking, as it directly engages an architectonic feature. The sheaths were part of a trophy supported by the wooden post, which also included at least one shield and one spear, found at its foot, although several other weapons come from the same area that were surely also part of the trophy. The third sheath (830421), bent similarly, was found in

[810] The second sheath survives only as a fragment, and the third (82f02) is intact (Cadoux 1984, 71).

the enclosure trench about a meter away. It either slipped away from post P3, or was bent around another post nearby, like post P4 found 2m farther southeast.

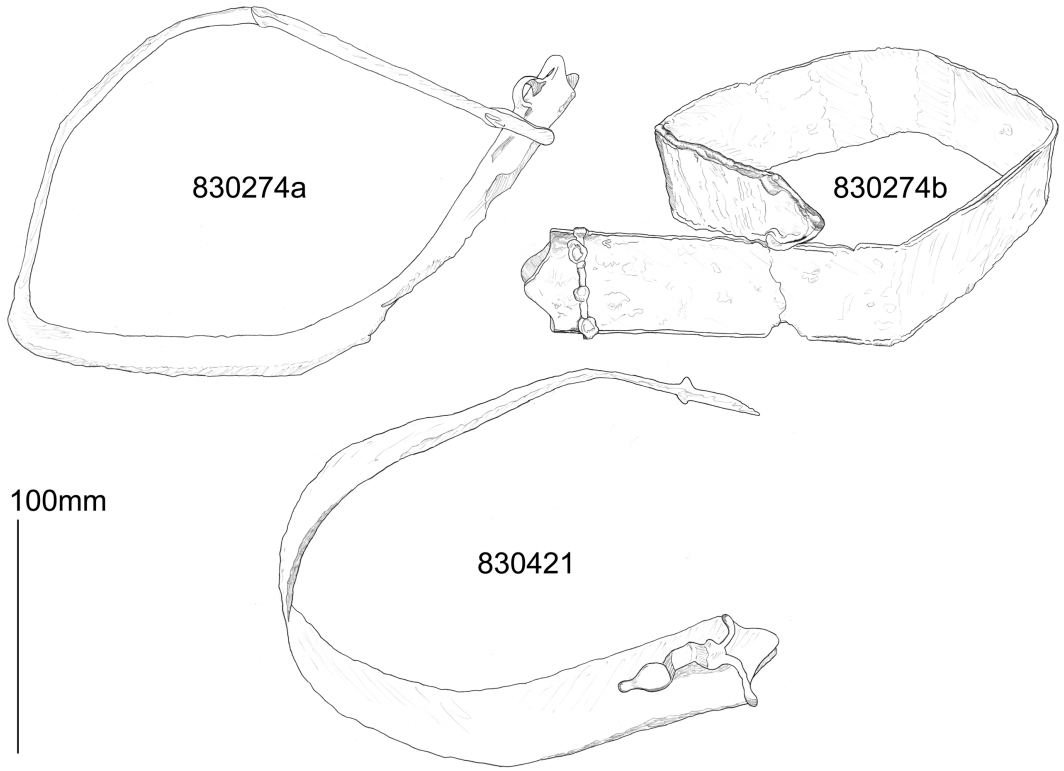


Figure 5.87. Mutilated sheaths from the area of Ossuary 82 (D.S. Rose)

Given that the plates and gutters of the mutilated sheaths at Ribemont bent into sharp angles rather than snapping, they seem likely to have been fresh when mutilated. Lejars argues that the sheaths and *umbones* at Gournay maintained their flexibility after a period of exposure, but this period could not have been particularly long before corrosion rendered the iron brittle.[811] The highly fragmented pieces from the mass grave at Ribemont illustrate well the effects of iron corrosion after exposure.

The ritual mutilation of fresh weapons and limitation of the mutilation of sheaths to bending at Ribemont stand in marked contrast to the practices at Gournay.

[811] Lejars (1994, 105) indicates that sheaths and *umbones* at Gournay were bent after a period of exposure, their thin plates facilitating a low effort, high effect mutilation.

At Gournay, sheaths are highly fragmented – both a consequence of intentional fragmentation and corrosion of the iron. Further, their destruction was considerably more systematic: 40% were disassembled, obverse and reverse plates separated, and tip-guards and sheath straps were broken away. Many were found as isolated pieces. Comparison of the sheaths' fragment count (720) with their MNI of 180 illustrates the high degree of fragmentation for sheaths at Gournay.[812]

At Ribemont, most of the sheaths from the third century B.C. contexts are intact, and there are several large fragments from other contexts within the enclosure, which preserve their entries and straps. Small fragments of detached tip-guards are in the minority (34.1%), and most come from high disturbance areas connected with the late first century B.C. demolition and grading of the terrain, particularly Ossuary 2000 (03-412) and the fill layers (03-218 and 03-405).[813]

Three *umbones* from Ossuary 82 were mutilated (fig. 5.88). The shell of the first (82U17/5711.71) was torqued and one of its wings bent backward sharply. A similar sort of torqueing, which occurred when the two plates of its shield were separated, may be observed for an *umbo* from Gournay (fig. 5.89, GSA 1695). This may have been the action that warped the *umbo* from Ribemont, or the *umbo* may have been bent manually, possibly with the aid of tools, after removal from its shield.

The second *umbo* (82U07/5711.09) (fig. 5.88) was removed from its shield, struck by two shearing blows to one side, and then folded in half.[814] The blow must have been struck after removal from its shield and before it was folded – when the

[812] Brunaux et al. 1985, 119–23, especially 120; Brunaux & Rapin 1988, 158–61; Lejars 1994, 104–6.
[813] Of the 123 sheaths and sheath fragments catalogued by Pourrier (2003), 42 are small fragments of detached tip-guards.
[814] *Umbo* 82U18/5711.17 is pictured in fig. 5.82 because it is of precisely the same morphology. It was found on the opposite side of Ossuary 82's bone frame, linking the material on both sides.

wing was accessible. The edge of the *umbo*'s shell and one of its wings were sheared on one side with two blows from a bladed instrument perpendicular to its edge. The manner in which the wing is crushed rules out mechanical shears like those used on *umbones* at Gournay, as they would have plied the edges of the cuts (e.g. GSA 1149 and 1495/1519 in fig. 5.89), and not produced the deep bend in the wing of the Ribemont *umbo.* Instead, the shearing marks on the sheaths from Gournay, likewise sheared by striking with a bladed instrument (e.g. GSA 2790, fig. 5.90), resemble the marks on the Ribemont *umbo*. The *umbo* only received two lateral blows, a less extensive ritual mutilation than sheared *umbones* from Gournay, which typically received multiple cuts beside one another (e.g. GSA 1495). Simpler and more modest ritual mutilations are characteristic of Ribemont. Typically, one significant gesture was sufficient, and we rarely find the thorough destruction of weapons observed in some cases at Gournay.

The sharp bend to the wing of the first *umbo* (82U17), and the folding and sharp bending of the wing of the second (82U07), were performed without rupturing the thin metal sheets of the *umbones*. This malleability suggests that the *umbones* were mutilated when they were fresh, and their metal pliable, like the dramatically bent sheaths discussed above.

The shell of the last mutilated *umbo* (82U09) from Ossuary 82 was hammered repeatedly from above, but this mutilation only resulted in partial compression of its shell, suggesting that the *umbo* was attached to its shield and received at least some support from its *spina* when it was struck. The preserved nails, which appear to retain their bends (fig. 5.88), suggest that the *umbo* remained attached to its shield until the wooden plates decayed completely. The findspot of the *umbo* (fig. 5.70), and its

position within a broad spread of *umbones* 2m wide indicate the shield lay on the ground and decayed in place, as the *umbo* is too far from Ossuary 82 for the shield to have been propped against its bone frame.

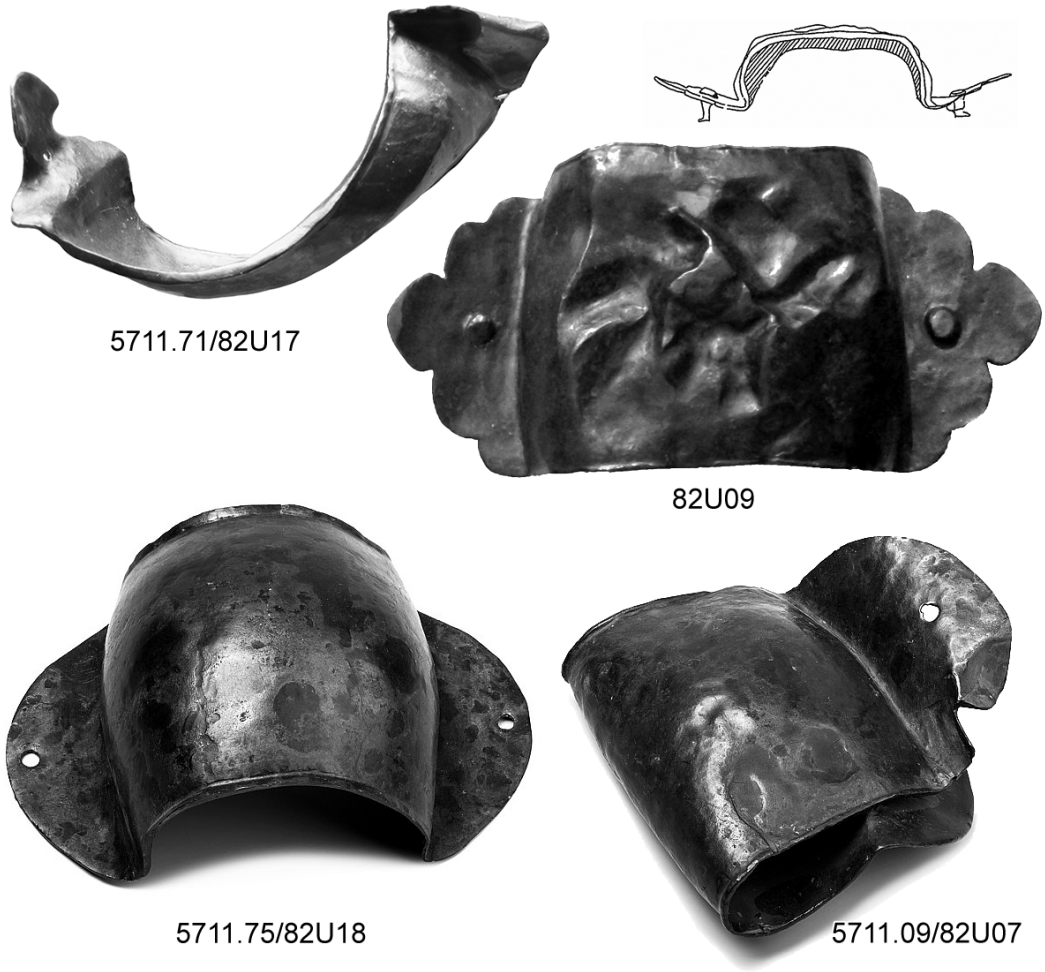


Figure 5.88. Mutilated umbones from Ossuary 82 (G. Bouchillon, Pourrier 2003, Pl. 72, Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 131, fig. 5, and Centre Archéologique Départemental Ribemont-sur-Ancre)

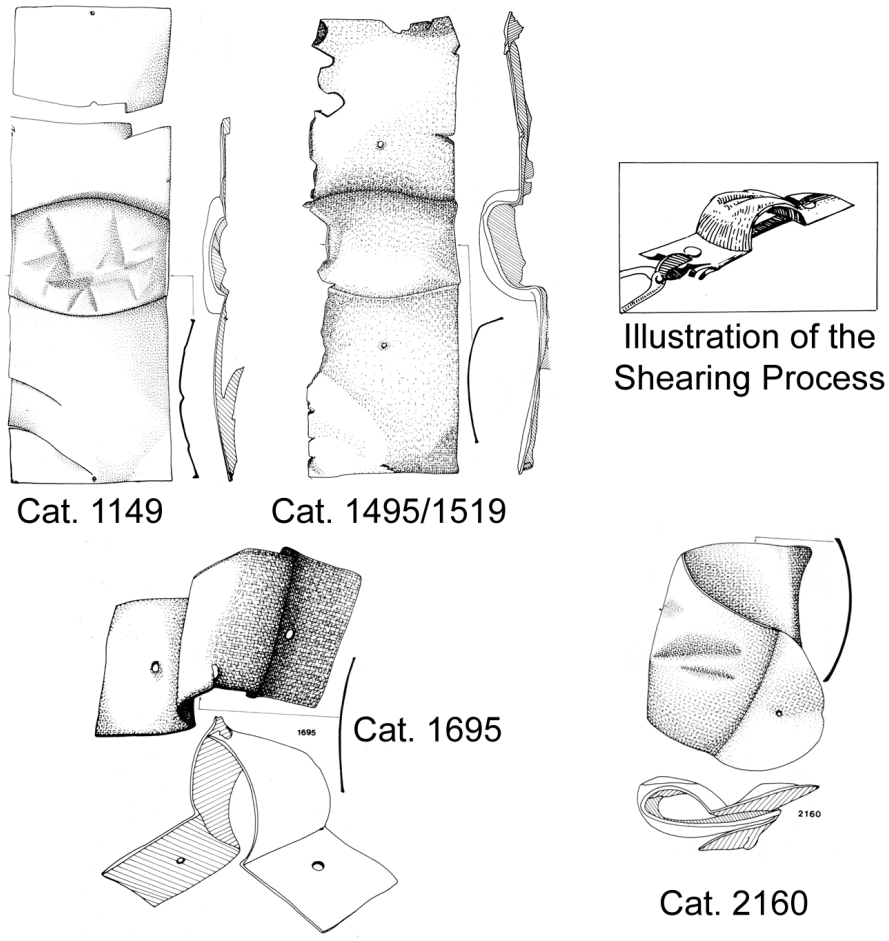


Figure 5.89. Sheared, torqued, and folded umbones from Gournay (Brunaux and Rapin 1988, various)

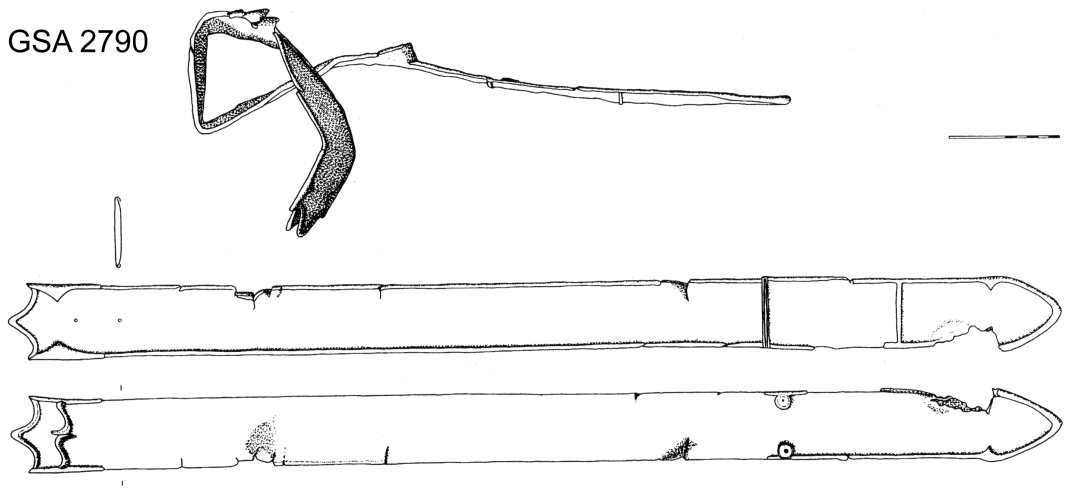


Figure 5.90. Sheared sheath from Gournay (Lejars 1994, 226)

Damage to the spearheads from the quadrangular enclosure may be divided into three categories: loss of metal from the blade edges through corrosion, chipping

away of the blade through lateral blows, shearing metal away from blade edges, and bending spearheads to various angles. The explanation of these types of damage that follows will reference only exemplars from the spearheads pictured in figures 5.91 and 5.92 to illustrate points. The reader should keep in mind that, for each category of damage, there are multiple spearheads that that bear the same type of damage, and some bear multiple types of damage.

In many cases, the cause of damage is uncertain. Loss of metal from blade edges could be intentional mutilation, combat damage, or simply a consequence of incidental fragmentation of brittle corroded metal *in situ*. To identify intentional mutilation, we must look for damage that could not have occurred in combat or *in situ* after deposit. Additionally, evidence that the metal was fresh when it was bent, cut, or struck makes it more likely that the damage was incurred during intentional mutilation shortly after the conclusion of battle in the third century.

Lateral blows to blade edges could have occurred during combat or as intentional mutilation. In order to identify lateral blows as mutilation, we must look for marks unlikely to occur in combat. Possibilities include: two parallel blows struck from the same or similar angle(s) (82F40, 940265), symmetrical blows to both sides of a blade (82F04, 84F24, tip of 932133, potentially 980107, 9803324, 001757), or blows in positions illogical to occur in combat, e.g. on the proximal sides of blades near the socket (82F04, 940265). For evidence of damage while the metal was fresh, we must look for clues like the curving of metal at the edges of a break or tear (82F41a, 980107, 001757), or distortion of a blade's profile when it was struck (82F17). Both of these reflect the resistance of fresh metal, which retained its tensile strength. Damage to spearheads when the metal was fresh does not necessarily indicate ritual

mutilation, but can provide support for interpreting particular marks as intentional mutilation.

Some blades appear to have been sheared, like examples at Gournay (GSA 3905 and 3957), as a method of mutilation. However, at Ribemont, it is difficult to differentiate blade loss due to shearing from blade loss due to other reasons, like corrosion or lateral blows. Shearing typically creates smooth arcs or straight line cuts, which leave a different edge (000782) than losses to corrosion (90112), but shearing also leaves jagged blade edges (82F02, 82F04, 82F25, again 000782), which can be indistinguishable from the jagged edges left by corrosion (82F17 and 001117 are indeterminate, while the extensive loss from 82F02, 001189, and 002693 suggest shearing or intentional blows to chip away metal, and the curving of the edge near the torn section of 82F41a suggests shearing). The difficulties in differentiation are evident.

To make matters more complicated, some blades were sheared for decorative purposes. Rapin notes that such blades are rare in Gaul, but characteristic of mid-La Tène products, particularly when the cuts are elaborate.[815] At Ribemont, blades sheared for decorative purposes include, most certainly, the elaborately sheared 82F18, probably 82F35, probably 932133, and possibly 940265 (fig. 5.91 & 5.92). The examples from Ossuary 82 (82F18 and 82F35) are discussed further below.

In most cases where spearheads are bent, the bends may be identified as intentional mutilation easily, because they are most commonly either sharp bends (82F27, 940265, tip of 001757, 001780) or deep bends (≥90º from vertical) (001195, 001353), neither of which would be produced by impact against a shield in combat.

[815] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 112.

Impact damage results in smooth curves (980234), bent or broken tips (980324 and other examples not pictured), and, potentially, the collapse of the tip of a narrow blade (possibly 001189[816]). Folded blades (82F24), blades with multiple sharp bends (probably 82F34, 001117, 001195, 004014), blades bent in multiple directions (possibly 001189, 001802), and twisted blades (000785) may be identified as mutilated with confidence, as spearheads do not bend these ways in combat situations or *in situ* after deposit.

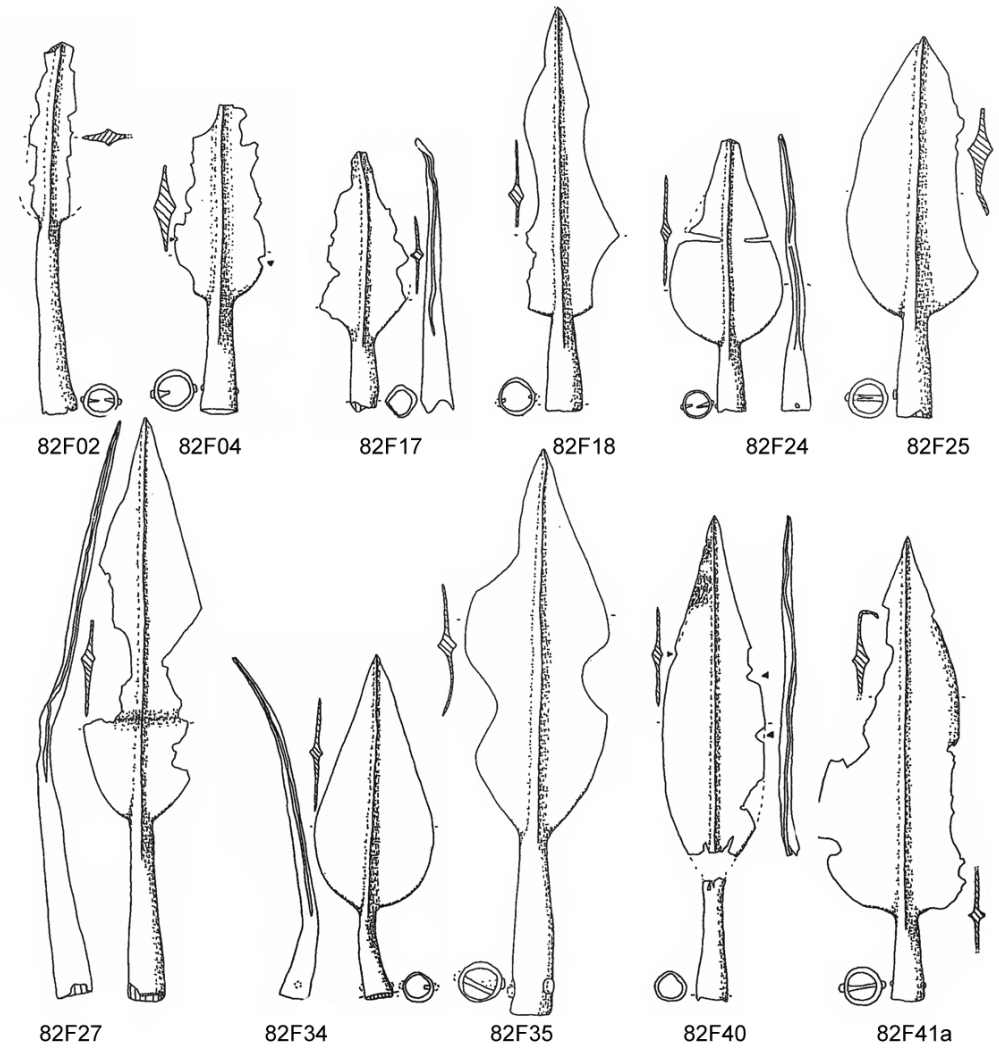


Figure 5.91. Mutilated Spearheads from Ossuary 82 (after Pourrier 2003, various)

[816] For 001189, it is not clear whether the wavy profile of the tip is a consequence of collapse of the tip or bending with pliers in intentional mutilation.

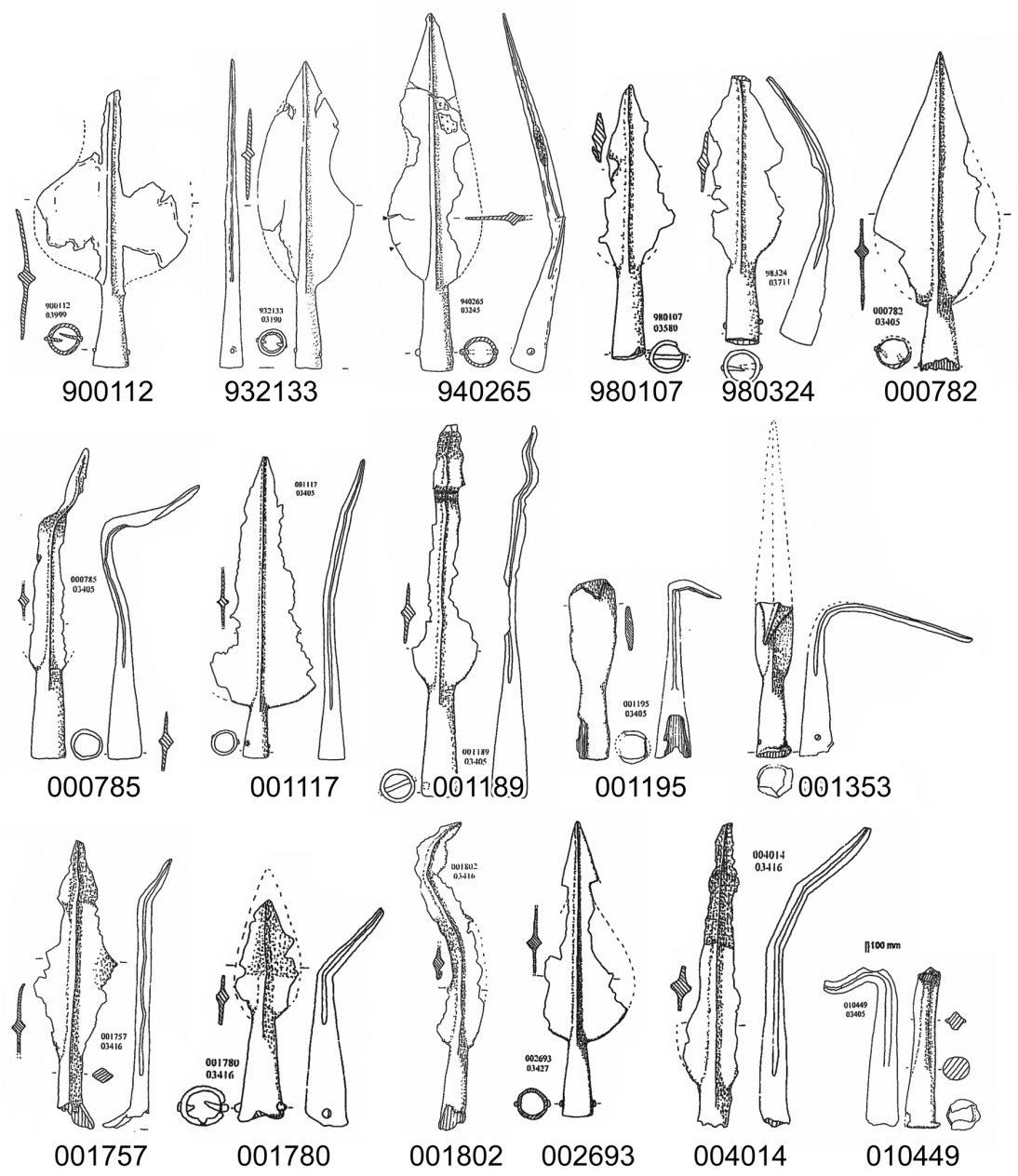


Figure 5.92. Mutilated Spearheads from the Quadrangular Enclosure (after Pourrier 2003, various)

Describing the spearheads from Ossuary 82, Cadoux et al. indicate that numerous spearheads were chipped (observable in the documented evidence), and many twisted laterally (not evident in the documentation). One is confident in identifying four spearheads from Ossuary 82 (82F04, 82F24, 82F27, 82F41a) as mutilated, two (82F25, 82F40) as likely mutilated, and another four (82F02, 82F17,

82F34, and 82F35) as possibly mutilated (fig. 5.91). Mutilations primarily consisted of lateral blows (e.g. 82F24 and 82F40), shearing of their edges (82F04), or lateral shearing blows, in one case (82F27) removing metal, in the other (82F24), cutting into the blade on either side. But two (82F27 and 82F34) were bent and one (82F24) folded. In two cases of shearing (82F18 and 82F35), we encounter the need and difficulty to distinguish shearing for decorative purposes versus as mutilation.

Spearheads 82F02, F04, F17, F27, and F41a all display significant blade loss and jagged edges that seem to reflect shearing and/or lateral blows. However, only 82F04 combines straight line and curved edges, notably the convex cut to its tip, in a way that reflects extensive shearing to destroy the blade. In the case of 82F27, the bend just above the socket may be confirmed as intentional mutilation because of its sharpness, opening the interpretation of its blade loss as caused by a shearing blow, rather than incidental loss due to corrosion. For 82F41a, the blade loss may have been due to corrosion, intentional blows to destroy the blade, or shearing as mutilation. However, the curled edge on its right side indicates that the metal was bent when fresh, making intentional damage more certain. Such a broad and deep curling of the edge (beyond 90º) seems highly unlikely to have occurred through blows in combat, which would have been sharp and localized.

Spearhead 82F24 (fig. 5.91) was found on the southwest periphery of Ossuary 82's destruction ring in two pieces, one on top of the other.[817] This positioning and the distortion of the blade's profile on either side of the break (reflecting metal resistance, previously observed on broken sword 82E02) indicate that the spearhead was folded, and either broke at its folding, or later when the metal had corroded. Examination of

[817] Cadoux et al. 1982, 38.

the spearhead at the Musée de Picardie revealed that the two symmetrical shearing blows, struck before the blade was folded, were intentional mutilation for two reasons: Firstly, the inward crumpling on the upper left of the blade reflects distortion under a strike to the edge. Secondly, the depth of the shearing is different on each side. On the left side, the shearing blow penetrated to the tang. On the right side, another blow penetrated only partially into the blade, well short of the tang. Both blows must have been struck before the spearhead was folded, and the fold-point was probably determined by the shearing blows, because the blade would have provided the least resistance at this point with little more than the tang to resist. As discussed in section 5.3.4, spearheads' tangs remained malleable after manufacture, so it seems most likely that the blade bent at mutilation and broke into two pieces later, when the iron corroded and became brittle.

Spearheads 82F25 and 82F40 (fig. 5.91) were likely mutilated. For the first, part of its blade was sheared away on one side, leaving a burl of metal near the tip of the blade, and the blade was bent sharply, although not deeply, on the opposite side. Whether these were intentional mutilation remains uncertain, because some blades at Ribemont were sheared for decorative purposes, and the bend in the opposite side was sharp but not deep. The burl suggests the shearing was mutilation and not decoration. The second spearhead, 82F40, was struck twice on one side and once on the other, blows that could either be combat damage or intentional mutilation. The fact that the two blows on the one side are near each other and are matched with a third on the other side suggest intentional mutilation through systematic damage to the blade edge.

Spearheads 82F02 and 82F17, possibly intentionally mutilated, have been mentioned above. Their jagged edges, particularly for 82F17, suggest destruction of

the blades by shearing, and the profile of 82F17 is distorted, potentially reflecting the stress on the fresh blade when it was irregularly mutilated. In this and other cases, the profiles of some spearheads whose blade edges were struck or sheared suggest that the shearing was intentional mutilation because greater care would have been taken during manufacture to either sheer the blade smoothly, flat on a hard surface, or to hammer the cut edges flat again so that the spearhead would be effective in battle. The inverse, that a spearhead with a sheared blade and distorted profile is more likely to have been mutilated than sheared for decorative purposes seems reasonable as well.

Finally, spearheads 82F18 and 82F35 from Ossuary 82 feature shearing on both sides of their blade edges in a manner that seems to be decorative. Spearhead 82F18 closely resembles the examples from Octroi de Beaucaire in Nîmes, La Tène, and Introbio (fig. 5.93). Its shearing creates smooth curves at an adequate distance from the tang to not affect the blade's structural integrity, and approximately the same amount of metal was removed from both sides, creating a balanced blade. The blade's profile is entirely flat. These precisions and spearhead 82F18's resemblance to the examples above lead one to conclude that the shearing of 82F18 was a decorative feature performed at manufacturing, and not intentional mutilation.

Spearhead 82F35 also features shearing, convex removals in three places on both sides of its blade (fig. 5.91). The first cut near the tip of the blade resembles the cut to 82F18, and the second and third cuts are relatively balanced, on opposite sides and of similar depth and shape. Spearhead 82F35 somewhat resembles the example from the mass grave, spearhead 4579 from Gournay, and the spearhead from Introbio (fig. 5.93). In support of shearing as intentional mutilation, the cut near the tip of the blade begins like that of 82F18, but does not shift gracefully into the next curve like

it, and 82F35's profile is curved, common in shearing and not expected in manufacturing. Lastly, the spearhead was found near other armament finds that were certainly mutilated. The question must, at present, remain unresolved.

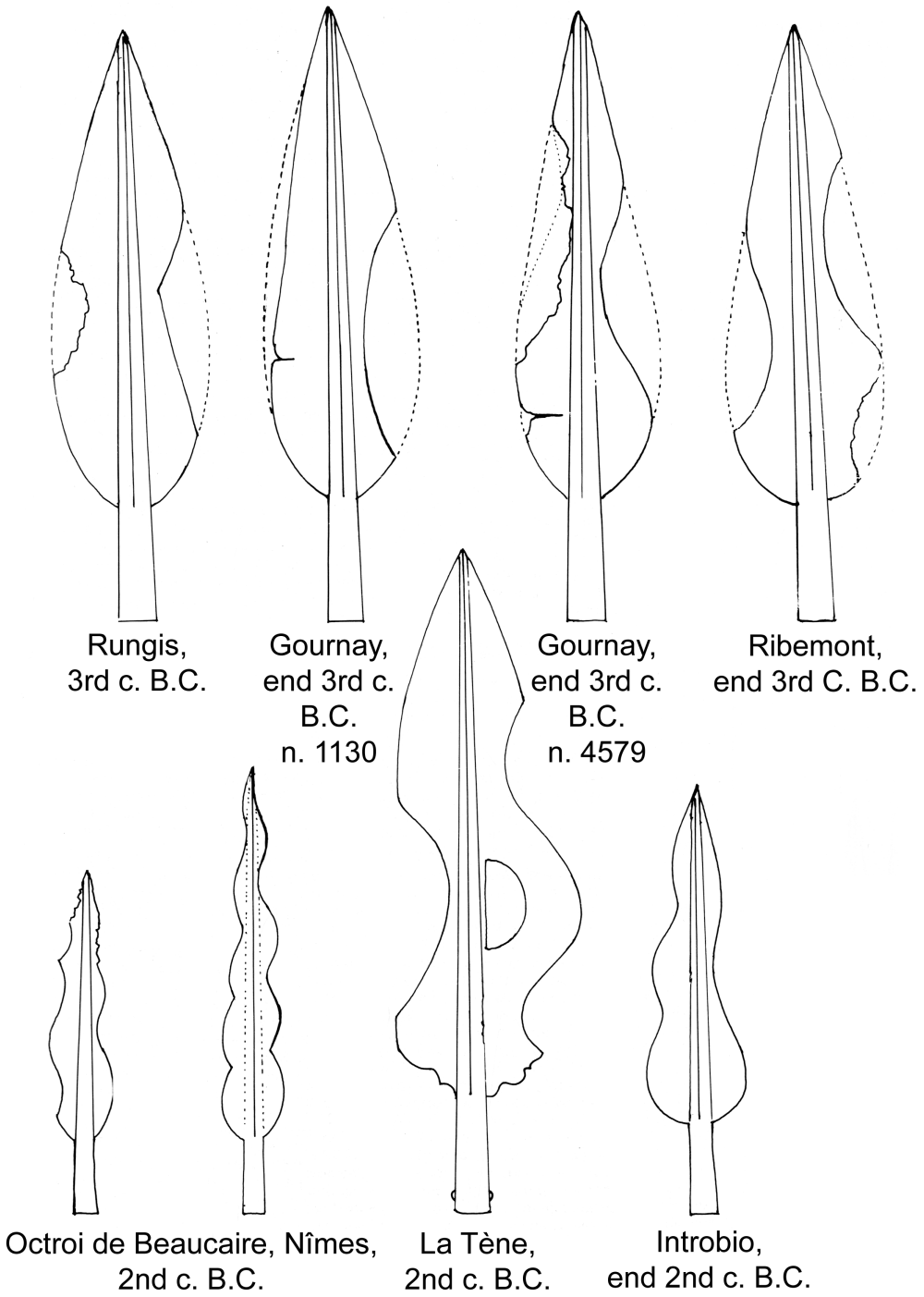


Figure 5.93. Spearheads sheared for decorative purposes (after Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 123, fig. 60)

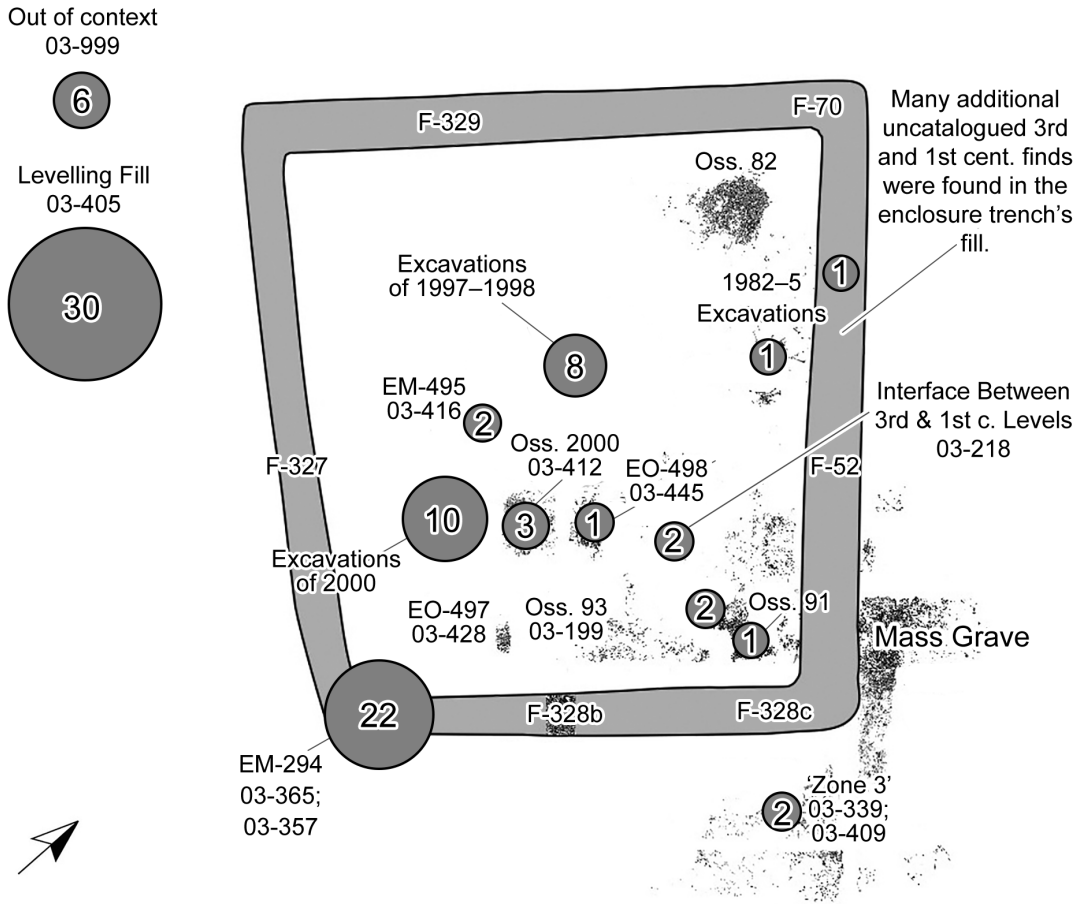
Identifying intentional mutilation of spearheads outside of Ossuary 82 is made easier by the fact that most were bent sharply, a mutilation more easily identifiable as intentional than shearing, although lateral blows to blade edges like those observed in Ossuary 82 are common enough. Most of the mutilated spearheads outside of Ossuary 82 come from the eastern interior length, two from the 1983 excavation area, and four from the 1984–1985 area. Two are bent sharply, one folded, two described as "sacrificed", and a last described as "rolled upon itself".[818] Another three come from metal ensemble (EM-495) that collected third century B.C. armament, nine the disturbed first century B.C. contexts where third and first century material is mixed, and seven from the first century closing fill (03-405). Nearly all of the mutilated spearheads date to the third century B.C., following the general trends of LTC1b period armament dominating the assemblages and the more frequent mutilation of third century armament (over first century armament).

5.7.5. The La Tène D Weapons and Equipment from the Quadrangular Enclosure

A relatively small, but significant, group of LTD period (second and first century B.C.) armament comes from the late first century contexts within the quadrangular enclosure, the enclosure trench's fill, and the fill layer (03-405) over both (fig. 5.94). The finds within the enclosure are concentrated in the central and southern half of the interior, the first century B.C. disturbance area. Ossuaries were built in the area at the time from third century B.C. bone material relocated from the western corner.

[818] Cadoux 1985, 26 & 35. One is still examining the early excavation reports to determine the precise nature of the mutilations and their topographical distribution. Several of the finds are simply described and not pictured.

Many finds are associated with the first century ossuaries, particularly Ossuary 2000, the largest of the first century ossuaries, around which a great deal of material was concentrated. Excavators indicate that although the first and third century material was mixed in the ossuaries, the first century items were generally found in the ossuaries' upper levels and peripheries, as if deposited over the relocated and reconstructed third century material.[819] Armament was also collected separately from bones: A group of weapons (EM-495) consisting of forty-nine LTC1 finds (third century B.C.) and two LTD (late second through first century) pieces, was deposited near Ossuary 2000. The weapons must have been collected from the western corner during the clearing of the ground surface before the soil was graded.



[819] Brunaux et al. 2000.

Figure 5.94. Distribution of La Tène D period metal finds from the quadrangular enclosure, excluding helmet remains, by number of remains (NR) (Base image from Fercoq du Leslay, Conseil Départemental de la Somme)

Additional armament was found in the enclosure trench's late first century fill layers along the trench's entire length, accompanied by third century armament of the same types and dating as the material from within the enclosure. An important deposit containing 573 iron finds (EM-294) was made in its southwest corner (F328a). The ironwork in the deposit corroded significantly, fusing most of the pieces together, so only a limited number were identifiable. They include a small, but not insignificant, group of LTC1 and LTD2 armament and harness pieces, building materials (around a hundred iron plates from *murus gallicus* construction, large wood-fastening staples, hinges), assorted bands (for chariot wheels, barrels or buckets, handles, and container hooks), and a group of late first century B.C. tools (17 knives and 55 assorted items).[820]

The association of high quality LTC1 and LTD2 armament in the deposit, and the distinct groups of material connected with particular purposes (architectural fasteners for wooden structures, parts of utilitarian vessels, and construction tools) indicate a structured deposit of intentionally grouped items, not a random collection swept from the interior of the enclosure into the trench. Generally, the grouping follows the logic of the collection of material for disposal, but the inclusion of contemporary LTD2 armament with the LTC1 armament, and differentiation between different groups of material indicates a careful and respectful dismantling and disposal.

The armament is divided between LTC1 swords, sheaths, and spearheads and LTD2 swords, sheaths, spearheads, *umbones*, harness and helmet pieces, and belt

[820] Brunaux et al. 1998, 1: 37–40; 1999b, 209–12.

fasteners. Some pieces were subjected to ritual breakage paralleling practices observed at Gournay. The LTC1 armament matches that found within the quadrangular enclosure, which was assuredly its source.[821] The twenty-two LTD finds from the deposit represent a votive dedication of contemporary first century B.C. items to accompany the LTC1 items collected.[822] The LTD2 armament and equestrian equipment provides most of the evidence indicating that Gallic auxiliaries were present on the site at the time. Most notably, the collection includes three *gladii* (981098, 981105, and 981463), three *pila* (981113, 981437, and 981485), and a conical *umbo* (981586) (fig. 5.95). The former two are Roman military equipment and the conical *umbo* was a standard piece of Gallic auxiliary equipment.[823]

[821] Not in Brunaux et al. 1998, 1999b, or Pourrier 2003.
[822] Viand et al. 2008. Only 26 finds from the southwest corner are listed on the distribution map, as the distribution maps do not include helmet pieces.
[823] Pernet 2010, 111.

Figure 5.95. Sample of first century B.C. armament including a pilum and gladius (Photograph G. Bouchillon)

Five silver lamellar coins minted by the Ambiani, found in the same stratigraphic horizon, date the deposit to c. 40–30 B.C.[824] Three were produced using the same obverse and reverse dies, and a fourth was produced with the same reverse die as the first three. The fifth was minted with different dies, but features the same iconography as the initial four: two facing horses and lances. All coins are the same weight and size, 0.56–0.59 grams and 10–13 mm. Together this evidence indicates a common minting, and likely origin from a single individual and/or purse, like the purse of gold coins from the third century B.C. epoch of the site.[825]

No other large assemblies like deposit EM-294 have been discovered.[826] A smaller deposit, containing LTD armament comparable with other items from the quadrangular enclosure trench, was made in the opposite (southeast) corner. Outside of these deposits, finds are relatively broadly scattered along the entire length of the enclosure trench.

Information on the finds from the enclosure trench's fill is generally lacking. They are mentioned only briefly in the site's publications but described in more detail in the mostly-unaddressed early excavation reports (1983–1986). One's preliminary study of the data has revealed that finds from various parts of the quadrangular enclosure trench, including those from the special deposit (EM-294), are connected to one another by shared morphologies / typologies and parallel mutilations. For example, a trapezoidal *umbo* (981638) and conical *umbo* (981586) from deposit EM-294 find matching counterparts (851121) in the fill of trench length F-52 on the opposite side of the enclosure trench.[827] Consequently, one would tentatively conclude

[824] Delestrée 1999b; 2009. Lamellar are small coins, in this case minted locally.
[825] See chapter 2 for discussion of the latter purse.
[826] Pernet 2010.
[827] Cadoux et al. 1985; Viand et al. 2008.

that the first century B.C. fill layers along the entire length of the enclosure trench were created on the same occasion, the demolition of the La Tène facilities and preparation of the site for new construction. The special deposits in the enclosure trench's corners, part of the same fill, simply represent deposits of accumulated material, like EM-495, the collection of material piled near Ossuary 2000 within the enclosure.

A notable group of LTD finds from the first century fill layers of the quadrangular enclosure trench are the seven helmet pieces and the cap of a Port-type helmet (fig. 5.96), which are most assuredly Gallic auxiliary equipment. These finds further confirm the presence of auxiliaries on the site in the late first century, and connect them with its transformation into a Gallo-Roman sanctuary.

Helmets are rarely found in Gaul, and are a late appearance, not before the LTD period. Most date to the Gallic War horizon (mid-first century B.C.).[828] The helmet pieces from Ribemont are no different, all dating to the LTD2b period (mid-to-late first century B.C.), excepting a neck guard (971314) and cap ornament too generic to date more specifically than the LTD period (second to early first century B.C.).[829]

The cap of a Port-type helmet (851165), its neck guard (830502), and a cheek-guard (no cat. no.), most certainly from the same helmet (fig. 5.96), were found scattered in the northern half of the eastern length of the enclosure trench (F-52).[830] Two further helmet pieces, a neck guard in two pieces (981511 and 981491) and a cheek guard (981115) come from the large deposit (EM-294). Cheek and neck guards

[828] Lejars 1996a, 96–7; Pernet 2010.
[829] Viand et al. 2008, 73–7; Feugère 2011, 80–2; Schaaff 1988b, 307.
[830] The diameter of the neck guard matches that of the base of the helmet cap, assuring their association. Further, they were found at the same level in the enclosure trench, around 10m from each other. The cheek guard is described as thrown some distance away from the first two with no greater specificity (Cadoux et al. 1985, 27).

are more generic in form, so they may come from another Port-type helmet or a different LTD2b type. Notably, the second cheek guard is considerably less three-dimensional than the first, and features a different repoussé pattern.

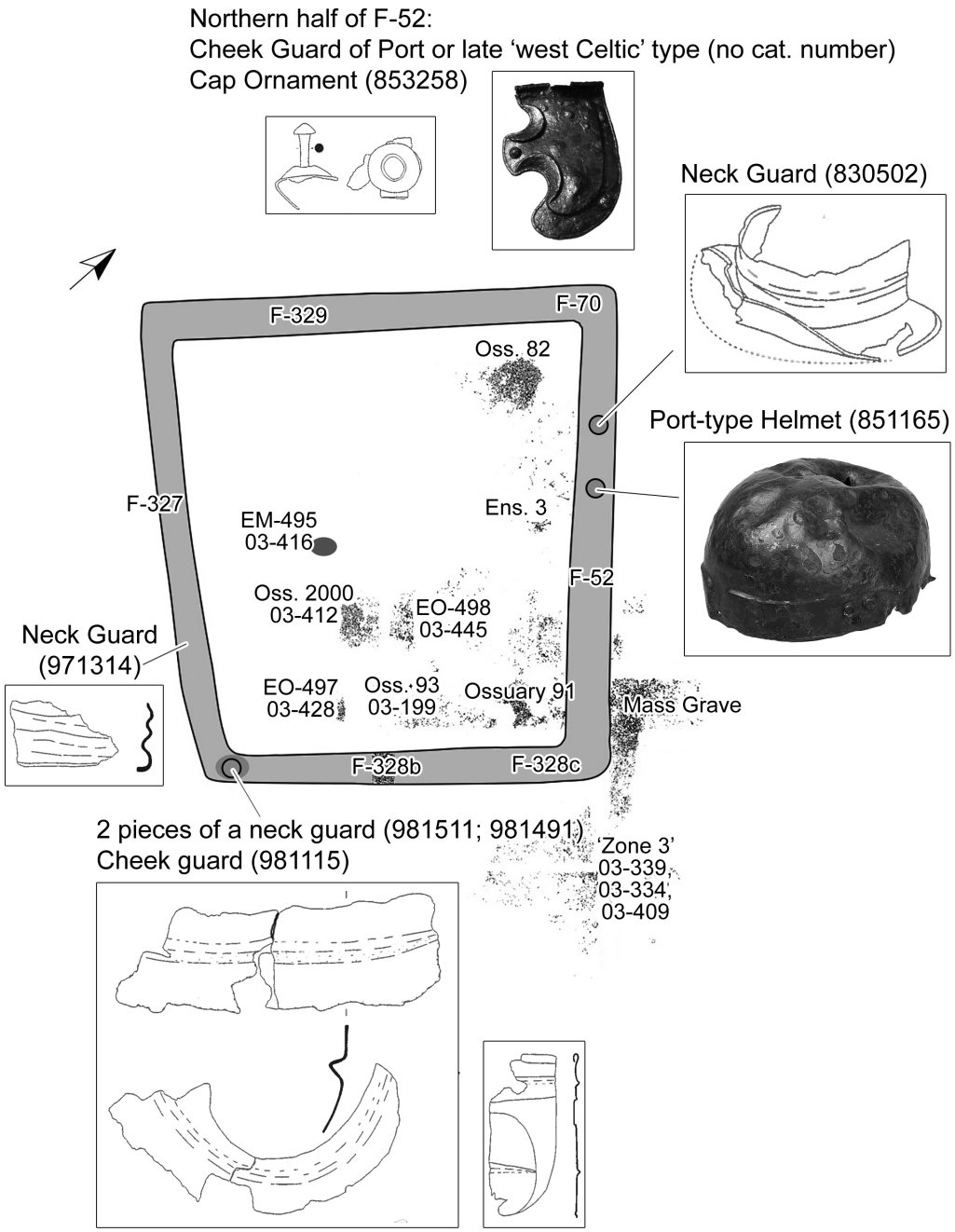


Figure 5.96. Distribution of helmet finds along the enclosure trench (adapted from Fercoq du Leslay, Centre Archéologique Départmental Ribemont-sur-Ancre, Viand et al. 2008, and Association CIRAS)

The Port-type helmet from Ribemont (figs. 5.97 & 5.98) matches the exemplar of the type from Nidau (fig. 5.99) precisely in its forehead corrugations, rivet placements, neck guard profile, and cheek guard style. Port-type helmets were manufactured in the Gallic artisanal tradition of multi-part helmets, and their cheek guards are not unique or newly developed, but strongly reminiscent of the late western Celtic-type cheek guards.[832] They may have been invented and used by the Roman army, but were associated with Gallic auxiliaries. They represent an archaic form of the Weisenau type helmets used by the Roman army from the beginning of the Augustan period.[833]

Figure 5.97. The Port-type helmet illustrating the forehead corragations (G. Bouchillon)

[832] Feugère 2011, 80–2. E.g. the helmet from Notre-Dame-du-Vaudreuil (Lejars 1996a, 97, fig. 10.4) and the helmet from Grave 32 at Giubiasco (Schaaff 1988b, 303, fig. 16–18).
[833] Schaaff 1988, 307; Feugère 2011, 80–2. Pernet (2010, 112) makes the distinction that Port type helmets are manufactured in the Gallic tradition, and should not be described as the first Roman helmets in iron.

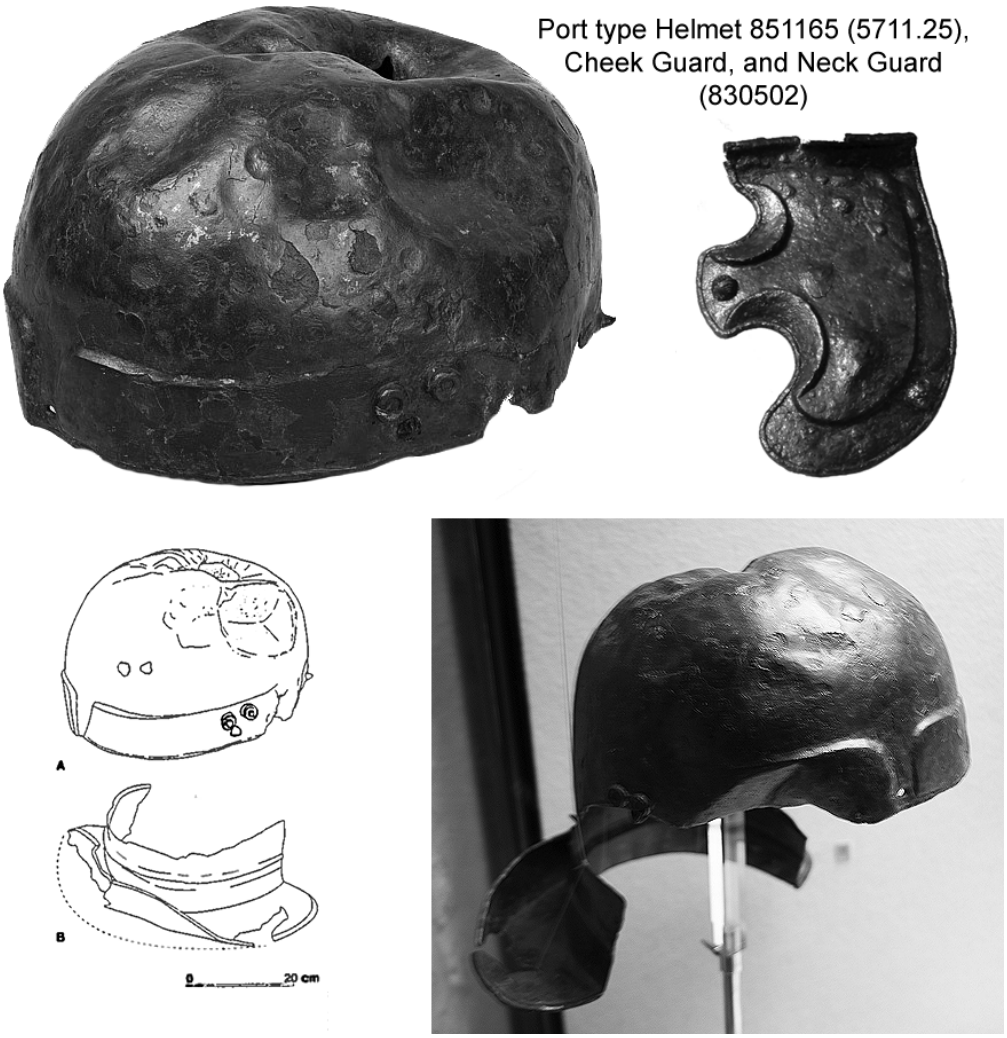


Figure 5.98. Port-type helmet and cheek guard from Ribemont (after Centre Archéologique Départemental Ribemont-sur-Ancre, Association Ciras, Viand et al. 2008, 71, fig. 6, and G. Bouchillon)

Figure 5.99. Port-type helmet from Nidau (after Schaaff 1988b, 308, fig. 26–8)

5.7.5. Ritual Mutilation of the La Tène D Weapons and Equipment

There are several ritually mutilated items among the late first century B.C. armament finds. The Port-type helmet provides the most dramatic example (fig. 5.100). It displays a prominent piercing blow to the peak of its cap from a spear butt, which caused it to collapse inward. Additional blows were applied to the sides of the helmet, a square-shaped crushing blow most assuredly affected by the square-headed hammer (5711.23) found nearby, and several other blunt blows.

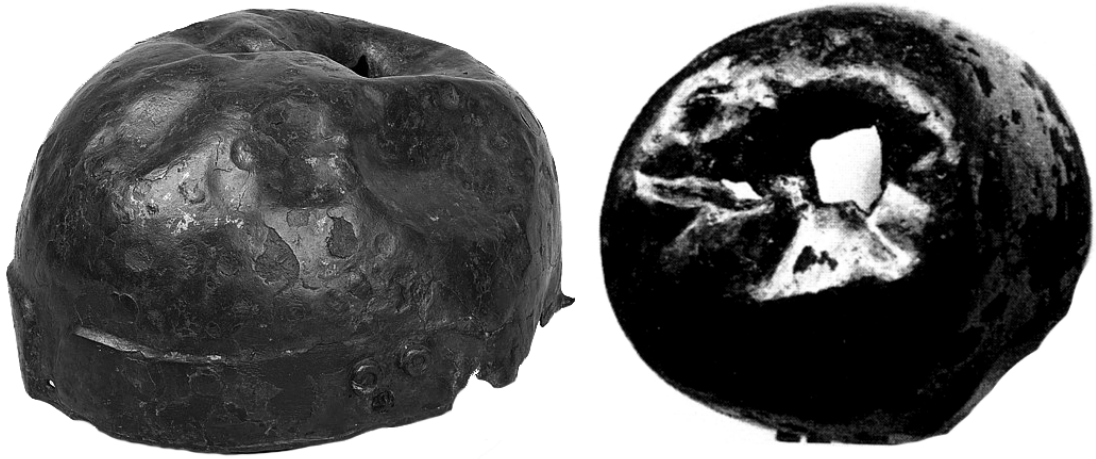


Figure 5.100. Side and top view of the Port-type helmet illustrating the piercing blow (Cadoux et al. 1985, 49, fig. 14)

Similar square-shaped crushing was observed on a contemporary *umbo* with trapezoidal wings (853511) found on the same level a meter away, and similar blunt blows were applied to the crown of another *umbo* (851121). This repetition of mutilation marks suggests a homogeneity of sacrificial ritual during the first century B.C. activity.[834]

The lip of the neck-guard of the Port-type helmet (fig. 5.98) was bent upward sharply in what must have been an act of intentional mutilation. The bend would have

[834] Cadoux et al. 1985, 27–8.

been affected by grasping the edge with pliers, as the metal would have been too rigid to bend by hand. However, none of the tools currently catalogued seem appropriate for this purpose.

Deposit EM-294 provides additional ritually mutilated items. One of the wings of a trapezoidal *umbo* (981638) was folded under the shell, its typology matching that of the *umbo* (851121) from the first century B.C. fill of the eastern length of the enclosure trench (F-52) mentioned above. The mounting flange of a conical *umbo* (981586) was bent sharply upward against its shell (fig. 5.101) paralleling the bend of the neck guard just mentioned. Three sword blades display bends along their surviving lengths; in particular, a partial sword blade (981040) (fig. 5.102), displays multiple bends along its entire length. A sheath fragment (981302) was folded in half (fig. 5.103), and a spearhead (981499) (fig. 5.102) was bent downward, and its tip may have been broken away intentionally.

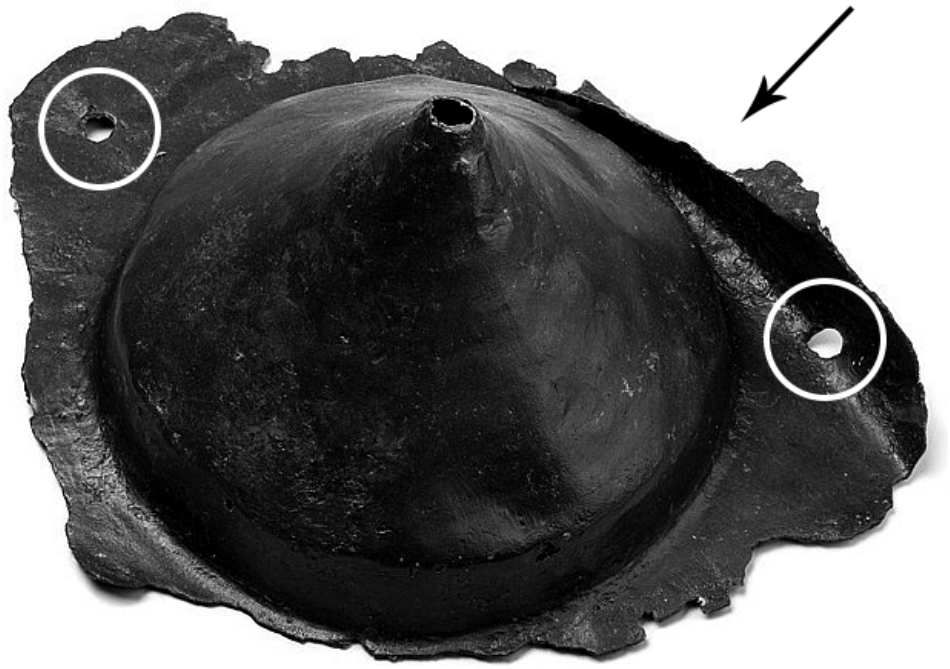


Figure 5.101. Conical umbo from the quadrangular enclosure with two surviving rivet holes and bent wing indicated (Centre Archéologique Départemental Ribemont-sur-Ancre)

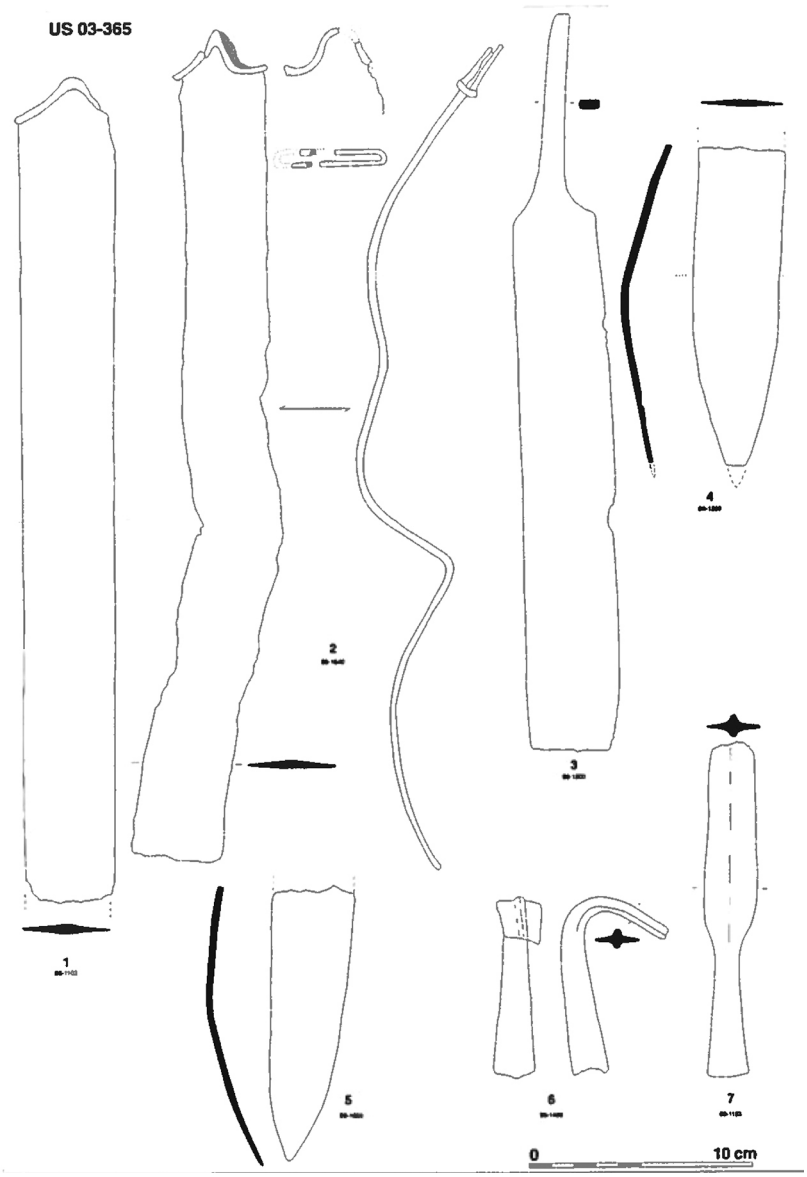


Figure 5.102. Mutilated LTD swords, sheath, and spearheads from deposit EM-294 (after Viand et al. 2008, 66, fig. 3)

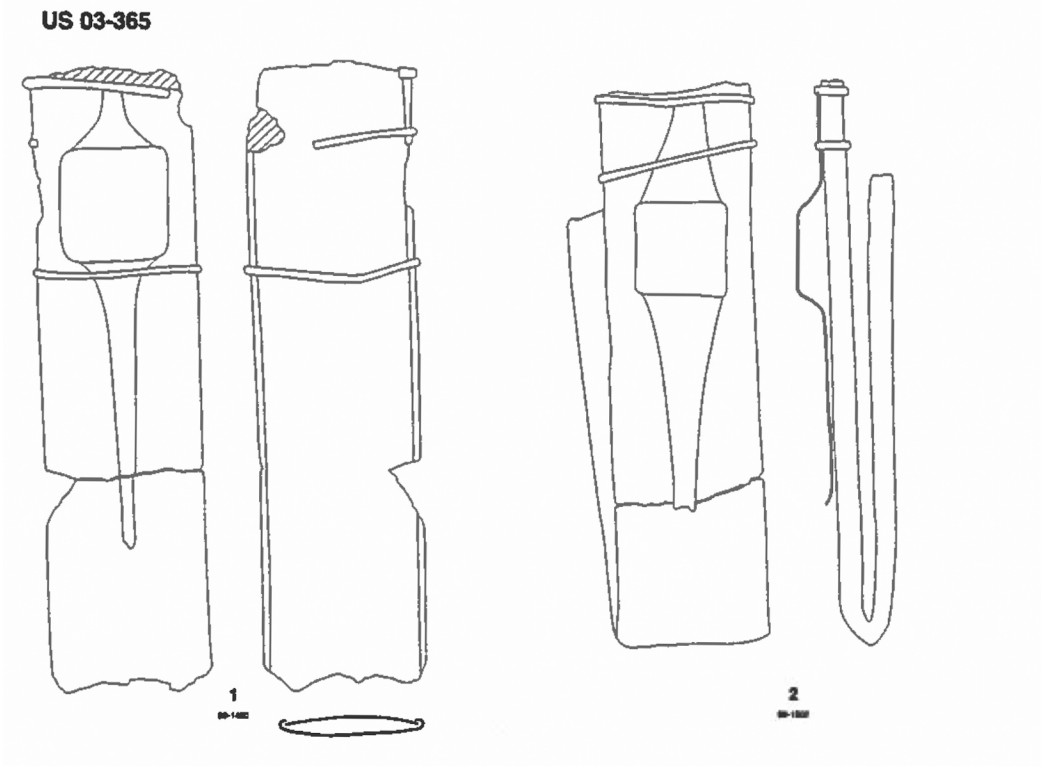


Figure 5.103. Mutilated LTD sheaths from deposit EM-294 (after Viand et al. 2008, 65, fig. 2)

The parallels in the mutilations of finds from the southwestern deposit (EM-294) with the scattered finds along the enclosure trench reinforce the argument that all of the late first century deposits in the trench were related. Commonalities in the mutilation of various objects suggest that an officiant or small group was designated to manage the ritual mutilation of the armament dedicated in preparation for its deposit. The LTD2 armament collected, including helmet pieces, *pila*, and *gladii* surely came from a group of Gallic auxiliary veterans who were part of the local community that returned to the site.

5.8. The Armament from the Mass Grave

5.8.1. Overview

This section will address the nature of the armament assemblage, its arrangement in the mass grave, and review the evidence of intentional mutilation in the assemblage. Where relevant to the interpretation of the weapons, this section will

refer to the human bones found with the armament. Consideration of the relationship between armament and human bones, and discussion of the place of the mass grave in the third century B.C. installations at Ribemont will be reserved for the final chapter of this study.

Armament makes up 65% of the metal finds from the mass grave – 90% if the nails in the upper fill layers, dragged there during the Gallo-Roman grading of the surface, are excluded. The remainder of the metal finds are personal items, like *fibulae* and a bracelet, and incidental metal pieces.[835] Analysis of the sheaths, suspension systems, *umbones*, and *fibulae* in the deposit allow the formation of the mass grave to be dated to a few decades in the LTC1b period, although it contains a limited number of LTC2 weapons in its upper layers.

The mass grave's formation corresponds with the quadrangular enclosure's period of greatest activity, when hundreds of warriors' corpses and their armament were collected beside and within the quadrangular enclosure. I believe that there was some exchange of human remains and armament between the quadrangular enclosure and the mass grave, the mass grave serving as a supply for the quadrangular enclosure and receptacle of extra discarded material.

5.8.2. Organization of Armament in the Mass Grave

In 1998, based on the area excavated to date, Lejars presented the sole interpretation of the arrangement of the armament in the mass grave that has been offered.[836] He argued that the armament was highly structured within a band approximately 2m wide from A9–E15, with sword elements strictly limited to the

[835] Lejars 1998a, 233–42; Pourrier 2002, 18–20; Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 192–3.
[836] Excavation of the mass grave concluded the following year.

south side, shield elements the north, with spears between them, and a hedge of upright spears on either side delimiting the 2m band.[837] To support his claim for a hedge of spears, Lejars indicated that spear butts were excluded from both the concentration of sword elements, and concentration of shield elements, instead appearing between the two (in C13), and along the edges of the sword and shield concentrations.

Lejars further proposed that three sword and sheath bundles were carefully arranged to create three sides of a 1m square in B/C11–12 (fig. 5.104), a strict arrangement he argued illustrated the highly structured nature of the mass grave.[838] However, the area excavated to 1998 did not include the lower leg of the deposit (A–C 5–10 and part of A–C11). Later excavation expanded the area of the mass grave, and one's examination of later plans (fig. 5.104) revealed that the neat arrangement Lejars perceived was only the upper part of a large cluster of swords and sheaths in A10–C12. When the remainder of the swords and sheaths are brought into consideration, the neat, one meter square Lejars identified is revealed to simply be a fortuitous coincidence in a large concentration of swords and sheaths, or the remains from some sort of simple display of bundled sheaths above the human remains and the remainder of the armament mixed with the corpses (discussed below).

[837] Lejars 1998a, 243.
[838] Lejars 1998a, 238.

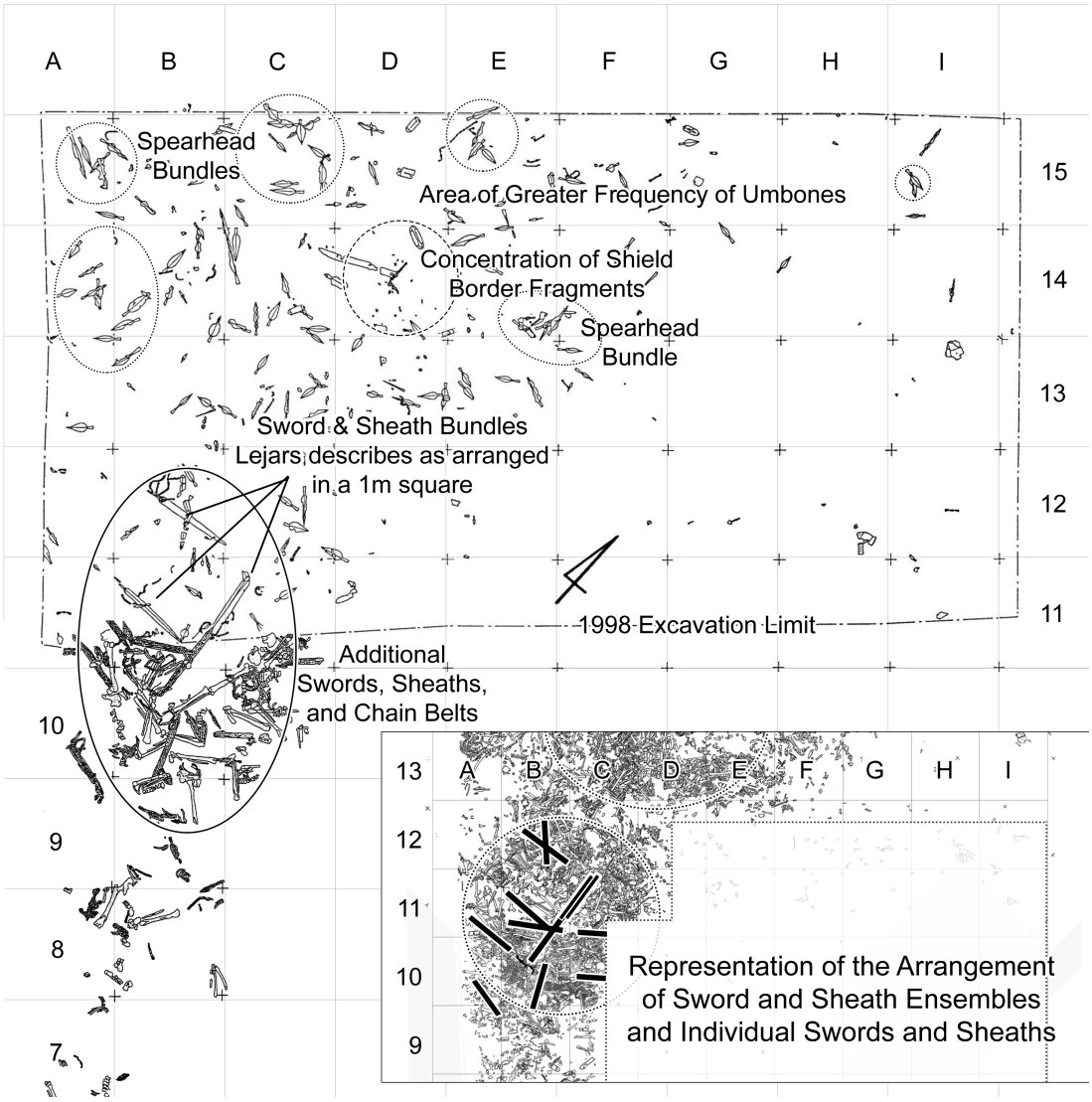


Figure 5.104. Illustration of Lejars' area (top) extended to capture the remainder of the sword and sheath concentration (adapted from Brunaux et al. 1999, fig. 4; Lejars 1998a, 237, fig. 4; and Ricard 2014, 49, fig. 28)

Additional material of the same types as the mass grave has been found north and south of the concentration of material defined as the mass grave. As discussed in chapters 2 and 3, the mass grave was not so much a distinct deposit outside the quadrangular enclosure as the most concentrated area of a broad scatter of material outside the quadrangular enclosure. For example, sword in sheath 990038 was found in context AA4, located immediately outside of the quadrangular enclosure to the

south, and west of the mass grave's square A4.[839] Given its location, and commonalities with the material from the mass grave, we may confidently associate it with the mass grave. The bands of material north and south of the mass grave reflect considerable extension of bone material and armament beyond the mass grave.

In one's revised presentation of the organization of armament in the mass grave (fig. 5.104), sword elements occupy a roughly 2m wide area extending south from B12 to B5, the entire southern leg of the mass grave, with a high concentration in the B12–B10 area, which corresponds to an overall concentration of bone and armament. Their continuation to the south seems to simply be an extension of material along the enclosure trench, like the gold coins extending over a length of approximately 10 meters from B10 in the mass grave into Zone 3 south of the quadrangular enclosure.[840]

Lejars describes a clear division of shield and sword elements between the northern and southern quadrants and limitation of armament to a narrow band. However, examination of the plans of the mass grave when it was fully excavated reveals that the finds are not strictly segregated or delimited (fig. 5.105). Several sword elements, including remnants of a sheath and a number of chain belts, were found in E/F15, seeming to reflect a secondary area of concentration within the area where shield elements, here *umbones*, are most frequent.[841] Sword elements were also found scattered in other locations within the mass grave including A13–14 and D/E/F13–14. Lengths of chain belts appear sporadically along the entire southern leg of the mass grave (A–C 5–9).

[839] See the discussion of the torque and gold coin finds below for further discussion and illustration of the contexts.
[840] Brunaux and Delestrée 2005, 10, fig. 1.
[841] Lejars 1998a, 242.

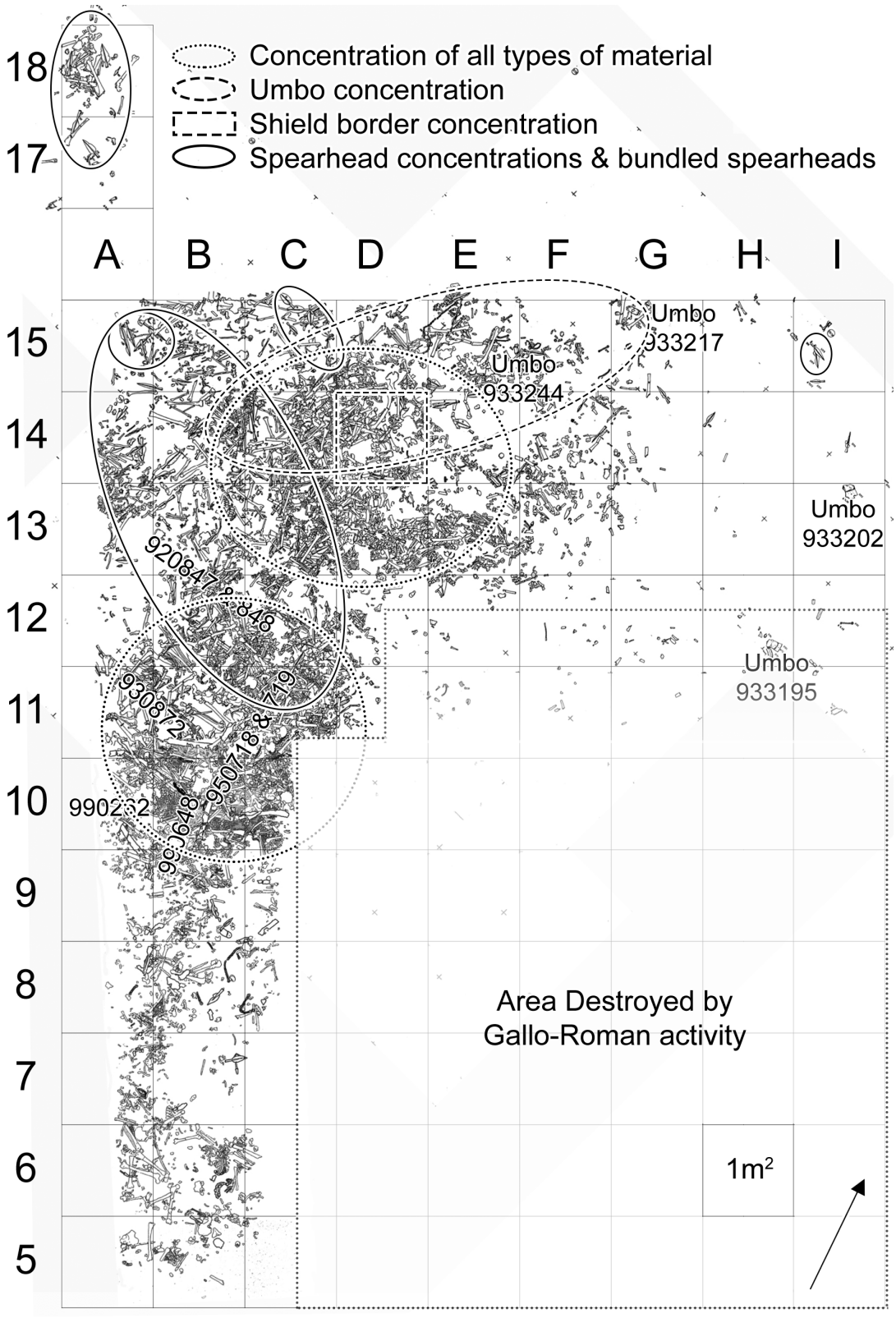


Figure 5.105. Plan of the mass grave with the concentrations of material indicated (The sword concentration corresponds to the overall concentration around A–D 10–12.) (adapted from Ricard 2014, 49, fig. 28)

Lejars' polar description of shield elements on the north and sword elements the south mischaracterizes the distribution of shield elements. While sword elements are heavily concentrated in a $4m^2$ area in the southern quadrants, shield elements, particularly *umbones*, are scattered across a broad $10m^2$ area in the northern quadrants. *Umbones* appear most frequently in C14–G15, and Lejars notes a concentration of shield border fragments in D14. Lejars does not note where else shield border fragments were found, and they are not noted in subsequent documentation or identifiable on plans.[842] In the mass grave's extreme east, where the material becomes very sparse (4–5m east), two further *umbones* were found in H12 and I13. At least one *umbo* was found in the far south (B9) among several chain belt lengths.

The armament found in the two piles that compose the mass grave proper (centered upon A–D 10–12 and B–E 13–15) (fig. 5.105) and on their peripheries seems to be roughly organized according to type in the pattern that Lejars observed: Sword elements (swords, sheaths, and chain belts) are concentrated in the center of the southern pile, and shield elements (*umbones*, shield handles, and shield borders) scattered on the northern side of the northern pile, with spear elements (spearheads and butts) concentrated between. In addition, there was a heavy concentration of spear elements on the northwest side of the mass grave, and an additional pile of spear elements and bone material immediately northwest of and slightly separated from the mass grave that Lejars did not note.[843]

The concentration of sword elements includes eight complete or nearly complete swords in sheaths (out of a total of eleven swords), and three largely

[842] One has not yet reviewed excavation reports for those years.
[843] Lejars 1998a, 243; Ricard 2014, 49–50. Not to mention the additional groups of material farther north and south noted above. One has not yet been able to determine the nature of the armament finds among this additional material.

complete sheaths in the area of A–C 10–12 (together making up more than half of the total of twenty-seven sheaths). More than a dozen chain belts appear in the same area, and extend to B6–9. The sword elements are not necessarily arranged in any order, although several swords and sheaths were bound together into bundles by their chain belts, and possibly leather straps (discussed below).

The "concentration" of shield elements is primarily composed of a scatter of *umbones* in D–G15 and C–D14 (about half of the twenty-five *umbones* from the mass grave), and the concentration of shield border fragments in D14 (fig. 5.105).[844] As noted above, the shield elements are more broadly scattered than the sword elements, individual *umbones* spread across the entire northern side of the mass grave (a $10m^2$ area), rather than heavily concentrated in a $4m^2$ space like the sword elements. A few *umbones* were also found on the northeastern periphery of the mass grave.

While seeming to be more highly concentrated between sword and shield elements, spear elements appear across the entire deposit, including the areas where sword and shield elements are concentrated. The distribution of spearheads seems largely unstructured, excepting a few areas where spearheads are heavily concentrated (e.g. A–C14, E/F13/14, C/D15), or grouped in a manner that suggests they were originally bundled or arranged together (e.g. A15 & I15).[845]

Lejars' hypothesis of an organization of the armament is based on a view of the mass grave as a single unit, a massive deposit created on a single occasion and constrained within a rectangular space. His interpretation is based upon the data from

[844] Eight *umbones*, and two *umbo* wings are visible on the plan of the mass grave in the area where shield elements are concentrated. The total count of *umbones* from the mass grave is 25 (MNI), so one expects that a number of *umbones* from this area are simply not visible, making the concentration stronger. Lejars (1998a, 238–9) describes the shield border fragments in D14, which are too small to be visible.
[845] Lejars 1998a, 235–9.

excavations through 1998, before the lower leg of the mass grave was excavated, and does not take the armament and bone finds north and south of the mass grave into account. Perception of the mass grave as a rectangularly-shaped deposit was undoubtedly influenced by Brunaux and the incompleteness of the excavations. Thus, Lejars was drawing conclusions from an incomplete picture of the mass grave. As noted above, Fercoq du Leslay interprets the deposit as an unstructured residual collection of armament and bone accumulated over a few decades.

However, one disagrees with Fercoq du Leslay's assertion that the mass grave is unstructured. There was at least some level of organization in the deposit, with shield and sword elements divided between the northern and southern piles respectively, just not the strict organization Lejars proposed (shield and sword elements divided into two areas circumscribed by hedges of spears). One would suggest that the deposit's partially structured nature may indicate the armament was sorted in preparation for select pieces to be brought into the quadrangular enclosure. Further, the bundling of spears and sheaths, and evidence suggesting that the sheath bundles may have been suspended, opens the possibility that the mass grave may have included some sort of display.

The frequency of *umbones* along the mass grave's northern edge (fig. 5.106), and the multiple spearhead clusters in the same area support the argument that the area was at least used to prepare material for transfer to the quadrangular enclosure. Lejars' suggestion that shields may have been disassembled there based upon the shield border fragments found in D14 further reinforces the same. [846] Also, a handle was found in

[846] Lejars 1998a, 238–9.

G15, and folded *umbones* (933202 and 933244) in I13 and E15, respectively, all of which must have been removed from their shields prior to mutilation.

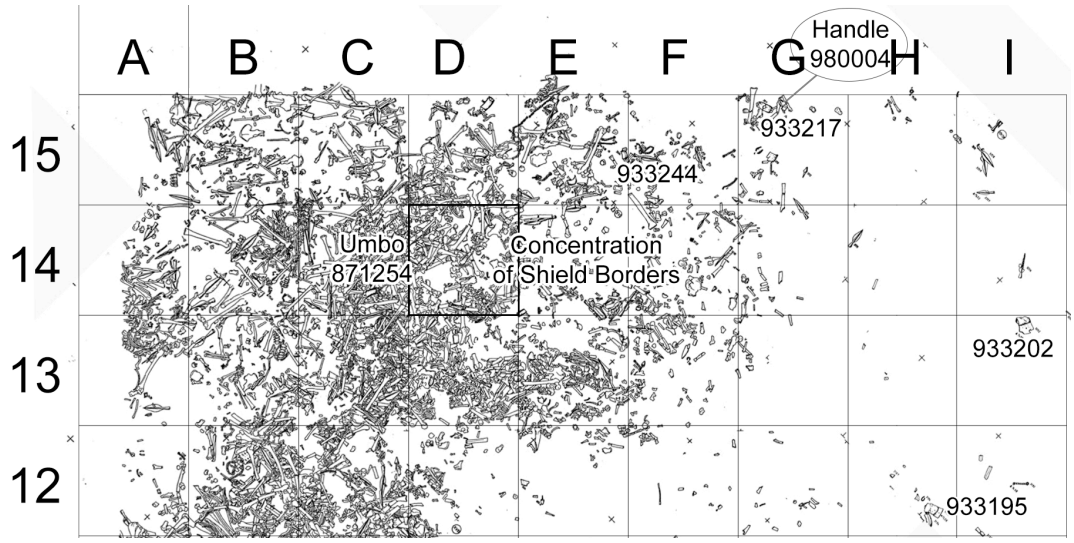


Figure 5.106. Detail of the mass grave showing the concentration of shield elements in the northern part of the deposit and their spread to its eastern fringe (adapted from Ricard 2014, 49, fig. 28)

Mutilated *umbones* were scattered across squares B–C14, D–G15, H12, and I13 revealing that shields were not simply disassembled, but also ritually processed in the area, and then either discarded in place, or brought into the quadrangular enclosure. Given the MNI of twenty-five *umbones* from a context containing the bones of at least 114 warriors, it seems possible that some *umbones* were brought from the mass grave into the quadrangular enclosure during the exchange of material between the two.[847] If the shields had been displayed beside the mass grave, one would expect numerous *umbones* to be clustered in a small area or arranged in a line, like the *umbones* southeast of Ossuary 82 discussed earlier in this chapter, rather than scattered broadly across the mass grave as they are.

[847] The argument that material was exchanged between the mass grave and the quadrangular enclosure has been presented in chapters 2 and 3.

For the swords and sheaths, the image is not as clear. They are gathered in an area along the quadrangular enclosure trench that would be largely accessible, but there is a significant amount of bone material in the way, raising questions about whether their retrieval would have been practical. Perhaps the swords and sheaths were piled closely together as a display of armament on top of the defeated enemy warriors' corpses, and were never intended to be brought into the quadrangular enclosure.

In this regard, there is a further detail to note in the arrangement of sword elements in the mass grave: Among the bundles described by Lejars forming his 1m square, there is one bundle that partially came apart (fig. 5.107). Swords in sheaths 950718 and 719 remained bound together, while sword in sheath 990298 lies beside them, facing in the opposite direction with its hilt in line with theirs, and entangled with them by chain belt lengths. Excavators believe that the positioning of the three swords in sheath and the connection made by the chain belts indicate that the three swords in sheaths were bundled together, and suspended in the air by a chain belt; as the binding weakened, sheath 990298 swung loose and eventually, all three fell to the ground. Suspension of this bundle and possibly the others nearby would suggest at least an informal display of swords in sheaths, perhaps hung from spears set upright in the area, as there is no evidence of architectonic features like the postholes found in the quadrangular enclosure. Lejars notes that small elongated traces on the underside of some pieces suggest the weapons were placed flat on a carpet of twigs.[848]

[848] Lejars 1998a, 240.

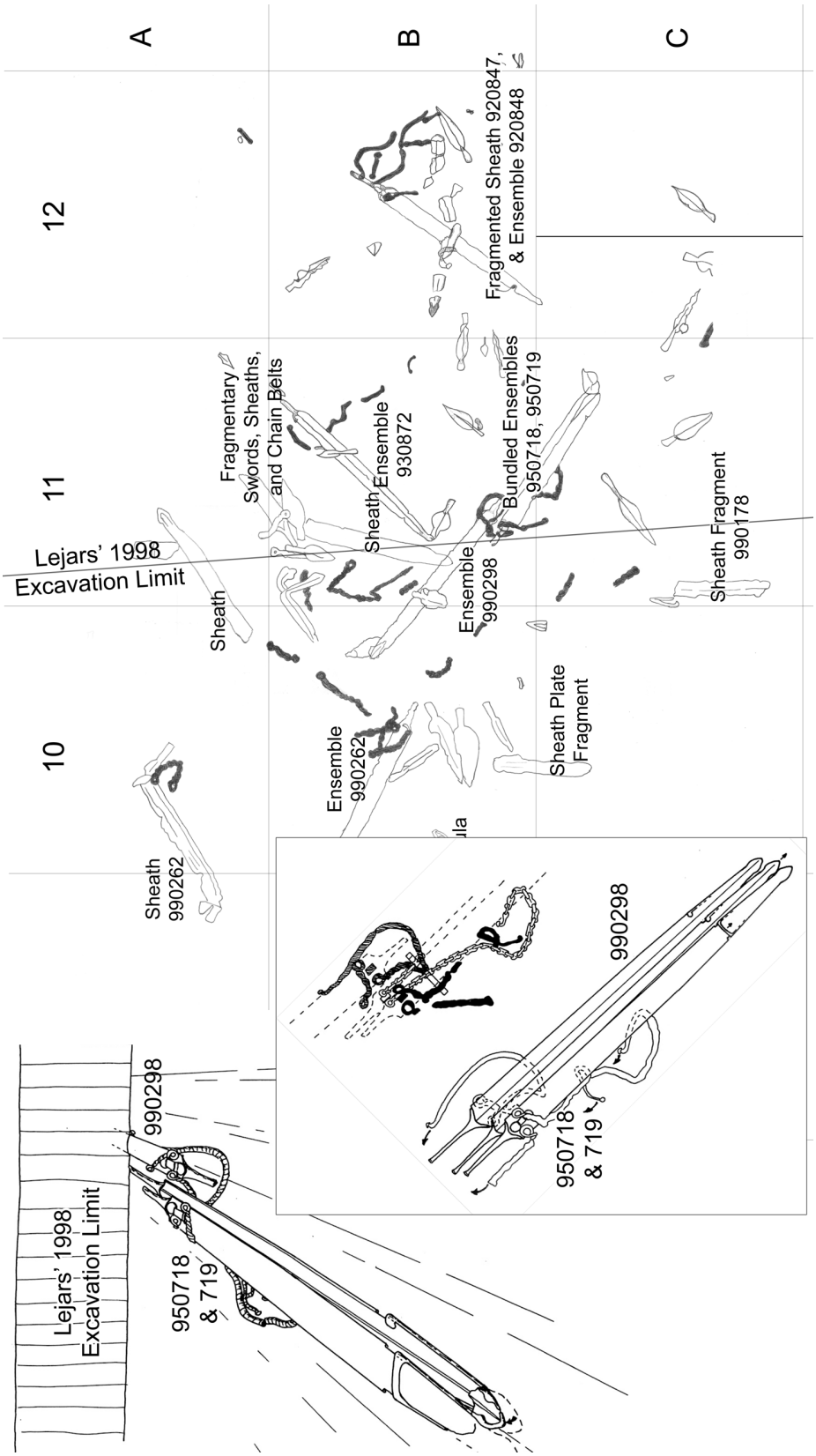


Figure 5.107. Bundled swords in sheaths probably suspended in an informal display (after Brunaux et al. 1995, Plans)

5.8.3. Ritual Mutilation within the Mass Grave

Very few of the finds from the mass grave are featured in excavation documentation and the archival material, so one may only characterize ritual mutilation in the mass grave generally. The select mutilated finds that are illustrated will be examined thereafter. In 1998, Lejars indicated that there was no evidence of a systematic ritual mutilation of the weapons found to date in the mass grave, and that the mutilations performed were considerably less dramatic than those from the other contexts at Ribemont, and from other sites like Gournay.[850]

The damage observable on the few pictured finds is less dramatic than *some* mutilations, like the tight coiling of sheath 5711.05 from Ossuary 82, but most mutilations of weapons from the quadrangular enclosure are more simple and are comparable to those in the mass grave. The case is the same at Gournay, with most sheaths bent only once, and only a few dramatic examples of more significant mutilation (e.g. GSA 2624, a bundle of three sheaths folded closely around one another). Lejars attributes the damage to the armament observed in the mass grave to combat in many cases, a reasonable claim, as the weapons from Ribemont are battlefield collections, and many pieces from the quadrangular enclosure also display combat damage. However, there are some pieces among the armament from the mass grave that display significant mutilations.

Four of the twenty five *umbones* from the mass grave were ritually mutilated (fig. 5.108). All come from the fringes of the deposit, two the northernmost edge and two the far northeast where the material is particularly sparse. They were folded, sheared, struck, and pierced, paralleling damage observed on *umbones* at Gournay (fig.

[850] Lejars 1998a, 238–40

5.108). Two (933202, 933244) were folded, a mutilation also found in the circular and quadrangular enclosures at Ribemont, and requiring removal from their shields prior to mutilation: One of these (933202) was sheared twice in parallel cuts mirrored on either side of one wing prior to the *umbo*'s folding when the wing was accessible. The other (933244) was folded twice, part of its shell folded upon itself, and one of its wings folded again, before it was torn away, possibly intentionally. The shell of the third *umbo* (933195) collapsed and folded over one wing when it was struck by a blunt instrument. This compression and the surviving rivet head caught under the shell suggest that the *umbo* remained attached to its shield. The wing would have flattened outward if the rivet had not held it in place. However, the *spina* must not have provided support for the shell to collapse downward.

The fourth *umbo* (933217) was struck by a piercing blow from the outside, resulting in the collapse of its shell and the splaying of its wings, and leaving a large hole in the crushed crown. Both wings are bent upward, and one is torn away, suggesting that the *umbo* was pried loose from its shield. The shell's collapse indicates that no *spina* provided support from behind. Because the *umbo*'s wings splayed when its shell collapsed, it seems most likely that the *umbo* was removed from its shield before it was struck. The width and narrowness of the puncture hole suggests a spearhead was used rather than a spear butt. Judging from the violence of the blow, as indicated by the crushing and distortion of the metal around the puncture, it may have been difficult to dislodge the spearhead afterward.

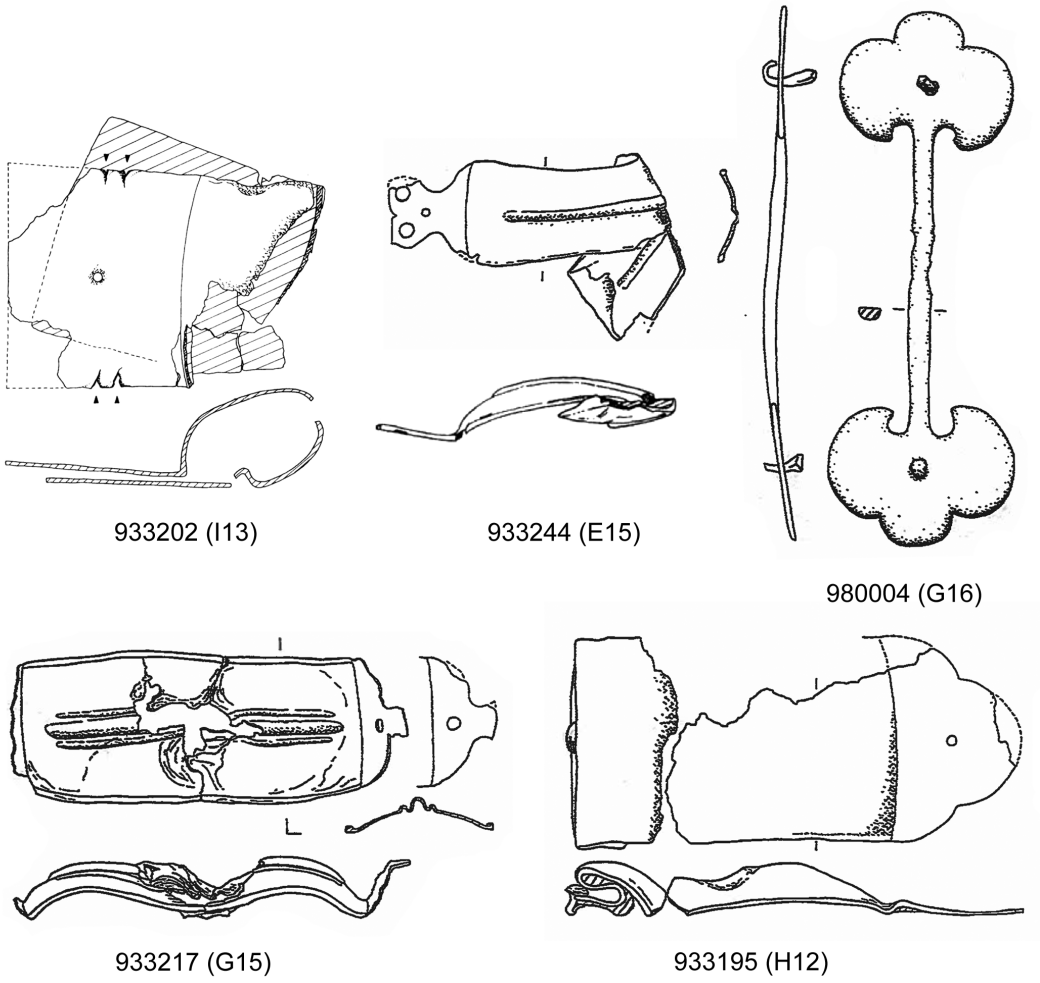


Figure 5.108. Shield elements from the mass grave (after Lejars 1998a, 236, fig. 3 and Petit 2002, Pl. XXX and XXXI)

All of the mutilations observed at Ribemont find direct parallels on examples from Gournay (fig. 5.109), and were assuredly performed using the same methods. As Rapin argued for the *umbones* from Gournay, the flattening of the shells of the *umbones* from Ribemont likely reflects a lack of support from their *spinae*, explained at Gournay as a consequence of the shields' decay during long exposure to the elements.[851] In the mass grave, most *umbones* retain their rivets, suggesting that, as at Gournay, shields were left until an almost complete decay of the wood.[852] Both

[851] Brunaux and Rapin 1988, 158–9.
[852] Petit 2002, 74.

Brunaux's and Fercoq du Leslay's interpretations of the mass grave include a lengthy period of exposure for the weapons after their deposit, during which shields' wooden elements would have decayed.[853] The placement of the mutilated *umbones* at the edge of the mass grave suggests that accessible shield remains may have been mutilated years or decades after shields' initial deposit in the mass grave.

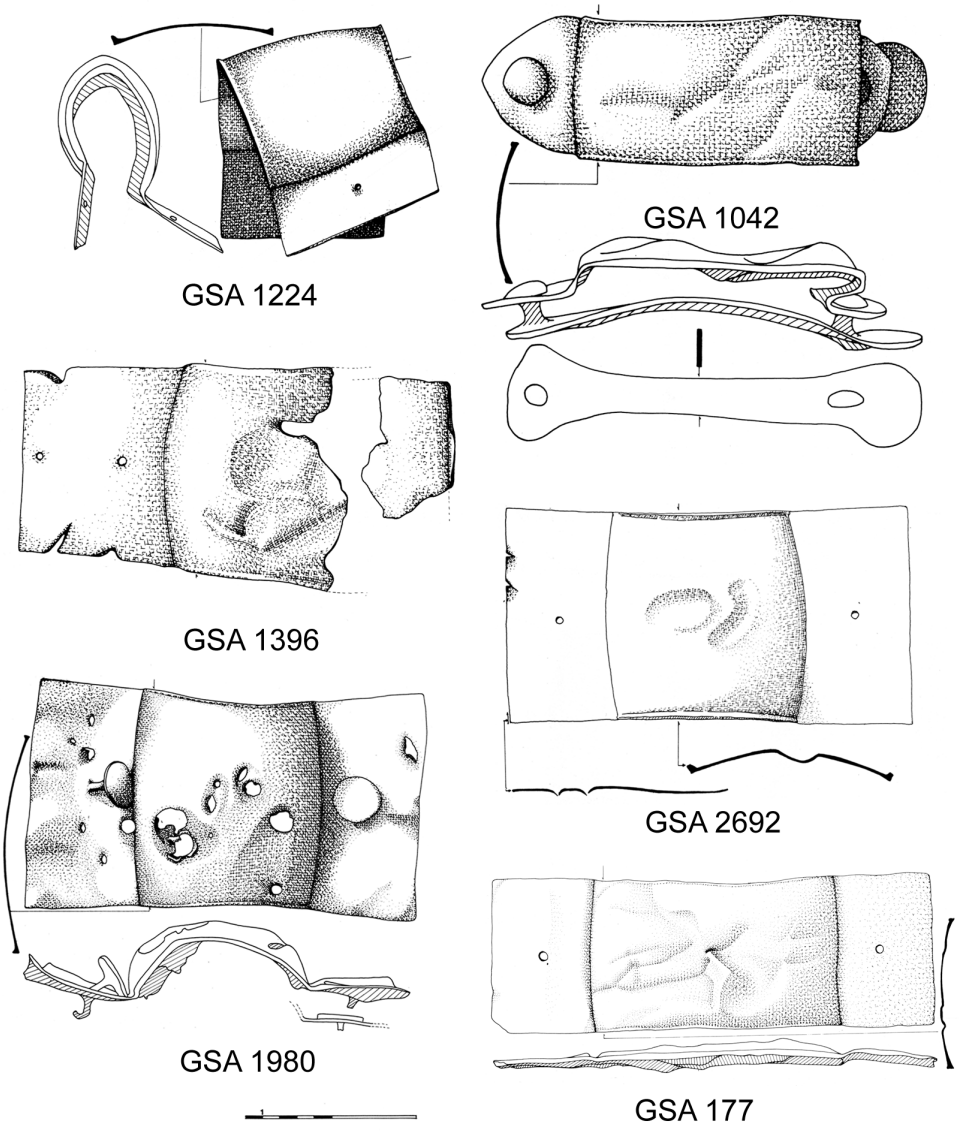


Figure 5.109. Umbones from Gournay-sur-Aronde (after Brunaux and Rapin 1988)

[853] Fercoq du Leslay 2017; G. Fercoq du Leslay 2018, pers. comm., 1 June; Brunaux et al. 1999; Brunaux 2004; Lejars 1998a, 239. Brunaux's interpretation is also presented in Petit 2002 and Ricard 2014.

A final noteworthy feature of these *umbones* and the handle that accompanied them (fig. 5.110) is their decorative nature, a rare feature at Ribemont. *Umbo* 933217 features a triple rib on the peak of its shell and narrow tapered wings. *Umbo* 933195's wings are tri-lobed. The shield handle features a narrow and delicate shaft, and tri-lobed ends with pointed returns resembling fleurs-de-lis. Its small preserved rivet nails, one of which retains its bend, indicate the shield was left to decay fully prior the handle's separation (if it was separated at all). At Gournay, decorative features like these are common, but at Ribemont, where most armament is simple and largely unadorned, they stand out. Given that the men in the mass grave are identified as enemy warriors with certainty (see chapter 3), this more decorative armament may suggest some selectivity in collection from the battlefield. In addition to these shield parts, the mass grave also provides a rare example of an engraved sheath (991178, pictured below).

Figure 5.110. Elaborate shield handle (Centre Archéologique Départemental Ribemont-sur-Ancre)

The other mutilated armament from the mass grave (fig. 5.111) includes two spearheads (871506 and 871808) and the proximal two-thirds of an engraved sheath (991178). Both spearheads feature bends that are too sharp to be incidental or combat damage. Spearhead 871808 is bent approximately 15° off its vertical axis at the

midpoint of the blade, a slight but sharp bend likely affected with a tool. The distinction may be clarified by comparison with spearhead 933223, which is bent nearly 90° but smoothly, reflecting impact on a rigid surface. Spearhead 871506 bears a sharp bend near its tip that may be identified as intentional with confidence. The entire length of its blade is distorted, but this damage may be incidental, incurred under the weight of the corpses piled over the spearhead. The blade is reduced to its tang along much of its length. It is not clear whether the blade loss was caused by intentional mutilation or corrosion, but the jagged irregular edges left suggest intentional mutilation. Sheath (991178) was bent once along its length, just under 90°, in a bend that seems too sharp to be incidental. Beneath the bend, the sheath's distal portion broke away, but the plates are not bent to suggest metal stress, and the sheath was highly fragmented along the remainder of its length, indicating that the break and loss were incidental fragmentation after corrosion made the iron brittle. Sword in sheath 950718, also from the mass grave, discussed earlier in this chapter, fragmented in the same way.

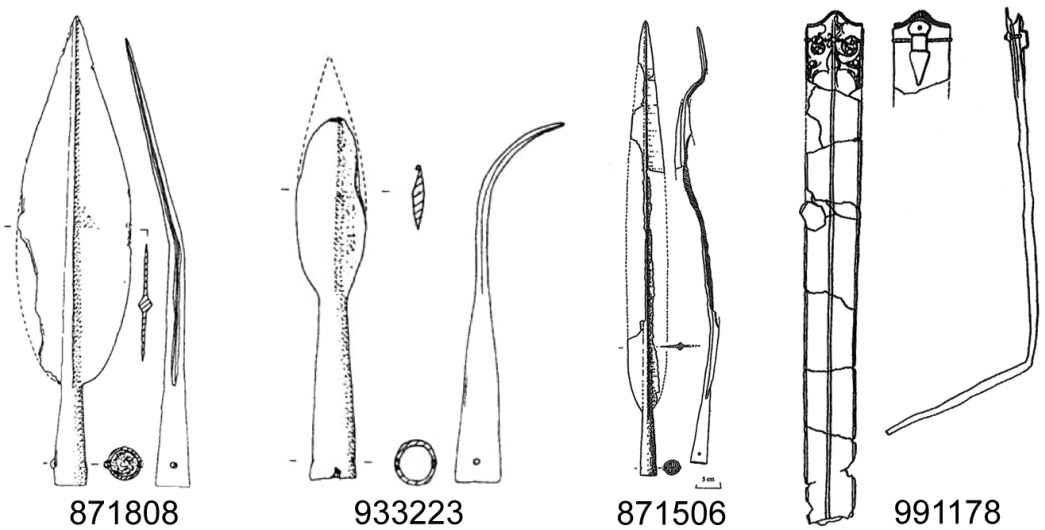


Figure 5.111. Spearheads and sheath from the mass grave displaying evidence of intentional mutilation (after Petit 2002, Pl. XXVIII, XXXIV, and Lejars 1998a, 236, fig. 3)

In sum, only a small minority of the armament from the mass grave displays evidence of ritual mutilation, insufficient to claim ritual mutilation was a regular practice in the mass grave.[854] However, before dismissing mutilation in the mass grave, one must note a key aspect of the practice: its relative chronology. All the mutilated pieces are located at the fringes and in the upper layers of the mass grave, suggesting that the armament may have been mutilated some time after the formation of the mass grave. The two mutilated spearheads come from the upper layers of the mass grave, and the bent sheath was found near the mass grave's southeast edge. All the mutilated *umbones* were found on the northern fringes of the mass grave. If mutilation was performed after formation of the mass grave, only the accessible pieces would have been collected. When the mutilations observed occurred cannot be determined.

5.9. The Armament Assemblage from the Sanctuary of Villeneuve-au-Châtelot

5.9.1. Overview

The sanctuary at Villeneuve is a smaller version of the sanctuary at Gournay, founded in the LTB2 period beside an existing tumulus and near a LTB necropolis, places of memory in a long-occupied territory (fig. 5.112).[855] It consists of a large enclosure trench delimiting the sacred area, which received the final deposit of the sanctuary's La Tène dedications at the sanctuary's abandonment in the LTD2a. The trench enclosed a 400–700m^2 area (in comparison with Gournay's interior area of 1,200m^2). Like Gournay, in its early phases, the enclosure at Villeneuve contained a central pit surrounded by smaller pits.

[854] Neither Brunaux nor Fercoq du Leslay comment on ritual mutilation in the mass grave. Lejars (1998a, 240) notes only that 'the damage observable is too discrete and isolated to claim that there was a systematic destruction of weapons, and many may be, instead, the result of combat damage'.
[855] Bataille 2008, 47 &206.

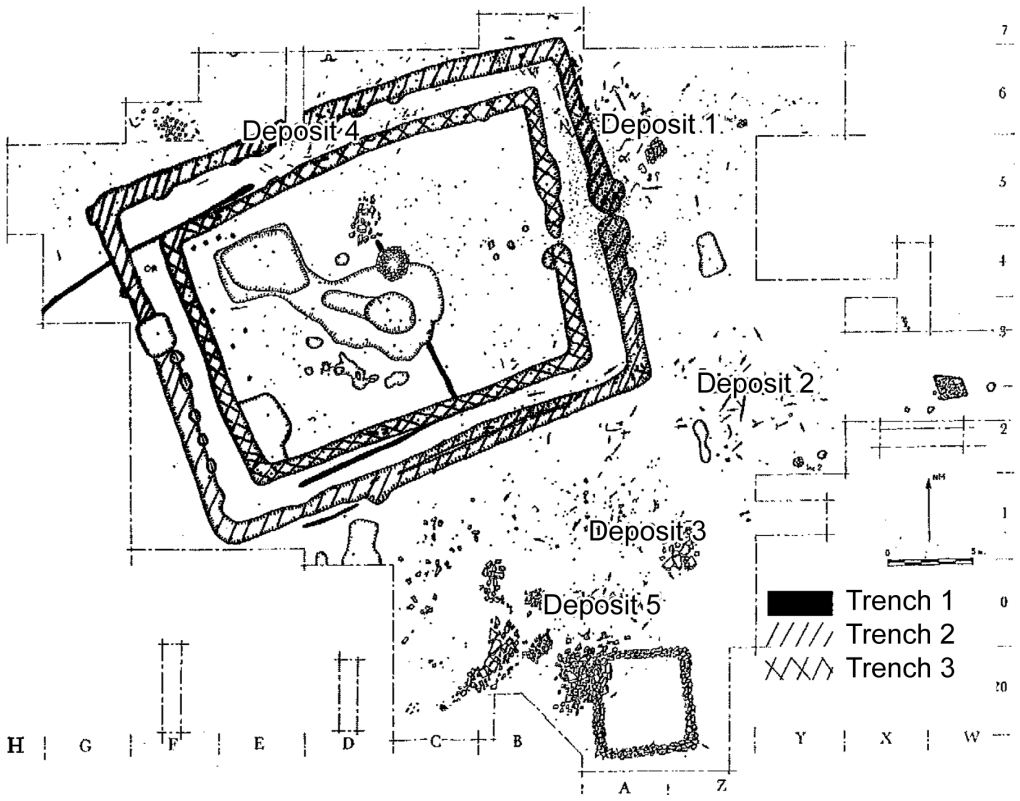


Figure 5.112. Plan of the sanctuary at Villeneuve (after Bataille 2001, 444, fig. 1)

5.9.2. Assessment of the Armament Assemblage from Villeneuve

The sanctuary at Villeneuve-au-Châtelot has provided 44 swords, 91 sheaths, 41 spearheads, and 36 *umbones* (fig. 5.113). Bataille indicates that the armament assemblages from Gournay and Villeneuve differ only in quantities and distributions of weapon types, not in dedicatory practice (panoplies vs. individual pieces) nor ritual mutilation (detailed below in 5.9.3).[856]

Dedications at the sanctuary began modestly in the LTB2 period, one to two decades before Gournay, with a small group of armament and fibulae dedications. Armament dedications increased gradually through the LTC1 period, and reached a peak in the LTC2, before diminishing in the LTD1 through the cessation of offerings

[856] Bataille 2008, 167.

in the LTD2a. When armament dedications declined in the LTD1, civilian offerings increased considerably, so much that the numbers of offerings in the LTD1 were equal to those made in the LTC2. At the closure of the sanctuary in the LTD2a, all of the dedications made at the sanctuary from its foundation were collected into four deposits made in the sanctuary's enclosure trenches and within the *temenos* area nearby.[857]

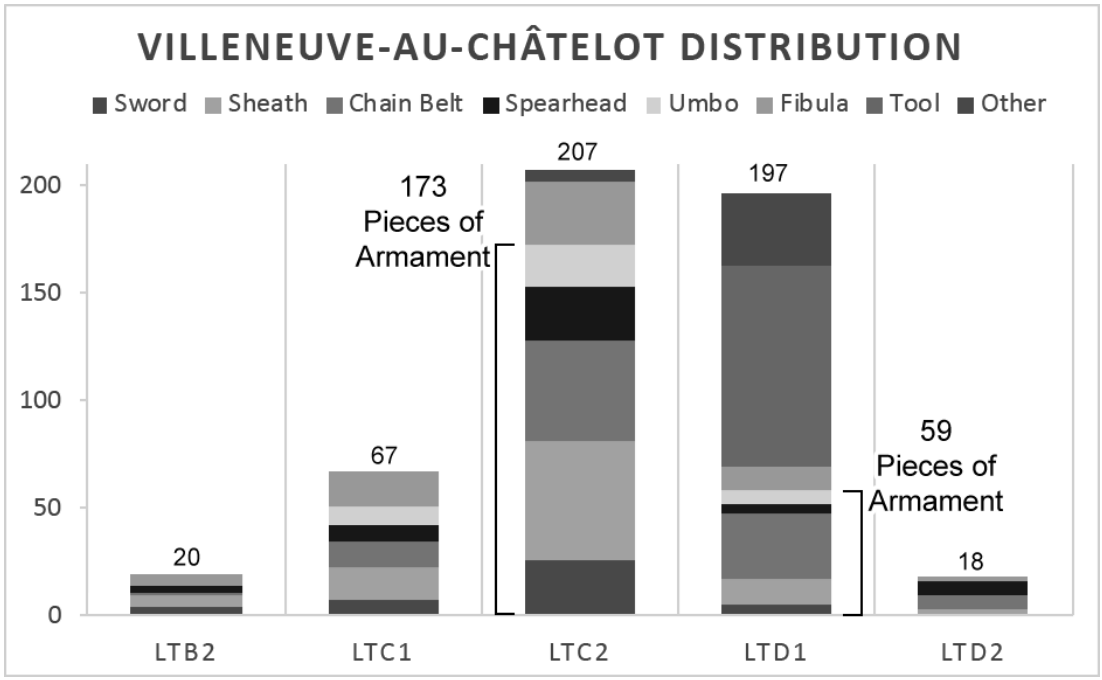


Figure 5.113. Distribution of dedications at Villeneuve-au-Châtelot by period (data from Bataille 2008)

The peak of dedicatory activity from the LTC2–LTD1 had two phases, during which the overall quantities of offerings remained virtually the same (207 vs. 197 items), but the types of objects dedicated changed considerably. The first phase was dominated by armament dedications, the second, characterized by a massive influx of tools (94) and other civilian offerings, and corresponding reduction of armament counts by two-thirds (173 to 59).[858] This diversification of dedications likely reflects

[857] Bataille 2008, 138.
[858] Bataille 2008, 149–50.

a change in the population frequenting the sanctuary from exclusively warriors toward a predominantly civilian populace.[859]

Contemporary with Villeneuve, on a much smaller scale, Ribemont at the end of the LTC2 through LTD1 displayed a similar shift toward civilian offerings (tools, ploughshares, domestic equipment, etc.).[860] Notably, deposit EM-294 in the southwestern corner of the quadrangular enclosure trench provides a group of LTD2 tools in a rare variance from the dominance of armament at the site. Some of the domestic utensils and tools on both sites, like the cauldron and bucket connectors and knives must have been used in cult ceremonies.[861]

Table 5.7. Armament Deposition over Time and Panoplies[862]	
LTB2	First deposition of armament, complete sets of armament from 3 warriors, partial sets from 3 warriors, sheaths predominant
LTB2/C1 & LTC1	Development of armament deposition practices, between 40–50% of warriors represented by complete sets of armament, others by partial sets, sheaths predominant
LTC2	Peak of armament deposition practices, less than one-third of warriors represented by complete sets of armament, others by partial sets, sheaths predominant
LTC2/D1	Decline of deposition, less than one-third of warriors represented by complete sets of armament, offerings of sheaths and belts more or less equal
LTD1	Lowest number of dedications, less than 20% of warriors represented by complete sets of armament, belts predominant
LTD2a	Final depositions of equipment, 2 warriors represented by complete armament sets, and 5 by partial ensembles, belts predominant

5.9.3. The Ritual Mutilation of Armament at Villeneuve

Bataille indicates that the ritual destruction of armament at Villeneuve was considerably more violent than other sites, even Gournay. It created 479 fragments out

[859] Bataille 2008, 161, fig. 97 and 192–3.
[860] Viand et al. 2000.
[861] Bataille (2008, 186) indicates the interpretation of some graves at Acy-Romance as priests' graves facilitates identification of the utensils as ritual instruments, and they bear striking similarities with sanctuaries.
[862] Bataille 2008, 169.

of 36 *umbones*, and 665 fragments out of 91 sheaths.[863] However, the methods of mutilation were typical, corresponding closely with mutilations at Gournay: Swords were bent, cut, broken, and their cutting edges destroyed. Spearheads were sheared extensively, bent, broken, and cut on both their tips and blade edges. *Umbones* were sheared, struck with swords, bent, and perforated. Sheaths were broken, bent, and sheared. As at Gournay, attention was focused on destroying the functionality of the armament – sheaths disassembled, sword edges destroyed, spearheads shredded.

All of the armament was integrated in a long ritual process of dedication, exposure and/or exhibition, mutilation, and deposition, practices that took place over a lengthy period.[864] Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence does not allow the time elapsed between the dedication of armament pieces at the sanctuary and their mutilation to be determined, an uncertainty shared by the sanctuary at Gournay.

5.9.4. Context of Finds

The La Tène armament depositions at Villeneuve were made in three pits within the *temenos*, the largest two of which were located in front of the east façade of the two concentric quadrangular enclosure trenches. Bataille parallels this placement with the concentration of armament dedications on the east façade of the sanctuary at Gournay.[865] Armament from the three deposits dates from the beginning of dedicatory practice in the LTB2 through the LTD2a cessation and deposition of dedications. As at Gournay, the La Tène phase of the site was marked by an infill of the enclosure trench and deposit of all dedications made from the sanctuary's origin to that date.

[863] Bataille 2008, 57–63.
[864] Bataille 2008, 49–63, 70–1, and 149.
[865] Bataille 2008, 138.

5.10. The Armament Assemblage from Enclosure 56 at Montmartin

5.10.1. Overview

The aristocratic residence at Montmartin overall provides 106 whole or fragmentary iron objects, two-thirds of which come from the cult enclosure on the site, Enclosure 56. They include 30 personal adornment items, 17 weapons, 15 tools and utensils, 15 construction elements, and 20 objects with indeterminate function.[866] The assemblage at Montmartin is residual like those from the circular enclosure and mass grave at Ribemont. The assemblage represents the remains of decades of cult practice within the enclosure. Some of the items seem to have been displayed on the palisade wall during this time and then collected before destruction of the enclosure.

The distribution of armament by type at Montmartin closely corresponds to Gournay: swords and sheaths in majority and a poor representation of spears.[867] The primary difference between armament from Montmartin and that from Gournay is chronology. Where Gournay ceases, Montmartin picks up, with some overlap in the two armament assemblages' typo-chronologies. The sheaths from Montmartin may be divided into two groups, the first containing pieces identical to the later sheaths dedicated at Gournay, and the second sheaths of later date of typologies unknown at Gournay. The case is the same for spearheads and *umbones*.

[866] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 150.
[867] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 236.

5.10.2. Ritual Mutilation of Armament at Montmartin

The weapons from Montmartin (figs. 5.114–5.117) bear traces of violent destruction of the same types observed on armament from Gournay, and find parallels at Ribemont as well.[868] Two swords (fig. 5.114) were bent sharply, and bear multiple lateral blows, which caused some shearing to their blade edges (fig. 5.114, distal end of no. 2), symbolically destroying the swords by rendering them unusable. A third sword (fig. 5.116, no. 5) was curled before its blade snapped, and it was struck with lateral shearing blows along the entire distal half on one side. The damage was so intense, it serrated the blade, an extreme mutilation also seen on swords and sheaths at Gournay.[869] A fourth sword (fig. 5.116, no. 6) was likewise struck by shearing blows, on both sides, at regular intervals, in its case. The shearing of the blade edge, rather than chipping, like that seen on the first sword (fig. 5.114, no. 1), indicates the metal was fresh when it was struck, particularly given the thickness of the blade.

[868] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 150 and 238.
[869] See sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.4.

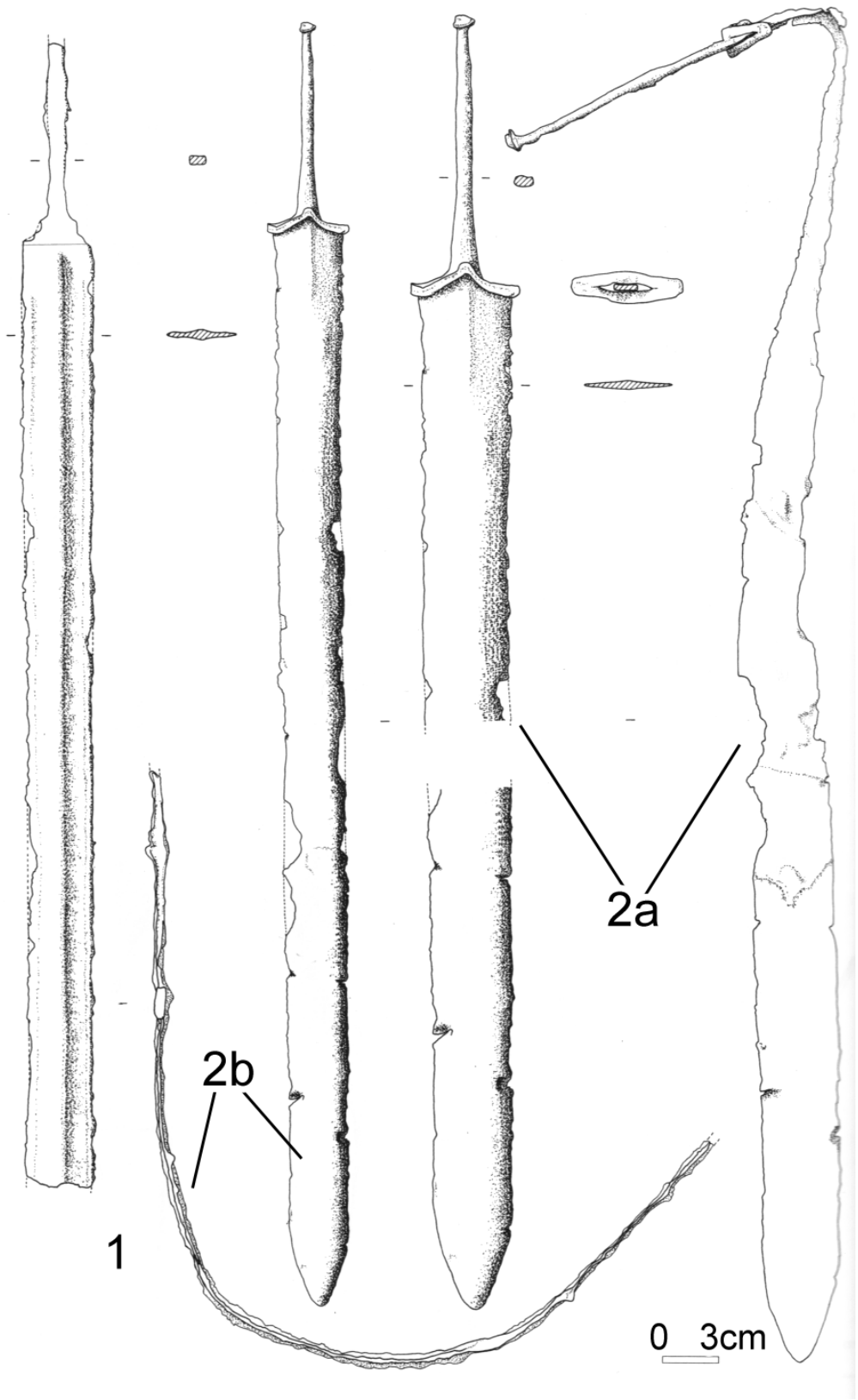


Figure 5.114. Struck and Bent Swords from Montmartin (Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 136, fig. 118)

An *umbo* with trapezoidal wings (fig. 5.115 & 116) was destroyed by crushing its crown. The way in which the shell crumpled flat, even with its wings and the way the wings splayed indicate that the *umbo* was not attached to its shield at the time, but removed and placed on a flat surface to crush it. Its typology and mutilation parallel an *umbo* found in the quadrangular enclosure trench at Ribemont (851121 in F-52). The edges of its wings and the side of the shell seem to have been struck with a bladed instrument as well, a thorough destruction seen also for *umbo* 1980 at Gournay.

Figure 5.115. Twisted Sheath and Punctured Umbo from Montmartin (Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 157, figs. 138 and 141)

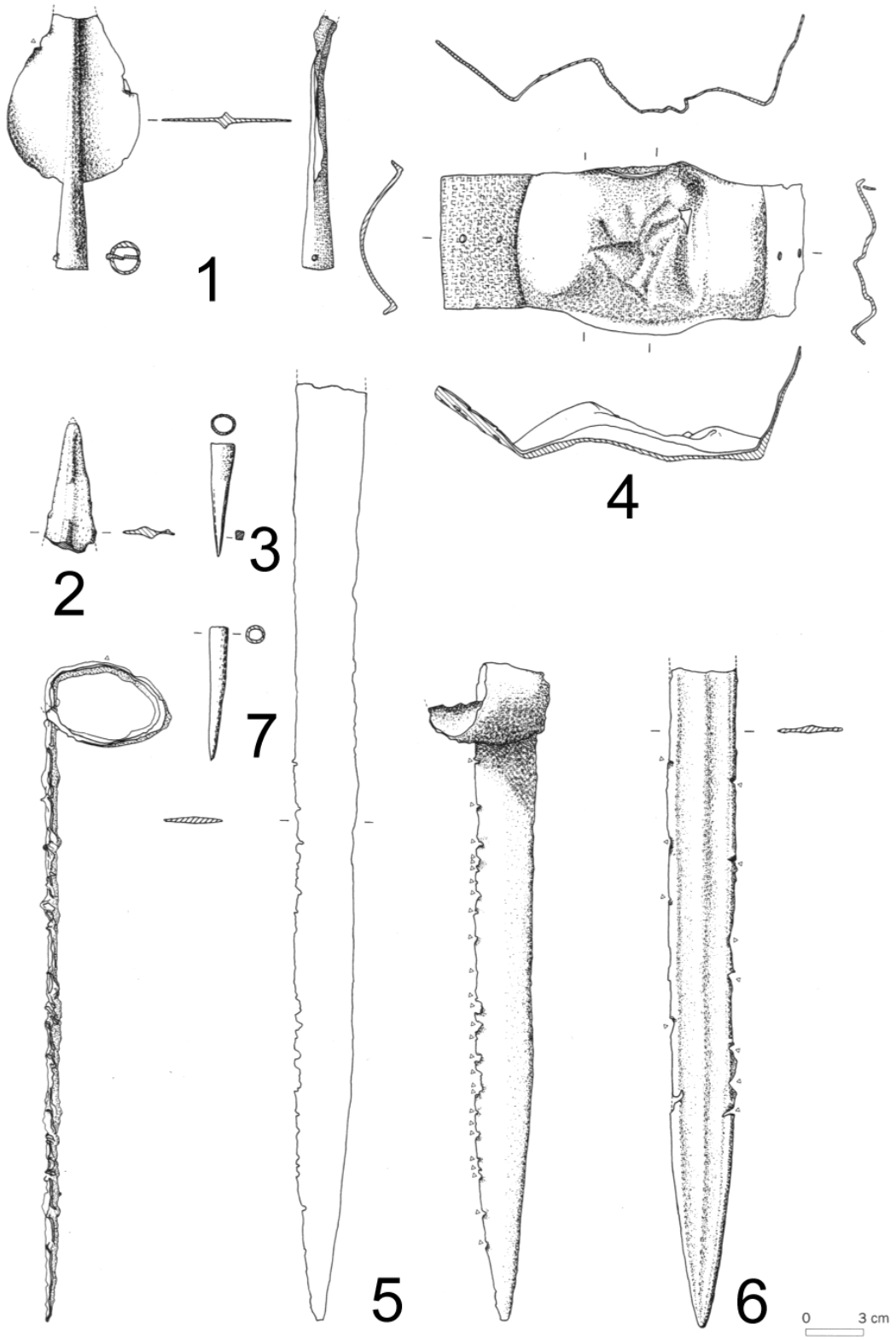


Figure 5.116. Struck and Bent Swords, Spearhead, and Umbo from Montmartin (Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 137, fig. 119)

A distal sheath fragment was twisted dramatically and torn away from the rest of its sheath (fig. 5.115 and 117, no. 8). Several other sheath fragments display similar pronounced curves and metal stress at breaks (fig. 5.117, nos. 1, 3, and potentially 2 and 4), some individual plates attest to disassembly of sheaths (nos. 3 and 4), and shearing and fragmentation were also performed (nos. 1, 2, 5, and 8), all standard practice at Gournay (e.g. GSA 1495/1519 in fig. 5.114), and similar to mutilated sheath fragments from Ribemont as well.

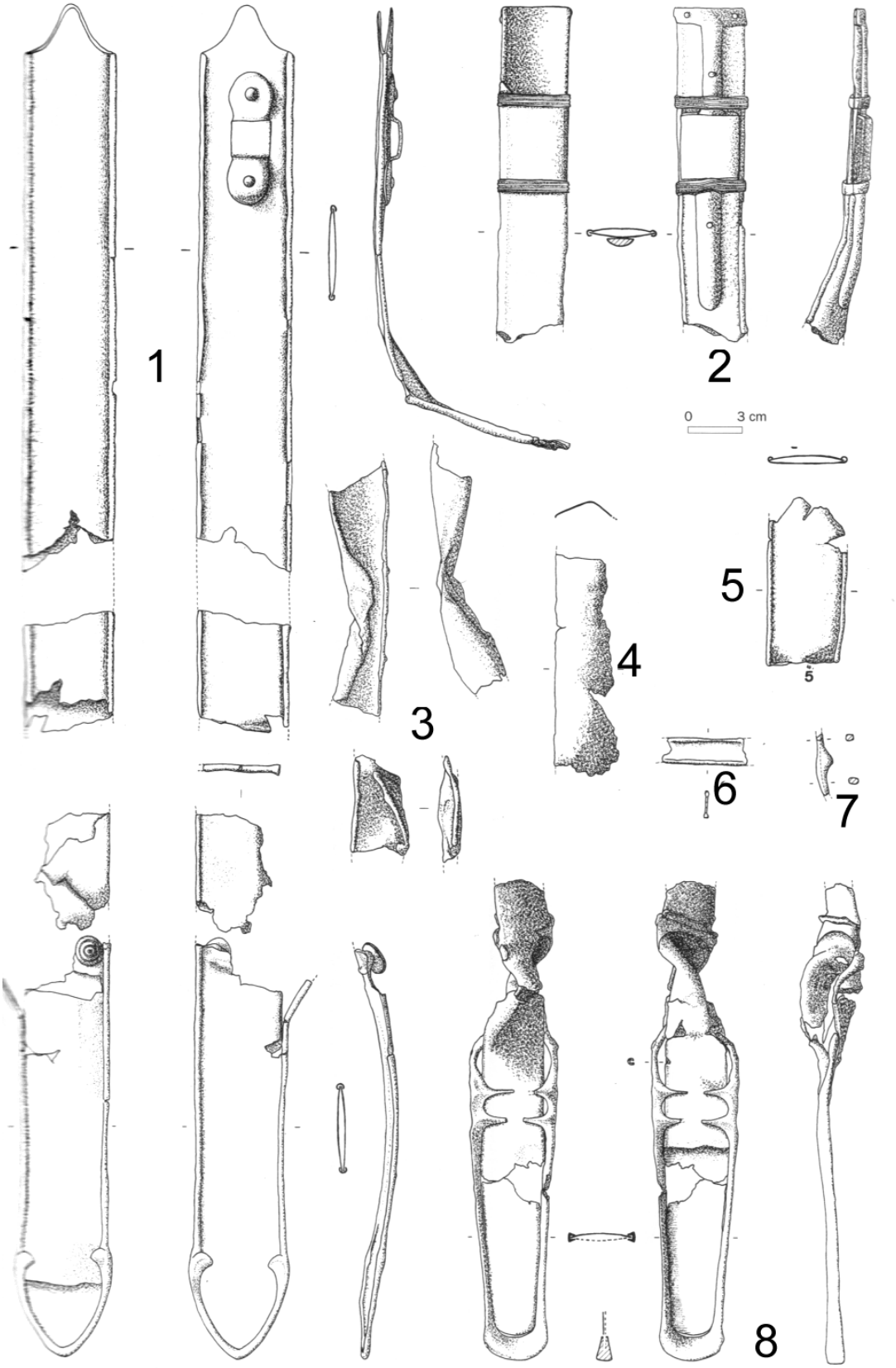


Figure 5.117. Bent and Twisted Sheaths from Montmartin (Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 135, fig. 117)

Like the armament from Gournay, the armament at Montmartin must have been fresh at the time of its mutilation, because the metal was sufficiently flexible and possessed sufficient tensile strength to distort, rather than break, when subjected to mutilation. Swords and sheaths were bent, twisted, and curled to profound angles. Shearing blows were applied to sword blades and sheaths edges without chipping the metal. Lastly, the *umbo* shell collapsed under blows from a blade edge instead of fragmenting, as would have occurred if the iron were corroded (not fresh) at the time.

5.10.2. Context of Finds

Armament found in the palisade foundation trench of Enclosure 56 at Montmartin was, like the human bones, concentrated on either side of the entrance (40–46 in fig. 5.118) in the eastern length of the trench, only one-third of the wall's length and not near the ritual pit (area of 24N). Armament finds were most abundant in the upper levels of the trench.[872] The armament must have been mounted on the palisade wall in displays on either side of the entrance, and removed prior to the burning of the palisade wall, as it bears no traces of exposure to fire. It was then deposited in the upper layers of the wall's foundation trench along with fired wattle-and-daub wall fragments, human bones, tools and utensils likely used in cult practice within the enclosure, and other construction remains (fig. 5.118).

[872] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 236–8.

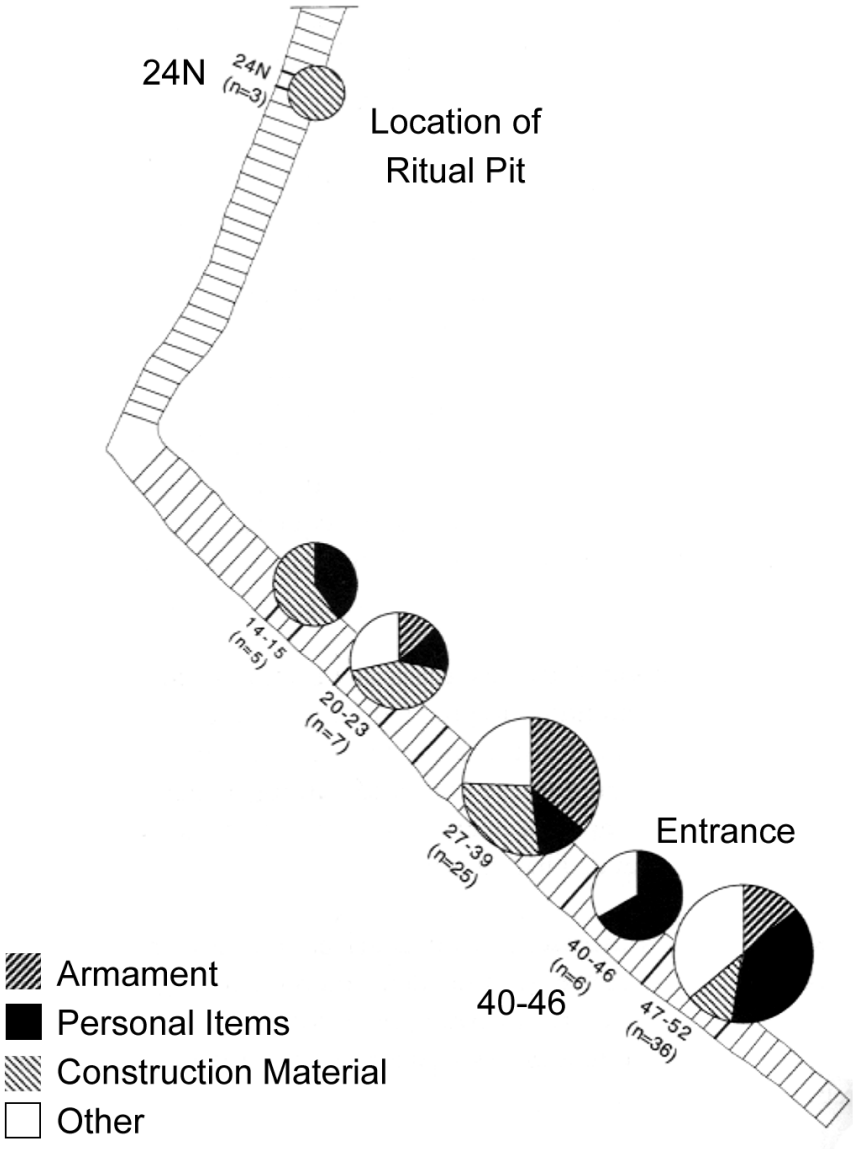


Figure 5.118. Distribution of armament along the foundation trench of Enclosure 56 (after Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 176, fig. 159)

5.11. Conclusion: Ribemont vs. Gournay

The armament assemblage from Ribemont has been described as a battlefield collection, while the assemblage from Gournay is described as a curated collection. While the LTC1 armament from Ribemont does seem to have come directly from the nearby battlefield (the human remains found in the same contexts as the armament must have), it does not represent an indiscriminate collection and disorderly dump of material, but a curated assemblage. In the case of Ribemont, curation consisted of ritual processing of the armament, rather than the preferential collection of certain types of armament and of decorated pieces seen at Gournay. At Ribemont, spearheads dominate, a MNI of 153 in comparison with MNIs of 11 swords and 27 sheaths, for a MNI of 114 warriors.[873] The lesser frequency of spear butts (MNI of 46) may be explained by a frequent breaking of wooden spear shafts in battle, and consequent collection of many incomplete spears. At Ribemont, particularly in the mass grave, armament was limited to a few-decade span in the LTC1b; armament from the quadrangular enclosure and mass grave was largely homogenous in typology.

At Gournay, swords, sheaths, and *umbones* were the preeminent dedications, producing a different distribution of armament. Decorated prestige pieces were selected and dedicated in groups. They were subjected to complex and thorough ritual mutilations prior to final deposit. Armament was dedicated throughout the LTC period in consistent quantities, and originated from a variety of conflicts throughout Gaul, as their varied provenances reflect.[874]

[873] Lejars 1998a, 242.
[874] Brunaux and Rapin 1988; Lejars 1994.

The assemblage from the enclosure trench at Gournay has been described as 'curated', and Brunaux has claimed that most of the armament dedicated was complete panoplies of sword, sheath, and shield (*umbo* and shield border). However, examining the statistics of the armament distribution at Gournay, Bataille identifies a 40% to 60% ratio between warriors represented by complete panoplies and those represented by only one or two pieces of armament.[875] Thus, the majority of armament dedicated at Gournay was collected on the battlefield, as at Ribemont, albeit more selectively.

Given the significant distances between Gournay and some battlefields, indicated by the varied provenances of the armament, it seems to be a necessity for warriors from Gournay to be more selective in their collection than at Ribemont, because of the practical needs of transporting spoils from distant battlefields. Swords, sheaths, and detached *umbones* may well have been collected and brought back more frequently than spears, both because of the impracticality of carrying them over long distances, and the lack of ornamentation / decorative quality of most spearheads.

In contrast, the assemblage from Ribemont was transported from a nearby battlefield. Warriors' selection of armament from the battlefield at Ribemont, then, did not involve consideration of transportation over any distance. Consequently, the assemblage collected at Ribemont more accurately reflects the distribution of armament on a battlefield. The greater percentage of spearheads at Ribemont in comparison to Gournay, then, may simply have been a matter of transportation concerns, rather than a selection of prestige armament from warriors' personal possessions and collections, as has been suggested for Gournay.

[875] Bataille 2008, 162, 193, and 234.

Table 5.8. Disposition of the Armament from Ribemont	
Quadrangular Enclosure	Armament arranged at the corners of bone frames, shields may have been displayed, one trophy is attested with certainty, spears were planted upright, and mutilation was practiced frequently In first century B.C., return to the site and additional armament dedications
Mass Grave	Armament and human remains mixed in deposit, armament clustered in areas, some spear bundles, mutilated *umbones* on the northern fringes near collection of shield border fragments
Circular Enclosure	Residual assemblage of armament in which mutilation was common, most certainly insufficient to equip the 30+ warriors buried there

Table 5.9. Contexts at Ribemont from which Armament Comes	
Quadrangular Enclosure	Interior ground surface, some third century B.C. finds in place, items from the west side gathered and relocated to the center and southwestern areas in the first century B.C.
Mass Grave	Armament mixed with skeleton fragments throughout, concentrations of sword elements in a small area on the southwest side of the mass grave, spread of shield elements on north, and bundled spearheads
Exterior	Armament on the ground surface continues south of the quadrangular enclosure, and west where there is a 2–3m band of material along the entire length, but heavily concentrated in two piles defining the mass grave
Circular Enclosure	All finds come from the mixed fill of the enclosure trench, and are concentrated near the enclosure's features (ritual pit and entrance). Assemblage is very residual, heavily corroded pieces, and evidence of exposure to fire, mutilation about as common as in quadrangular enclosure, connection between armament and human remains uncertain, regardless of whether warriors are identified as comrades or enemies.

If the circular enclosure was a cult installation, the armament assemblage may not have been related to the warriors buried there at all. It might simply be evidence of minor dedicatory activity during gatherings within the enclosure, as is seen in the cult installation at Montmartin.

While evidence of the intentional mutilation of armament at Ribemont is considerably less common than at Gournay, a significant minority displays evidence of ritual mutilation. Within the quadrangular enclosure (13%) of the armament was mutilated; within the circular enclosure, 20% (although we must take into account the

small size of the assemblage, less than two hundred pieces); and in the mass grave, mutilation was virtually unattested (only a handful of examples).[876]

Within the quadrangular enclosure, sheath mutilation was particularly dramatic, two to three sheaths bent around a post and another coiled. Spears and shields were subsequently propped against the corners of the bone frames (clustered in four expected points in Ossuary 82's destruction radius where the armament would have fallen at its partial collapse). Swords and sheaths may have been propped against the bone frames' sides as the position of the coiled sheath and sword 2 suggest. Some shields may have been displayed (line of *umbones* southeast of Ossuary 82's destruction radius). At least one trophy and some evidence suggesting two to three more in the area between Ossuaries 82 and 91. Upright spears were part of the same display, and while three lines are attested, there may have been a significant number of upright spears filling the area.

Mutilation was attested in the mass grave, but was extremely rare. Importantly, mutilated armament was concentrated on the fringes of the mass grave, particularly the northern fringes. The concentration suggests either that the armament was picked up and mutilated at a later date and then redeposited. Or, the mass grave was a preparatory area for both human remains and armament. Human remains would have been dismembered and brought into the quadrangular enclosure (see chapter 3 for the argument), and armament disassembled and mutilated on the mass grave's fringes in preparation for display and deposit within the quadrangular enclosure, either around Ossuary 82's bone frame or as part of other displays in the area.

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[876] The most reliable of these figures is the 13% of weapons from the quadrangular enclosure mutilated. The figure for the circular enclosure is based on only 120 of the 204 inventoried finds from the enclosure, as the remainder were not available for inspection. The finds from the mass grave are only very partially inventoried: Only 41 of the 296 pieces of armament were available for study.

Table 5.10. Hypotheses for Gournay Explored in this Chapter	
1.	The foundation deposit indicates structuring of deposits in the enclosure trench and the practice of mutilation from the beginning of ritual activity on the site. It provides certain evidence of ritual mutilation when weapons were fresh.
2.	Armament was deposited in the trench in large collections, consisting mostly of multiple examples of the same item beside one another. Variable concentrations along the east façade of the sanctuary indicate places where groups of armament were deposited, not dismantled trophies.
3.	While there is no evidence that indicates trophies were built around posts lining the enclosure trench at Gournay, at least one trophy is certainly attested at Ribemont, and there were likely multiple trophies at Ribemont.
4.	Metal's tensile strength before and after exposure suggests that all armament at Gournay was mutilated while fresh, either at dedication or after a brief period of exposure in a protected context.

Chapter 6. Synthesis and Conclusion

6.1. Primary Questions and Uncertainties Explored for the La Tène Sanctuary at Ribemont

The major difficulties encountered when attempting to interpret the activity at Ribemont in the third century B.C. are:

1. Understanding the nature of the sanctuary's phases of development (involving determination of relative and absolute chronologies);
2. Interpreting the relationship between the circular enclosure, quadrangular enclosure, and mass grave; and
3. Interpreting the hybrid and ambiguous ritual practices from the three contexts individually, and in relationship to one another. (This last is complicated by the first two.)

These questions will be addressed in the comprehensive review in the next section. The final question will be explored further in section 6.3.

6.2. Comprehensive Review of the Nature of the La Tène Sanctuary and Synthesis of its Material Evidence

At its origins in the early third century B.C. (LTB2/LTC1a), Ribemont-sur-Ancre was a unique sacred site combining a sanctuary and cult installation beside each other, on the same site, and in two contemporary installations, the circular enclosure and the quadrangular enclosure respectively. The quadrangular enclosure initially consisted of a trenched enclosure with four posts in its interior corners, and an earthen berm along its interior edge in its earliest state.[877] It initially hosted small-scale ritual

[877] One's study of the early phases is ongoing, and this description may be revised. See section 6.5.

treatment of human remains and armament dedications.[878] The circular enclosure was defined by an imposing palisade wall enclosing a private space entered through a small doorway on the east side. The circular enclosure's only interior features were a large ritual pit with an attached hearth, and a small area paved with sandstone. Initially, the circular enclosure must have hosted gatherings and cult activity for local warriors, and may have received armament dedications like the quadrangular enclosure. The large ritual pit and hearth indicate that the circular enclosure also hosted communal banqueting. However, the uncertain relative chronologies within the circular enclosure, and between the circular enclosure and the quadrangular enclosure, make it difficult to determine what ritual practices took place at what time in the site's third century epoch.

With the revised dating of the quadrangular enclosure at Ribemont to the beginning of the third century B.C., we must reconcile the contemporary construction and concurrent use of these two sacred installations, which differ both in architectural structure and in the ritual practices they hosted. To this author's knowledge, such a combination is unparalleled. Perhaps, for the first time at Ribemont, we are seeing the contemporary establishment of a sanctuary and cult enclosure, combining public and private installations on the same site, at the same time. Many sites in northern Gaul, hosted multiple ritual practices distinct in nature, but never, to this author's knowledge, within contemporary contexts on a single site. Changes in ritual practices on northern Gallic sanctuary and sacred sites occurred over time, but almost exclusively across periods of abandonment decades to centuries long during which sites transformed into

[878] See 2.2.2 and 2.3.

lieux de mémoire.[879] A contemporary sanctuary and cult facility on the same site have not been encountered. This consideration brings us to Gournay and Montmartin, the closest parallel to the quadrangular and circular enclosures at Ribemont.

The sanctuary of Gournay and the cult installation within the aristocratic residence at Montmartin (Enclosure 56) were founded at the same time, in the late fourth to early third century B.C., and both sites were frequented by the same local community. However, the sites are 3km apart and their use-phases do not overlap. Activity ceased at Gournay and began at Montmartin c. 120 B.C.[880] After examination of the circular and quadrangular enclosures at Ribemont and the assemblages they have provided, one would characterize Ribemont in its initial use period (early third century B.C.) as a combination, so-to-speak of the sanctuary at Gournay and the cult installation at Montmartin. The nature of their ritual practices, their structures, and the population that frequented them (just warriors in the circular enclosure, potentially the entire community in the quadrangular enclosure) directly parallel one another.

The enclosures' physical structures and the ritual activities they hosted transformed significantly during a post-conflict high-arousal situation created by one or more battles in the LTC1b period (late third century B.C.).[881] A major surge in ritual activity was initiated by a massive influx of human corpses and armament from the battlefield. The existing sanctuary and cult enclosures, the quadrangular and circular enclosures, were appropriated and repurposed to host multi-stage processing of the corpses of vanquished enemies and fallen comrades. The ritual treatments to which the

[879] Nouvel and Barral forthcoming; Rose 2016.
[880] Brunaux and Méniel 1997, 236.
[881] Brunaux identifies a single conflict. Fercoq du Leslay identifies one or more and describes the mass grave accumulating over the course of a few years to decades. I believe either Fercoq du Leslay is correct, or that there were multiple conflicts over the course of a few decades.

corpses were subjected were made up of traditional and newly invented hybrid ritual practices. Hybrid ritual practices were created by the local warrior community by combining elements of ritual practices drawn from the funerary, sacrificial, and dedicatory spheres. The ritual treatments fit within established frameworks, but the treatments were innovative and unique. For example, exposure and dismemberment of corpses was an established and common practice, but use of the dismembered limbs as construction material for the bone frames was a unique new innovation.

In order to assure the corpses and armament received appropriate ritual treatments, the high-arousal event required modification of the existing enclosures and practices. The enclosures' second uses after their appropriation depended upon the identities of the warriors treated within them, some comrades and many enemies.

The quadrangular enclosure was converted into an industrial-scale facility to process the corpses of enemy warriors and their armament. It is important to note that this ritual treatment is not sacrificial because the warriors were already dead. Because the quadrangular enclosure was previously a sanctuary, it was logical for it to be used to process dedications to the gods in thanks for victory.

The corpses brought into the enclosure were left to decay to bones and ligaments, then dismembered, and built into the bone frames. This extensive manipulation was a thorough ritual destruction of the bodies followed by their transformation into new structures, the bone frames. A minority of bones were further destroyed by splintering then cremation in the ritual pits within the bone frames. A line of special deposits of corpse fragments, Ensembles retaining their anatomical connections, was arranged between Ossuaries 82 and 91, and at least two headless corpses were suspended on posts near the two ossuaries (see section 3.3.3). The bone

frames were new ritual structures and permanent displays within the quadrangular enclosure.

Beside the quadrangular enclosure, two piles of collected human corpse fragments and armament from the same conflict(s), the mass grave, also formed at this time. The mass grave was a collection point, gathering material for the quadrangular enclosure, and receptacle for leftover material rejected from the quadrangular enclosure. Once the major activity within the quadrangular enclosure concluded, the mass grave became part of the monument as well. The arrangement of armament in the mass grave, swords and sheaths clustered in one area, and a scattering of shields (surviving as *umbones* and shield borders) along the northern side of the mass grave, indicate at least some attention was given to displaying the armament in the mass grave.

Armament was also collected from the battlefield and brought into the quadrangular enclosure. Some pieces were mutilated, and an impressive display was constructed around Ossuary 82 (fig. 6.1). Bundles of spears and shields were propped against the four corners of its bone frame, and a few swords and sheaths were laid beside and propped against it. Additional armament spread around Ossuary 82 within a radius extending as far as 10–15m from the center of the ossuary on all sides, although it is not known entirely how this armament was arranged in the third century B.C. To the southeast, between Ossuaries 82 and 91, a display of corpse fragments and armament was created. A trophy (fig. 6.2) stood near Ossuary 82 and spears were implanted in the soil vertically among a scatter of all types of armament.

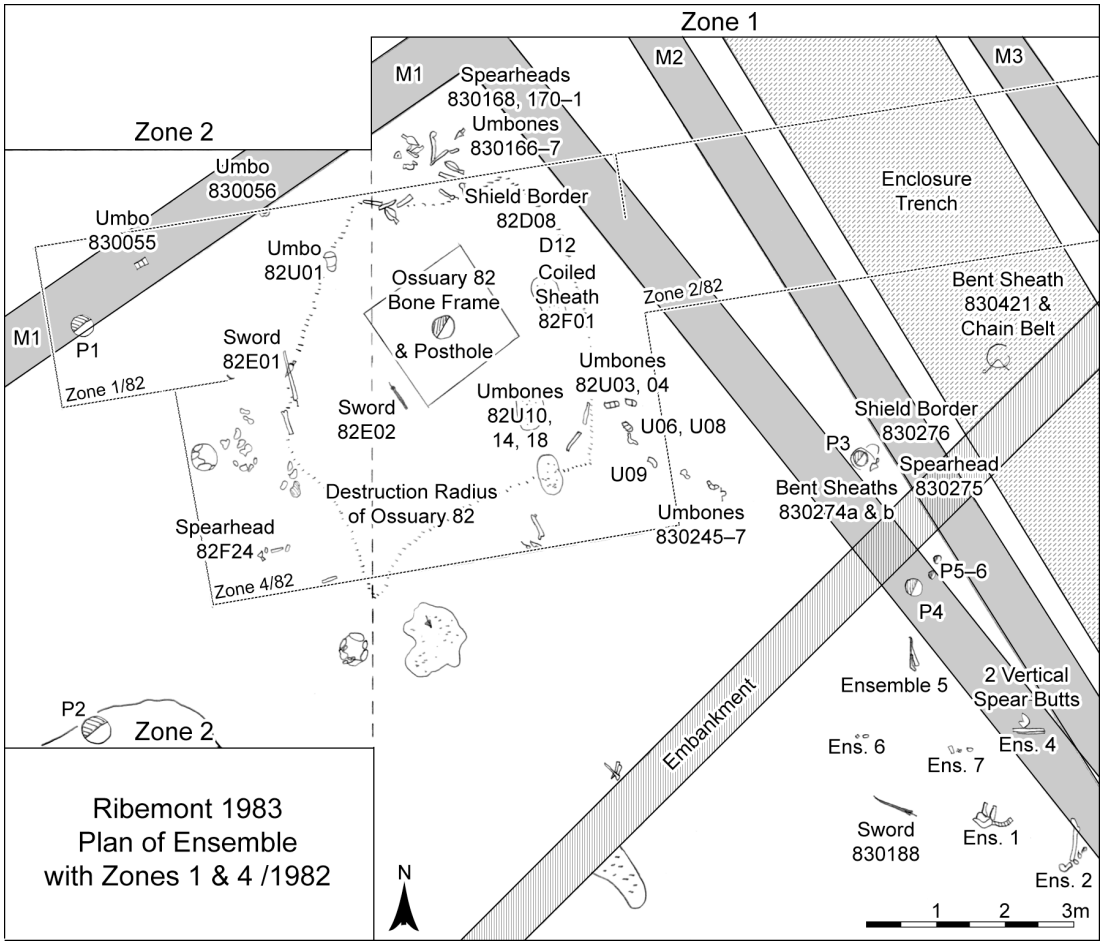

Figure 6.1. Plan of Ossuary 82 and surroundings with significant finds indicated (adapted from Cadoux et al. 1983, Plan)

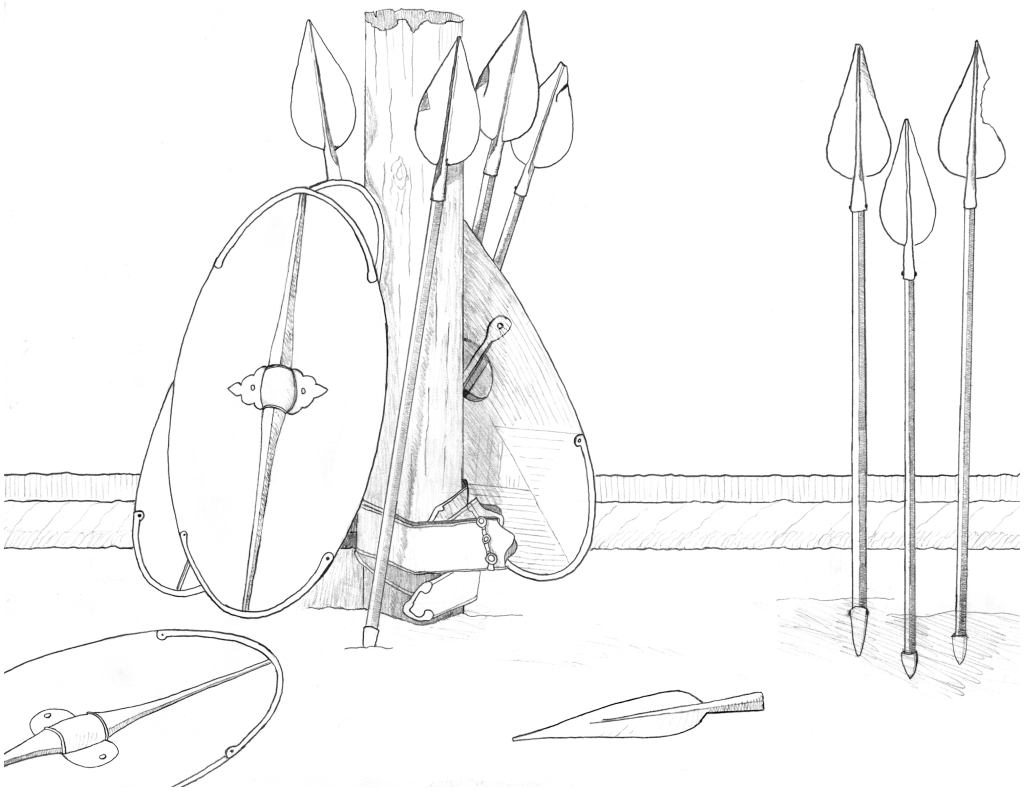

Figure 6.2. Reconstruction of the trophy southeast of Ossuary 82 (D.S. Rose)

A significant minority of armament was ritually mutilated (approximately 12%). While this percentage may not seem high, mutilated armament was an integral element in the armament display. Mutilated armament is directly associated with Ossuary 82's bone frame (fig. 6.3), distributed throughout the bone frame's destruction radius, and on its periphery. It is found in the display area to the southeast as well. The most striking aspect of the mutilated armament is that it is directly incorporated into the trophy, two sheaths found *in situ* wrapped around the base of the post supporting the trophy (fig. 6.4).

Mutilated armament must have been found along the entire display area on the eastern interior, and it seems highly likely that Ossuary 91 originally featured an armament display comparable to that of Ossuary 82. While Ossuary 91's bone frame and armament distribution are not preserved, Ensemble 12, a corpse suspended

upright, was found beside and associated with Ossuary 91, and one has identified multiple lines of spear butts (originally upright spears) just north of Ossuary 91, and lines of clustered spearheads and butts in the enclosure trench beside the ossuary.

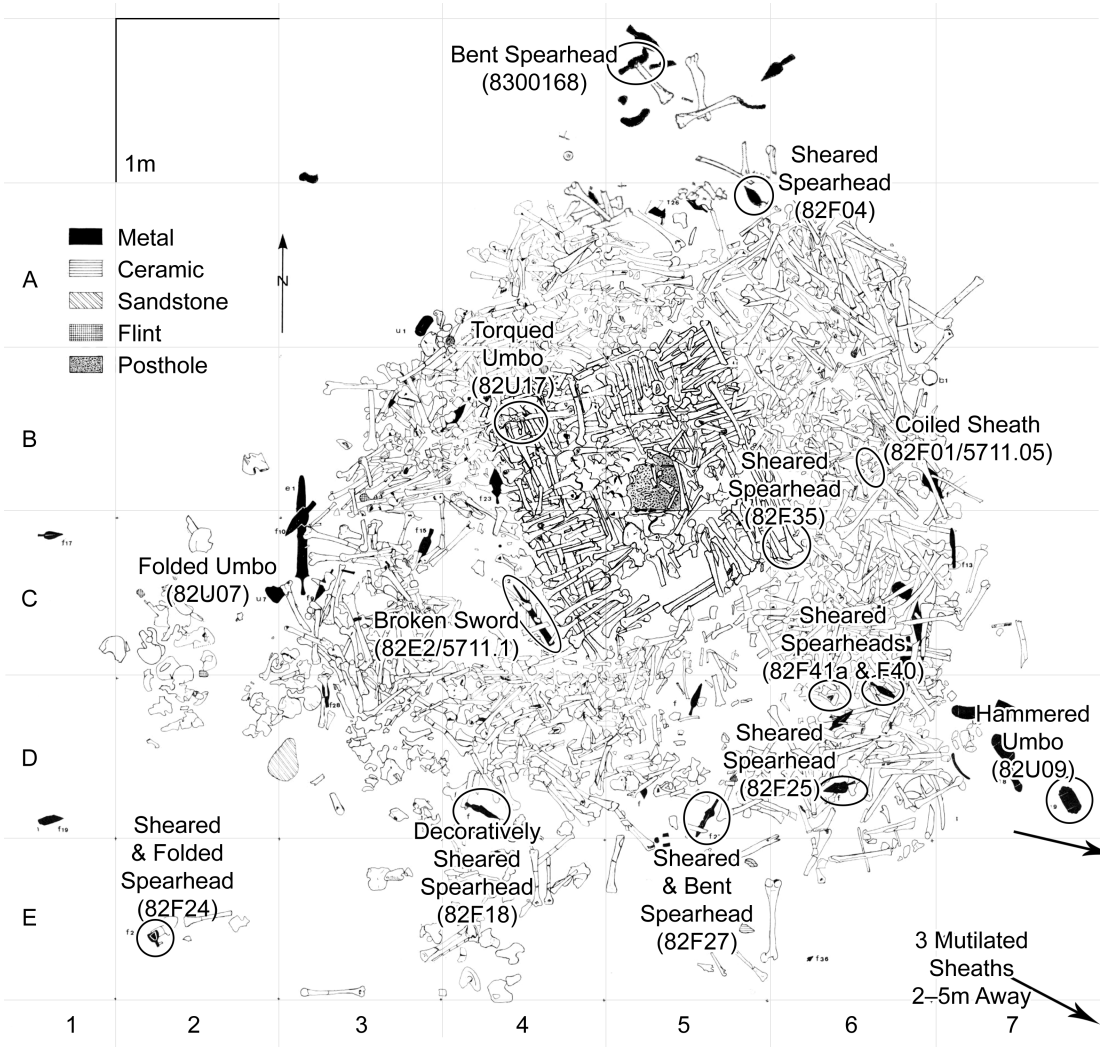

Figure 6.3. Mutilated armament associated with Ossuary 82 (modified from Cadoux 1984, 60, fig. 4)

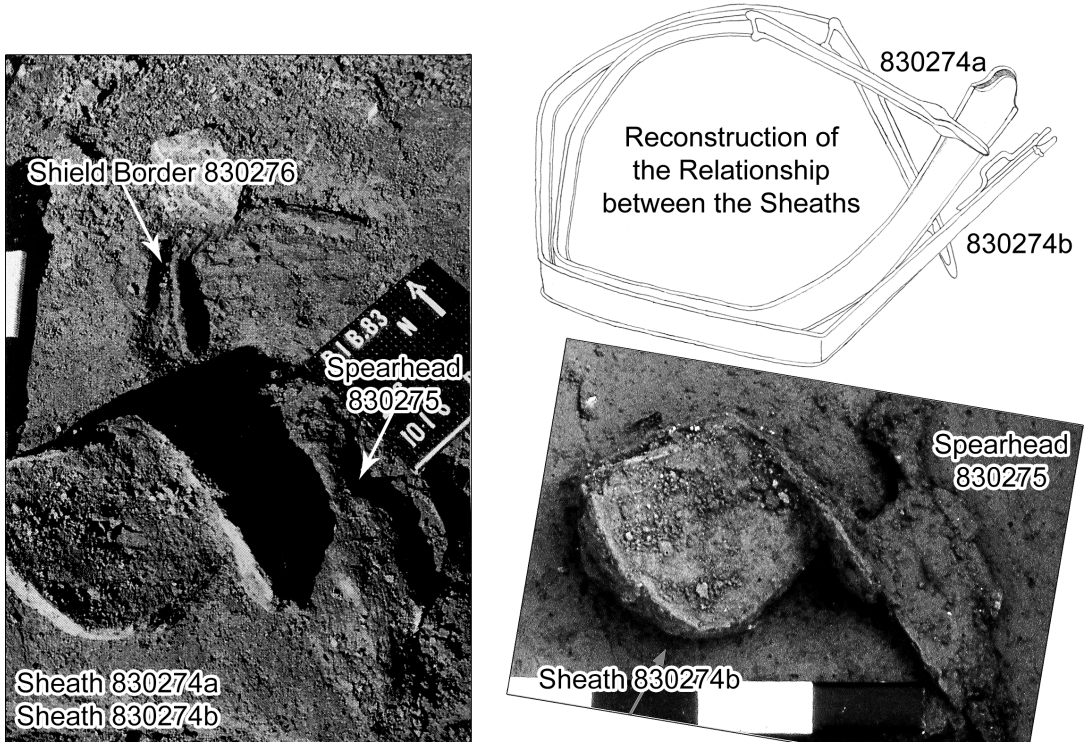

Figure 6.4. Photograph of the trophy at excavation (post and two sheaths found in situ*) (Adapted from Cadoux et al. 1983, 35 and Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 131, fig. 1; drawing D.S. Rose)*

Together, the bone frames, additional human corpse fragments (Ensembles), and armament displayed along the eastern interior of the quadrangular enclosure created a permanent monument in the landscape (fig. 6.5).

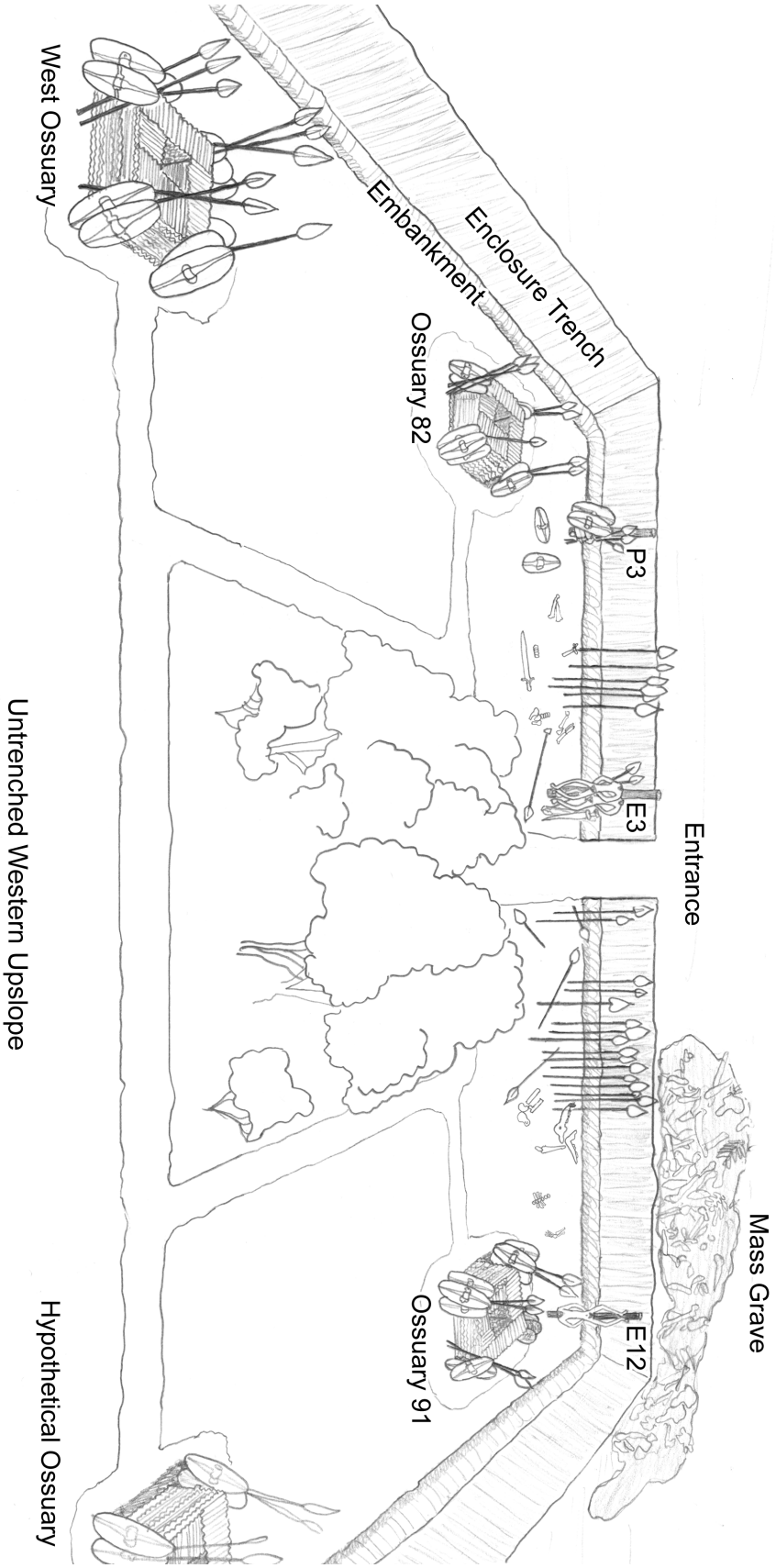

Figure 6.5. Reconstruction of the interior of the quadrangular enclosure (D.S. Rose)

The circular enclosure, a cult enclosure where local warriors had gathered before the conflict phase, was used for the funerary treatment of the victorious warriors' fallen comrades. In an intimate interaction with the fresh corpses, the victorious warriors subjected their comrades to a violent ritual treatment including dismemberment, de-fleshing, and repetitive violence. The remains and armament were then exposed. When skeletonization and weathering of their bones was completed, a funerary banquet was hosted within the cult facility. Then, the warriors destroyed the enclosure's palisade wall with a sustained fire, dismantled the remains, and deposited all of the material (building materials, fired wattle-and-daub, human and animal bones, ceramics, and armament) in the palisade's foundation trench. A few *stelae* and the infilled circular enclosure trench remained to mark the location after.

The function of the quadrangular enclosure, mass grave, and circular enclosure shifted again at the completion of ritual activity a few decades later. They became a commemorative monument, a *lieu de mémoire* in the landscape that commemorated the Ambiani's victories and emphatically demonstrated their prowess. The circular enclosure continued to serve the local community, hosting minor ritual banqueting in the second and early first century B.C. commemorating their heroic fallen ancestors buried in the enclosure trench. Fercoq du Leslay reports that similar small-scale ritual activity involving human remains and armament continued within the quadrangular enclosure, but, at present, data is still being collected, so this activity cannot be characterized as yet.

The site experienced a profound transformation from La Tène sanctuary and monument to Gallo-Roman sanctuary during the late first century B.C. and early first century A.D. In the late first century B.C., the La Tène installations, the quadrangular

enclosure and mass grave, were dismantled and buried beneath a soil fill to prepare the site for new construction. At the turn of the century, a Gallo-Roman *fanum* temple and annex were built over the former location of the quadrangular enclosure, precisely overlaying it. The sanctuary continued to develop, growing in size and complexity through the second century. A settlement with theater and baths developed around the sanctuary, which continued to serve the local community until its final abandonment in the mid-fourth century A.D.[882]

6.3. Interpreting Ritual Practice

In order to interpret ritual treatments, the question is not so much identifying particular elements of ritual practices as funerary, sacrificial, or dedicatory, as ritual elements are not necessarily unique to class. It is their combination, the relative prominence of particular features, and the purpose and meaning of the rituals that are distinctive.

For example, at Fesques, within sanctuary enclosure St. 250, the combination of ceramics with animal bones, primarily pig bones (74%) from young pigs (47% between one and two years old at slaughter), together allow the identification of banqueting practice within the enclosure.[883] In other cases, an individual element or combination of elements can rule out a particular classification. For example, decapitation did not feature in funerary treatments, and the literary and archaeological evidence supports a Gallic practice of beheading enemy warriors after victory in battle. Consequently, if decapitation is found, we may be confident that the ritual is either sacrificial or dedicatory.

[882] Brunaux et al. 1999, 2001, and 2009.
[883] See chapter 4 for citations.

On the other hand, exposure of human corpses features in all three classes of rituals. At Fesques, human sacrifices were exposed outside of the sanctuary's *temenos* until they fully decayed. Within the quadrangular enclosure at Ribemont, enemy warriors' corpses were exposed until their bodies decayed to ligaments and bones. Within the circular enclosure at Ribemont, warriors' bodies were exposed until they skeletonized and their bones weathered.

However, other elements of the ritual practices differentiate the overall character of the three ritual treatments and allow the identities and statuses of the individuals to be identified. At Fesques, the corpses were set up outside the *temenos*, displayed prominently around its entry points. Their placement outside of the *temenos* may reflect their exclusion from the community within and the banqueting practice that was a major part of the sanctuary's ritual activity. Their display at the entrances may have also served an apotropaic function.

Either way, the corpses displayed upright at Fesques were certainly ritual remains, exposed in the open air with their feet in pits to catch the fluids of decomposition and some of the remains as they fell. The bones remaining on the ground after skeletonization were collected and deposited in the enclosure trench with the cattle butchering remains, another category of ritual remains.

In the circular enclosure at Ribemont, the warriors' corpses were laid in state within the cult enclosure where high-status warriors (their comrades) gathered and hosted banquets in their honor. Thus, the outward forms of the ritual treatments are superficially the same, but the identities of those treated and the intention and purpose of their exposure indicate that the two ritual treatments differ fundamentally.

If, after examining the various elements of a particular ritual treatment together does not reveal the meaning of the ritual practice or if ambiguity remains, we may, as a second step, compare the groups of elements found in two different ritual treatments in the effort to identify and interpret the ritual practices through contrast. At Ribemont, it is only through this collective characterization that we may differentiate ritual treatments and propose an interpretation of the meaning and significance of the ritual treatments, and identify the warriors subjected to them.

Ribemont-sur-Ancre proves particularly difficult to interpret because some of the hybrid ritual practices sample contradictory elements, hindering interpretation. Consequently, any attempt to propose a unified interpretation of the rituals or site immediately encounters problems. This is not to say that one believes placement of ritual practice in a single category (sacrificial, dedicatory, or funerary) to the exclusion of the others is necessary or even desired. Ritual practices are frequently hybrid, and there was no distinction between the spheres in antiquity, so there is no reason to strictly delineate them for interpretive purposes. However, the contradictory interpretations of individual elements of ritual practice at Ribemont mean that the hybrid and composite rituals evade interpretation.

The most evident example is the ritual treatment of the warriors from the circular enclosure, which finds parallels in aristocratic funerary rituals of exposure followed by cremation (see section 3.9). However, before the warriors from the circular enclosure were exposed, their fresh corpses were dismembered, de-fleshed, and struck repeatedly. Such treatment parallels that of human sacrifices on other sites in northern Gaul, Montmartin and Gournay, for example. The warriors' treatment in the circular enclosure also finds a parallel *at Ribemont*: Corpse fragments of enemy

warriors were exposed within the quadrangular enclosure until they had largely decayed and were then dismembered. What then is the distinction between the treatment of comrades and enemies at Ribemont?

The central elements of the ritual treatments of the two groups of warriors were fundamentally the same, following the general ritual framework for the treatment of human corpses of all identities and in all ritual contexts: death, exposure, sometimes manipulation of the remains, and final deposition in a secondary or tertiary context. While these stages are generalized treatments of human remains, one should note that at all other sites in northern Gaul considered in this study, the human remains subjected to these treatments have been interpreted as human sacrifices. At Ribemont, a few subtle differences distinguish the ritual treatments to which the warriors from the circular enclosure and the quadrangular enclosure were subjected, which may serve to differentiate groups of warriors into the proposed two groups, fallen comrades and enemies.

Before one addresses the marks of ritual treatment on the bones, brief note should be made that bones from all three contexts bear the marks of combat wounds. In the circular enclosure, 19 of 391 bones (4.9%) bear combat marks; in the quadrangular enclosure, 8 of 2,026 bones (0.39%); in the mass grave, 54 of 13,288 bones (0.41%).[884] As may be seen, the percentage of bones bearing combat wounds in the circular enclosure is significantly higher than the percentages in the quadrangular enclosure and the mass grave, and the latter two bear equal percentages of marked bones (0.39% and 0.41%). The reason for this difference is undetermined, although

[884] The 8 bones from the quadrangular enclosure come from Ossuary 82 alone, but Ossuary 82 characterizes the entire enclosure: Ossuaries 91, 93, and 2000, and the loose bones within the quadrangular enclosure bear the same percentages as Ossuary 82.

Ricard has suggested that the warriors' comrades might have struck their corpses to multiply their combat wounds. However, Ricard did not identify a specific category of marks to record such blows. His categories are combat wounds, dismemberment, de-fleshing, and repetitive violence. Perhaps some of the combat wounds could be identified as marks reflecting the multiplication of combat wounds, but we do not know.[885]

Table 6.1. Differentiating the Ritual Treatment of Warriors at Ribemont	
Circular Enclosure	**Quadrangular Enclosure**
Bodies brought into the enclosure	Corpse fragments brought into the enclosure
Bodies subjected to dismemberment (8 bones bear marks), de-fleshing (6 bones), and beating / repetitive violence (3 bones) (17 bones total, 4.3% of the assemblage)	Corpse fragments exposed until they were reduced to bones and ligaments
Bodies exposed until complete skeletonization and weathering of bones	Corpse fragments dismembered (5 in Ossuary 82, 0.25%), no de-fleshing, no beating
Enclosure intentionally destroyed by fire	Corpse fragments built into bone frames (with horse limbs), additional bones fractured and cremated, and a small group of corpse fragments left on ground (the Ensembles)
Remaining bones, almost exclusively long bones (80.6%) and coxae (15%), collected and deposited in palisade foundation trench	Permanent display with armament along the eastern interior of the enclosure

The table above compares the ritual treatment of warriors brought into the circular enclosure with that of the warriors brought into the quadrangular enclosure. Both treatments begin similarly with the introduction of bodies into the enclosure. We

[885] Ricard 2014, 174. Ricard is not to be faulted. Differentiating between types of marks is difficult and sometimes impossible.

may expect that, if the warriors within the circular enclosure are to be identified as comrades, they would have been brought into the enclosure to be ritually treated first.

The first difference occurs in the exposure part of the treatments: In the circular enclosure, the warriors' bodies were subjected to their ritual treatment before they were exposed while the warriors in the quadrangular enclosure were exposed to decay before their remains were manipulated. Considering the two groups of warriors, victors and vanquished, it makes sense that the victors interacted with their fallen comrades' corpses first while their bodies were intact and fresh.[886]

The second significant difference in the ritual treatments of the two enclosures is that the warriors in the circular enclosure were subjected to dismemberment, de-fleshing, and repetitive violence, while warriors in the quadrangular enclosure were only dismembered. As presented in chapter 3, one believes that the de-fleshing of the corpses was a purification of sorts, removing the decaying flesh from the bones. It would have been a gruesome affair, but an appropriate honoring of their fallen comrades. This would be the first step in their full purification, which was succeeded by prolonged exposure within the circular enclosure. The enclosure's wall was then burned, potentially a form of cremation and final / full purification, as one has proposed in chapter 3.

Brunaux and Fercoq du Leslay both identify the warriors from the circular enclosure as comrades given a funerary treatment. Evidence to support this interpretation is the armament buried with them, the evidence of banqueting, and their later commemoration by the local community in banquets. However, the marks of

[886] Incidentally, the victorious warriors interacting with fresh corpses requires that the circular enclosure had already been constructed before the battle. Given its scale and complexity, it must have been constructed some time before the battle, corresponding to its LTB2b dating and one's proposed initial use of the enclosure as a cult installation and warrior gathering place.

dismemberment, de-fleshing, and beating found on the bones complicate the warriors' identification as fallen comrades of the victorious warriors who performed the ritual treatment. Brunaux does not address the manmade marks in his studies. Ricard describes but does not interpret them in detail. Fercoq du Leslay proposes that the marks may reflect a specific funerary practice reserved for warriors, but indicates that further research and development of his proposal is required.[887]

Within the quadrangular enclosure, enemies were "left to rot", literally, their bodies putrefying in the warm sun. When the victorious warriors came to treat their corpses, they had already decayed thoroughly, and were only corpse remains. One would interpret this initial exposure of enemies to decay as the first step in destroying their enemies' bodies in order to dedicate them to the god(s). The second step was to finish the corpses' dismemberment by hand and occasionally with tools, extracting limb fragments and a limited number of coxae to build the bone frames. At the same time, additional bones were fragmented and cremated, and leftovers arranged in the eastern interior.

In the construction of bone frames, Ribemont differs from other sites in that, either for the gods, to create a commemorative monument, or both, the ritual treatment of human corpse dedications continued beyond destruction. Often, the initial ritual treatment was exposure, followed by deposition in a final context without further manipulation (Acy-Romance and Fesques). In cases where the remains were manipulated before deposition (Gournay, Montmartin, and Alken Enge), the focus was upon destruction (skulls opened and split to produce bone masks at Gournay and Montmartin). At Ribemont, the destroyed dedications were made into something new.

[887] Ricard 2014; Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 210–1.

6.4. Additional Comments on the Material Evidence

Consideration of the extensive and impressive armament assemblage from Ribemont in isolation from the human bones conceals the fact that the armament assemblages from all three of the La Tène contexts are residual in comparison to the counts of warriors. The armament ensembles are all particularly deficient in swords, sheaths, and *umbones*. This discrepancy has been attributed to the fact that the armament was a battlefield collection. However, given the proximity of the battlefield (identified as the valley below the site), and the massive collection of human remains (including large corpse fragments), there does not seem to be a reason to only collect some of the armament. The major discrepancy between the counts of warriors and armament at Ribemont, then, seems to indicate that the collection and ritual processing of human remains was the focus of the post-conflict ritual activity.

Table 6.2. Armament Representation in Comparison with Counts of Warriors

	Circular Enclosure (MNI)	Quadrangular Enclosure (estimated MNI)	Mass Grave (MNI)
Warriors	30	350	114
Swords	1	30	11
Sheaths	9	+/- 50**	27
Chain Belts	18	30–50	32
Spearheads*	52	325	153
Butts	37	400	46
Umbones	35	60	25

*Each warrior would have carried 2–3 spears, so the shortage of spears is more pronounced than may seem in this table.
**The fragmentary nature of the sheaths makes MNI estimation difficult and imprecise.

The imbalance between human remains and armament is nowhere more pronounced than within the quadrangular enclosure, which provides the largest armament assemblage, but only one-tenth of the swords and sheaths expected from 350 warriors, and 40–60% of the spears (each warrior carrying 2–3 spears). Preservation conditions over a long period of exposure to the elements are certainly responsible for reducing

the counts of armament, and we know the exposure intervals for all three La Tène contexts were lengthy. As a whole, the armament displays significant damage and fragmentation consistent with this exposure. Another reduction in armament counts was surely caused by warriors taking armament spoils for themselves, and it is logical that they would prefer prestige items like swords and sheaths. Armament was not left on the battlefield, as the valley below the site where the battle(s) are believed to have taken place has not provided any finds.[888]

Consideration of the question of panoplies at Ribemont further highlights the discrepancy between human bone and armament. The quadrangular enclosure provides full panoplies for approximately 30 warriors with an additional 20 individual sheaths, 30 *umbones*, and 325–400 spears (with warriors carrying 2–3 spears each, the spears would equip approximately 160 warriors). With a MNI of 350 warriors, the armament assemblage is *very* residual.

Turning to the circular enclosure and mass grave, we find an even greater discrepancy between the counts of warriors and the counts of panoplies and individual arms. The circular enclosure provides 1 panoply, 8 additional sheaths and chain belts, 51 additional spears (approximately 15 of which were only proximal halves) equipping approximately 20 warriors, and 34 additional *umbones* for at least 30 warriors. The mass grave provides 11 panoplies, 16 additional sheaths with chain belts, 142 additional spears (107 of which were only proximal halves, equipping approximately 60 warriors) and 14 additional *umbones* meant to equip at least 114 warriors.

The extremely high count of proximal halves of spears in the mass grave reflects their battlefield collection and the residual nature of the assemblage as a whole.

[888] Unlike other battlefield sites like Kalkreise or even Alken-Enge with deposits near the battlefield

Numerous broken spears would have littered the battlefield. Proximal halves with spearhead and partial shaft would have been collected, while distal halves with only shaft and spear butt would have been left on the battlefield. However, this discrepancy between spearheads and spear butts is not present in the quadrangular enclosure where spearheads and spear butts appear in roughly equivalent numbers after we allow for losses of spearheads to corrosion and fragmentation at Ribemont. Given that the assemblage from the quadrangular enclosure is supposed to be a battlefield collection as well, and to come (primarily) from the same battlefield, it should display the same disparity between counts of spearheads and spear butts as the mass grave. The primary explanation for the balance of spearheads and spear butts in the quadrangular enclosure seems to be that the assemblage from the mass grave was considerably more residual, being as it was composed of the remains of material collected from the battlefield for use in the quadrangular enclosure, and rejected material not needed within the quadrangular enclosure. A significant amount of the better preservation of spear butts within the quadrangular enclosure is surely attributable to the implantation of lines of spears in the soil as part of the armament display along the eastern length. As noted in chapter 5, there was a 3:1 discrepancy in the counts of spear butts (81) to spearheads (23) in the area southeast of Ossuary 82, and additional implanted spears continued further south. The preservation of spear butts from these implanted spears would contribute to balancing the counts of spearheads and spear butts within the quadrangular enclosure.[889]

[889] See section 5.7.3 and Cadoux 1984, 11.

6.5. Innovations in this Study, Approach, and Differences from Past Studies

The methods of approach and original aspects of this thesis include, but are not limited to:

1. Interpreting material that has been presented but not explored

Only Ricard and Fercoq du Leslay mention the manmade marks on the bones of the warriors from the circular enclosure. Ricard only catalogues the marks, and does not present an interpretation of their ritual significance. Fercoq du Leslay proposes that the ritual violence may indicate a special funerary treatment for warriors, but (understandably) leaves discussion of the topic for future studies.[890]

2. Exploring new avenues of interpretation

One new avenue of interpretation is one's comparison of the architectural structures and uses of Ribemont's circular enclosure with Montmartin's Enclosure 56, and Ribemont's quadrangular enclosure with the sanctuary at Gournay. In the former case, one has presented the new proposal that the circular enclosure and Enclosure 56 were cult enclosures of parallel architectural design, which hosted gatherings of high-status warriors for ritual practice. In the latter case, similarities in the design and features in the early phases of the quadrangular enclosure and the sanctuary at Gournay, and the initial ritual activity within the quadrangular enclosure confirm that it was an early sanctuary.

One has also pursued new avenues for interpreting the material remains. Past studies of the armament from Ribemont have presented typo-chronological assessments of the assemblages. Only minimal attention has been given to the nature and significance of their ritual treatment (mutilation, display, and deposition). Pourrier

[890] Ricard 2014, 137; Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 210–11.

explicitly states that she was unable to consider ritual aspects of the armament assemblage because of time constraints. Brunaux claims that ritual mutilation of armament was not a significant practice at Ribemont.[891]

3. Revising and extending past interpretations

Lejars examined the arrangement of armament in the mass grave while it was still under excavation.[892] He outlined a strict organization that divided sword elements from shield elements, and he envisioned a hedge of spears between and on either side of them. He also identified an arrangement of four sword in sheath bundles as forming a 1m square within the area of the sword elements, and indicated that the arrangement supported his proposal that the mass grave was highly structured. Lejars did not present an updated interpretation when excavation of the mass grave was completed, which would have required revision of his initial interpretation.

No other scholars have examined the organization of armament, most likely because they do not believe that the armament will display any organization. Brunaux currently reconstructs the mass grave as a giant box into which corpses and armament were thrown without order. Fercoq du Leslay describes the mass grave as a pile of corpses and armament rejected from within the quadrangular enclosure, and describes the armament as very residual.

One's own examination of the mass grave revealed it to be two largely unstructured piles of human corpse fragments and armament. One found that, while shield elements are more frequent on the northern side of the mass grave, and sword elements concentrated in a limited area in the center south, they do not display the

[891] Pourrier 2003, 76; most recently, Brunaux 2017, 82. See also 1.5.1.3.
[892] Lejars 1998a.

strict differentiation and arrangement that Lejars outlined. Sword elements were found in the area where shield elements are more frequent, and vice versa. Further, while sword elements were highly concentrated in a limited area, as Lejars observed, shield elements were spread across the entire northern side of the mass grave (particularly noticeable in the *umbones* scattered across the area).

Another example of one's revision and extension of interpretations is one's reconstruction of the display of human bones and armament along the eastern interior of the quadrangular enclosure, and, notably, the trophy within the area. Brunaux has reconstructed a display of headless skeletons suspended upright on posts along the eastern interior. His reconstruction mischaracterizes the display of human remains, and omits the armament display that accompanied them. The evidence is insufficient to reconstruct a line of headless corpses: Only a few postholes are in evidence along the eastern length, and we may only be certain that two headless corpses were suspended upright on posts (Ensembles 3 and 12) with a third likely (Ensemble 9). Further, the human bone Ensembles are composed of minor fragments of skeletons with the exception of the headless skeleton and torso fragment composing Ensemble 3 and the headless skeleton composing Ensemble 12.

For the armament display, Brunaux's reconstruction only shows a few pieces of armament piled against the bone frames of Ossuaries 82 and 91, and none of the armament that spreads across the entire eastern interior ground surface in band approximately 5m wide. Brunaux also omits the numerous spears implanted vertically in the soil between Ossuaries 82 and 91, and the trophy 10m southeast of Ossuary 82.

Fercoq du Leslay pointed out the post of the trophy with sheaths wrapped around it and one of the lines of upright spear butts a few meters east of the trophy,

but stopped interpretation there. I collected additional data on the distribution of armament around Ossuary 82, the armament composing the trophy, and the multiple lines of spear butts between Ossuaries 82 and 91 (There are at least four. See 5.4.4 and 5.7.3). With the additional information, I was able to reconstruct a complex display area along the eastern interior, stretching from Ossuary 82 to Ossuary 91 and beyond to the interior edge of the enclosure trench. It included bundles of spears, shields, and mutilated swords and sheaths laid against Ossuary 82's bone frame, a cluster of shields displayed between Ossuary 82 and the trophy. I identified additional armament pieces associated with the trophy, which allowed it to be reconstructed as a true trophy corresponding to the reconstruction Brunaux proposed for Gournay (fig. 5.45). The trophy was composed of a sturdy post with three sheaths bent around it, and at least three shields and a few spears were propped against it.

In addition to the armament, at least two headless corpses suspended upright, and an assortment of anatomical Ensembles of human bones and horse crania occupied the same display space. I was also able to identify evidence of decapitation in the Ensembles and linked to the preparatory area west of Ossuary 91, and differentiate the decapitation practice within the quadrangular enclosure from the decapitation practice in the mass grave (anterior approach between the C3/C4 or C4/C5 vertebrae versus posterior approach between the C1/C2 and occasionally C3/C4 vertebrae).

4. In extension of 3, where necessary, assessment of past interpretations and reinterpretations

I assessed Brunaux's interpretation of the ritual activity at Gournay, in particular his proposal for trophies lining the enclosure trench; the sequence of dedication, prolonged exposure, then mutilation of armament; and the dedication and

deposition of armament in panoplies. For trophies, one's argument was that there is insufficient evidence to support Brunaux's proposal, as no postholes were found, the distributions of shield border fragments and spearheads do not correspond to clusters of armament in the trench, and the only concentration armament displays is along the east façade on either side of the entrance. Comparison with the trophy from Ribemont also supported the argument against the presence of trophies at Gournay.

One argued that armament must have been mutilated when fresh, not after prolonged exposure to the elements as part of trophies as Brunaux has proposed. One's argument was built around consideration of the flexibility armament at Gournay displayed when it was mutilated, and the Neumann bands on armament that provide evidence of its hammering and bending when it was fresh and pliable.

Following the approach outlined in the introduction to avoid viewing the site globally, as a homogenous lot following a single event, one has made several changes from past studies.[893] Firstly, one broadened the chronological scope used while considering Ribemont in the third century B.C. to allow multiple phases of development over the course of decades. One has also considered the material evidence in the context of the circular enclosure, quadrangular enclosure, and the mass grave, and examined and interpreted the three contexts separately before drawing parallels between them.

Most importantly, in an extension of Fercoq du Leslay's admonishment for studies of Ribemont, one has presented a detailed interpretation of the site without insisting upon comprehensive unity. The consequence of this approach has been that some of the interpretations conflict with one another. For example, in interpreting the

[893] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 194.

violent ritual treatment of the warriors from the circular enclosure, I felt it necessary to allow that they might have been high-status enemy warriors, and to leave their identity ultimately undecided. (Although I favor their identification as comrades.)

6.6. Avenues for Continued Study of Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Ritual Practice

The most evident need for continued study of Ribemont is to address the development of the sanctuary in its earliest phases, and the ritual activity the sanctuary hosted in the first few decades of its history. Significant uncertainties remain in the sequence and nature of the quadrangular enclosure's development, the phases to which the material remains should be attributed, and the nature of ritual practice prior to the LTC1b influx.

For example, Fercoq du Leslay has noted that the bones in anatomical connection and the mutilated armament below the bone frame of Ossuary 82 (fig. 6.6) suggest the human bone Ensembles lining the eastern interior length of the quadrangular enclosure predated the bone frames.[894] They may belong to a distinct ritual practice within the quadrangular enclosure of uncertain date, but prior to the LTC1b. It is possible the Ensembles immediately predate construction of the bone frames, and were the leftovers of the human remains brought into the quadrangular enclosure and dismembered for use in constructing the bone frames. In this case, the limb fragment laying on the ground would have been overlooked and the bone frame built over it. If the Ensembles significantly predate the bone frames, the limb fragment and all of the human bone Ensembles would be attributed to an earlier phase of activity. The period of activity could be decades-long if we accept Fercoq du Leslay's proposal that the quadrangular enclosure was founded at the beginning of the third century B.C.

[894] Fercoq du Leslay 2017.

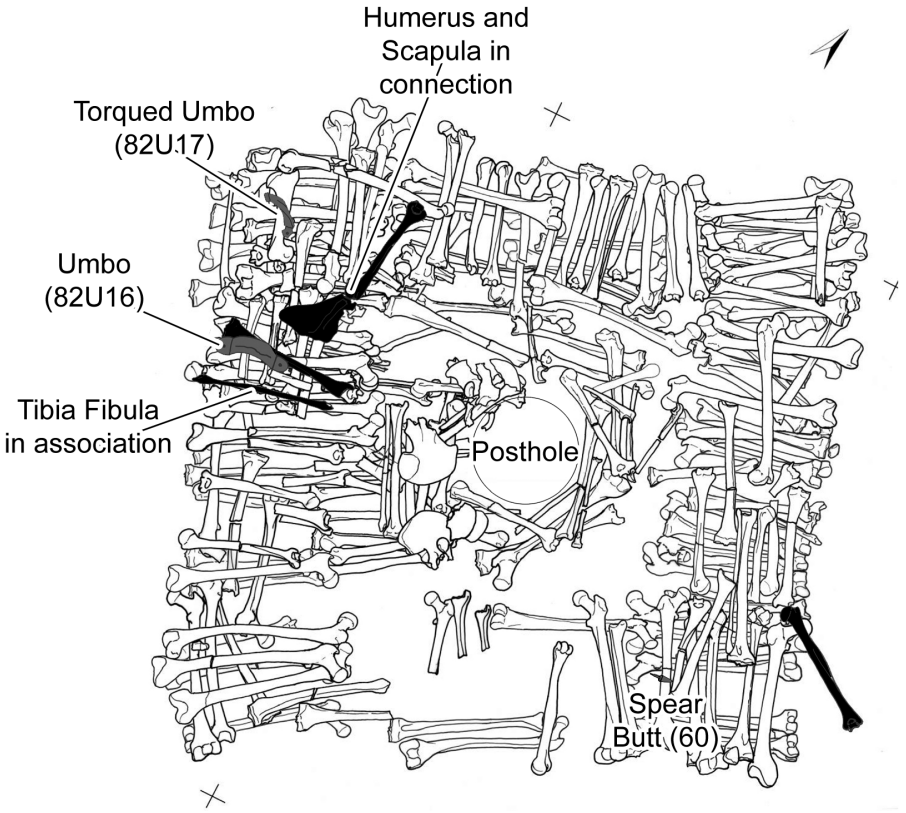

Figure 6.6. Human bone associations and umbones *found beneath Ossuary 82's bone frame, superimposed on the plan of the bone frame (adapted from Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 95 and Ricard 2014, 30, fig. 11)*

One's cursory review of the early excavation reports (1982–1986) has revealed that there is additional evidence to support distinct ritual practice within the quadrangular enclosure in the first few decades of the sanctuary's history. The activity seems to have at least involved armament dedication, as armament found at the base of the enclosure trench dates to the LTB2–LTC1a period (c. 250 B.C.). The armament was accompanied by human and horse bones, potentially connecting the early activity to the LTC1b influx. However, a posthole and long brown trace in the soil embankment suggest a palisade lined the interior edge of the quadrangular enclosure in the sanctuary's earliest phase. It would have prevented the deposition of ritual remains in the enclosure trench until its demolition in the second phase. Consequently,

the early armament may not be connected to the human and horse bones found in the base of the enclosure trench with them.

The 1986 excavation report describes this evidence and provides a diagram (fig. 6.7) illustrating the proposed sequence. These deposits at the bottom of the quadrangular enclosure trench have not been examined, and the early stratigraphies have received only a few passing references.[895] The nature of the earliest phases of the quadrangular enclosure and the earliest ritual activity it hosted remain largely unknown.

Most pertinent to my interests will be whether or not the earliest armament finds display evidence of ritual mutilation, allowing me to establish that ritual mutilation was part of a regular dedicatory practice at the sanctuary from its foundation. The 1984 report has already provided such evidence in the lower levels of the trench (levels 7 and 8), two intentionally mutilated *umbones* and a mutilated spearhead were found among a group of armament deposited in the trench prior to the construction of Ossuary 82.[896] Information about the human remains from the base of the trench will contribute to understanding of all of the ritual treatments of human corpses as well.

Cadoux et al. also note that the human bone Ensembles bear the traces of dismemberment.[897] The marks on the bones from the Ensembles have not been examined. Ricard may have noted some examples incidentally in his catalog of bones, but he has not considered marks on the bones of the Ensembles as a whole, nor

[895] In fact, the only armament finds from the quadrangular enclosure trench that *have* been discussed are the two deposits of third and first century armament in the southeast and southwest corners made in the late first century B.C. See section 5.7.5.
[896] Cadoux et al. 1984, 24.
[897] Cadoux et al. 1986, 10.

considered them as evidence of ritual treatment linked to construction of the bone frames, as they surely must be.

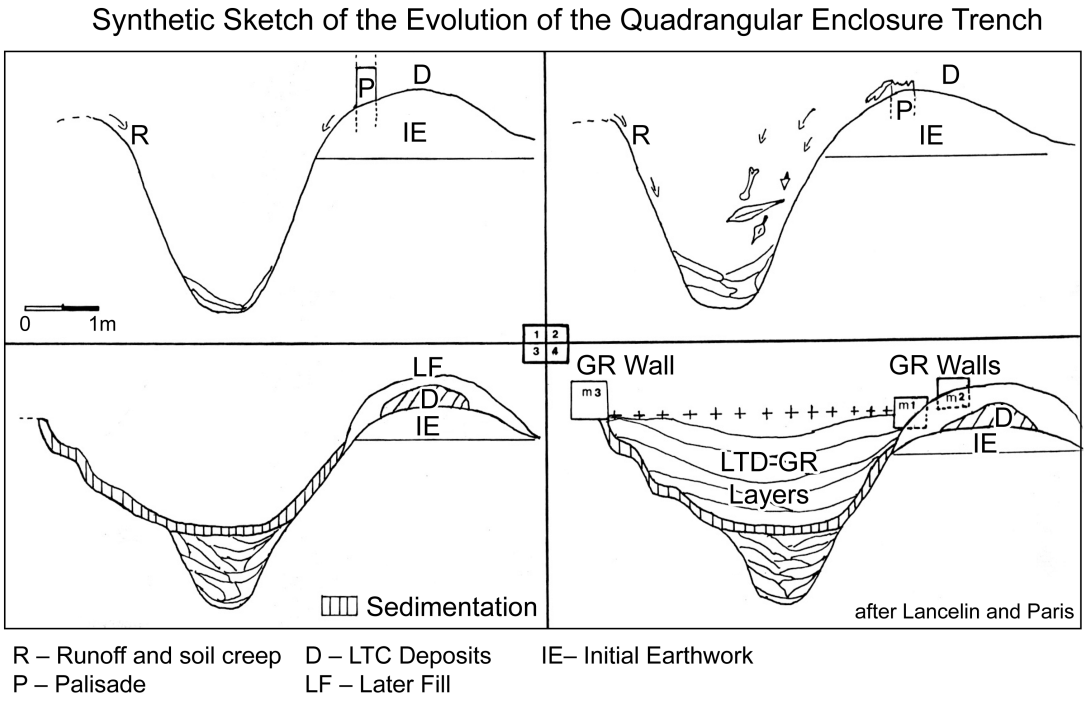

Figure 6.7. Reconstruction of the earliest states of the quadrangular enclosure trench possibly illustrating the earliest dedicatory practice (after Cadoux et al. 1986, Unnumbered Figure)

Further, it is not clear where the early palisade fits in the relative chronology, whether it was contemporary with the phase of the quadrangular enclosure during which posts stood in its four corners (most likely), or pre- or post-dated it. Consequently, the relationship between the two architectonic features and the bone frames that succeeded them is unknown. With Fercoq du Leslay's re-dating of the quadrangular enclosure's foundation to the beginning of the third century B.C., there are several decades during which the sanctuary could have gone through multiple phases, and it will be important to characterize the nature of the structures in each phase.

Regarding furthering study of the earliest ritual activity involving armament within the quadrangular enclosure, an inventory of armament finds was produced in 1987, which may provide information about the stratigraphies and findspots of early finds, which are poorly documented. Many of these finds come from the initial phases of the sanctuary and the contexts just discussed. Digitizing and cross-referencing the information will take some time, but one hopes that data on findspots may allow plotting of the horizontal and vertical distribution of finds along the eastern interior of the quadrangular enclosure, in the enclosure trench, and the area just outside the quadrangular enclosure. These distributions would provide further information on the organization of armament within the quadrangular enclosure and on the nature of early ritual practice, potentially additional information about ritual mutilation as well.

One could also conduct additional research to strengthen the assertion in chapter 2 that the circular enclosure initially served as a warrior gathering place like the cult enclosure at Montmartin (Enclosure 56) prior to the LTC1b influx of material, and deepen understanding of the rituals practiced within similar enclosures generally, and within the circular enclosure at Ribemont specifically. This research would take two angles.

The first angle will be to search for cult enclosures that served as warrior gathering places like those at Ribemont and Montmartin, but distinct from sanctuaries like Gournay. One would seek to find parallel structures, palisade walls and ritual pits and hearths for banquets, and comparable assemblages of human bones, animal bones, and armament subjected to ritual treatments like those at Ribemont and Montmartin. Finding parallel structures would confirm one's identification of the circular enclosure as a warrior gathering place prior to its use to host a funerary ritual. It would enable

one to assert more definitively that the circular enclosure, an elaborate and imposing structure must have been constructed years to decades before the LTC1b post-conflict period. Parallel assemblages of all categories could resolve the debate of whether the ritual treatment of the various groups of human remains and armament and the banqueting that accompanied them at Ribemont and Montmartin was sacrificial, dedicatory, or funereal in interpretation, not classification.

The second angle will be to continue researching circular funerary enclosures to determine whether any may be found that closely parallel the circular enclosure at Ribemont. Thus far, none of the circular funerary enclosures identified in one's research are comparable in size or structure. The largest circular funerary enclosures are half the size of the circular enclosure, and most are significantly smaller.[898] Most of the circular enclosures identified are defined by enclosure trenches only. Some feature tumuli, structures on posts, or minor fences or berms. Incidentally, the situation has been the same with quadrangular funerary enclosures examined, likewise considerably smaller than the circular enclosure, and lacking the monumentality of the circular enclosure. Thus far, one has not located any enclosures with imposing palisade walls like those at Ribemont and Montmartin.[899]

Another direction of research that should more directly and more quickly resolve whether or not the dismemberment, de-fleshing, and beating of the warriors from the circular enclosure was a funerary treatment, will be to examine the ritual treatment of human remains in high-ranking settlements in the same geographic area as Ribemont. Fercoq du Leslay indicates that they bear commonalities with practices

[898] See section 2.4.2 for a very brief summary of this question.
[899] At Le Terrage, Acy-Romance (Lambot 1991, 234–41).

observed at Ribemont and provide a new avenue to explain the ritual treatment.[900] Finding funerary treatments for high-ranking warriors on nearby sites that include some or all of the elements of the treatment of the warriors from the circular enclosure should both help explain the meaning of / motivation for the ritual treatment, and allow the warriors to be identified as comrades with a higher degree of confidence, perhaps even with certainty. This identification and the ritual's interpretation are major remaining uncertainties that one has not been able to resolve fully in this study.

[900] Fercoq du Leslay 2017, 211.

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APPENDIX 1.

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APPENDIX 2.

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Memoryscapes in Late Iron Age northern Gaul: warfare and sacrifice from Ribemont to Titelberg

David Rose & Manuel Fernández-Götz

1. Introduction

This paper examines the role of 'memoryscapes' in Late Iron Age northern Gaul, focusing on ritual places related – directly or indirectly – with the realm of warfare. There is an increasing amount of evidence pointing towards the existence of episodes of intertribal warfare during the pre-Roman period, including both post-battle ritual depositions and proxy evidence, such as weapon offerings to war deities and public spaces for warrior assemblies. A particular focus of the paper will be on the famous sites of Gournay-sur-Aronde and Ribemont-sur-Ancre in the region of Picardy, which are discussed and partly reassessed. Finally, the continuity in the sanctity of space between the Late Iron Age and the Gallo-Roman period is exemplified by the public spaces and sanctuaries discovered at the Treveran *oppida*, which constitute true *lieux de mémoire* in the long-term.

2. Approaching memoryscapes

Since the rise of post-processual archaeology in the 1980s, archaeologists have become increasingly familiar with concepts such as 'skyscapes' (Silva & Campion, 2015), 'seascapes' (McNiven, 2008) or even 'soundscapes' (Primeau & Witt, 2018). In this paper we will use the concept of 'memoryscapes' to describe the *longue durée* importance of certain locations for the construction of the collective memories, and therefore the identities of communities at a local, regional and macro-regional scale, using selected sites from northern Gaul as case-studies.

As we will show, a meaningful relationship often existed between Gallo-Roman sanctuaries and the Iron Age sacred places over which they were constructed. *Lieux de mémoire* from the Iron Age remained an integral part of the religious landscape, because they were appropriated at the foundation of various Gallo-Roman sanctuaries to create new central places in Roman Gaul (see *e.g.* Derks, 1998; Fernández-Götz, 2014a; Metzler & Scheid, 2011; Rose, 2016; Van Andringa, 2002). Places of memory can be defined as significant centres for collective memory and identity, characterised by a strong charge of symbolism or emotion (Nora, 1989). They were locales of different types, charged with meaning, where the social memory of communities could be anchored. These places were not isolated and individual locales, but part of a broader 'memoryscape' that incorporated multiple sites within a bounded area.

In what follows we will discuss selected places of memory, at least partly connected with warfare, where post-battle depositions were made and sacrifices performed. Discussion will focus primarily on the 4th to 1st centuries BC, and in particular on the sites of Gournay-sur-Aronde and Ribemont-sur-Ancre in the region of Picardy in northern France, and on the Treveran *oppida* of the Middle Rhine-Moselle region.

3. Tribal warfare in Late Iron Age Gaul

Before we turn to the analysis of the archaeological evidence, it is worth reflecting on some information provided by written and epigraphic sources. According to these, Late Iron Age Gallic societies were structured in different levels of sociopolitical aggregation: from households and extended families to the large subtribal and tribal groupings to which Julius Caesar refers using the Latin terms *pagi* and *civitates* (Fernández-Götz, 2014a: 41–79, 2016; Fichtl, 2012; Roymans, 1990: 17–23; see Fig. 15.1). Among these tribal polities we may highlight names such as the *Aedui*, *Arverni*, *Helvetii* or *Treveri*. Around sixty of these entities, which were in turn subdivided into different

pagi, would have existed at the time of the Roman conquest in the mid-1st century BC (Fig. 15.2). In what is likely the most accurate definition, Gerritsen and Roymans (2006) have described the *pagi* and *civitates* of pre-Roman Gaul as 'politicised ethnic identities', *i.e.* ethnic groupings functioning as political communities. It is important to note that the *pagi* and *civitates* of pre-Roman Gaul were primarily *Personenverbände*, that is, groups of people with a common identity based on fictive kinship ties (Brunaux, 2000: 90; Roymans, 1990: 21, 28). At certain times, these groups could settle in different places, following complete or partial emigration, as may be seen in the frustrated migration of the *Helvetii*.

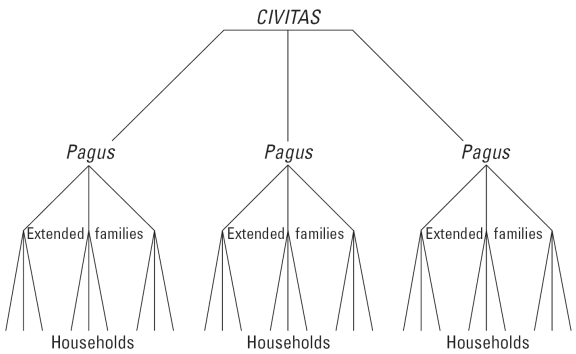

Fig. 15.1: Simplified schema depicting the sociopolitical structure of Late Iron Age Gaul (after Fernández-Götz, 2014a, based on Roymans, 1990).

Caesar reports that the *civitas* of the Helvetii was subdivided into four *pagi* (*BG* I, 12, 4–6.), which may be understood as groupings of people with a shared belief in common descent from a mythical ancestor (Fernández-Götz, 2013). In fact, two of the three names of Helvetian *pagi* known to us consist of a personal name and a *genus* suffix: *Verbigenus* and *Toygeni*. These could be the names of the founding heroes who gave their name to each of the respective groups, in a manner similar to the twelve tribes of Israel, which bore the names of the sons of Jacob: the tribe of Judah, Levi, Benjamin, etc. (Jullian, 1901: 91–93).

According to Christian Peyre, the Latin word *pagus* would have been the result of the transposition of the Gallic word *corios*, which derived from **ko-wiriyos*, and originally meant 'meeting of men' or 'meeting of warriors' (Peyre, 1996: 7). This etymology of a 'grouping or assembly of armed men' is that which, in our opinion, best reflects the

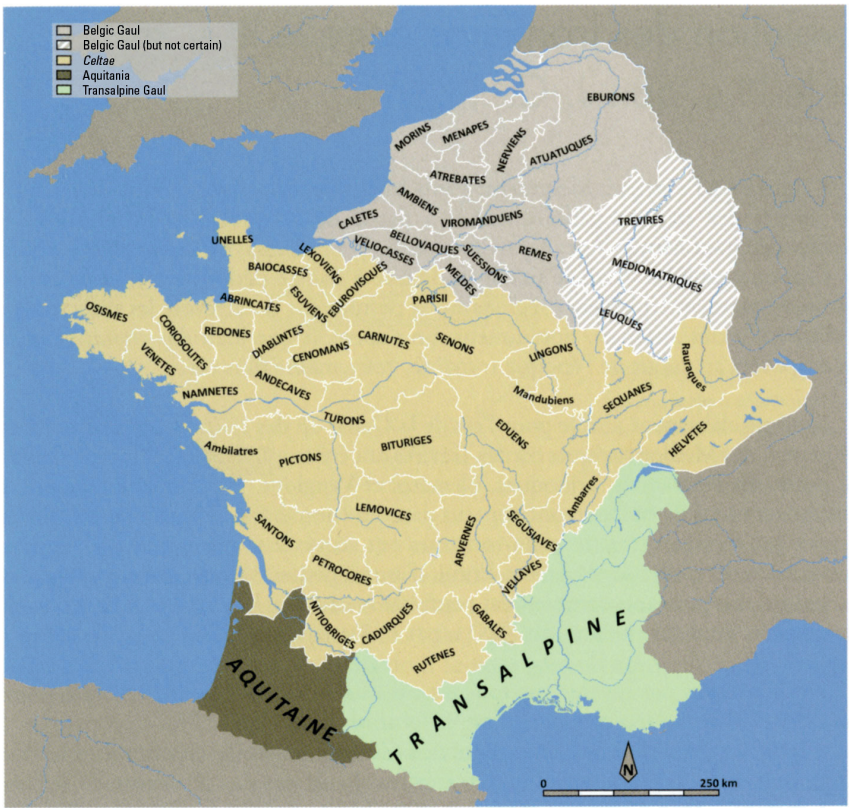

Fig. 15.2: Proposed cartography of Gaul at the time of Caesar (after Fichtl, 2012).

Fig. 15.3: Gallic coins representing military banners with boars, symbols of different pagi (after Fichtl, 2012).

character of the Gallic *pagi* in the pre-Roman period. We find a good example in the ethnic names *Tricorii* ('the three troops') and *Petrocorii* ('the four troops'), both of which refer to groups of men at arms. Bearing in mind the well-known subdivision of the Gallic *civitates* into *pagi*, they could be understood as 'the three *pagi*' and 'the four *pagi*' (Fichtl, 2012: 21–22).

Based on literary evidence, it has been suggested that the pre-Roman Gallic *pagi* operated as military recruiting centres and formed their own armies, acting as separate combat units during military operations (Brunaux, 2004: 18; Jullian, 1901: 80–83, 87; Roymans, 1990: 19). The Helvetian army, for example, marched in *pagi* (Caesar, *BG* I, 12), which implies that each Gallic *pagus* formed an independent division. Moreover, using a range of indirect evidence, Camille Jullian put forward the convincing hypothesis that each *pagus* served under its own banner: The 74 *signa militaria* captured by Caesar at the Battle of *Alesia* can be convincingly interpreted in this way (Caesar, *BG* VII, 88, 4; Jullian, 1901: 82; see Fig. 15.3).

Although most of these sources date from the time of the Roman conquest or the Gallo-Roman period, the existence of episodes of intertribal warfare and even massacres in Iron Age Europe can today be confirmed by archaeological evidence (Büchsenschütz *et al.*, 2014; Fernández-Götz & Roymans, 2018; Guilaine & Sémelin, 2016). Examples include post-battle ritual depositions, the erection of commemorative structures, such as at Ribemont-sur-Ancre (see below) and La Tène in Gaul (Lejars, 2014), and massacre sites like La Hoya on the Iberian Peninsula (Quesada-Sanz, 2015). Widespread proxy evidence, including the frequent deposition of weapons in graves and sanctuaries, iconographic evidence, and the construction of heavily fortified hillforts throughout temperate Europe, is also available. For example, the weapon assemblage from Gournay contains examples originating from throughout Gaul, suggesting that some of the spoils of intertribal warfare were brought back and dedicated at the sanctuary (Brunaux & Rapin, 1988: 138, 167–169). Moreover, the discovery of the spectacular Bronze Age site of Tollense in northern Germany, in which the excavators estimate that between 1,000 to 2,000 combatants took part in a major battle event resulting in hundreds of casualties (Jantzen *et al.*, 2011; Lidke *et al.*, 2018), clearly indicates the existence of episodes of intertribal warfare in Late Prehistoric Europe (cf. Fernández-Götz & Roymans, 2018; Guilaine & Sémelin, 2016). We may define intertribal warfare as armed conflict between communities on a scale surpassing the level of local groups and single villages.

Until recently, prehistoric battlefield sites have remained largely invisible to archaeologists. Although this situation is slowly changing due to discoveries like Tollense, scholars also need to address other sources of evidence closely related to battles – in particular, post-battle depositions and memorials. In this regard, we would like to discuss the sanctuaries of Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Gournay-sur-Aronde in northern Gaul. Both sanctuaries were founded in the 3rd century BC – Gournay ca. 280/260 BC and Ribemont ca. 250 BC – and are located about 60 km apart in the Picardy region. They are closely related to one another in their material culture and dedicatory rituals, but differ significantly in the nature of their foundations, and their histories of use.

4. Honouring war deities? Gournay-sur-Aronde

Gournay-sur-Aronde is viewed as the model *par excellence* for Gallic La Tène period sanctuaries, because it was one of the first sanctuaries discovered in northern Gaul and due to its monumental nature and antiquity. Its enclosure trench has provided more than 2,000 metal finds and 2,800 animal bones, the remains of complex rituals practiced at the sanctuary for a century of continuous use (Brunaux *et al.*, 1985: 71, 125; Brunaux & Rapin, 1988: 47, 115, 180–181).

The sanctuary at Gournay was founded in the early to mid-3rd century BC beside an existing feature: a ritual deposit of a group of vases within a late 4th century BC *tumulus* (Fig. 15.4). While no human remains were found, it has been suggested that the deposit is funerary in nature,

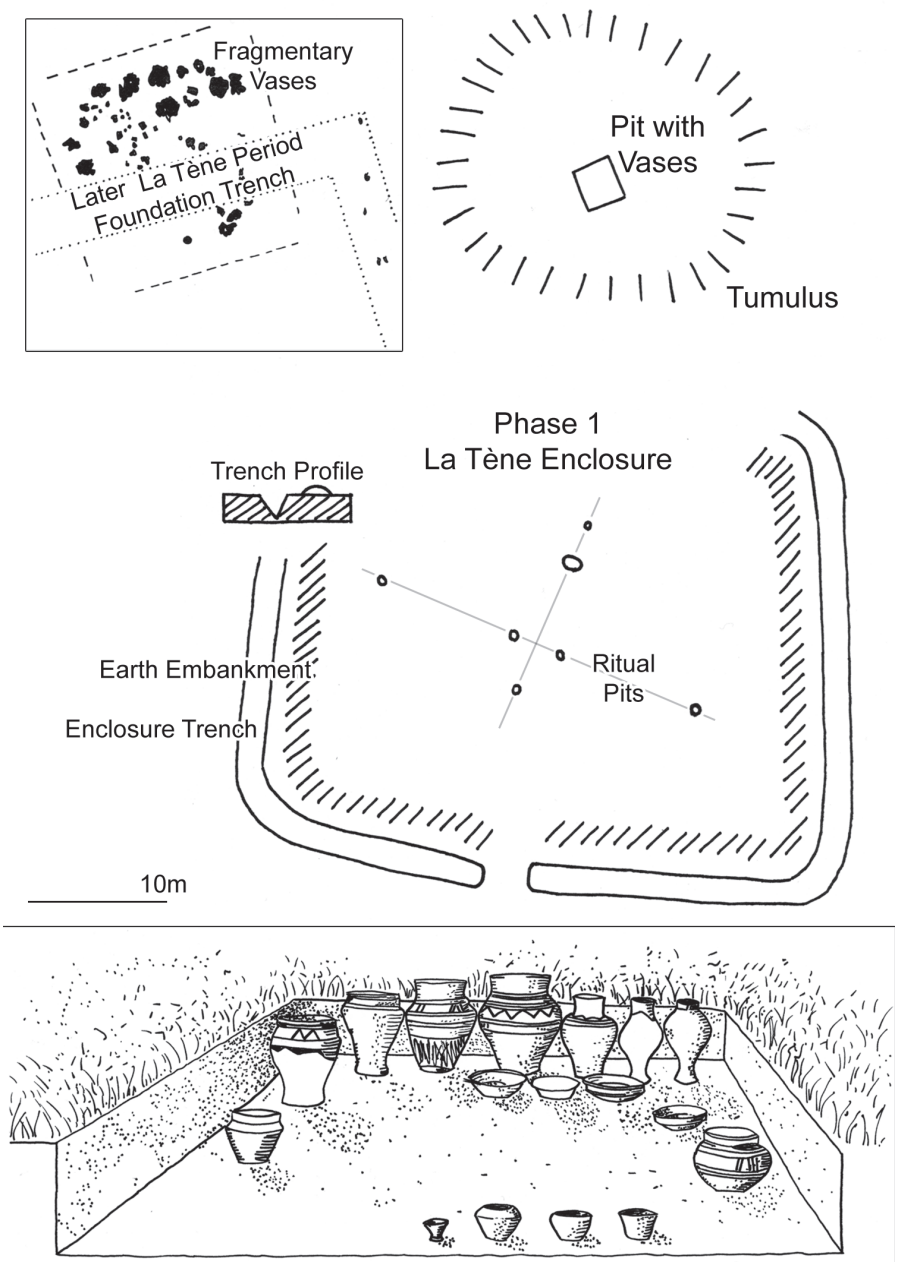

Fig. 15.4: Plan of the sanctuary at Gournay with plan and drawing of the vase deposit (after Brunaux et al., 1985).

because its dimensions and contents parallel those of graves, such as at Tartigny (Brunaux *et al.*, 1985: 53–59; Brunaux & Rapin, 1988: 139). Further, the deposit was placed within a *tumulus*, and the ceramic vessels were carefully arranged. The excavators at Gournay believe that either the human bones were lost when the deposit was damaged later in its history, or that the grave might have been a cenotaph (Brunaux *et al.*, 1985; Brunaux *et al.*, 2003: 15).

Following this line of interpretation, the origins of Gournay would be related in some way – at least spatially – with ancestor worship (Krausse, 2006: 359–365). It could even be proposed that a cult honouring a founding hero was observed at Gournay (cf. Almagro-Gorbea & Lorrio, 2011 for a wider discussion). This phenomenon is well known in the Greek world, where the veneration of the *heros* is associated with his grave, considered his abode, whether it was a real burial or a cenotaph (Antonaccio, 1995). Brunaux

and Rapin (1988: 139) note that the erection of trophies along the enclosure trench of the sanctuary at Gournay, and the sanctuary's warlike character, suggest the observance of a hero cult at the site later in its history.

Even if the deposit at Gournay was not a funerary monument, it was certainly ritual in nature, and the *tumulus* into which it was placed marked the site as a place of memory in the landscape. The choice to found a sanctuary on the site a few decades later was an appropriation of the earlier monument, following the general pattern of founding sanctuaries over places of memory of various types (Rose, 2016: 57, 69–73).

The sanctuary at Gournay was the site of regular cult activity, dominated by weapon dedications and cattle sacrifices, from its foundation in the early 3rd century BC to its first period of abandonment in the late 2nd century BC. The typo-chronology of the weapons, dated to ca. 280/260 BC to ca. 180/160 BC, demonstrates that dedications were made regularly during this period (Brunaux *et al.*, 1985; Brunaux *et al.*, 1999: 250–252). Cattle sacrifices also seem to have been performed at periodic intervals, as the discrete layered deposits of cattle bones (with weathering on their upper sides) in the enclosure trench on either side of the entrance suggest (Brunaux *et al.*, 1985: 131–132).

Most of the identified metal finds (80%, ca. 1,500 pieces) are weapons and equipment, and all of these come from the three standard elements of the Gallic warrior's panoply from the 3rd century BC to the mid-1st century BC: the sword (sword, sheath, chain belt, and belt fastener), shield (*umbo*, handle, and shield border), and the spear (spearhead and spear butt) (Brunaux & Rapin, 1988: 136–137). The primary rite in which they were employed seems to have been exhibition (Brunaux & Rapin, 1988: 163–172).

Groups of weapons dedicated at the sanctuary may have been gathered into trophies or piles, and displayed along the enclosure trench at periodic intervals. This arrangement has been suggested by the frequent grouping of weapons in the enclosure trench: several sheaths and a sword together, multiple spears and shields, etc. (Brunaux & Rapin, 1988: 145–172). The weapons and equipment were left, exposed to the elements long enough for their perishable parts to decay (wooden *spina* and spear poles, leather, etc.). Subsequently, their remains were ritually mutilated, and discarded in the enclosure trench (Brunaux & Rapin, 1988: 135, 159–161).

Mutilations take various forms, and are somewhat dependent on the type of weapon. Swords and sheaths were bent and folded, sometimes with the sword still in its sheath. Sheaths were disassembled, their tip guards and suspension brackets broken away, and obverse and reverse plates separated. Spearheads were also bent, and their edges serrated; and pieces of metal seem to have been sheared away from some of the blades. *Umbones* were struck with hammers and blunt instruments, bent, cut with swords and axes, and, more rarely, cut with shears or punctured with spear points and butts (Brunaux & Rapin, 1988: 48–53).

The mutilation of these weapon remnants immediately prior to their discard may have been a final act of destruction to mark the end of the ritual sequence of exposure to decay (Brunaux & Rapin, 1988: 135, 160). Alternatively, the ritual may have been intended to free the weapons for use by the god of the sanctuary, in a manner paralleling the funerary tradition of the ritual destruction of weapons prior to their interment to free them for use by the deceased (Haffner, 1989: 197–209; for evidence for the destruction of equipment placed in graves, see Rapin, 1993).

The initial phase of Gournay's history came to an end in the late 2nd century BC when the sanctuary's structures were burned, their posts cut flush with the ground, and the enclosure trench filled with ash and earth. The destruction of the sanctuary structures marked the definitive cessation of ritual practice at the site, and the closure of its facilities. Subsequently, the sanctuary was abandoned for 50–70 years, and the site became a place of memory in the landscape. In the mid-1st century BC, the site attracted the foundation of an *oppidum*, which incorporated the previous sanctuary, and the temple was rebuilt. Shortly thereafter, Gournay was abandoned again, probably as a consequence of the Roman conquest. The site was briefly reoccupied a final time in the 4th century AD, when a *fanum* was constructed over the location of the previous temple (Brunaux *et al.,* 1985).

5. From post-battle trophy to Gallo-Roman sanctuary: Ribemont-sur-Ancre

Ribemont-sur-Ancre, like Gournay, has a long history, from the 3rd century BC through the 3rd century AD. However, its La Tène structures (Fig. 15.5), which will be the focus of this discussion, were only in use for a few decades before the site was abandoned for two centuries. Sporadic cult activity continued at the site during its period of abandonment, but the site was not reoccupied until the late 1st century BC. At that time, the La Tène remains were cleared, and the site was transformed into a Gallo-Roman sanctuary.

The site's history began in the La Tène B2 period, with the construction of the circular enclosure to provide a funerary treatment and burial for a group of high status warriors who had fallen in battle (Brunaux, 2018; Brunaux *et al.*, 2001: 35). The enclosure had a robust palisade wall, and partially paved interior within which, it is believed, at least 30 warriors and their weapons were exposed in the open air. Analysis of the bones has revealed that the men were tall, robust, and free of significant pathology – professionals of war. They were exposed for at least a few decades, until their corpses skeletonised, and the bones and weapons weathered. Select bones, consisting primarily of long bones and coxae, were collected for a token burial of select remains. The bones were also subjected to a fierce

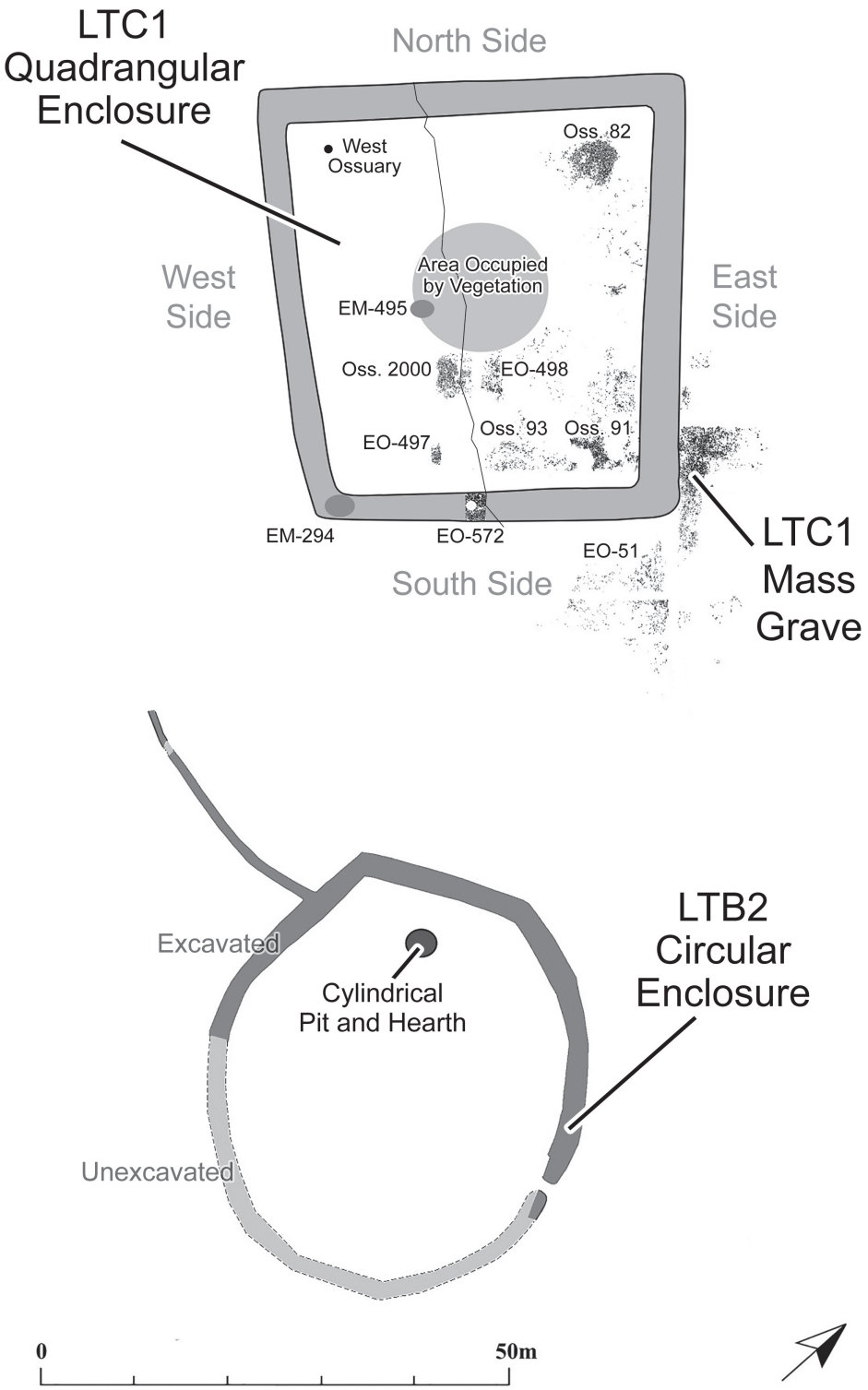

Fig. 15.5: The 3rd century BC enclosures at Ribemont (Illustration G. Fercoq du Leslay, Conseil Départemental de la Somme).

ritual beating, concentrated particularly on the humeri and tibiae, which display multiple parallel blows perpendicular to the length of the bones (Ricard, 2014: 119–120, 202–203). Subsequently, the palisade was demolished, the warriors' bones and weapons were deposited in the foundation trench, and a banquet was held within the enclosure to conclude the ritual proceedings (Brunaux, 2004: 118–124; Brunaux *et al.*, 2009: 25–26). Like the *tumulus* at Gournay, the location of the circular enclosure at Ribemont became a place of memory.

A few decades later a quadrangular enclosure and a mass grave were founded to the immediate north of the circular enclosure (Brunaux *et al.*, 2001; Brunaux *et al.*, 2002; Haack *et al.*, 2015: 26). Together, they seem to have composed a ritual space and commemorative monument. They are thought to have been constructed after a major battle, which would have taken place in the valley below the site, in order to celebrate the victory and dedicate the vanquished warriors and a large quantity of weapons and equipment to the gods (Brunaux *et al.*, 1999; 2009; Rose, 2016: 60). Although this remains contested (Krausse, 2006: 364), the prevailing interpretation is that the quadrangular enclosure hosted a ritual dedication of high status enemy warriors.

The quadrangular enclosure consisted of a three-sided trench surrounding three ritual pits, surmounted by cubic frames built of human and horse bones stacked laterally. Only one of the bone frames, that of ossuary 82 (Fig. 15.6), has survived largely intact, although parts of another bone frame (ossuary 91) and the third pit (west ossuary) have also survived (Brunaux *et al.*, 2003: 7–13). Ossuary 82, and the undisturbed 3rd century BC contexts along the eastern interior of the enclosure, have been instrumental to understanding the ritual treatment of the approximately 350 men, 40 horses, and hundreds of pieces of armament brought into the enclosure (Pourrier, 2003: 74; Ricard, 2014). First, the men and horses were exposed in the open air until they were reduced to bones and ligaments. Then their bodies were dismembered, and their limbs used to construct the bone frames around the ritual pits. Additional bone material was crushed and cremated within the pits (Brunaux *et al.*, 1999; Brunaux *et al.*, 2003: 7–13; Brunaux *et al.*, 2009; Cadoux, 1984).

Weapons and equipment, collected from the battlefield, were then arranged around the ossuaries. Some of the weapons were ritually mutilated prior to their deposit (Fig. 15.7). After the ritual activity was complete, the quadrangular enclosure was abandoned. It was left undisturbed for more than two centuries before its demolition in the late 1st century BC.

The mass grave, located just outside of the quadrangular enclosure, consists of a 40 cm thick layer of human bones mixed with nearly 300 pieces of armament (Petit, 2002: 21; Ricard, 2014: 48). The human bones come from a minimum of 114 individuals, all robust males in their prime. With the exception of missing their skulls, the skeletons were largely intact. A number of limbs and torsos retained their articulation, and there is a relative balance of bones from all parts of the body (Ricard, 2014: 199). Given that no cranial bones have been found in the deposit, and that more than 20% of the cervical vertebrae bear blade marks and other traces connected with severing the head, these men may be identified as enemy warriors (Ricard, 2014: 203).

The warriors from the mass grave were not subjected to the same two-stage ritual treatment as those from the circular and quadrangular enclosures. Instead, they seem to have been collected from the battlefield, deposited *en masse*, and left to decay (Ricard, 2014: 211–221). Armament was carefully arranged over the corpses, shield elements to the north, sword elements the south, with a line of spears between them (Lejars, 1998: see Fig. 15.8). While isolated examples display damage, there is no evidence of a systematic ritual mutilation of weapons, and most damage is incidental, or sustained in combat (Lejars, 1998: 238–240). Brunaux's proposal that the mass grave represents the collapse of an elevated display of headless corpses in full armament has remained the prevailing interpretation (Brunaux, 2004: 106–118; Brunaux *et al.*, 1999; Brunaux *et al.*, 2009). However, the rectilinear shape of the mass grave suggests a pit with a wooden frame, forming a sort of box, was specially prepared to receive the bodies (Ricard, 2014: 211–218); and the organisation of the armament above the bodies does not support the idea of a random scattering of weapons in a collapse.

Brunaux interprets the two enclosures and the mass grave as three parts of a massive facility constructed after a major battle nearby (Brunaux, 2004; Brunaux *et al.*, 1999; Brunaux *et al.*, 2009), based on a belief in their contemporaneity, and a division of the warriors into two groups. He believes that the quadrangular enclosure was devoted to a systematic destruction of the remains of the vanquished, and dedication of their weapons to the gods. He interprets the mass grave as a complementary facility where a select group of the vanquished were exhibited. Brunaux interprets the circular enclosure as the other half of the monument, created to provide a sky-burial to the victors' fallen comrades. However, the lack of contemporaneity between the circular and quadrangular enclosures, suggested by the La Tène B2b pottery, and the archaic forms of some of the weapons from the circular enclosure trench, pose some problems for Brunaux's interpretation.

In total, the site of Ribemont has provided more than 3,000 iron finds. Most of the material, over 2,300 pieces, comes from within the quadrangular enclosure, and over 50% of these are weapons and military equipment. They consist primarily of spearheads and spear butts, with all other types very much in the minority, consistent with a battlefield collection of weapons. The armament from the mass grave, 388 pieces, is distributed similarly. The final

Fig. 15.6: Ossuary 82 with its bone frame and weapon deposits highlighted (Illustration B. Foucray & V. Vergne, after Cadoux, 1984).

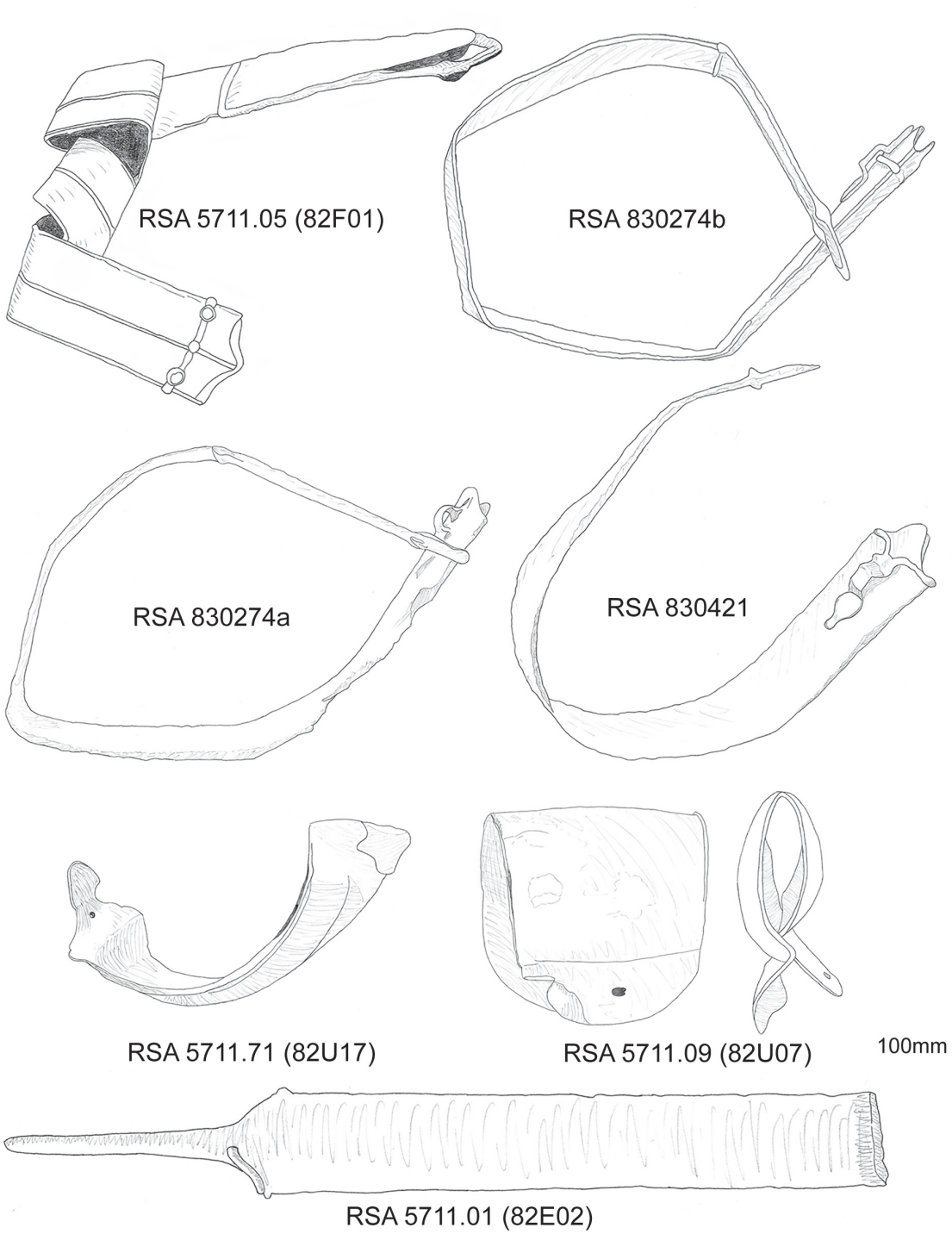

Fig. 15.7: Mutilated 3rd century BC weapons from ossuary 82 (5711.01, 5711.05, and 5711.09 (left) after Mahéo, 1990; RSA 830274b and 5711.09 (right) after Pourrier, 2003; RSA 830274a, RSA 830421 and RSA 5711.71 author).

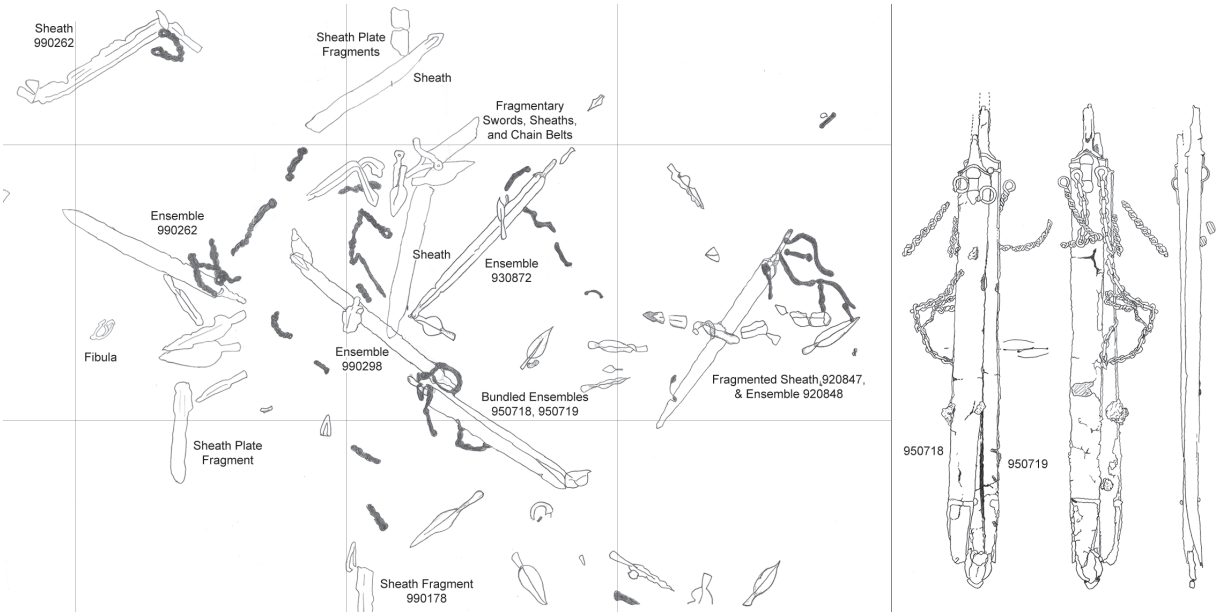

Fig. 15.8: Illustration of the sword and sheath concentration in the mass grave, and one of the sword-in-sheath ensembles (after Brunaux et al., 1999: Fig. 4 and Lejars, 1998).

group of material comes from the circular enclosure, about 200 pieces of armament. Spearheads and spear butts again dominate, but *umbones* make up a larger percentage.

The overall dominance of spearheads, spear butts, and *umbones*, with small minorities of swords, sheaths, and chain belts at Ribemont contrasts sharply with the distribution of armament from Gournay where swords, sheaths, and *umbones* make up most of the finds. Also distinct is the fact that nearly all of the weapons from Ribemont date to the La Tène C1b period (late 3rd century BC). They represent, at most, a few decades of production, corresponding with the distribution of the ages of the warriors who carried them (Petit, 2002: 78–80; Pourrier, 2003: 75). In contrast, the weapons at Gournay cover the entire La Tène C period, the course of more than a century, and seem to originate from throughout Gaul (Brunaux & Rapin, 1988: 67–77, 119, 167–169).

This significant difference in the distribution of weapon types, and other evidence from both sites leads us to conclude that at Gournay, weapon and equipment dedications represent deposits of groups of arms over a century, while the quadrangular enclosure and mass grave at Ribemont provide massive assemblages of armament collected from the battlefield, dedicated over a few decades. The armament from the circular enclosure at Ribemont is likewise limited to a period of a few decades in the La Tène B2-C1 period, and makes up a single deposit (Brunaux *et al.*, 2002: 34; Petit, 2002: 74–75). There are limited numbers of arms from later periods, but they are very much in the minority, and most come from the late 1st century BC reoccupation of the site.

Gournay was a regional warrior sanctuary, active over the course of a century, which played an important role as a worship centre. Ribemont, for its part, was a funerary and then victory monument, host to ritual activity for a few decades before it was largely abandoned, and became a place of memory in the landscape. Yet both sites retained enduring significance to their surrounding communities, and were appropriated in their later histories for the foundation of new sanctuaries. In relation to the concept of memoryscapes discussed above, it is interesting to refer to the later history of Ribemont. As has been mentioned, the quadrangular enclosure was abandoned in the late 3rd century BC, shortly after its construction, and left untouched for two centuries. Sporadic ritual activity continued in the area of the circular enclosure from that time until the 1st century BC. Ritual pits were dug along its former outline in the 1st century BC. They contained hearths and charred animal bones, the remains of small-scale banquets hosted at the site during its period of abandonment (Brunaux *et al.*, 2001: 35; 2002: 47–49). These banquets may have been a form of ancestor worship, celebrating the illustrious progenitors of the local community. Worship would have been directed at both the warriors who were buried within the circular enclosure trench, and the warriors who died in the battle precipitating construction of the quadrangular enclosure and mass grave (Rose, 2016: 65).

In the late 1st century BC, a group of local individuals returned to the site to prepare it for construction of the first

Gallo-Roman sanctuary on the spot. They graded the terrain, moving soil from the western corner of the quadrangular enclosure to cover the eastern half, and the ossuaries there. They carefully relocated the bone frame from the west corner of the enclosure to the south side, and reconstructed it there (ossuary 2000). They collected a number of 3rd century BC weapons into a single ensemble within the enclosure, and dedicated a collection of their own weapons and equipment, which they buried in the corner of the enclosure trench along with 3rd century BC armament. All of this amounted to a careful and respectful dismantling of the La Tène installation during preparation for construction of the new Gallo-Roman sanctuary (Brunaux *et al.*, 1999: 209–213; Viand *et al.*, 2008).

The identity of these individuals is debated. The late Gallic coinage, dominated by local Ambiani issues, suggests involvement by the local community (Brunaux *et al.*, 1999: 254–270; 2009: 192–197). However, there are a number of items that seem to be connected to Gallic auxiliaries in the Roman army including a Port-type helmet, *gladii*, *pila*, and others. Given the site's enduring significance to the local community, demonstrated by the occasional but continued frequentation of the site during its period of abandonment, it seems likely that the local community was responsible. Gallic auxiliaries were surely present, but as returned veterans who were part of the community. Together, the community returned to a sacred site of great antiquity, connected with the bellicose past of independent northern Gaul. They dismantled and buried the La Tène monument, and built a new Gallo-Roman sanctuary over its location. Through this act, they appropriated the site, and incorporated it into the new Gallo-Roman sacred landscape. Worship was instituted in a new tradition, yet continuity with the past was maintained. Subsequently, the sanctuary rapidly developed into an important regional sanctuary in the Gallo-Roman landscape, the principal sanctuary of the *civitas Ambianorum*.

Although the carefully excavated site of Ribemont is a particularly outstanding example of a post-battle *tropaion*, it was surely not an isolated case in pre-Roman Gaul. Moeuvres in the northern French region of Canal du Nord, with more than 200 skeletons and numerous weapon finds, is probably another battle site very similar to Ribemont. It is of very similar dimensions to the mass grave at Ribemont, and the skeletons buried at Moeuvres are largely complete, like those at Ribemont, with the same exception that no crania were discovered (Salomon, 1913). However, Moeuvres' early and unsystematic discovery at the beginning of the 20th century, just one year before the start of the First World War, makes it very difficult to reconstruct its original characteristics.

6. Places of memory in the *Longue Durée*: the Treveran *oppida*

If we open our analysis to different sorts of proxy data, numerous other sites in Late Iron Age Gaul have yielded evidence that is directly or indirectly related to the realm of warfare (see *e.g.* Bataille, 2016; Bataille *et al.*, 2014; Deyber, 2009). In addition to the widespread erection of fortifications, with defensive works at the *oppida* that were well prepared for warfare and siege tactics (cf. Moret, 2018), we have to acknowledge deposition of weapons in graves, votive offerings to war deities at public sanctuaries, and some public spaces that could potentially have hosted war assemblies.

The territory of the *Treveri* in the Middle Rhine-Moselle regions is probably the area of Gaul that provides the best-known archaeological record of Late La Tène public spaces. In fact, spaces for religious practices and assemblies have been identified in six of the seven Treveran *oppida*, in five cases at the highest point of the respective *oppidum*: Titelberg, Martberg, Wallendorf, Kastel-Staadt and Otzenhausen. As recent research has shown, the rituals and celebrations held at the Treveran *oppida* would have been key elements in the fostering of social cohesion, self-awareness and shared identity. From the Iron Age through the Roman period, these central places were important for the construction of communal identity at the local and regional level, and served as points of aggregation for the population of a predominantly rural landscape (Fernández-Götz, 2014a: 143–181; 2014b; Krausse, 2006; Metzler *et al.*, 2006).

All of these sites have provided evidence for an earlier, probably ritual use in the 5th–4th centuries BC, long before the development of the *oppida* on the same locations in the late 2nd century BC (Fernández-Götz, 2014a: 109–111; Metzler *et al.*, 2006). The landscape also serves a mnemonic purpose in maintaining collective memories (Gosden & Lock, 1998), and in this sense, the tops of the hills and mountains on which the *oppida* were situated would have been perceived as sacred locations. As ethnography and ethnohistory show (*e.g.* Santos-Granero, 1998; Yates, 1999), all places are associated with events, memories and myths, but some points concentrate messages of great importance for the social reproduction of groups with particular intensity. This would have been the case, amongst others, for the sites used for *oppida* in the Treveran area, which would have been true *lieux de mémoire* around which myths, legends and traditions revolved. The 'biography' of these places would go far beyond their transient use as *oppida* in the Late Iron Age, and it is from this long-term perspective that their phases of occupation and reoccupation should ultimately be understood (Fernández-Götz, 2014a: 143–157, 166–181; Metzler *et al.*, 2006).

In the case of Titelberg, the large public space covered an area of 10 ha that was separated from the rest of the *oppidum* by a ditch and a mudbrick wall (Fig. 15.9). The infill of the ditch contained abundant animal bones, around a hundred brooches, and numerous other finds such as spearheads, miniature weapons, coins and fragments of human skulls.

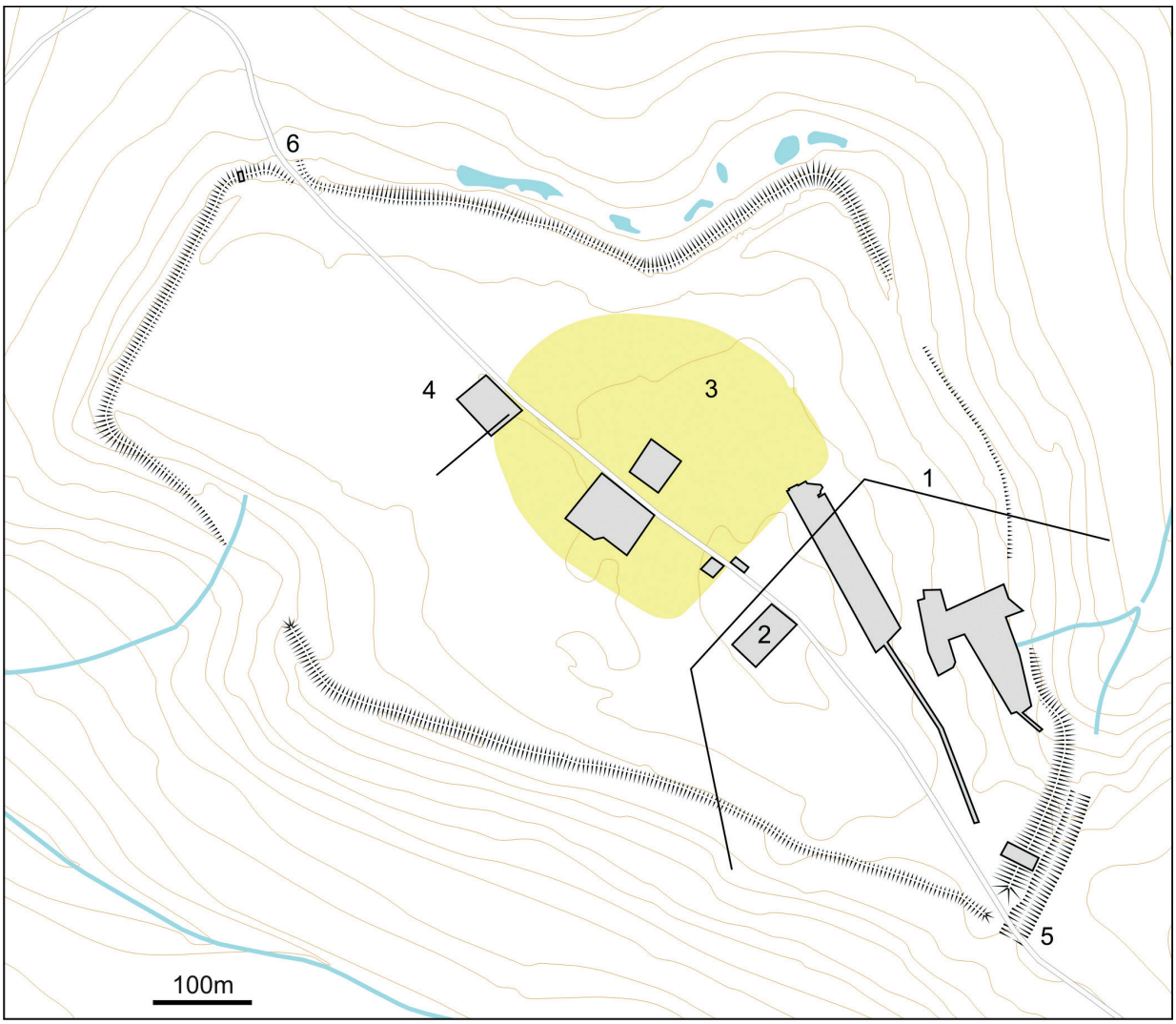

Fig. 15.9: Plan of Titelberg oppidum: *1 cultic ditch that marks the boundary of the public space; 2 excavation of the monumental centre; 3 concentration of the La Tène habitat; 4 possible Roman military establishment; 5 east gate; 6 west gate (Re-drawn after Metzler et al., 2006).*

These finds demonstrate that cult practices took place here and indicate that the boundary marked by the ditch was not only physical but also, to a large extent, symbolic, as it separated the sacred space from the profane. Inside the large public space, the archaeological evidence points towards the existence of structures for political voting, and the celebration of large-scale communal rituals associated with feasting (Metzler *et al.*, 2016). Given the fact that Titelberg figures prominently as the most important *oppidum* of the Treveri in the 1st century BC, we might suggest that its public space was used for large public assemblies at the scale of the *civitas*. In the course of these celebrations, politics and religion would have gone hand in hand, being the events at which the political body of the *pagus* or the *civitas* took important decisions concerning war and peace.

In particular, it has been proposed that the public space of Titelberg could have been the scene for large-scale assemblies of men at arms as the one described by Julius Caesar precisely among the *Treveri*: '*He* [*Indutiomarus*, leader of the Treveri] *proclaimed an armed convention. This in the practice of the Gauls marks the beginning of a war; and by a general law all grown men are accustomed to assemble at it in arms, while the one who comes last to the assembly is put to death with every kind of torture in sight of the host. At the convention Indutiomarus declared Cingetorix an enemy and confiscated his goods. Cingetorix was his son-in-law, the chief man of the other party, who […] had sought the protection of Caesar and had not deserted him. This business despatched, Indutiomarus declared in the convention that he had been summoned by the Senones,*

Fig. 15.10: Aerial photograph of the oppidum *of Martberg, situated beside the river Moselle (after Nortmann & Schönfelder, 2009, with some modifications).*

the Carnutes, and several other Gallic states, and that he proposed to march to them through the borders of the Remi, laying waste their lands, and before so doing to attack the camp of Labienus' (Caesar, *BG* V, 56).

Although we will never be entirely certain if the described assembly took place at Titelberg, thanks to this passage from *De Bello Gallico* we know that large collective encounters of this kind existed amongst the Treveri. This, together with the archaeological data obtained from other parts of temperate Europe, helps to shed more light on the purpose of the public spaces documented within the *oppida*. Once again, we find an extremely close connection between politics and religion, since calling the Treveran assembly was both a political act (preparation for war, humiliation of the principal rival for power), and a religious one (ritual sacrifice of the last warrior to arrive).

After Titelberg, the most important centre seems to have been the 70 ha large *oppidum* of Martberg, situated in the eastern part of the *civitas* at a height of some 200 m above the lower course of the Moselle (Fig. 15.10). Its fame goes back to the 19th-century discovery of a votive inscription dedicated to *Lenus Mars*, the principal deity of the Treveri. The sanctuary is situated on the highest part of the *oppidum* and is highly complex, as it comprises 12 phases that date from the beginning of the 1st century BC to the end of the 4th century AD (Nickel *et al.*, 2008). The profusion of finds is exceptional, with more than 7,000 coins, hundreds of brooches and numerous weapons that have been documented in the area of the sanctuary. Interestingly, numerous weapons, brooches and La Tène coins were subject to ritual mutilation. These finds must be at least partly related to offerings to a war deity, probably *Lenus Mars* itself. Despite the abandonment of the *oppidum* in the early Gallo-Roman period, the sanctuary of Martberg continued to develop during the first centuries AD, including the construction of numerous temple buildings in stone.

7. Conclusion

The monumentalisation of pre-Roman cult places during the Gallo-Roman period was a widespread phenomenon in the Treveran area, and includes outstanding examples such as the above mentioned sanctuaries of Titelberg and Martberg, but also others such as Wallendorf (Krausse, 2006; Metzler *et al.*, 2016; Metzler & Scheid, 2011).

Although the old Treveran *oppida* from the pre-conquest period lost their role as political and economic centres in the new geography of power imposed by the Roman order, they nonetheless preserved their significance as focal points for the populations of a wide hinterland. As in the case of the Gallo-Roman sanctuary at Ribemont-sur-Ancre, this demonstrates the ongoing importance of Iron Age sacred landscapes for the construction of collective identities until Late Antiquity. Memories of the past are integral for the being-in-the-world of human communities (Assmann, 2007; Van Dike & Alcock, 2003), and in this sense the old memoryscapes were filled with new meaning while retaining the link to the *longue durée* sacrality of space. It was not merely a vague significance and memory of sacredness lingering upon Iron Age sites that prompted the foundation of sanctuaries in the Roman period, but a significant connection to the past, carried in social memory or reconstructed later.

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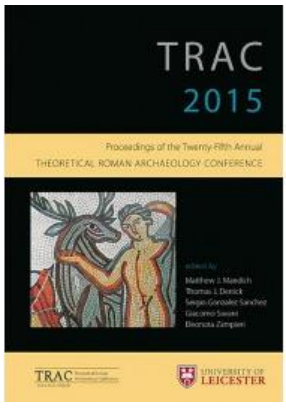

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Lieux de Mémoire, Central Places, and the Sanctuary of Ribemont-sur-Ancre: A Preliminary Look

David S. Rose

Introduction

This paper seeks to address the following questions: Can we establish that meaningful relationships existed between some Gallo-Roman sanctuaries and the Iron Age *lieux de mémoire* ('places of memory') over which they were founded if the sites experienced periods of abandonment? If so, could we then view their histories as continuous? Previously, scholars have allowed continuity of place in these cases, but generally denied that any substantive relationship existed between the two epochs. Further, the modern definition of continuity does not allow sites with significant interruptions of occupation or activity to be described as having a 'continuous' history. However, in this paper, I will propose that we consider continuity differently. I believe that continuity may also be demonstrated by the enduring significance that places of memory possessed for local communities, a significance that attracted the foundation of new central places, and could be appropriated at sites' reoccupation. Through the appropriation of places of memory, newly founded central places were linked to past epochs of sites' histories, and granted legitimacy to define contemporary identities by their antiquity.

In order to present this alternative notion of continuity, I will outline a theoretical framework that uses the concepts of central places and *lieux de mémoire* to model the progression of sites from their initial states, through their periods of abandonment, and into their later histories. I believe that by reconsidering continuity within the framework of these concepts, we will gain a better understanding of how these sites were perceived and experienced in antiquity, and may wish to revise how we define continuity to better suit ancient perspectives.

The initial section of this paper will be devoted to the theoretical aspects of the topic. It will define places of memory and central places, and present the theoretical framework. The second section will illustrate the theoretical considerations using the case study of Ribemont-sur-Ancre, the well-known Gallo-Roman sanctuary founded upon a place of memory from the La Tène B2/C1 period (late third century B.C.). The case study will address: the creation of the place of memory at Ribemont, and the activity of its initial epoch; what it came to mean to the local community over its period of abandonment; and how the site's significance was appropriated at the foundation of the Gallo-Roman sanctuary in the early Roman period. Discussion of Ribemont will conclude with an illustration of how the site's history may be modelled using the study's theoretical framework, and brief summary of the sanctuary's subsequent development. The final section of the paper before the conclusion will briefly address three comparative examples –

Gournay-sur-Aronde, Nitry, and Mirebeau-sur-Bèze – to illustrate how the theoretical framework may be applied to other sanctuaries for future studies.

While addressing only one case study in detail in this paper, I believe that the framework presented here may be applied to many other Gallo-Roman sanctuaries founded upon places of memory in Gaul and Britain. Hopefully, the parallels and interactions between the concepts of *lieux de mémoire* and central places discussed here will encourage further integration of the concepts in future considerations.

Scholarly Context

This paper developed in the context of Manuel Fernández-Götz's (2012; 2014) work on identity and *lieux de mémoire* in Gaul, and Nico Roymans' and other Vrije University scholars' work on central place theory. Pierre Nouvel and Philippe Barral (forthcoming) have also presented a discussion of places of memory in central eastern Gaul, which relates to the ideas explored here, particularly concerning the tie between places of memory and central places. They consider the various types of places of memory over which sanctuaries were founded in the region, and the nature of the connections between the two. Cosmopoulos (2014) has also examined the appropriation of *lieux de mémoire* for new sanctuary foundations, although in the context of early Greek sanctuaries founded upon Mycenaean places of memory.

Defining Lieux de Mémoire *and Central Places*

The concept of *lieux de mémoire* originated with the historian Pierre Nora's work in the social sciences in the 1980s and 1990s (encapsulated in a 1989 essay). It has been used with various meanings, and often imprecisely thereafter, particularly when adapted for use in various disciplines. An explicit definition of places of memory for archaeology has not yet been articulated, although Fernández-Götz uses the term consistently, and addresses its meaning at various points in his recent works (2012; 2014: 83–84, 171). The definition presented here adapts Nora's concept, and synthesizes Fernández-Götz's comments.

Places of memory were locales charged with meaning, associated with the origins of communities, where their social memory could be anchored. Together, they defined a 'landscape of memory', a broad physical area dotted by meaningful sites from the past, which were tied to the identities of local communities. (My phrase, 'landscape of memory', is an extension of Fernández-Götz's (2014: 93, 102–105) concept of a 'landscape of ancestors'.) Places of memory provided sites where communities could gather to remember their past, and articulate and reinforce their group identity through assembly and ritual practice (Poux 2012: 157–159; Fernández-Götz 2014: 83–84). Ritual practice took place under the direction of community leaders who had the opportunity at each performance to appropriate, revise, and reinvent memory to suit themselves (Bell 1992: 16–20; Assmann 2006: 306–13; Fernández-Götz 2014: 63, 83–84, 171–173). In this way, community leaders could use places of memory to construct a past that reflected the contemporary social order, and perpetuated it for the future. However, memory and the rituals of remembering also changed naturally over time, through processes of the select preservation of memory and forgetting. Like social memory, identity in pre-Roman Gaul was multifaceted and mutable, and intimately tied to the social order. Fernández-Götz (2014: 41–71) explores the problem in some detail.

Like places of memory, the term 'central places' has been applied and defined variously

over time. Gerritsen and Roymans (2006: 255) have provided a detailed definition of central places for use in the context of Roman archaeology, which is incorporated in the following definition. Central places served as points of aggregation for the population of a predominantly rural landscape (Fernández-Götz 2014: 161, 169–175). They played a key role in promoting communities' group identity, social awareness, and cohesion, and at these sites, the hierarchies of communities could be reinforced through ritual practice and other activities (Gerritsen and Roymans 2006: 255; Fichtl 2007: 283–285; Fernández-Götz 2014: 171). Central places were both independent sites within the rural landscape (Ribemont-sur-Ancre), and locales within and in association with *oppida*, and open settlements (Gournay-sur-Aronde, Manching, Acy-Romance). They were instrumental in the appearance and strengthening of local and *civitas* identities. Each *civitas* would have had multiple central places, some located centrally within territories, and others on borders and liminal sites (Chilly, Fesques, Saint-Maur). Together, they facilitated the establishment and maintenance of bounded territories, and the cohesion of the communities within them (Poux 2012; Fernández-Götz 2014: 56, 171).

As has probably become evident, the concepts of places of memory and central places share a number of commonalities in their definitions, and interact and overlap with one another considerably. In fact, I believe that places of memory were simply unoccupied and inactive central places, which remained significant to local communities over long periods of time, through memory of their past importance and communities' identification with the sites. When places of memory were reoccupied, they became central places once more, existing subsequently as both places of memory and central places simultaneously.

The model below (Fig. 1) illustrates a site's progress from central place to place of memory, and back again. A site is classed as a central place during the initial period of its history, because it is occupied and active in the creation of a community, the establishment of collective identity, and is central to the social, political, and ritual life of a particular group. Upon its abandonment, activity ceases, and the central place becomes a place of memory, an inactive feature in the landscape, but still important and tied to the identity of the local community. Over time, the

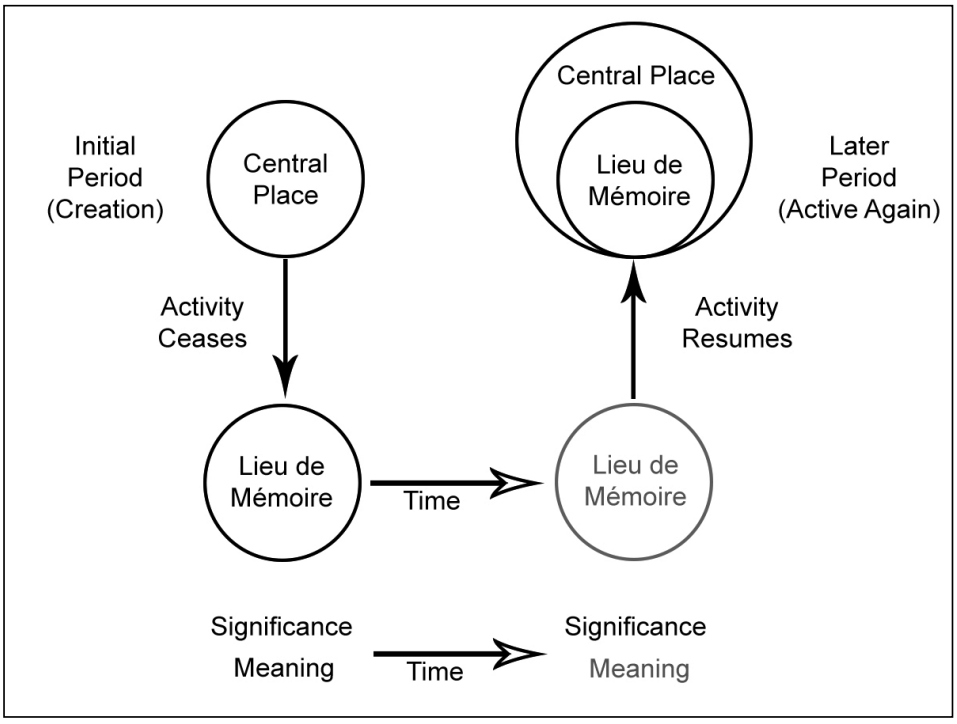

Figure 1: The Relationship between lieux de mémoire *and central places.*

meaning of the place of memory to this community changes, either shifting naturally according to the community's needs and interests, and processes of forgetting and selective memory; or its meaning may be revised and redefined intentionally by particular parties for their own purposes. Despite the change in its meaning, the place of memory remains significant to the local community, because it is connected to the community's past (and sometimes its origins), and still serves as an important part of local identity. Later, the site is reoccupied and activity resumes. At this time, the significance of the place of memory is appropriated, and the site becomes a central place anew. The site then exists simultaneously as a central place and place of memory, its significance and antiquity granting the site legitimacy to define communal identity in the present and future. To illustrate this theoretical progression concretely, I will now present the case study of the sanctuary of Ribemont-sur-Ancre.

The Creation of the Place of Memory at Ribemont

The history of Ribemont-sur-Ancre began in the third century B.C., with the construction of a circular and quadrangular enclosure on the site of the later sanctuary. The prevailing interpretation of the enclosures, proposed by Brunaux, is that they make up a two-part monument, constructed by the victors of a major battle that took place in the valley below the site. According to Brunaux, the monument was in use from *c.* 250 to 220 B.C. during which the victors erected its structures, and carried out a complex ritual treatment of the dead. Brunaux believes that the circular enclosure facilitated the funeral treatment of the victors' fallen comrades, and the subsequent commemorative banquet, and that the quadrangular enclosure facilitated the ritual treatment of the vanquished warriors and their weapons, through which they were offered to the gods (Brunaux *et al.* 1999; 2009).

However, Fercoq du Leslay has indicated that the ceramic material dates the circular enclosure to the La Tène B2 period (early third century B.C.), and has suggested that the circular enclosure predates the quadrangular enclosure by thirty to forty years (Brunaux *et al.* 2001; Brunaux *et al.* 2002; Haack *et al.* 2015: 26; G. Fercoq du Leslay 2015, pers. comm., 27 July and 25 November). A subsequent reassessment of the two enclosures individually has revealed distinct differences in their construction and finds, which mark the enclosures as discrete facilities that should be considered separately. The circular enclosure seems to have been established on the site in order to host a funerary treatment of high status warriors, accompanying weapon dedication, and a communal banquet, as Brunaux has proposed (Brunaux *et al.* 1999; 2009; Brunaux 2004). However, the evidence that the enclosure presents a unique example of the practice of 'sky-burial', otherwise attested only in literary accounts, is less certain. Instead, the circular enclosure seems to be closely comparable to the cult installation at the aristocratic habitat of Montmartin (Enclosure 56) both in its architectural design and the activities it hosted (Brunaux and Méniel 1997). Given that the circular enclosure predates the quadrangular enclosure by a few decades, it seems likely to have been constructed by local aristocratic warriors, following the death of a number of their comrades in battle, to provide them a funerary treatment.

The quadrangular enclosure does seem to have been a commemorative monument and ritual space, as Brunaux argues. However, the differences between the treatment given to the warriors within the enclosure, and that given to the warriors from the mass grave outside of it, should be addressed, because they are relevant to the interpretation of the monument, and identification of the warriors from each area. Further, the shape of the quadrangular enclosure, the altars at its corners, and the sacred grove at its centre indicate that it was designed as a sacred installation,

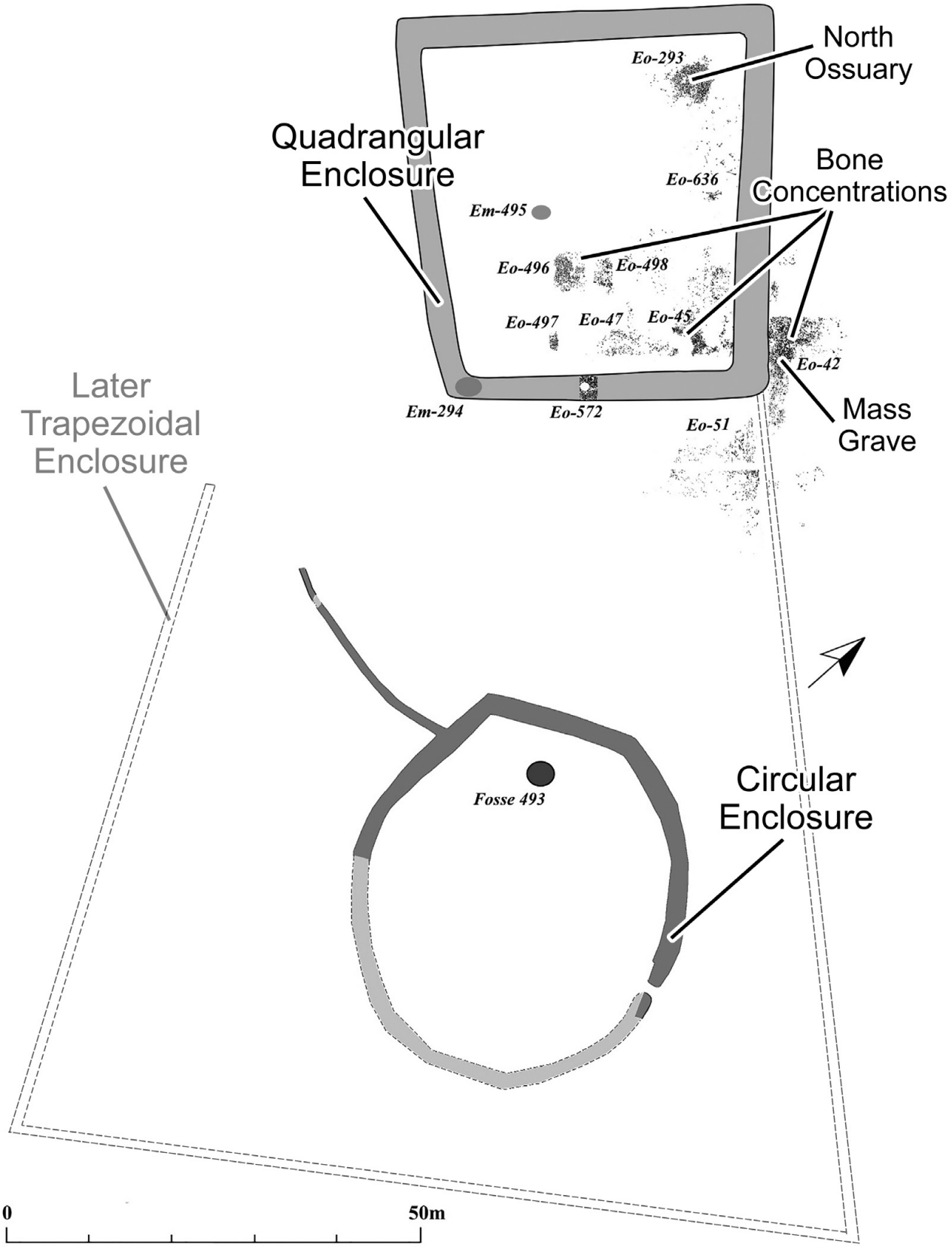

Figure 2: The La Tène enclosures at Ribemont (illustration: G. Fercoq du Leslay, Conseil Départemental de la Somme).

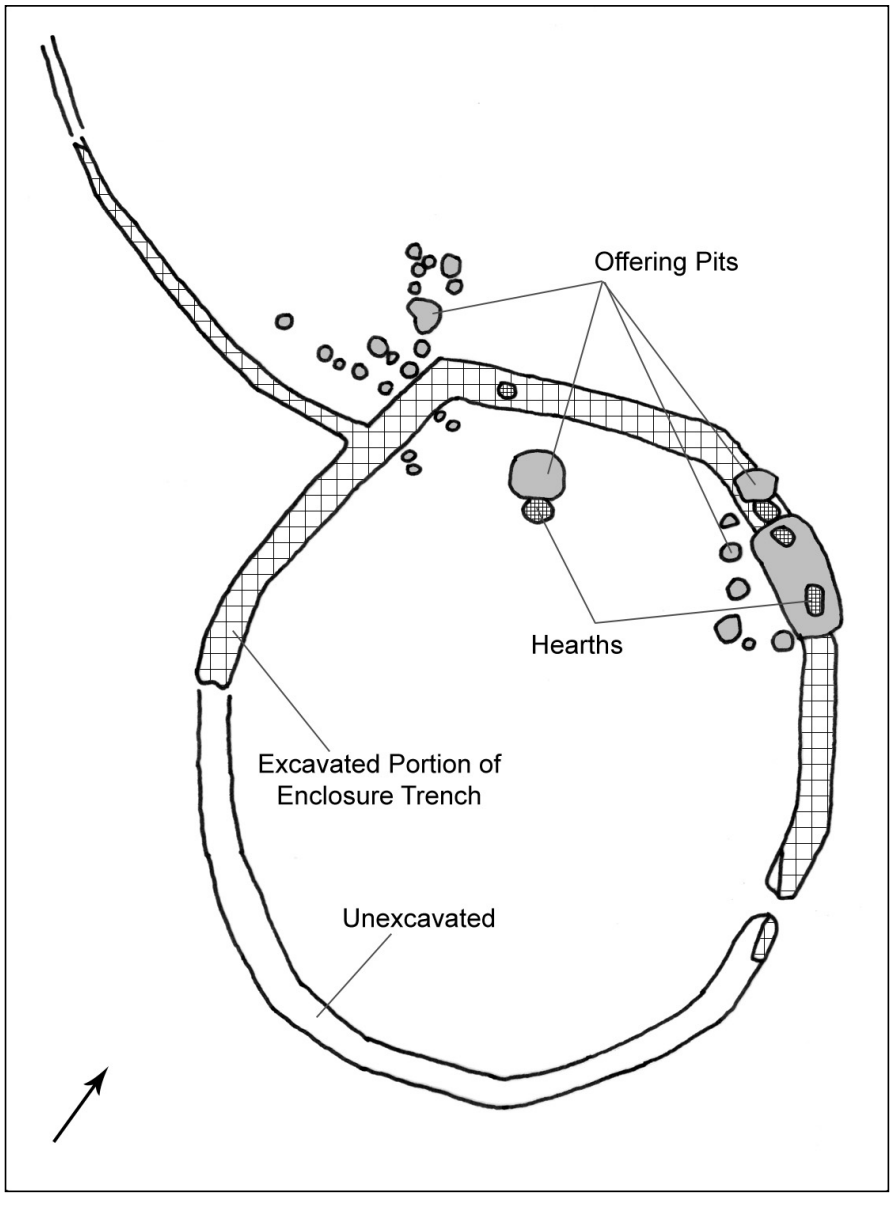

Figure 3: The circular enclosure (after Brunaux 2004, fig. 56).

which could even be defined as an early sanctuary. The evidence and reasoning behind these interpretations will be outlined in brief below, and developed further in a subsequent paper.

Whilst a detailed exploration of the initial phase of Ribemont's history is not the purpose of this paper, the original meaning of the two enclosures is relevant to understanding what the place of memory meant to the local community, and why its significance persisted over such a long period of abandonment. Consequently, it seems worthwhile to address the site's initial epoch in some detail, before examining its subsequent history.

The circular enclosure consisted of a roughly circular trench, likely serving as a foundation for a robust palisade wall with a narrow entry on its east side, creating an interior area that may have been partially paved with sandstone blocks (Fig. 3) (Brunaux *et al.* 1999; 2009; G. Fercoq du Leslay 2015, pers. comm., 27 July). All of the material related to this structure comes from the enclosure trench, of which only the northern half has been excavated to date. It has provided ceramics, fragments of flint, sandstone, and painted wattle-and-daub, and the long bones of at least thirty men, accompanied by weapons and military equipment (Brunaux

et al. 2001: 35). Analysis of the bones has suggested that these men were high status warriors, as they were tall, robust, and free of significant pathology. Ricard and Brunaux (2009) describe them as 'professionals of war'. The weapons and equipment have been attributed to the men. However, there is only one sword and nine sheaths in the assemblage, and they are of rather mediocre quality, inconsistent with the equipment we would expect to accompany the interment of high status warriors (Ricard 2014: 216; G. Fercoq du Leslay 2015, pers. comm., 27 July)

Inside the enclosure, on the northwest side, is a cylindrical pit with an attached hearth. Its fill has provided animal bones and ceramics primarily, but also flint, wattle-and-daub, and rare pieces of metal and fragments of human bones. The latter items suggest that the fill of the cylindrical pit is contemporary with that of the enclosure trench. The animal bones come from swine, sheep, and cattle, with a preponderance of cattle, and display marks of butchering, suggesting that the meat was consumed. The ceramics are mostly (85%) high walled vases of *situlae* or *cistes* type (cylindrical vessels used to transport food or drink), connected with banqueting practice (Brunaux *et al.* 2001: 35–37; 2002: 24–38).

Brunaux has proposed that the men from the circular enclosure are the fallen from the victors' camp who were exposed within the palisaded enclosure in a 'sky burial'. In his reconstruction, their bodies were laid in state, with their weapons, on a sandstone pavement inside the circular enclosure, and left for carnivorous birds, which would consume their flesh. In the second stage, when the bodies were clean of their flesh, the long bones were collected for a token burial of only select remains. A funerary banquet concluded the proceedings, the palisade was demolished, and the ceramics, bones, weapons, and pavement were deposited in the enclosure trench and cylindrical pit (Brunaux 2004: 118–124; Brunaux *et al.* 2009: 25–26).

Whilst we may be sure that the bodies were exposed for the initial stage of the ritual, the evidence for a 'sky burial' is less conclusive. The bones consist almost exclusively (95.6%) of long bones and coaxals, display evidence of weathering, and bear the marks of animal mastication, all signs of exposure (Craig *et al.* 2005: 166; Ricard 2014: 261). However, instead of extensive peck-marks from carnivorous birds, the mastication marks on the bones are quite modest, displaying limited gnawing by rodents, and the marks of a carnivore's teeth on a single *humerus*. They are not necessarily from birds at all (Brunaux 2004: 118–124; Brunaux *et al.* 2009: 25–26; Ricard 2014: 213).

The most notable aspect of the funerary treatment given to these individuals is the systematic ritual beating to which they were subjected, which manifests in parallel blows, perpendicular to the length of the bones (Ricard 2014: 119–120). The significance of this ritual is uncertain, but compares to the treatment of bones on other sites, including the cult installation at Montmartin, the sanctuary of Gournay, and the cult site of Mormont. At Montmartin and Gournay, corpses were ritually dismembered: cervical vertebrae separated from skulls using multiple blows, skulls separated into multiple pieces, and cranial bones separated from long and large bones (Brunaux *et al.* 1985: 152–161; Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 237). Brunaux and Méniel (1997: 236–238) indicate that the treatment of the bones at Montmartin and Gournay likely represents a ritual practice, perhaps even human sacrifice, rather than a funerary ritual. However, as we will see with the quadrangular enclosure, it is often difficult to differentiate between which activities constitute funerary ritual, and which sacrificial. The site of Mormont has provided similar evidence: a femur bearing multiple parallel blows, comparable to those seen at Ribemont, and the head of a young woman with blows on the axis and atlas bones, similar to those seen at Montmartin and Gournay (Brunetti *et al*. 2014: 44–48). The human remains at Mormont have been tentatively identified as human sacrifices, given their frequent deposition in combination

with animal remains and other dedications, and the signs of butchering and burning on the bones, suggesting the possible consumption of human meat (Brunetti *et al.* 2014: 44–50).

Also striking are the parallels between the circular enclosure at Ribemont and the cult installation at Montmartin (Enclosure 56), in the nature of their construction and finds. Like Ribemont, Enclosure 56 at Montmartin featured a robust palisade wall, with decorated wattle-and-daub walls, and a narrow entry (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 116–122). The cylindrical pit and hearth inside the enclosure at Montmartin is closely comparable with the pit and hearth at Ribemont, only slightly smaller in dimensions (Brunaux *et al.* 2003: 61–62). Ceramics, human and animal bones, weaponry, and numerous well-preserved fragments of wattle-and-daub have been found in the enclosure trench and cylindrical pit. The animal bones come from swine, sheep, and cattle primarily, with a high percentage of pork, an assemblage consistent with habitat remains, and sanctuaries where animal sacrifices were followed by consumption (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 231–232). Ceramics found in the cylindrical pit include banqueting vessels, and date the pit to the La Tène C1 period, roughly contemporary with the circular enclosure at Ribemont (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 189–190). Thus, it seems that communal banqueting and the ritual treatment of human remains were practiced at Montmartin, as at Ribemont, within an enclosure of very similar design.

The quadrangular enclosure ('sacred enclosure') (Fig. 2) consisted of a trench enclosing at least two sunken altars at its interior corners (possibly originally four), and other ossuaries both within and outside of the enclosure, most notably the mass grave (discussed below). The interior seems to have facilitated the ritual processing of several hundred bodies. In the first stage, the bodies of warriors, horses, and weapons were arranged and left to decay until only the bones and ligaments remained. In the second stage, some of the human and horse long bones, and fragments of limbs, were selected from these remains, and used to build cubic frames for the sunken altars within the enclosure. Other bones were broken, cut, and crushed into smaller pieces, and thrown into the altars to be cremated (Cadoux 1984; Fercoq du Leslay 1996; Brunaux *et al.* 1999; 2009).

Brunaux has interpreted this activity as reflecting a thorough destruction of the enemy warriors' remains, and offering to the gods, by the victors of the battle. However, Krausse (2006: 364) has questioned whether it is reasonable to imagine that the victors constructed such a complex facility to so meticulously destroy their enemies. He argues that the exposure of the bodies, their subsequent dismemberment and cremation, and the dedication of weapons speak as much to funeral treatments as human sacrifice. Given that the individuals from the circular enclosure are no longer identified as the dead from the victors' camp, we might seek these men in the ossuaries of the quadrangular enclosure. Perhaps the ritual treatment performed within the quadrangular enclosure was a funeral treatment for the victors' fallen comrades.

Immediately outside of the quadrangular enclosure is a special deposit, a mass grave ('*charnier*') containing the remains of at least 114 robust males in their prime, and their weapons. These men are most assuredly enemy warriors, as all of the skeletons are headless, and significant portion of the cervical vertebrae (21.7%) bear blade marks associated with severing the head (Lejars 1998; Ricard 2014). Otherwise, the skeletons were found largely intact, with large portions of the bodies preserved – in marked contrast with the other bone assemblages from the site, all of which are dominated by long and large bones (Ricard 2014: 260–261). These corpses represent battlefield remains, collected and deposited *en masse* with their weapons, and left to decay (Ricard 2014: 200). They did not receive secondary treatment like the bodies within the enclosure. The deposit directly parallels that at Moeuvres, which is of comparable dimensions,

and likewise contained hundreds of headless skeletons (Salomon 1913). Both seem to be ritual dedications of enemy corpses to the gods, and may also have served as displays of the victors' prowess, and expressions of dominance.

To review, the circular enclosure seems to have been a cult installation, similar to Enclosure 56 at Montmartin, which hosted the ritual treatment of high status warriors, weapon dedication, and a communal banquet. The quadrangular enclosure, constructed a few decades later, seems to have been a commemorative monument and sacred space, constructed by the victors of a major battle in order to host the ritual treatment of the dead, and to provide a lasting memorial of the victory. The remains from inside the enclosure represent the traces of a ritual through which enemy warriors were dedicated to the gods, or a funerary treatment given to the victors' fallen comrades. The headless skeletons in the mass grave outside the enclosure may be identified as enemy warriors, and the deposit as a ritual dedication of their weapons and remains and possible trophy.

Whilst the circular enclosure was demolished shortly after its construction, and the quadrangular enclosure was abandoned after its initial phase, they continued to mark the land with a permanent memorial, and inscribed the sanctity of the place in the memory of the local communities. Over time, the area of the circular enclosure became a ritual gathering place, continuing to host communal banquets and to receive dedications sporadically in the second and first centuries B.C. A number of pits (Fig. 3), containing cremated animal bones and banqueting vessels, and hearths found along the edge of the circular enclosure attest to this activity (Brunaux *et al.* 2001; 2002). In this way, the banqueting practice originally carried out within the circular enclosure was perpetuated, although it is doubtful that the enclosure's original use was directly remembered (Brunaux *et al.* 2001: 35; 2009: 25). These gatherings may have been a form of ancestor worship, directed at the illustrious progenitors of the community, as the site would have been associated with the establishment of the community's territorial claim – secured through battle, and commemorated by the monumental installation. The site also served as a sacred gathering place, of the sort that Fernández-Götz (2014: 171) describes, where group cohesion and communal identity could be reinforced.

The site seems to have experienced an increase in activity during the conquest epoch, continuing to the end of the first century B.C., as the ceramics, animal bones, and coins dating to the period suggest. The construction of a trapezoidal enclosure, which encompassed the circular enclosure area and connected it to the quadrangular enclosure, also seems to date to this period (Brunaux *et al.* 2009: 25; Haack *et al.* 2015: 26). It represents a formalization of the existing gathering place by establishing its boundaries. Some weapon and equipment dedications, found in the later Gallo-Roman fill layers, are also dated to this period based on their typology (Viand *et al.* 2008).

This sporadic but continued activity, from the site's abandonment until its reoccupation, demonstrates that it remained significant to the local community throughout its long abandonment. The site served as a gathering place – associated with the origins of the community, its claim on the land, and its heroized ancestors and progenitors. Around the time of the Gallic Wars, when activity increased, the site may have proven particularly attractive, because it represented the bellicose ideology of the northern Gauls. The local community may have viewed their illustrious ancestors as idealized models, and as the community's protectors.

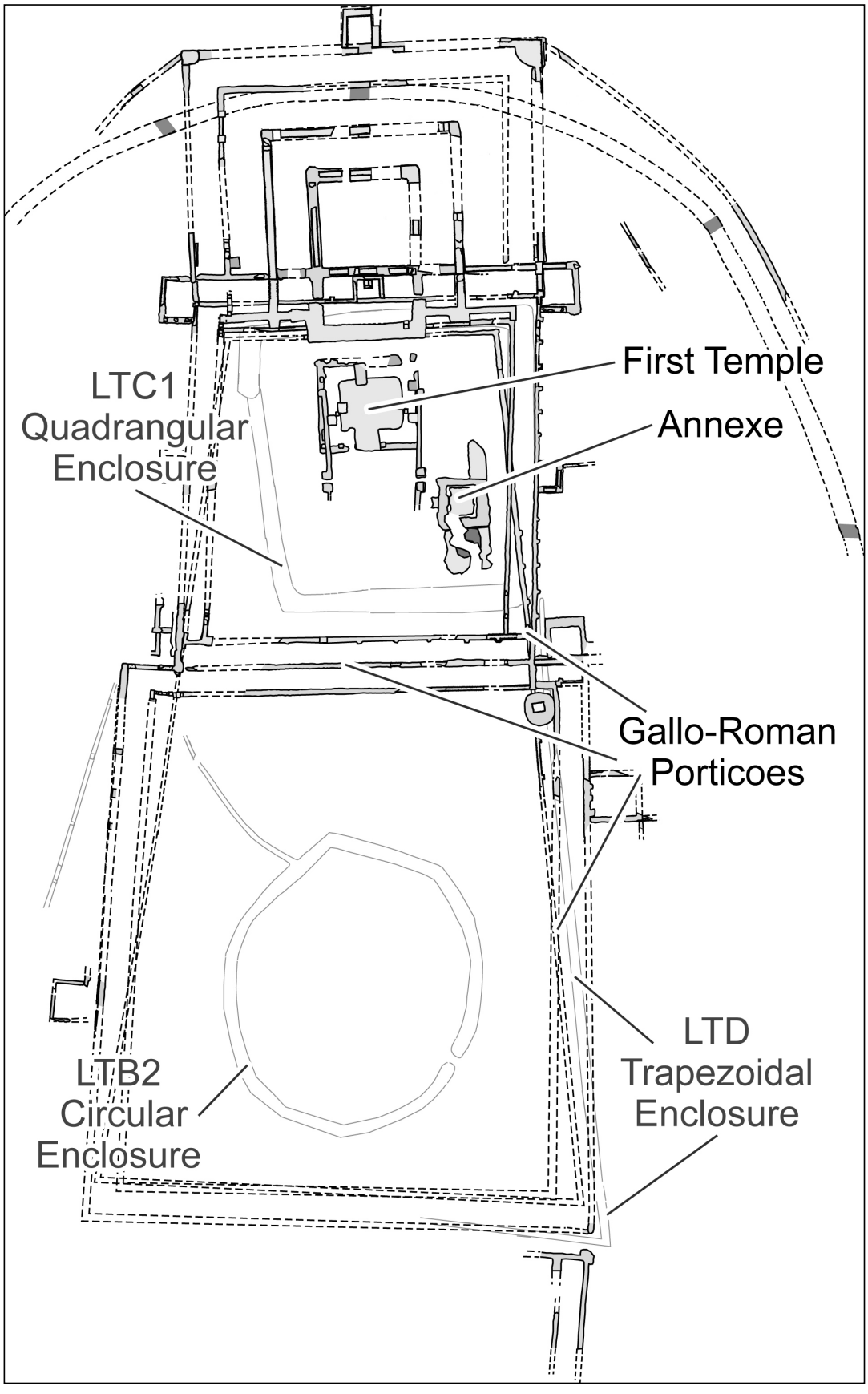

Figure 4: The La Tène and Roman enclosures at Ribemont (illustration: G. Fercoq du Leslay, Conseil Départemental de la Somme).

The Early Roman Transformation of Ribemont-sur-Ancre

The transformation of Ribemont-sur-Ancre from monument and sacred site to sanctuary took place in the last quarter of the first century B.C., and early first century A.D. At that time, the remains of the La Tène structures and objects on the ground were cleared and ceremonially buried; the terrain was levelled; and the new Gallo-Roman sanctuary was built over the same spot (Brunaux *et al.* 1999; 2009). The establishment of the Gallo-Roman sanctuary marked a key transition point, and the beginning of a new phase in the site's history. Worship in a new tradition was instituted at a sacred site from the distant past, a sacred site whose significance had persisted in the memory of the local community for two hundred years. The foundation of the Gallo-Roman sanctuary incorporated the ancient site into the Gallo-Roman sacred landscape.

The new Gallo-Roman sanctuary, composed of a *fanum* temple and later annexe, was constructed over the exact location of the quadrangular enclosure, its porticoes delimiting a *temenos* nearly identical to the enclosure's outline (Fig. 4). Additional porticoes, which followed the lines of the first century B.C. trapezoidal enclosure, were built to define a communal gathering place for the new sanctuary, enclosing the same area that had been used for this purpose for over two hundred years. Through this layout, the new sanctuary preserved the same division of space as the La Tène installations. This division of space remained the same for the entire history of the sanctuary until its abandonment *c.* A.D. 350. We might compare this preservation of the original layout and functions of spaces with that of the sanctuary of Mirebeau-sur-Bèze, discussed in the next section, which maintained two adjoining areas, a sacred enclosure and a public gathering space, throughout its 450 year history (Barral and Joly 2011).

To conclude the discussion of Ribemont-sur-Ancre, I would like to outline how the theory of a central place's progression into a place of memory and back again applies to Ribemont's history. The place of memory originated in the La Tène B2 period, as a funerary and banqueting enclosure, and subsequently, a LTC1 commemorative monument, celebrating a major victory and marking the establishment of the group's territorial claim. The sanctity of the place was permanently inscribed in the memory of the local community, and it continued to serve as a

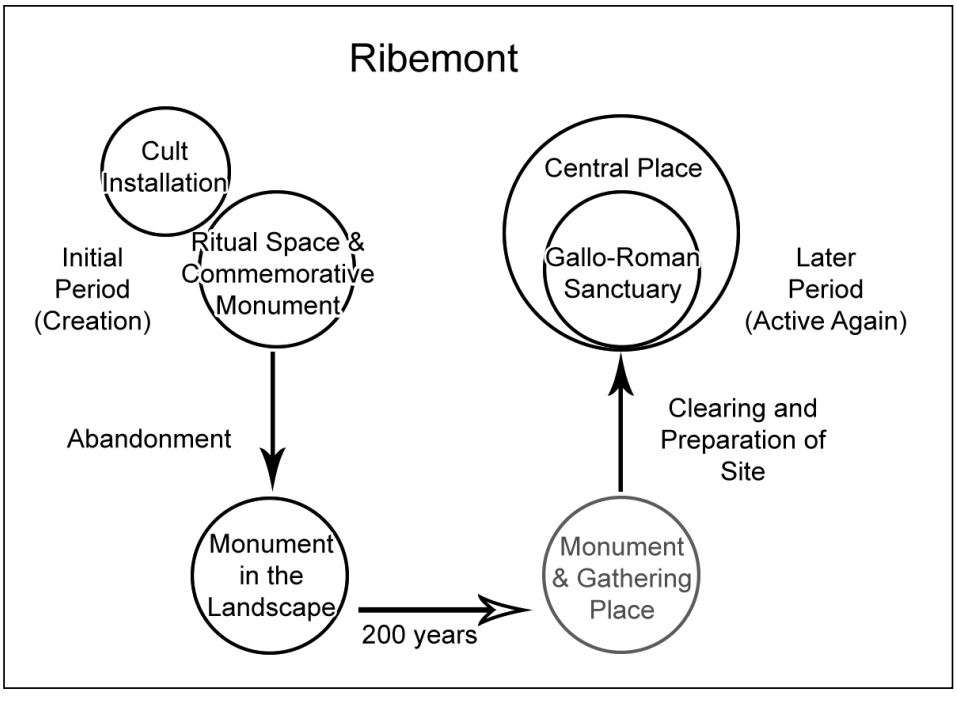

Figure 5: The theoretical model applied to Ribemont-sur-Ancre.

ritual gathering place during its 200-year abandonment. A significant connection with the site's Iron Age past still existed at the reoccupation of the site and foundation of the first Gallo-Roman sanctuary, as the site was a nexus within the landscape of memory, tied to the local community.

At this key transition point, a new central place was established on an ancient sacred site, and worship in the new Roman tradition was inaugurated. The new sanctuary had legitimacy to define identity in the present, and for the future, through its connection with the past. The site took its place in the Gallo-Roman religious landscape, initially as a central place of modest scale, but it quickly developed into a leading central place of the *civitas Ambianorum*.

Further Applications of the Theoretical Model

The model presented in this paper allows us to take a long-term view of sites' histories without the disjunction imposed by conventional notions of continuity. We are thus able to view interruptions of sites' activity and occupation as natural parts of their progression through their various epochs. Likewise, sites' transitions from central places to places of memory, and back, represent naturally occurring changes in their status, and in the functions that they played for the communities connected to them.

Ribemont is a rare example, in our knowledge of its early epoch, and the sporadic activity that continued over its long abandonment. In most cases, there is no direct connection to trace between sites' earlier and later epochs. However, it was sites' significance to the communities around them, and their connection to the past and communal identity that mattered. Continuity with past epochs could be established at sites' reoccupation through the appropriation of the significance of the place of memory, and the 'invention of tradition' (Hobsbawm 1983: 1–3; Fernández-Götz 2014: 173; Rieckhoff 2015: 361).

A close parallel to Ribemont is the sanctuary of Gournay-sur-Aronde, which is of comparable antiquity, and also experienced a period abandonment followed by an appropriation of the site's significance. The sanctuary was originally founded at the beginning of the third century B.C. (*c*. 280–260 B.C.) beside an existing cult installation of the late fourth century, a structured deposit of vases within an earthen mound (and possible place of memory) (Brunaux *et al.* 2003: 15). The sanctuary remained active for almost two centuries without interruption, from the LTC1 to LTD1 periods (300/250 B.C. – 100/50 B.C.), as the votive deposits attest. During this time, the sanctuary evolved from a quadrangular trench, enclosing pits and upright posts, through two iterations of a roofed structure covering the central pit (incipient temple). The enclosure trench developed from a simple trench-and-berm to a palisaded enclosure, which likely featured a monumental gate. The scale and nature of the offerings (1,459 weapons and equipment and 2,500 animal bones from the enclosure trench alone) have revealed that Gournay was an important warrior sanctuary and gathering place serving the communities of the region (Brunaux *et al.* 1985). The site was abandoned at the beginning of the first century B.C. for 50–70 years, at that time transforming into a place of memory (Fig. 6).

The greatest interest Gournay poses for the present paper is the nature of the sanctuary's appropriation when the site was reoccupied in the second half of the first century B.C. At that time, an *oppidum* was founded next to and incorporating the ancient sanctuary, and a new temple was constructed over its predecessor in the sanctuary. Thus, at the foundation of a new central place, the *oppidum*, which was to serve as a key central place for the Bellovaci, the existing place of memory, an abandoned sanctuary, was appropriated, granting the *oppidum* a connection to the tribe's history, identity, and perhaps also to the warrior tradition of northern Gaul. The

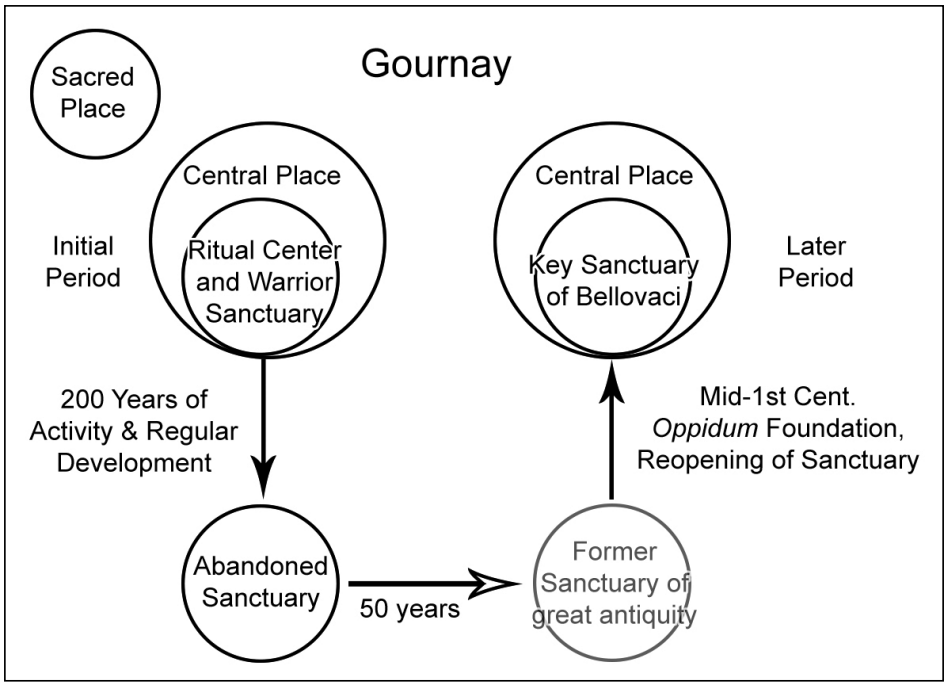

Figure 6: The theoretical model applied to Gournay-sur-Aronde.

re-foundation of the sanctuary, with the construction of a new temple and reestablishment of worship, provided the Bellovaci with a central sanctuary where they could enact their religious, social, and political identity through assembly and ritual practice. As Fichtl (2003: 108) comments, the choice was natural to found the new central place for the Bellovaci upon the existing sacred site. The temple itself reprised the function of its two predecessors, enclosing the central pit that had been the focal point of the sanctuary from its foundation. It was significantly more elaborate than the previous two structures, with a stone foundation for the *cella*, and a peripheral gallery that defined a plan very close to that of a *fanum*. After a brief occupation, through the Augustan period, the site was abandoned again, and became a place of memory once more. In the fourth century A.D., the sanctuary went through the cycle of place of memory to central place a final time when it was reoccupied and a *fanum* was constructed over the old temple site (Brunaux *et al.* 1985).

Sanctuaries founded over places of memory were not always the resumption of worship at a former sacred site, as is the case for Ribemont and Gournay. In some cases, sites' earlier activities were not related to the sanctuaries they became (e.g. sanctuaries founded over *tumuli* or *necropoleis*). Nonetheless, other types of places of memory were no less significant to local communities, nor less attractive for the foundation of new central places (Poux 2012: 162). It was their significance to the surrounding local and supra-local communities, and their connection with the past that was important, not their specific nature in earlier epochs.

The rural sanctuary of Nitry (Fig. 7) provides one example. It was founded *c*. 150 B.C. immediately beside a quadrangular funerary enclosure, and partially overlaying a *necropolis*. It was also located in proximity to a Bronze Age *tumulus*, and other La Tène funerary monuments. Nitry remained an active community sanctuary until the end of the first century A.D. when dedications at the sanctuary ceased. Despite being continually occupied, the sanctuary seems to have experienced a transition similar to that seen at Ribemont and Gournay over the course of the first century A.D. At this time, it was brought into the Gallo-Roman religious landscape by a 'modernisation' of the sanctuary. The *cella* temple and annexe building were rebuilt in masonry, the *temenos* enclosure in stone, and a cult statue was placed within the temple. A gallery was

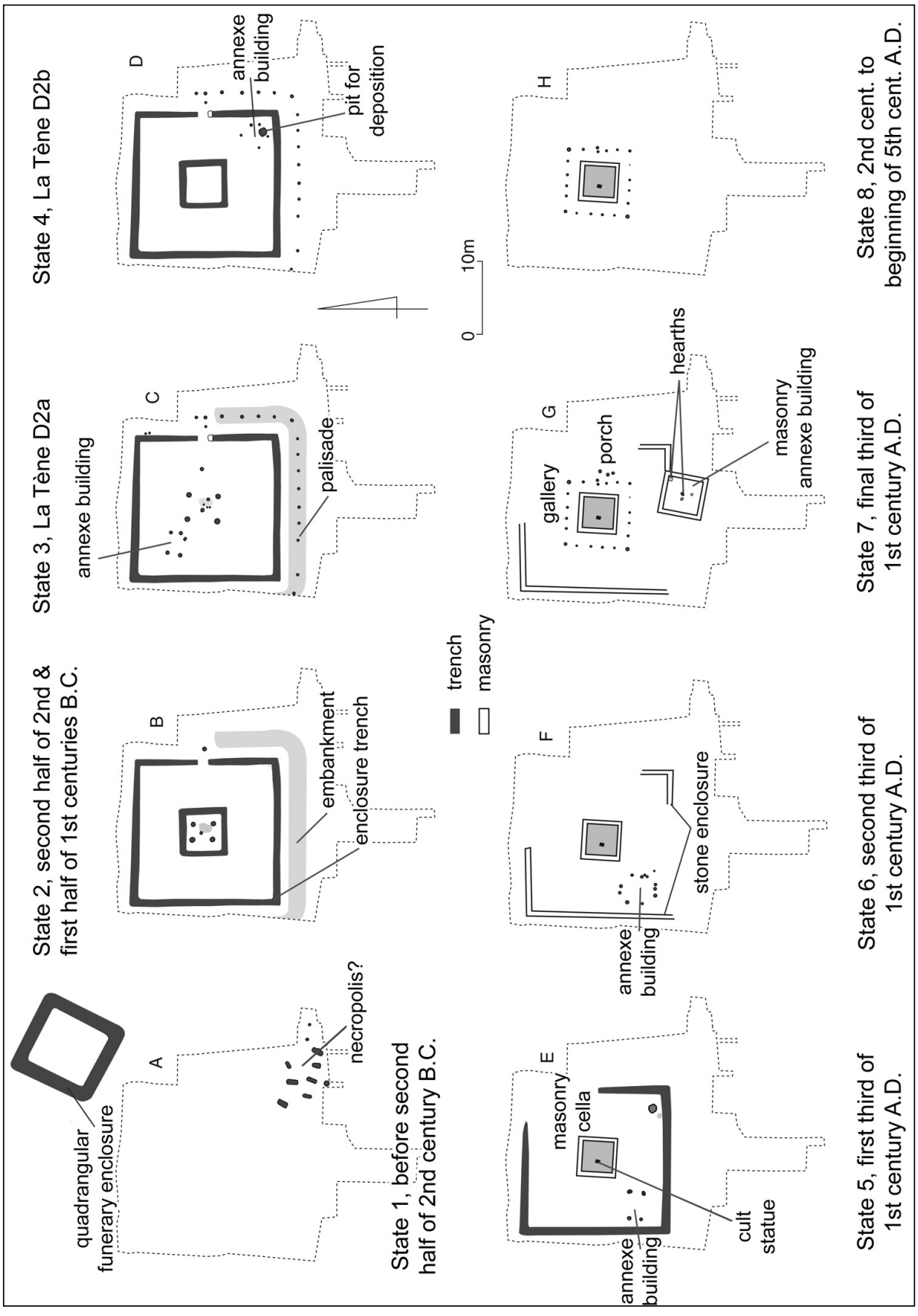

Figure 7: Phases of the sanctuary at Nitry (after Nouvel and Barral forthcoming, fig. 2).

also added, a Mediterranean architectural feature representing a minimal, essentially cosmetic, modification (Nouvel 2011). All of these changes were modest, and the sanctuary's organization and essential forms did not change throughout its history. Like Gournay, the sanctuary at Nitry seems to have become a place of memory after the first century A.D., and it remained unoccupied until the third and fourth centuries, when coins and other mobilia were offered again briefly.

A limited number of sanctuaries have histories of continuous occupation and activity, and would seem to not fit the model of sites' progression proposed in this study. However, I would argue that whilst these sites remain central places throughout their histories, they still experience transitions when they become places of memory as well as central places. The transitions usually occur in the first century A.D., and are typically characterized by monumentalization of the sanctuary, through reconstruction in stone and masonry, the addition of Mediterranean architectural features, and the construction of *fana* (Rieckhoff 2015: 361). Thereby these sanctuaries take their place in the Gallo-Roman religious landscape, but most only persist into the first and second centuries A.D. before they are abandoned permanently (*e.g.* Vendeuil-Caply, abandoned *c.* A.D. 70; Fesques, *c.* A.D. 100; and Mirebeau-sur-Bèze, *c.* A.D. 150). A rare few do survive into the third and fourth centuries, like Ribemont, which was not abandoned until *c.* A.D. 350.

The sanctuary of Mirebeau-sur-Bèze, in central east France, is an example of this type. Occupied continuously from *c*. 300 B.C. – A.D. 150, the site seems to have gradually passed into its status as a place of memory, although there were two marked breaks in its history when we might say that it transformed decisively. The first occurred in the first half of the first century B.C. (between States 2 and 3) (Fig. 8) when the site experienced a brief hiatus of occupation, preceded by a decline in offerings. This period was followed by a modification of the sanctuary's enclosures, and possibly a monumentalization of its temple as well. In the first half of the first century A.D., the sanctuary structures were reconstructed on dry stone foundations and tiles were used for their roofs, reflecting a limited amount of Roman architectural influence. The second significant break occurred in the second half of the first century A.D. (between States 4 and 5/6), when the entire sanctuary was rebuilt in stone, and the first *fanum* was constructed. Subsequently (State 6), a portico was built to enclose the *temenos*. It overlay the first *fanum*, and required the construction of a second.

Yet the sanctuary did not experience fundamental revisions of its function or organization. The public gathering area established at its foundation continued to serve this purpose throughout the sanctuary's history, and the portico constructed in the Roman period only slightly modified the outline of the original oblong enclosure trench (State 1). As Rieckhoff describes it, 'Indigenous actors held on to the idea and function of the spaces, but not to the precise forms of architecture and sacrificial ritual.' (2015: 359 translated).

Notably, Barral and Joly (2011: 554) comment that a hiatus, like that seen at Mirebeau, is to be expected in the history of a sanctuary with such a long period of continuity. They view it as part of a global pattern that does not interrupt continuity, particularly given the relationships that may exist between sites' earlier and later states. Their comment recalls the initial proposal of this paper, namely that periods of abandonment do not necessarily interrupt sites' continuity, and that sites' later epochs may be tied with earlier ones through the appropriation of memory. Perhaps, then, we may view Ribemont's history as seamless from the third century B.C. through the fourth century A.D., as it transitioned through various states and statuses, and past epochs were integrated into contemporary expressions of identity, first at the establishment of the Gallo-Roman sanctuary, and later when the sanctuary was monumentalized in the second century A.D.

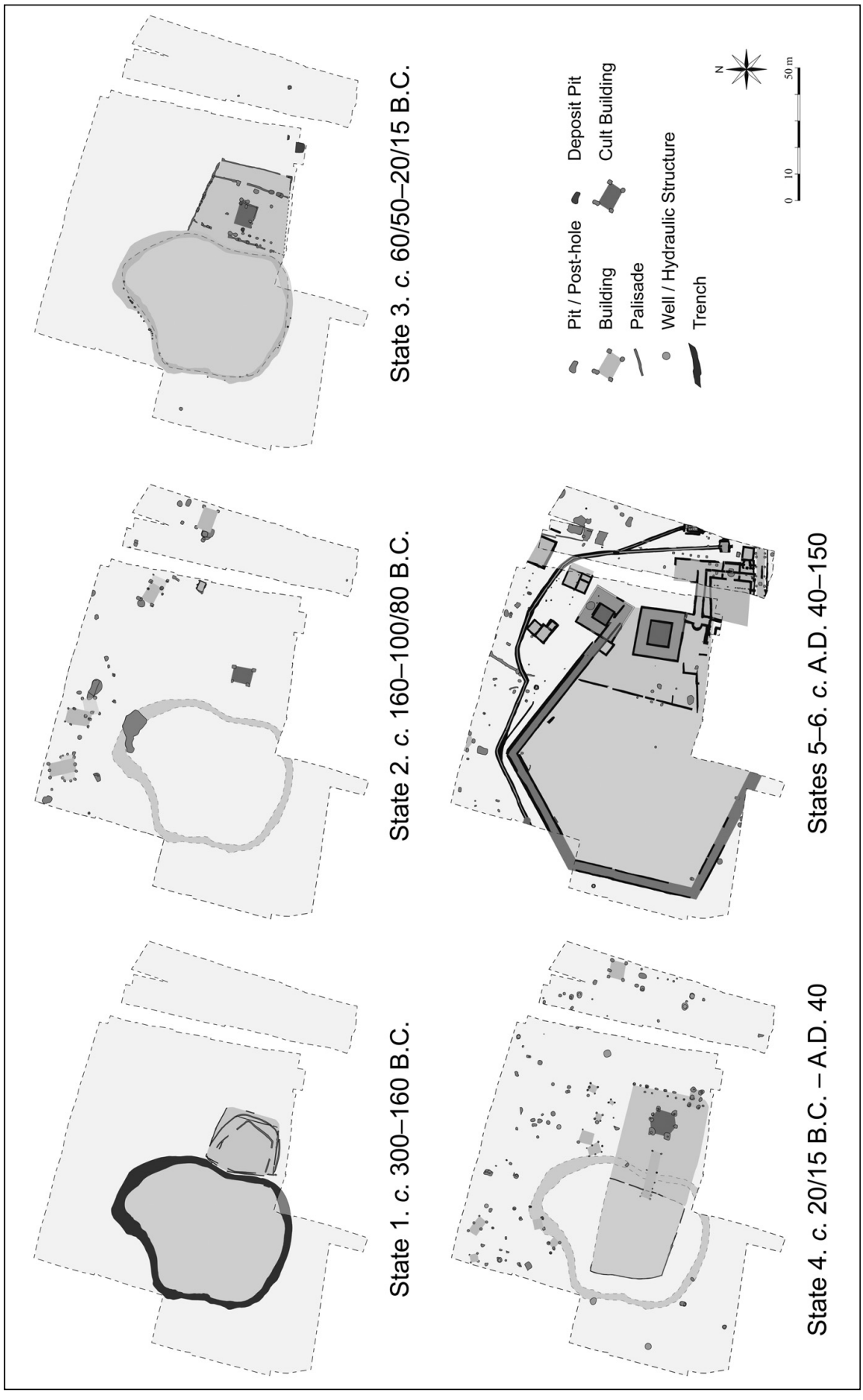

Figure 8: Phases of the sanctuary at Mirebeau-sur-Bèze (after Barral and Joly 2011, fig. 4).

Conclusion

The early Roman period in Gaul (latter half of the first century B.C. and early first century A.D.) was a time of significant social upheaval, and profound transformation of religious identity. It saw the widespread foundation of new sanctuaries, and the construction of numerous Gallo-Roman temples. However, on the local level and in the rural areas of Gaul, change could be quite slow, and there seems to have been considerably more continuity of religious identity than was previously believed. Rieckhoff (2015: 361) describes the transformation as a situational phenomenon, which involved the gradual assumption of Roman characteristics over at least three generations. Local communities, like the community around Ribemont, still possessed ties to their past through Iron Age places of memory. They remained significant to these communities, and the foundation of sanctuaries upon them seems to have been part of a 'will to remember' (Nora 1989: 19).

Nouvel and Barral (forthcoming) describe how certain sites, which had been central to local communities in the La Tène period, continued to be important in the Roman period, and were preserved in the Gallo-Roman sanctuaries founded over them. To Nouvel and Barral, this process was the conservation of an ancient site, central to the identity of the local community, rather than commemoration of a site that had previously been of importance. Nouvel (2015, pers. comm., 21 September) describes this as, essentially, memory of the communal and social activities that took place at the La Tène site that survived the abandonment of the site, and attracted the foundation of a sanctuary in the Roman period. Cosmopoulos (2014) describes a similar process at the eighth century foundation of the cult of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis over Megaron B, a place of memory from the Mycenaean period. He indicates, 'The choice, then, of that particular location for the eighth-century cult was the result of a deliberate process of preserving the cultural memory of earlier religious activity' (Cosmopoulos 2014: 423).

The proposals of these authors are similar to the argument made in this paper: that memory of sites' significance survived among local communities over long periods of abandonment, and that this significance could be appropriated in later epochs at the foundation of central places. I believe that the reoccupation of the site at Ribemont, and establishment of a Gallo-Roman sanctuary over the Gallic sacred site and gathering place, should be viewed as an intentional act of recalling and preserving a sacred site from the past, and incorporating it into a new expression of religious identity.

The example of Ribemont shows that the changes that followed the Roman conquest did not entirely transform the religious identity of the communities of Gaul. A number of Gallo-Roman sanctuaries were founded over Iron Age places of memory that remained significant in the Roman period. After Ribemont's initial transformation from communal gathering place to sanctuary, it developed rapidly into an important central place where the local and regional communities of the *civitas Ambianorum* could define their identity. It was the sole gathering place for the dispersed rural population associated with the numerous villae in the surrounding landscape (Brunaux *et al.* 2009: 21–23).

Ribemont entered the second phase of its Gallo-Roman history in the second century A.D. when a monumental Gallo-Roman temple replaced the first temple. A significant settlement had developed around the sanctuary, and a theatre and baths were constructed southeast of the sanctuary, reflecting the site's role in both sacred and secular life. In accordance with the revised notions of continuity presented in this paper, I would argue that this phase is part of a long continuous history from the third century B.C. But, I do allow that the sanctuary became

a central place of a different scale than it was in the early Roman period, both literally, and in its role in defining religious identity in provincial Gaul.

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