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Funerary rites afforded to children in Earlier Bronze Age Britain: case studies from Scotland, Yorkshire and Wessex

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CERTIFICATION OF ORIGINALITY

This is to certify that this thesis has been composed by the author and that the work is the authors own, except for collaborative research indicated in the text. The work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification. Data relating specifically to an important child's burial at Doune, Perth & Kinross, excavated in the late 1950's, was discussed by the author in an article published in 2004 (see Appendix B).

Signed:

Dawn McLaren

ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the evidence for funerary practices afforded to children in the Earlier Bronze Age in Britain (*circa* 2500BC to 1400BC) focussing on three key case study areas: Scotland, Yorkshire and Wessex. A long-view of the Earlier Bronze Age has been adopted to enable broad patterns to be determined and discussed. The wider aim is to offer a fuller understanding of the perception and importance of children within Earlier Bronze Age society.

Following the theoretical and methodological framework adopted throughout the study the evidence for the mortuary treatment of children and the grave furnishings provided for them is discussed with particular reference to how children's graves compare to those of adults in the same chronological period. To accompany this study, a comprehensive catalogue of previously recorded children's burials both by inhumation and after cremation has been compiled by the writer for the three case study areas. This includes data both from antiquarian sources and from modern excavation reports detailing aspects of grave location, positioning of the body and associated material culture in the form of grave goods. The corpus is then reviewed and discussed for each of the case study areas. The aim of each study is to analyse the significance of aspects of funerary practice and the role of grave goods in association with children of fifteen years of age or younger within regional burial traditions. This study indicates that children are under-represented in the burial record and suggests that formal burial was not open to all immature individuals. In each of the case study areas funerary rites afforded to children are generally consistent with those of adults but this study demonstrates that the inclusion of certain objects found in adult graves (such as bronze knife-daggers) were not considered appropriate for inclusion in the grave of a child. A number of exceptional and highly-furnished graves are present which indicate that it was possible for children to be perceived as significant members of Earlier Bronze Age society during life and in the Otherworld.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Until comparatively recently, the archaeology of children and childhood has been largely neglected. Far from being fundamental to any discipline seeking to understand human societies, the study of childhood is usually at best marginalised or, at worst, overlooked completely. This is particularly true in the study of prehistoric societies where children, who rarely create enduring records or structures, can be so difficult to detect and are therefore so easy to ignore.

High infant mortality rates have led some to believe that parents would have detached themselves emotionally from their young. Despite ethnographic evidence suggesting that in some circumstances 'adult care-giving varies in response to perceived risks of childhood mortality' (Chamberlain 2000, 208), we should not fall back on this as an excuse to justify a lack of understanding of children at this time.

This examination of the rites afforded to children in the Earlier Bronze Age of Britain seeks to address an aspect of this imbalance caused by the lack of systematic study. The conspicuous absence of children from considerations of burial practices during this period means that our understanding of Earlier Bronze Age funerary customs is incomplete until now.

This current study is based on a methodical search of previously published burial records in Britain resulting in the creation of a catalogue of children's burials which record aspects of burial setting, orientation, body position and associations such as grave goods and other human burials. The following discussion focuses on three case studies which investigate aspects of both inhumation and cremation burial practice relating specifically to children in Scotland, Yorkshire and Wessex.

The rites afforded to children in mortuary contexts is not a direct reflection of the world of the child but of aspects of culture transferred from the adult society on to the child, in

accordance with the way the community regarded them. This affords us the opportunity to glimpse the way that children were thought of by the adult community and can help us reconstruct the role and status of the child within society.

Research addressing the archaeology of children and childhood is still in its infancy but the volume of research into this topic is steadily increasing, reaching a significant milestone in 2007 with the creation of an academic society dedicated to the study of children in the past. An overview of the development of the archaeology of children is presented in Chapter 2.

Despite a recent increase in interest in this subject, children remain peripheral within archaeological discourse, particularly with reference to narratives of Bronze Age Britain. Chapter 3 provides a brief summary of our current state of knowledge regarding children during this period within Britain and beyond. Restrictions on the length of this paper mean that it has not been possible to provide a detailed discussion of Earlier Bronze Age funerary practice in Britain here but the reader is encouraged to refer to recent studies such as those by Clarke, Cowie & Foxton (1985), Woodward (2000b), Last (2007) and Bradley (2007, chapters 3 & 4). A brief summary of typical funerary rites afforded to adults during this period is provided in chapter 3.2.

The parameters of the current study are outlined in Chapter 4. Here, the obstacles, both real and perceived, in the study of children within this period are illustrated. This includes a discussion of the challenges faced in using antiquarian accounts alongside modern records but highlights the merits of such an approach and why antiquarian material should not be overlooked. This chapter also outlines the methodology used to collect and examine the evidence as well as defining the spatial and chronological scope of the study.

This examination of burial practices relating to children, defined here as individuals of fifteen years of age or less, is informed by three specific case studies, investigating the evidence from Scotland (Chapter 5), Yorkshire (Chapter 6) and Wessex (Chapter 7). These three areas have been selected due to the richness of their respective burial records, the history of excavation and archaeological investigation and the comparable geographical size of the regions, providing a picture of burial practices from the North, North East and South West of Britain. The data for each area will be presented and summarised. The following discussion will demonstrate that children's burials are present in far greater numbers than

previously appreciated and that such records provide a wealth of information regarding the perception of children in society during this period.

The concluding chapter (Chapter 8) will outline the trends observed, seeking to place these studies within the wider Bronze Age context.

A brief summary of recommendations for future work is offered in Chapter 9.

The catalogue of burials for each area under study is presented in Appendix A with an overview of the methods used in the collection of data and construction of the database. Pertinant published articles by the author are included here in Appendix B. This includes the re-examination of an important child's burial from Doune, Perth & Kinross (McLaren 2004) and a summary of Bronze Age child's burials from south east England (McLaren 2011).

CHAPTER TWO

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD

2.1 Overview

The archaeology of children and childhood only began to be the subject of serious academic study in the late 1980's (e.g. Lillehammer 1989). Prior to this, focus on investigating aspects of past and present childhood were already underway in other fields including historical, sociological and ethnological studies (e.g. Aries 1962). These were instigated by a number of advancements in the study of child development, improvements in health and education and a growing awareness that a universal concept of children and childhood was not valid. A further catalyst was the ambition of many researchers to expand archaeological and historical discourse away from male-dominated elite units, which had been at the centre of archaeological narratives for centuries, and investigate less well studied or previously excluded groups such as women and children (Conkey & Spector 1984; Derevenski 1994; 1997; 2000; Gero & Conkey 1991; Gilchrist 1991; Moore & Scott 1997; Sørensen 2000).

There are two principal factors which account for the slowness of archaeologists to consider children during prehistory. The first is a perception that children would have been little valued by such societies (Mizoguchi 2000, 142). The second, inherent in the archaeological record, are issues of survival and detection (Kamp 2001). The apparent difficulties in recognising children and their activities within the archaeological and historical record, combined with a modern, Western tendency to marginalise children and their importance within society (Baxter 2005, 2; Kamp 2001; Derevenski 1994; 1997, 193; 1999; 2000, 11; Lillehammer 1989, 91), has, until recently, led most archaeologists to exclude children from archaeological research (Baxter 2005). As Mizoguchi observes, our difficulty in being able 'distinguish child action within the archaeological record both reinforces, and is reinforced by, the modern idea that children cannot make any significant contribution to social life….and are regarded as irrelevant to archaeological enquiry' (2000, 142).

An article by Lillehammer, published in 1989, was the first to explicitly focus on the archaeology of children. The volume of research on the archaeology of childhood that has been produced since Lillehammer's groundbreaking article is quite staggering. These encompass studies of most eras of prehistory and range from examination of theoretical and methodological issues (e.g. Kamp 2001) to investigations of childhood in a particular community, society, or period (e.g. Borić & Stefanović 2004; Garwood 2007; Lull *et al* 2005; Mays 2004; Murial *et al* 2004; Pearce 2001, Rega 1997; Sánchez Romero 2008; Shepherd 2007; Siemoneit 1997; Thedéen 2008; Turek 2000; Watts 1989). Despite this increase in attention, little attempt has been made to integrate childhood studies within wider archaeological discourse.

This chapter seeks to provide a brief overview of the archaeological study of children and childhood. The following discussion addresses the key themes explored in context to child-centred research rather than seeking to provide a historical narrative of the development of the subject. The volume of work on past children is now so great that only a summary can be offered here.

2.2 Influences on the study of childhood in the past

Social, educational, economic and health reforms in the United States and western Europe after 1945 were responsible for bringing children to the forefront of social consciousness. The greatest impact of these concerns and new ideas would not be felt until the 1950's yet the reforms that they instigated contributed to the decrease of infant mortality rates, improvement in health, hygiene and nutrition and an increased commitment to education (LeVine 2007, 248). As a result of, and in response to these reforms was the 1959 United Nations resolution constituting a 'declaration of the rights of the child' (resolution 1386 (XIV), 20th Nov 1959, quoted in Crawford & Lewis 2008, 5). This was the first time that children were defined as a legal entity within modern, Western society, helping to validate children as a subject worthy of academic investigation.

The study of childhood in archaeology was instigated by a range of factors out with academic archaeology namely the feminist movement which lead to an increasing awareness of gender as a social construct (Derevenski 2000) and anthropological studies of contemporary culture (e.g. Ask 1994; Barley 2995; Cassell 1987; Daun 1982; Gottleib 2004;

Liptak 1994; Van Gennep 1960). The far reaching implications of both the feminist movement and anthropological disciplines lead to a more 'widespread consciousness of women's conditions in society which renewed the focus on the life of children' (Lillehammer 1989, 89).

2.3 The archaeological investigation of the child's world

In 1989, an article by Lillehammer was published in the Norwegian Archaeological Review entitled 'A child is born. The child's world in an archaeological perspective'. This article, the first in archaeology to focus entirely and explicitly on the study of children, highlighted the need to seek and recognise the presence of children in the archaeological record. Lillehammer argues cogently that 'the child's world has been left out of archaeological research' (1989, 89). Similarly, children were noted as mostly absent from published prehistoric narratives (Bonnichsen 1973; Gero and Conkey 1991; Wylie 1991).

Prior to this, very little attention had been paid to children in prehistory. When encountered, children's burials were recorded to the same level of detail as adult graves yet discussions about their significance were rarely considered. High infant mortality rates dominated all interpretations of past parental attitudes towards children (Crawford 1993, 83). References to children as active social beings within the context of site or social reconstructions are argued here to remain largely absent.

The field of archaeology changed immeasurably after the 1950's in terms of techniques used, methods followed, and even the quantity and quality of the data that was being gathered. Prior to this, archaeology, particularly in Britain, was largely male-dominated, and often elite pursuit. Following a historical approach, artefacts were used to inform researchers about 'cultures' and interpretations of advancements in technology generally followed a diffusionist model where ideas (and people) were believed to have originated from a single point and spread out across the world from there. Discussions regarding society and culture generally addressed only the elite groups of a given community and narratives typically focused on the roles of adult males within these elite units (Engelstad 1991, Lillehammer 2000, 18).

A paradigm shift in the approaches to archaeological research led by David L Clarke in Britain and Lewis Binford in the United States have helped archaeology move away from this traditional view. Clarke encouraged a more critical approach to the study of archaeology calling for an end to the insular discipline that he believed archaeology in Britain had become (1973). He suggested that archaeology should be looking outwards to see what it could learn from other subjects and to draw it away from the art/historical schools of thought to become a more scientific, and therefore, a more credible discipline. Adoption and adaptation of scientific methods and research techniques borrowed from other disciplines, such as medical science, geography, computing, history, social anthropology and ethnography to name a few, enabled researchers to access information about many aspects of prehistoric life that they had previously been considered impossible to recognise. Binford's influence was equally important in shifting archaeology into a new mode of thinking. He too was suggesting that archaeology needed to become more self-critical (1962; 1972). Research and field work needed to be carried out to test a hypothesis rather than just out of interest. He also suggested that employing ethonographic data from observations of contemporary pre-industrial societies may be helpful in 'filling in the gaps' of our knowledge of prehistory. Although this approach, which he called his 'middle-range theory', has since been heavily criticised due to the lack of caution that was applied in the use of anthropological and ethnographic data (Preucel & Hodder 1996), it never-the-less exposed a new generation of archaeologists to a wealth of information about human culture that they may previously have been unaware of.

Inevitably further conceptual and theoretical advances have occurred since the days of Clarke and Binford but their influence is particularly important in the way that archaeology became more open in terms of influences from other disciplines, more critical and more scientific. During the 1960's a greater number of women were becoming involved in archaeology and the feminist influence on archaeology cannot be understated as an influence to the academic study of children.

2.4 Method and theory of the archaeology of childhood

One aspect of this new interest in the archaeology of children was a theoretical reconsideration of the place of children in archaeology (Baxter 2005, 9). In 1994 the *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* dedicated an entire volume to the discussion of

children and childhood in archaeology. Questions including how the concepts of 'child' and 'childhood' are defined and whether childhood is a period dependant upon age in years or the product of a particular cultural perspective are directed at the reader (Derevenski 1994, 2) accompanied with the simple yet crucial question 'where are the children? (Derevenski 1994, 8). In her article, Derevenski discusses why children have rarely been included in interpretations of the past, concluding that children's perceived invisibility within the archaeological record is false and that a lack of understanding of the concepts of 'child' and 'childhood' have created a barrier to serious study (1994, 8-9).

Further influential publications were quick to follow with Moore & Scott's edited volume entitled *Invisible People and Processes* which sought to address social groups previously ignored by archaeological narratives, principally women and children (1997). Eleanor Scott's volume, *The Archaeology of Infancy and Infant Death* (1999), offers a very useful discussion on the presence of children in the archaeological record, addressing topics such childbirth and childcare, aspects of pregnancy and the evidence for infanticide in Roman Britain. Perhaps the most influential due to its wide readership has been Derevenski's edited volume *Children and Material Culture* (2000). Here a wide range of papers on current research into the prehistoric child are offered by contributors from a number of different disciplinary backgrounds with the aim of highlighting children as a category of academic study and to address the theoretical and practical implications of studying children through material culture (Derevenski 2000, xv).

2.5 Children and mortuary practice

While children are often considered to be invisible and undetectable in other archaeological contexts (such as settlements and communal ceremonial centres), an extensive variety of studies of children's remains have been undertaken with reference to mortuary sites (e.g. Scott 1991; Rega 1997; Kamp 2001; Sanchez-Romero 2004; *inter alia*). Particularly well-developed studies include the investigation of burial practices afforded to children in Romano-British contexts by Gowland (2001), Anglo-Saxon England by Crawford (1993, 84; 1999; 2000; 2007) and Early Medieval Britain by Lucy (1994).

Whittlesay suggests that 'there is no better place to seek children than where they can unquestionably be seen' (2002, 152). Funerary practices afforded to children in prehistory,

such as the focus of this current study, are argued to be useful as age and sex have long been fundamental categories of social organisation (Rothschild 1979; Baxter 2005, 950). However, the identification of children in mortuary contexts is not a straightforward issue and raises many questions relating to wider social roles, methodological issues and aspects of preservation and detection (Kamp 2001; Derevenski 1994, 2000). Derevenski provides an effective critique of an aspect of this problem, noting that when selected children and adults are found with the same type of objects, or otherwise afforded the same range of burial practices, such as that illustrated in this particular study, it is assumed that children were provided with such a treatment based on their parent's or families status, and are generally not considered to be a reflection of the child's individual standing in society (2000, 6; Baxter 2005, 96). Such burials are often interpreted as indications of inherited status or wealth (*ibid*, 96).

As well as the examination of the treatment of children within mixed cemeteries, the identification of separate children's burial grounds in Ireland (Finlay 2000) is argued here to be significant to how cemetery populations can be interpreted. Yet few archaeologists are aware of the existence of these children's cemeteries which were in use in parts of Ireland from Early Christian to modern times, or the array of work that has been undertaken on them (Murphy 1993). These *cillíní* are argued to have developed in response to the Catholic Church's general unwillingness to permit the burial of unbaptised individuals, particularly infants, within consecrated graveyards (Finlay 2000, 408). Although dominated by the graves of infants, *cillíní* also include the burials of older children, and adults, whose manner of death set them apart (e.g. suicides, unrepentant murderers and sometimes their victims, shipwrecked sailors and those with alternative religious beliefs: Donnelly *et al* 1999, 109; Dennehy 2001, 20, Finlay 2000, 409).

More recently, the concept of the objectification of the human body (i.e. seeing the body as an object, rather than a person), has been applied to investigating the treatment of infants in Iron Age Britain (Lally 2008) and in the Classic period Maya Lowlands (Lally & Ardren 2008). Lally and Ardren emphasise alternative ways of considering skeletal material, suggesting that bones could be seen as a resource of social knowledge and power to be manipulated, curated and engaged with long after the death of the individual (2008, 71). Applying this theory to infant remains in non-normative burial locations (e.g. isolated bones within storage pits within settlement sites) they see the infant remains as playing an

important and powerful role within structured deposits and wider ritual practice. This has significant resonances to the evidence which will be presented in the following case studies.

2.6 Infanticide

Although it is acknowledged that infanticide (the deliberate killing of children) was practiced in many societies throughout prehistory (Harris 1994; Wicker 1998; Mays 1993; 2000, Molleson 2003; Scott 1991, 1999, 2001) caution should be applied in using this as a generalised, overarching explanation for the presence of children's skeletal material within archaeological contexts (e.g. Scott 1991, 1992, 1999, 2001). Gowland and Chamberlain in particular have urged against the underlying bias in the statistical methods on which some such interpretations rest (2002). Presumptions that high infant mortality rates in prehistoric societies would have led to the emotional detachment of parents from their young, and the presumed lack of any effective way of controlling pregnancy and birth-spacing, has led many authors to over generalise and suggest infanticide was the main method that women would have used to control population numbers, without fully assessing and interrogating the data (e.g. Cocks 1921; Frere 1978, 180, 182-3). As Lucy cognately illustrates 'perhaps the most interesting aspect is not that infanticide undoubtedly occurred (as it still does today), and in certain societies was justifiable within particular religious and social contexts, but that archaeologists have discussed it with such unrelenting contempt, and lack of consideration of the contemporary situations in which it may have been socially acceptable' (Lucy 2005, 45).

Mays maintains that 'infanticide has been carried out on all continents and in all types of society, from hunter-gatherers to the industrial age' (1995, 8) and 'continued to be a common practice until recent times in Britain' (1995, 9). He suggests that infanticide was an act carried out mostly by adult women and, in some societies, female babies are more often its victims (Mays 2000, 180). In his reassessment of Romano-British cemetery populations he contends that he can demonstrate that the age of death of new-born infant remains is not consistent with the distribution of modern stillbirths and natural deaths and has used this evidence to suggest that infanticide was commonly practiced in Roman Britain (1993; 2000, 184). Yet, Parkin suggests that too much attention is paid to infanticide in the Roman period without sufficient consideration of the wider patterns of infant death rates (1992, 97-8; Lucy 2005, 45).

2.7 Gendered life-courses: growing up in prehistory

Following on from the understanding that gender is a concept separate from biological sex (Gero & Conkey 1991), few have questioned how gender structures were actively constructed and maintained, in particular reference to children (Baxter 2005, 17). The gender of children is rarely discussed but in many narratives they appear to default to a female gender (Rothschild 2002, I). This is argued to be the result of the view that 'children are implicitly relegated to passive appendages to women' (Lillehammer 2000, 17).

It has been suggested that as part of the process of socialisation (Elkin 1960, 4) that children form concepts of masculinity and femininity by observing which behaviours are performed by adults (Derevenski 1999, 8) and that 'childhood can be regarded as a time of apprenticeship to a culturally defined gendered norm' (Derevenski 1997, 199).

Emphasis on the variability of the human lifecycle, rather than a focus on particular stages of life (such as the immature or the elderly) have been recommended by Gilchrist (2000). A particular aspect of the study of the human lifecycle focuses on the recognition and detection of breaks in continuity, when an individual moves from one life stage to another. This includes events such as birth, puberty, initiation, marriage, widowhood and death (Gilchrist 1999, 95; Joyce 2000). Such events can be marked with public rites or rituals (e.g. the baptism of infants, recommended by Christian theology: Bakke 2005) which may or may not be archaeologically visible. Initiation rites involving adolescents have attracted greater ethnographic attention, particularly those involving young males (Gilchrist 1999, 95) exploring notions of rites of passage (Van Gennep 1960). A study of lifecycle transitions relating to Aztec children suggests that 'approximately every four years from birth though to early teens, transitions in the lifecycle were visibly marked through changes in practices of body ornaments and dress' (Joyce 2000, 478). A similar study of the experiences of children in the New Kingdom village of Deir El Medina, Egypt, indicates that the experience of adolescence and ageing were significantly different for males and females, with consequent effects in social relations (Meskell 2000). Such transitions are almost impossible to detect without textual or iconographic sources to enhance archaeological findings and, as such, have yet to be recognised within an early prehistoric British context.

The importance of assessing the demography of past societies to an understanding of childhood in prehistory is emphasised by Chamberlain's study of mortality profiles in

relation to prehistoric populations (2000). This study suggests that 'higher infant and childhood death rates result in a smaller proportion of the population reaching adulthood and, paradoxically, a greater proportion of the population's total person-years are lived in childhood' (2000, 207). Such factors have significant implications as to the economic and social structure of any prehistoric community and, argued here, to have important implication with regard to mortuary practice. Developments in the methods and theory relating to the demographic study of infants and children have been usefully reviewed by Goodman and Armelagos (1989). They suggest, by reference to infant mortality rates in less developed modern countries, that approximately 40% of children in prehistoric societies died before reaching the age of 5 years (1989, 225).

Death of mother and baby as the result of childbirth is often cited to explain the presence of double burials involving adult females and infants within cemetery populations (e.g. Burgess 1980, 164). Yet pregnancy and the processes of childbirth in prehistory are seldom considered (although see Beausang 2000 and O'Donnell 2004 for valuable discussions). Beausang attributes this to the assumption that such an event would lack associated, identifiable material culture (2000, 69). O'Donnell's study of birthing in prehistory, with particular reference to the Upper Palaeolithic evidence, indicates that childbirth was imbued with complex ritual and symbolic practices and suggests that special locales, spatially separate from the habitation group, were desirable for both practical and symbolic reasons (2004, 168-9). Drawing heavily on ethnographic observations, Bolen has attempted to explore the prehistoric construction of mothering, highlighting the difference between biological mothering (the birth mother) and social mothering (care-giver, not necessarily the child's biological parent) and emphases the danger in applying our modern, Western concepts of parenting and family structuring to prehistoric communities (1992, 49). This concern is considered here to be valid, particularly in the absence of confirmed genetic relationships between individuals. The application of DNA analysis of human remains, particularly those within bounded mortuary contexts such as early prehistoric cemeteries and barrows, is recommended here as a potential future tool to interrogate such fundamental aspects of social structure.

2.8 Children as dynamic social participants

Recognising children as social actors is a developing theme in the literature of the archaeology of childhood (Baxter 2005, 21; Kamp 2001; Derevenski 1994; 2000; Wilkie 2000). The modern, westernised notion of children as dependants has, until recently, restricted our ability to perceive the actions of children in prehistoric society (Derevenski 2000, 8). A number of useful and significant studies, which attempt to identify the activities of children in the prehistoric record have taken place since the late 1990's. These studies, including the identification of children as apprentice flint knappers (Finlay 1997; Grimm 2000; Högberg 1999), miners (Taylor 1994), producers of artefacts (Kamp *et al* 1999) and procurers of food sources (Bird & Bliege Bird 2000), indicate the active role that children often played within society.

Finlay's examination of Palaeolithic and Mesolithic lithic assemblages from across Europe has highlighted the identification of items displaying a low level of knapping ability suggesting that they were the product of novices (1997). At Trollesgave, Denmark (Fischer 1989), two clusters of debitage, different in the degree of core preparation and quality of removed blades has been interpreted as the product of a skilled knapper and an untrained child (Finlay 1997, 207). Further evidence of the activities of an apprentice flint knapper has been identified at the Upper Palaeolithic site at Solvieux, Dordogne and at Elinelund 2A near Malmö, south Sweden leading the excavator to suggest that 'the child was schooled in flintknapping through active participation' and that the 'transfer of knowledge between experienced and inexperienced in this case took place through practical supervision' (Högberg 1999, 103).

At the Bronze Age mines at Great Orme, it has been suggested that the ore was extracted by children as the tunnels are so constricted and narrow that it is unlikely that a full-grown individual would have been able to navigate them (Taylor 1994, 39) and yet no interpretation of the implications this has to the status and standing of children in Bronze Age society has ever been offered.

Ethnographic studies have also helped to identify some areas where children may have contributed significantly to the society and economy of prehistoric communities. A study of textile production and weaving during the 1960's and 70's among a Maya community focused on the transfer of knowledge of weaving techniques and styles between the adult

women and female children (Greenfield 2000). Greenfield observed that from around the ages of 3-4 years female children were encouraged to play-weave on a toy loom. Although this does not prepare them directly for using the full-sized loom which employs a distinct weaving technique, children will, by an early age, be familiar with the basic techniques involved (2000, 82). Two significant observations were noted; although a period of structured tuition by adults was provided initially, this gradually shifted to more independent trial-and-error learning and that this later stage of independent learning led to associated innovations in new figurative and geometric patterns (Greenfield 2000, 84). As suggested here previously, children may be introduced to aspects of normative social practice from an early age within any given community, but the choice of whether the individual adheres to such norms lies entirely with the child.

One of the most significant, but as yet under appreciated studies, is that of formation processes involving children illustrated by Bird and Bliedge Bird's ethnoarchaeological study of children's shellfishing strategies among Meriam people (2000). During their study, Bird & Bliedge Bird observed that the children contributed significantly to the day to day food procurement of the community including being actively involved in shellfishing, a task also performed by adults. Significantly children's shellfishing focused on reef flat areas rather than rocky shore harvesting (*ibid*, 462). As such, the types of shellfish collected by children were very different to that procured by adults. The consumption and disposal of such resources also differed based on age distinctions; the children typically gathered food to be consumed amongst themselves rather than collecting resources for the community as a whole and that they frequently processed, cooked and ate the shellfish immediately after gathering so that the debris resulting from the children's foraging would be disposed of differently and would rarely make it back to the settlement (*ibid*, 463).

Children's activities are rarely visible within prehistoric settlement contexts and as such are rarely considered in site formation processes or interpretative narratives. Hammond and Hammond sought to address this by using experimental techniques to assess how a child could interact with specifically selected collections of material (1981). This experiment involved allowing a young child unrestricted access to a collection of discarded objects (e.g. domestic refuse such as wine bottles and milk cartons, and garden refuse). They believed by observing the child's interaction with such materials that an empirical view of structured behaviour could be determined which could ultimately assist in informing aspects of prehistoric depositional practice. They observed that the child systematically selected one

particular artefact type as the focus for activity (glass jars), separating these objects from the pile of other debris and dispersing them across the study area. The jars were later revisited by the child who then inserted collections of natural objects, such as bark, twigs and feathers, into the jars and replaced the lids. The writers noted that 'the discovery of such an unexpected vessel content in many archaeological contexts would be regarded as the result of structured 'ritual' behaviour' (1981, 635). This is an important study, not just for the archaeology of childhood but in exploring broader issues regarding site formation processes but Hammond and Hammond's assertion that non-normative deposition practices should automatically be attributed to children as an alternative to using 'ritual' as an explanation is rejected here. The two premises are not mutually exclusive and should not be used as explanations in themselves that require no further illustration or consideration.

2.9 The material culture of children

It is strongly argued here, in accordance with the views of Derevenski, that objects in child graves are often interpreted in a fundamentally different way to the same artefacts with adults (2000, 6). In an Earlier Bronze Age context, this is perfectly illustrated by the rare but recorded instances of miniature battle-axes within both adult and child graves. In association with an adult burial, such as that from Thirkel Low, Derbyshire, these artefacts are considered to be high-status indicators, representing symbolic power and ritual significance (Clarke *et al* 1985; Ward 1897, 263-6). The writer has previously demonstrated (McLaren 2004) that in association with a child, such as that from Doune, Perthshire (Hamilton 1957), they are dismissed as toys and, as such, are not considered to merit further discussion.

The investigation of toys within the archaeological record emphasises the problems we encounter when trying to identify such objects. There is an important conceptual and social difference between artefacts used and modified by children for play, and objects produced by adults specifically for children to interact with (Crawford & Lewis 2008, 12) and we should be aware that our modern, westernised notion of the purpose of a 'toy' should not be considered universal, loaded as it is with preconceived notions.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines a toy as:

> *Toy 1. n thing to play with, especially for children; trinket or curiosity, trifling thing or thing meant only for amusement. 2.a. that is a toy; (of dog) of diminutive breed;*

hardly deserving the name, not meant for serious use. 3. v. i. Play or fiddle or dally with (thing, or idea etc).

This definition rather ignores the potential educational attributes of such an item. As Lillehammer reminds us 'a child's plaything[s] must not necessarily be restricted to objects which do not function in the adult world' (1989, 100). Our modern conception of toys as means of distraction for children limits our understanding of the role that play can have in socialising children and familiarising them with skills that will be fundamental in adult life. Describing objects as toys without qualification runs the real risk, then, that we create an image dominated by play as distraction (McLaren 2004). Most artefacts identified as children's toys are classified as such due to their small size, rudimentary production or general similarity to modern children's playthings (e.g. Park 1998; Santina 2001).

Wilkie, in discussing attempts to create a historical archaeology of children and childhood explores the role of toys within modern societies suggesting that 'in obtaining or giving certain toys to children, adults were selling a larger ideological package' and that 'while adults were promoting certain cultural agendas to their children through the purchase and production of certain toys, children were by no means passive in this process' (Wilkie 2000, 102). Rather than always being passive objects selected specifically for the child, Wilkie suggests that children today actively pursue toys which have status within their own circle, can obtain toys from elsewhere that their caregivers may not sanction, actively shaping their own material cultural assemblages' (*ibid*, 102). This is an important point to bear in mind when assessing associated artefacts with children, particularly grave goods within a mortuary context.

2.10 Moving forward

It has been mooted that the lack of a dedicated forum for the presentation of studies into prehistoric and historic children has prevented, or at least hindered, scholars keen to keep up to date with current research on the subject. The writer would agree with this point regarding archaeological research as papers tend to be offered through a wide range of journals, periodicals and monographs, particularly those addressing osteological and anthropological subjects, rather than principally archaeology. This has made it difficult to keep abreast of current debates or discussions regarding past childhood and the author doubts whether the

ultimate aim of presenting such research to the wider archaeological community is currently realised (e.g Baxter 2005).

At least two excellent overviews of the history of the archaeology of childhood (Baxter 2005; Wileman 2003) are known to the writer but some, such as that by Peter Stearn who attempts to present a world history of children and childhood, clearly overstretch their knowledge and add little to wider debates (2006). The aim of such overviews is to present an introduction to the topic to archaeologists unfamiliar with the subject. Carla Sinopoli reviews Eva Baxter's study as:

> *"a work that should be read by all archaeologists and former children interested in understanding cultural transmission and social structures and processes"* (Baxter 2005, cover *verso*).

Although this view is shared here, some acknowledgement needs to be made that these apparently accessible introductions to the archaeology of childhood are not, on the whole, being consulted by professional archaeologists.

The year 2007 marked an important milestone in the academic study of childhood with the foundation of the Society for the Study of Childhood in the Past. This multidisciplinary society, with members representing the fields of archaeology, classics, history and literature, as well as medicine, psychology and theology, to name a few, encompasses the study of children and childhood from early prehistory up until the nineteenth century AD, including research from across the world. The society's aim is to promote and advance the study of children and childhood in the past (Crawford & Lewis 2008, 5) and to provide a forum for the publication of papers relating to all aspects of children. The hope is also that the interdisciplinary character of this publication will open doors to collaborative projects and cross-disciplinary discourses, although the author hopes that this will not further separate the study of childhood in prehistory from wider archaeological and historic narratives.

2.11 The future of research into children in the past

Despite the advancements made in the study of children and childhood in prehistory, it is argued here that children are too often considered in isolation. It is clear that many scholars

still doubt the validity of studying the role that children may have played within any given past society as a viable topic for academic study (Murphy 2008, 1). Research currently focuses primarily on mortuary contexts where children are the most visible. As outlined above, burial practices involving immature individuals are one of the few ways for archaeologists to assess attitudes to children and their possible role within prehistoric societies. Such work inevitably focuses on the death of these individuals rather than their lives and is concerned with adult actions or attitudes to children rather than the child itself. Some see this approach as flawed as it invariably fails to address the child directly (Derevenski 2000, 10).

Investigating prehistoric children solely through their remains within mortuary contexts necessarily limits the scope of archaeological discourse, but it is argued here that in some areas, this is the best and often the only information that can currently be obtained about prehistoric children. This is particularly true of the Bronze Age in Britain where narratives regarding the structure and significance of aspects of society is informed principally by funerary evidence. Yet the author acknowledges and wishes to highlight the inherent difficulties faced in identifying the actions of children within the archaeological record beyond those of mortuary remains. This statement is made with regret in light of the author's attempts to identify and recognise the actions of children within early prehistoric contexts, particularly in Scotland. It is hoped with the advancement in archaeological analytical techniques and methods (see Chapter 9) that a more integrated approach to the archaeological study of children and childhood, beyond that of mortuary-focused research, will be possible.

As outlined previously, the volume of research conducted in the last twenty years regarding the archaeology of childhood is, at times, overwhelming. This is particularly apposite due to the disparate and diverse themes addressed by such investigations, which seek to study aspects of mortuary practice, material culture, symbolism and cosmology, as well as addressing theoretical, methodological and technical aspects of the study of children in the past. The diverse variety of topics investigated is often reflected in the wide range, and sometimes obscure, venues for publication, making access to such research restrictive. Although the multidisciplinary approach attempted by many researchers studying the archaeology of children and childhood should not be discouraged, this lack of focused publication has made following the progress of this area of research difficult. The formation of a society dedicated to the study of childhood in the past is a significant and important step

forward in the advancement of this subject but there remains a real danger that the topic may become insular and increasingly be considered a fringe subject.

CHAPTER THREE

CHILDREN IN BRONZE AGE BRITAIN: THE STORY SO FAR

3.1 Overview

Despite the growing volume of literature discussing aspects of children and childhood in prehistory (see Chapter 2) there has been little attempt to evaluate the evidence from the Bronze Age, particularly in Britain. Many problems relating to the identification of children's skeletal remains within the archaeological record (see Chapter 4) and an apparent reluctance to see children as valid subjects for academic research has contributed to this problem (Derevenski 1994, 7-8).

Funerary traditions and burial practices, as they pertain to children, is a particularly neglected area within British archaeology generally. The almost total absence of concerted study of children in the archaeological record is particularly significant for the British Bronze Age, it is argued here. The wealth of burial data relating to this period is staggering, making it one of the most comprehensively studied aspects of British prehistory, and yet, children have remained largely absent from discussions of the British Bronze Age.

The formal burial of children during this period, either by inhumation or after cremation, is considered to be rare (Bradley 2007, 160; Burgess 1980, 162; Garwood 2007, 63; Shepherd 1988) but the implications of this under-representation are rarely explored or critically interpreted (Derevenski 1994, 12; Scott 1999, 90). Similarly, children are rarely presented within wider archaeological narratives as active social and economic participants (Derevenski 1994, 2000; Garwood 2007; 63 Lucy 2005, 62).

It has only been in the last fifteen years that interest in the position of children within Bronze Age society has become the focus for academic study. An increasing number of investigations have now been published from across Europe, including Sanchez Romero's investigations of the burial of Bronze Age children in the Agaric communities of Southern Spain (2008), Rega's study of Early Bronze Age children's burials within the cemeteries of

Mokrin (1999) and Turek's investigations in the Czech Republic (2000). In Britain, investigations into Bronze Age children's burials are still in their infancy but a recent study of examples in southern Britain by Garwood (2007) has much to contribute to a wider understanding of the role of children in Bronze Age society in general. Similarly, Finlay's re-examination of late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age children's burials in Ireland (2000) and Mizoguchi's consideration of the role of age- and sex-related status in Beaker burials (1992; 1993), have significant implications to the study of children during this period.

3.2 Earlier Bronze Age adult burials in Britain

It is not intended to review in detail funerary rites afforded to adults during this period but a summary of our current understanding is presented here to illustrate the major trends as well as gaps in our knowledge.

The wealth of burial data relating to the British Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age (here referred to as the Earlier Bronze Age; see chapter 4.4) is staggering, making it one of the most comprehensively studied periods of British prehistory (Cowie & Shepherd 2003). This evidence comes primarily from funerary monuments in the form of earthen barrows, cairns, short cist burials and a rich suite of artefacts accompanying the deceased as grave goods.

Individual burial dominates the record during this period: either as inhumations (often in a crouched position) or as deposits of burnt bone after cremation (Needham 1995). The emphasis on individual burial seen throughout the Earlier Bronze Age is considered by some as a direct result of the social divisions promoted by the construction of large monuments such as henges, stone and timber circles as well as privileged access to sought-after raw materials such as copper and tin (Bradley 2007, 153).

Previous studies: biases and gaps

Bronze Age funerary monuments and burials have been the focus for investigation for centuries (e.g. Bateman 1848; Greenwell 1877; Hoare 1812; Mortimer 1905; Smart 1891). Yet interpretative discussions of Earlier Bronze Age funerary practices principally concentrate on exceptionally richly-furnished graves where the quantity and quality of associated artefacts are seen as indicators of power, wealth & status, particularly those of the famous 'Wessex' series of rich graves (Bradley 2007, 154; Clarke *et al* 1985; Piggott 1938;

inter alia). This has led to an over-emphasis on richly associated individuals and as a result, the more typical less-well furnished (e.g. individuals with a single pot or flint tool) or unaccompanied burials are under-studied. This is a problem that relates both to inhumation and cremation rites but cremation practices are substantially under investigated, with few notable exceptions (e.g. Downes 2005; McKinley 1989; 1993; 1994; 1997a; Sheridan 2003b). The significance of the distinction between these practices has been long debated with some authors suggesting that the choice of mortuary treatment was a reflection of the difference in the person's status (Rowlands 1980, 51).

Detailed region-wide studies which seek to assess the major trends in burial practice involving all aspects of the burial (e.g. the site type, setting, orientation, position of the body and associated material culture) including both richly-furnished and unaccompanied individual adult graves are rare (e.g. Barnatt & Collis 1996). This has resulted in considerable gaps in our understanding of the social implications of the deceased within sparsely furnished graves and the relationship between such burials had with their more richly-furnished contemporaries. Current studies such as the *Beakers and Bodies Project* led by Neil Curtis of Marischal Museum, Aberdeen, aim to address this very issue in a Scottish context (Curtis *et al* 2007).

Bias in the investigation of certain aspects of material culture can also be argued. Detailed typochronological study of objects traditionally considered to be indicators of 'high-status' (e.g. Beakers, battleaxes, arrowheads, bronze daggers, ornaments of jet, faience, bronze and gold; Clarke 1970; Roe 1966; Green 1980; Gerloff 1975; Sheridan & Davis 2002; Sheridan & Shortland 2004; Roberts 2007) and the general disregard of more prosaic objects has led to an imbalance in our understanding of the suite of grave goods available to the community for inclusion in burials during this period.

More prosaic grave goods, such as tools made of bone, flint and coarse stone, and simple ornaments, including bone beads, pins and dress fasteners, are less-well studied. At present, the lack of statistical data relating to the frequency of such grave goods within adult burials, their chronology of use and typical associations, prevent detailed analysis.

It can also be argued that our narratives of funerary practices during this period are influenced by the archaeology of a few areas and, in particular, Wessex (Bradley 2007, 153). Despite similar quantities and concentrations of upstanding earthen round barrows in other

areas such as Yorkshire (Manby *et al* 2003), Thanet in south-east England (Field 1998), and parts of Sussex (Grinsell 1934), narratives have tended to focus on the evidence from Wessex (e.g Piggott 1938).

Recent investigations: people, pots and the ancestors

During the last decade significant advances have been made to our understanding of this period in Britain as the result of major research and fieldwork programmes (Sheridan 2008, 57). These include the *Beaker People Project* directed by Mike Parker Pearson (Jay & Richards 2007; Parker Pearson *et al* 2006; 2007); the *Beakers and Bodies Project* led by Neil Curtis (Curtis *et al* 2007); radiocarbon dating programmes such as that of the National Museums of Scotland led by Alison Sheridan (2004a; 2007b) and the *Ritual in Early Bronze Age Grave Goods Project*, led by John Hunter and Ann Woodward (Woodward *et al* 2005; Woodward *et al* 2006), *inter alia*. Many of these projects are ongoing and aim to address some of the gaps in our knowledge previously outlined.

These new studies, particularly those which have sought to provide systematic dates for funerary and ceremonial monuments of the period, have enabled a more comprehensive investigation of the social dynamics involved in funerary rituals and how these changed over time (Sheridan 2008, 60). They have also enriched our understanding that the visible aspects of funerary rituals, especially associated objects, are not simply indicators of personal status or wealth and may reflect the wider concerns of the surviving community with reference to the deceased and the ancestors. This is particularly pertinent as it is clear that burial during this period was selective with too few graves to represent the entire population (Bradley 2007, 158). A recent study suggests that only 1 in 18 of the Earlier Bronze Age population were afforded formal burial (Needham *forthcoming*). The mechanisms for who was selected for formal burial and who was not, is not well understood, but is typically considered to be a reflection of the individual's standing within the community.

A new depth of understanding about peoples choices, priorities and beliefs have been opened up by recent material culture studies (e.g. Sheridan 2007; Woodward *et al* 2006). The portrayal of the deceased created during the funeral was composed by the mourners who placed particular objects in the grave (Bradley 2007, 158). It is not always apparent whether these objects had been the property of the dead person, as it is clear that some items may have been made for the occasion, others are worn and broken suggesting an extended biography of use (Woodward *et al* 2006).

Ceramic vessels have seen the greatest concentration of study. Beakers, Food Vessels, Collared Urns, Cordoned Urns, Biconical Urns, Trevisker Urns and Accessory Vessels are distinctive Earlier Bronze Age pottery forms found in association with burial deposits (Gibson 2002). Striking regional differences in the distribution of these pottery types are noted (e.g. Collared Urns are widespread in England, Wales and lowland Scotland but are restricted to the Eastern half of Ireland; Sheridan 2003b, 203).

In Britain and Ireland, there has been much discussion about the typochronology of Bronze Age ceramic forms (e.g. Abercromby 1912; Brindley 2007; Case 1977; 1993; 1995; 2004; Clarke 1970; Cowie 1978; Gibson 2002; 2004b; Longworth 1961; 1984; Manby 1995; 2004; Morrison 1968; Shepherd 1986a; Sheridan 2004a; 2007b; Simpson 1965; Smart 1891; Tomalin 1988). Following recent systematic radiocarbon dating programmes of specific ceramic vessels (e.g. Scottish & Irish Food Vessels: Sheridan 2004; Brindley 2007) there is now a consensus over the overall typochronological sequence and an understanding of the extent of chronological overlapping of different vessel types (Sheridan 2003b, 203).

Following Needham and others' scheme (2010), an 'Early Beaker' phase (*circa* 2500/2450-2200/2100 cal BC) is defined by inhumation burials associated with early Beaker types often of continental origin or inspiration, such as Bell-Beakers and early All-Over-Corded (AOC) vessels. Associated objects include copper daggers/knives which almost exclusively accompany adult male burials (Needham *forthcoming*). This is followed by the 'Climax Beaker' phase (*circa* 2200/2100-2000/1950 cal BC) where Beakers and Food Vessels are found accompanying inhumation burials. Distinctive material culture of this period includes adult male burials with flat bronze daggers, flint daggers and the introduction of elaborate ornament-rich female graves such as those associated with spacer-plate necklaces (Needham *forthcoming*).

Towards the end of this period, *circa* 2000 BC, there is argued to be a major shift in funerary rite towards urned cremation burial (Needham 1996) which continues through into the Later Bronze Age. Accompanying these 'Early and Middle Urn' burials (*circa* 2000/1950 to 1500/1400 cal BC) are Food Vessels and a suite of Cinerary Urns such as Collared Urns, Enlarged Food Vessels, Cordoned Urns, Biconical Urns and Trevisker Urns (Needham 1995; Needham *et al* 2010; Sheridan 2003b; 2004a; 2007b). The suite of grave goods associated with deposits of cremated bone are often more limited in range and in number than those seen with inhumations (Longworth 1984). This is likely to be a reflection of archaeological

survival rather than a genuine funeral practice: it was typical for associated objects to be placed on the pyre with the deceased and many would not survive to be incorporated with the burial of burnt bones (Sheridan 2007b) and possible fragmentary objects in the burial were frequently overlooked in earlier excavations (Shepherd & Cowie 1977, 120). As such, associated objects with cremation deposits are often burnt and fragmentary. Burials associated with battle-axes, maceheads and ornaments such as composite bead sets continue but it is during this period we more frequently see simple dress fasteners made of bone, including pins and toggles. This is also likely to be a bias of the archaeological record as these bone objects are more likely to survive in a burnt condition.

It is clear that amongst the grave goods unusual artefacts were obtained from a distance and that local products imitated exotic types (Bradley 2007, 155). One approach developed to explain this pattern was pioneered by Stuart Piggott in his classic description of the rich graves of the 'Wessex Culture' (Piggott 1938). Piggott drew on corresponding continental artefacts to suggest an invasion of southern England by an elite from Brittany. This was based on the close similarities between the grave goods in these two areas. Recent finds, such as the grave of the 'Amesbury Archer' in Wiltshire (Fitzpatrick 2002) and the Dutch-style grave at Upper Largie, Kilmartin, Scotland (Cook *et al* 2010) have re-opened debates of the role of human immigration in the introduction of the Beaker 'package' to Britain and Ireland (Sheridan 2008, 63). From current evidence, Piggott's hypothesis of the invasion of Breton chieftains is untenable. Instead, we appear to be dealing with small-scale movements of people from various parts of the continent to different areas of Britain and Ireland (Case 2001; Needham 2007; Sheridan 2008). Many aspects of this interaction between British and Continental traditions and peoples is still not well understood, particularly the size of such immigrant populations. The motivations for this movement of peoples have been discussed in detail elsewhere (see Sheridan 2008, 63-7) but could include trade, particularly for metals and pilgrimage to sites of sacred significance. Travel could also have been a source of social power and influence (Bradley 2007, 157; Needham 2005, 209). At present, discussion of the movement of peoples has been confined to adult individuals and it is hoped that future research will include immature individuals.

Summary

This brief summary of general funerary practices during the British Earlier Bronze Age has outlined the current understanding of adult burials. Although general trends are recognised and a chronological framework established, an overemphasis on richly-furnished burials has

resulted in a bias in interpretative narratives towards 'high status' members of the community, leaving significant gaps in our understanding of Bronze Age social structure and dynamics. Unaccompanied or less-well furnished burials tend to be understudied and, as a result, are rarely the focus for discussion. Current and ongoing research projects, as outlined previously, are seeking to address this imbalance. As such, statistical data relating to some aspects of burial practice is admittedly lacking, yet a sufficient picture of general trends is present to allow us to consider whether funerary rites afforded to adults and children are broadly comparable or quite distinct.

3.3 Past considerations of Bronze Age children in Britain

It is postulated here that children are rarely considered as part of wider Bronze Age narratives. Although discussed factually when skeletal remains are encountered within funerary contexts, the significance of such remains are generally not the focus for interpretative discussions (e.g. Ashbee 1960; Fox 1959; Grinsell 1936).

Prior to the investigations of the current writer (McLaren 2002; 2004; 2011; *this paper*), the most comprehensive statement concerning children's burials in Bronze Age Britain was Burgess' consideration of immature individuals in his discussion of population and social organisation during this period (Burgess 1980, 162-4). Here Burgess states that life expectancy for this period was considerably shorter than today with an 'undoubtedly high infant mortality rate' (1980, 161-2) but that 'children seem under-represented in the burial record' indicating the likelihood that 'some were disposed of in a less formal way' (*ibid*, 162). This is echoed in Ian Shepherd's excellent but concise discussion of children's burials in Scotland, highlighting the rarity of children's remains within the Bronze Age burial record (1988, 75). Burgess briefly discusses the frequent associations of child burials with adults stating that 'while double burials of mother and foetus or new-born infant are easy enough to understand, more difficult to interpret are frequent cases of females being buried with older children' and notes 'whether these are instances of mother and child dying at about the same time of disease or starvation, whether one has been stored until the death of the other, or whether children were killed, for whatever reason, on the death of the mother, is impossible to say' (*ibid*, 164).

It is widely understood that formal burial of individuals during this period involved only a selection of the population (Bradley 2007, 158), but this view is not shared by all. This alternative view suggests that preservation factors and the bias in investigation towards monumental structures (e.g. upstanding barrows as opposed to uncovered flat-graves) has skewed the archaeological record (Barnatt 1999, 46; Hunter 2000, 172). Although the latter view is valid in highlighting methodological issues that affect the way that we approach the burial record of this period, the dominance of young adults within Earlier Bronze Age burials and the under-representation of other age groups, particularly the very old and the very young, suggests that we are not seeing the full picture.

A large proportion of the Bronze Age dead were disposed of by some other means that leave no visible archaeological trace (Bradley 2007, 158). The mechanisms for who was selected for formal burial and who was not, is not well understood, but is typically believed to be a reflection of the individual's status and social standing within the community.

Considerations of the implications of this practice generally centre on evidence from adult burials (see pages 21-3). Children are under-represented in this already selective burial group (Burgess 1980, 162) but the reasons for this are rarely explored as there is a general belief that children would not have had access to formal burial. Within a hierarchical society, as has been argued for in the Bronze Age (Piggott 1938), where formal burial was accessible only to the rich, the powerful and the influential members of the community, children are generally not expected to be visible (Mays 2000).

Where children have been found, particularly new-borns or infants, they are often only discussed solely as a subsidiary to associated adult burials and, in many cases, are referenced incidentally to the more 'significant' adult individuals, almost as an after thought (Garwood 2007, 63; Scott 1999, 90). Interpretations of such burials also tend to be generalised, painting a picture of the Bronze Age child as dependant, socially insignificant and incidental (e.g. Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 269). In reference an infant burial associated with a female adult within a burial mound at Wilsford, Wiltshire, Grinsell suggests that the association indicates 'a child buried with its parent as unable to fend for itself' (Grinsell 1974, 85).

The interpretation of burial mounds as family cemeteries also typically fail to critically assess the presence, or lack thereof, of children's burials within such monuments, assuming that their presence within such a context was the birth-right of the member of an important

family. Yet, if children from certain families were automatically afforded the right for burial within a barrow or cemetery why are such immature individuals still under-represented? The selective nature of Bronze Age burial within formal funeral contexts (e.g. mounds, cairns, cists and cemeteries) is rarely explored in reference to children.

Discussions of territory and hereditary social systems in Bronze Age Britain have developed out of ideas of lineage and the succession of social wealth and status (Shennan 1986; Woodward 2000b, 78-9) but rarely consider the role that children may play in such a social network or what implications such an inheritance system may have on the status of children during this period (notable exceptions are Lull *et al* 2005; Turek 2000).

Sinister and violent explanations are often sought to explain the presence of children's skeletal remains within funerary sites, including suggestions of child sacrifice, infanticide and neglect (Burgess 1980, 164). In his consideration of the multiple burials uncovered under a burial mound at Sutton, Llandow, Glamorgan which included several children's burials, Fox notes that "unless one is prepared to admit the likelihood of a number of youngsters of an important family dying in quick succession, they must…, I think, be regarded as sacrificial deposits connected with cremation C, the most important in the area" (Fox 1959, 102).

Similarly, in discussing the multiple interments encountered during the excavations of a barrow at Monsal Dale, Derbyshire, Bateman notes that 'this the lowest interment, was evidently a male, the one next above presents female characteristics, and both, together with the children, presented unmistakeable evidence of having been interred at the same time, so that we have some reason to suppose that the family was immolated at the funeral of its head, as has been customary with savages in all ages and parts of the globe' (Bateman 1861, 78-9). A disturbingly vivid picture of the deposition of several children within a barrow in south Wiltshire is painted by Hawley. Here several children's burials were encountered within the upper mound structure ranging in age from new-born infants to children of five or six years of age. The excavator noted that 'they occurred at all heights up to 5 feet, and were in all positions as if they had been carelessly thrown into the heap whilst it was being made' (Hawley 1910).

Statements implying a perceived insignificance of children during the Bronze Age are not restricted to early archaeological accounts. In consideration of a burial amongst the Shrewton

barrow group in Wiltshire, the excavators note that 'the apparent simplicity of the barrow and the single individual, only a child, who benefited initially from this effort belie the labour necessary for its construction' (Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 271).

This brief summary of the evidence to date for the treatment of children in Bronze Age burial contexts illustrates well the reasons for the need for this current study.

3.4 Children's burials in the case study areas

Scotland

Prior to the author's 2002 interim study into the funerary rites afforded to children in Bronze Age Scotland, the most comprehensive and detailed consideration of children's burials in this area was that presented by Ian Shepherd in 1988. Examination of an inhumation burial of a child at Catterline, Kincardineshire, Scotland, buried within a well-built short cist and afforded a fine Beaker vessel, prompted Shepherd to review the current state of knowledge regarding children's burials in Scotland and Britain in general and concluded that children were under-represented in the burial record. But Shepherd also suggested that 'when in beaker times it was decided to bury children, they were accorded the full range of the available burial rituals' (Shepherd 1988, 75).

A review of inhumation burials in the Grampian region of north-east Scotland by Bruce had earlier suggested that few children were represented in examined burials, particularly noting the virtual absence of young children under three years of age (1986, 18). Here, Bruce noted that less than 12% of Beaker associated graves in Grampian are children (*ibid*, 18; Hunter 2000, 57). A subsequent limited study by Hunter suggested that children and adolescents did receive formal burial more frequently in Scotland than had been previously realised but stresses that the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record makes the significance of this pattern unclear (2000, 58).

Yorkshire

No previous consideration of Earlier Bronze Age children's burials has been undertaken.

Wessex

Although not dealing with Wessex specifically, Garwood's 2007 examination of Early Bronze Age children's burials in Southern Britain remains the most comprehensive investigation of children's graves in England to date and is worth reviewing here in some detail.

Garwood's study of burial practices relating to children examined the records of over 100 child inhumation burials from Southern Britain. Only children with identified age-at-death estimates recorded in published excavation reports from 1930 onwards were considered (*ibid*, 71). Although Garwood acknowledges at the start of the paper that the dataset is not exhaustive, he suggests those included in his study represent the majority of reliably recorded, datable, published child burials in Southern Britain (*ibid*, 71). The author here applauds Garwood's effort to ensure the quality of data used is consistent but questions the relevance of the 1930 cut-off used to select data. Why a burial record published in 1931 should be any more reliable than one produced in 1929 is not explained within Garwood's methodology. Instead it is suggested here that each record, regardless of the date of publication, should be assessed on its own merit rather than instilling arbitrary boundaries on the dataset.

Garwood's (2007) study of burials in Southern Britain follows a chronological approach: with the burials grouped together into three periods of variable length (period 1: 2500-2150 BC; period 2: 2150-1800 BC and period 3: 1800-1500 BC). This approach has enabled Garwood to observe differences in funerary practices regarding children through time. He suggests that a set of contrasting traditions were in use and sees those relating to children as episodic 'events' rather than a continuing consistent set of practices (*ibid,* 78-79). He sees the 'satellite' positions of infants and younger children between 2500-2100 BC as being in positions similar to those of artefacts and other grave goods and suggests that 'it is likely that they were present in burial contexts as votive offerings or gifts to supernatural beings: perhaps as materials that embodied life as a resource, deposited in order to placate the ancestors, make entreaties to sources of vitality for the renewal of life, or to pacify malevolent spirits' (*ibid*, 76). He also considers that young infants associated with adult males and older children may have been seen more as 'grave goods' rather than individual burials in their own right.

Garwood's (2007) study is encouraging, particularly as some aspects of his work find resonances in this paper. However, several criticisms can be made. The following consideration should not be seen as an attempt to dismiss Garwood's work or discourage similar analysis but as this is study has significant implications to the one presented here.

Firstly, it is considered here that Garwood's decision not to engage with antiquarian sources due to the perceived problems and challenges that they present, necessarily limits the conclusions that can be drawn. Secondly, the basis for Garwood's chronological scheme is not transparent. It is unclear what evidence has been used to allow Garwood to assign particular children's burials to each phase but this seems to rely on a combination of barrow form, the style of associated ceramic vessels, the potential date of accompanying grave goods and radiocarbon dates, where available. There are several problems, it is suggested here, with this scheme as so few burials in the area have been directly dated leaving discussions of chronology to hinge on unreliable typological frameworks for artefact types. Less than 2% of children's burials in England recorded by the author in preparation for this study have been directly dated. Although children's burials considered in this current study can be confidently assigned to the Earlier Bronze Age, subsequent chronological sub-division is not generally possible due to the lack of direct dates (Sheridan 2008, 61). As such Garwood's 2007 approach has not been considered appropriate in the current study and why a question must be raised over the conclusions drawn together by Garwood for Southern Britain.

3.5 Discussion

Despite the considerable mass of data available regarding Bronze Age children's burials, particularly in Britain, very little serious systematic study has taken place to assess their significance within wider Bronze Age funerary practices. In the last fifteen years the quantity of studies in the Bronze Age children's burials in Europe has increased steadily and it is now possible to identify some consistencies in practice over wide geographical areas.

In Britain and Ireland, studies of Bronze Age children's burials are rare despite the vast quantity of data available. In past archaeological narratives, children have been widely neglected. Where discussed, they are often mentioned almost as an afterthought or viewed in

polarised terms reflecting overly sentimental contemporary notions of childhood or as the victims of violence (e.g. Burgess 1980, 164; Hawley 1910, 616; Mays 2000).

In this context, Garwood's 2007 study is an important milestone in the investigation of children's burials within the Bronze Age. By disregarding earlier published sources of children's burials, a considerable wealth of important data has not been assessed. Similarly, the lack of detailed study of the significance of associated objects is disappointing and such burials cannot be fully understood unless all aspects of the burial context are examined.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEFINING THE PARAMETERS

4.1 Introduction

Narratives of the Bronze Age, like many chronological periods, tend to follow two interpretative threads. On the first level, overarching explanations are sought to elucidate and interpret similarities within the archaeological record over wide geographical areas and chronological timeframes. In such narratives, differences tend to be underplayed or disregarded as anomalous (Clarke 2004, 46). The second level present is that of the micro-scale study which similarly tend to try to fit the evidence into wider narratives whilst explaining away any divergences from the normative view or to set them apart as a idiosyncratic regional tradition (*ibid*, 46).

This study, however, hopes to bridge the gap between these two levels of analysis. By embracing regional-scale interpretations from three distinct geographical areas of Britain, it is hoped it will be possible to consider each region as a distinct entity, to compare each and finally to attempt to set this data alongside the framework of established wider narratives of Earlier Bronze Age burial traditions in Britain as a whole.

4.2 Data collection

This examination of the funerary rites afforded to children in the Earlier Bronze Age in Britain began with a systematic search of previously recorded Bronze Age burials from late eighteenth century antiquarian accounts through to modern-day excavation reports. The data presented here focuses on three specific case study areas which have been drawn from a wider database of Bronze Age burials constructed and compiled by the writer between 2003 and 2007. Children's burials published after October 2007 have not been considered in this study unless pertinent to previously catalogued material. The parameters and methodology behind the construction of this database is described in detail in Appendix I.

In excess of 1900 individual children's burials, both by inhumation and after cremation, from across Britain have been catalogued by the writer, consisting of individuals up to eighteen years of age of potentially Bronze Age date. For the purposes of this current study only Earlier Bronze Age burials from Scotland, Yorkshire and Wessex, involving children of fifteen years of age or less, have been included. No osteological re-examination of the skeletal material has been undertaken here and details referred to in the text regarding the age and sex of individuals are derived from the original published report unless stated otherwise.

Due to potential problems with reliability and the level of detail noted in the published record (described in section 3.5), a simple but rigorous set of parameters was used to test the reliability of the published data for each burial record (Figure 4.1). This was aimed to ensure that the information included for consideration in this study, often in the absence of direct dating, was reliably Earlier Bronze Age in date. Any potentially later or intrusive burials were discarded and have not been considered here.

4.3 Defining the case study areas

Children's burials from Scotland, Yorkshire and Wessex form the basis of this study (Figure 4.2). These case study areas have been selected for investigation for four key reasons:

- Each are large geographical areas of comparable scale
- All three areas are rich in Earlier Bronze Age activity with comparable numbers of funerary monuments.
- Each of the case study areas have been the focus for archaeological enquiry for an extended period of time, from antiquarian explorations through to recent, developer funded and research excavations, creating a wealth of data available for examination.
- As a result, all three areas have a wealth of published records from the late eighteenth century to modern day excavation reports. All three regions have societies dedicated to archaeological investigations, with regional journals published annually or biannually (e.g. Scotland: *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*; Yorkshire: *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*; Wessex: *Wiltshire Archaeology and Natural History Magazine, Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society* and *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*).

The data from each of the areas under consideration are dominated by burials excavated prior to 1970. As such, pre-1974 county boundaries have been used throughout[1].

Scotland

The borders of Scotland are defined on three sides by the natural coastline with the North Sea to the north and east, the Atlantic Ocean to the north-west and Irish Sea to the south-west. Scotland's only land border is to the south, between the River Tweed on the east coast and the Solway Firth on the west, bordering the north English counties of Northumberland and Cumbria. Internal regional divisions are illustrated by Figure 4.3a.

Yorkshire

Until the mid-1970's, Yorkshire was divided into four main administrative areas: East, North and West Ridings and the city of York (Figure 4.3b). At this time Yorkshire was bounded by the North Sea to the east, the Humber estuary and bordering counties of Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire to the south, Cheshire and Lancashire to the west and Westmoreland and Durham to the north. The 1974 county boundary changes resulted in the abandonment of the historic Ridings in favour of four smaller administrative districts of North, East, South and West Yorkshire. This considerably constricted Yorkshire's boundaries, particularly in the east where much of East Riding is now known as Humberside. For the sake of brevity, the areas of East, North and West Riding of Yorkshire will be quoted in the following discussion under the abbreviations E.R., N.R., and W.R.

Wessex

The area of Wessex is defined as the historic counties of Wiltshire, Dorset and Hampshire in south-west England (Figure 4.3c), following Annable & Simpson (1964, 21). The Isle of Wight has been included alongside Hampshire following Yorke (1995, 1).

Wessex was the heartland of the West Saxon kingdom during the 5th to 11th centuries AD, which included the historic shires of Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Berkshire and Hampshire (including the Isle of Wight). Although Anglo-Saxon scholars broadly agree on the territory that Wessex encompassed during this period it is acknowledged that control of certain areas was intermittent and that the whole of the territory was not governed by the West Saxons until the ninth century AD (*ibid*, 1). This means that even at the time when the

[1] Pre-1974 county boundaries have been used with the exception of the parish of Christchurch, formally of Hampshire but now included in the county of Dorset.

term Wessex was in use to describe a specific political territory the boundaries were fluid. After 1066, the kingdom of Wessex was dissolved and the term fell out of use until resurrected by popular nineteenth century novelist Thomas Hardy in his book 'Far from the Madding Crowd' (1874).

Soon after, the term Wessex was appropriated by prehistorians to describe archaeological phenomena but Wessex is neither a natural region in terms of physical geography nor one which is suggested by Bronze Age territorial divisions. As such, there is considerable divergence of views as to which counties are appropriately included within the area described as Wessex.

The area defined here differs from that described by Stuart Piggott in his 1938 paper where he considered Earlier Bronze Age burials from Wiltshire, Dorset and parts of Berkshire. As Piggott's Wessex-type burials were recognised out with his original study area, so the definition of Wessex expanded concurrently. Since Piggott's 1938 paper, the regions encompassing Wessex have been continuously modified, expanded and contracted to fit projected models.

The boundaries of the areas selected as the focus for this study are entirely arbitrary in terms of their geographical limitations. They are referred to here as no more than a geographical description and are seen as the product of historical political definitions. The boundaries used here are not intended to imply that such territorial borders existed during the Earlier Bronze Age but form a convenient descriptive limitation to the geographical arena under current study.

4.4 Chronology

This study focuses on the evidence of children's burials from the Earlier Bronze Age, here defined as *circa* 2500 to 1400 BC. The term 'Earlier Bronze Age' has been used here as short hand to cover a broad chronological period, from the Chalcolithic to the end of the Early Bronze Age (Table 4.1), following the chronological scheme set out by Needham and others (Needham *et al* 2010, 365, table 1; Needham *forthcoming*; Sheridan 2008, 57). Most bipartite or tripartite chronological schemes for the Earlier Bronze age define the start of the period as around 2500-2450 cal BC and the end to fall around 1550 or 1500 cal BC (Bradley

2007, 183, table 4.1). A slightly longer view is taken here to allow for the protracted use of early funerary practices alongside Later Deverel-Rimbury traditions in southern Britain. It should be noted that these divisions are arbitrary but necessary to allow intelligible interrogation of the data and are based on established ceramic chronological sequences (Gibson 2002).

No attempt to split the Earlier Bronze Age into a further sequence of periods, as suggested by Needham (*et al* 2010, table 1) and Garwood (2007), has been conducted here. In the absence of direct dating of the children's skeletal remains considered in this study, the writer suggests that to attempt such a sub-division on this particular dataset may lead to misleading and ultimately inaccurate conclusions[2].

4.5 Constructed childhood? Modern misconceptions and biases

Before embarking on any in-depth analysis, or study of the remnants of the child's world in prehistoric society, it is essential to understand the conceptual meaning of the term 'child' as it will be employed here. It has been emphasised on many occasions, notably in the works of Derevenski (1994; 1997), Scott (2000) and Lilliehammer (1989; 1997) that caution should be exercised in using the broad definitions, 'child' and 'childhood', without any clear conceptual understanding of their meaning. All have repeatedly highlighted that a vast conceptual difference lies between the terms, despite the tendency to use them interchangeably in past literature. The expressions 'child' and 'childhood' are modern, socially constructed terms, which are culturally loaded with perceived ideas on what a child is and what childhood should be. In the modern Western usage of these words, we apply culturally specific notions that juxtapose the 'child' and 'childhood' against the terms of 'adult' and 'maturity' (Derevenski 1997). The concept 'child' is often, incorrectly, viewed as a universal state of physiological development reflecting our biological life cycles.

Even the definition of 'age' combines several different meanings, all of which should be taken into consideration when examining the stage of a child's development. Three meanings of age have been proposed by sociologists: chronological age, which is measured by an accepted understanding of calendric units; social age, which reflects the normative behaviour

[2] Only one radiocarbon date from a 'Wessex 1' grave in Wiltshire has so far been obtained, courtesy of the Beaker People Project (Needham *et al* 2010). This clearly highlights how rarely accurate direct dating of skeletal material for this period is.

that is culturally imposed on /assumed for particular age groups; and physiological or biological age, a medical construct that attempts to determine stages of skeletal development and an approximation of levels of functional ability (Ginn and Arber 1995: 5). In many cultures biological age does not equate with chronological or 'social' age.

4.6 Defining the child

In the past, many excavators encountering the skeleton of a child, were unable to identify the remains in terms of specific age at death. Although terms such as 'infant', 'juvenile' and 'young adult' are commonly encountered within archaeological site reports, their use often lacks definition or qualification. Problems regarding the imprecise use of such broad terms are clear and simply highlight the restrictions placed on the precision of our interpretations of these children's burials. These problems are compounded by variability in the understanding / use of these terms between different disciplines such as archaeologists, osteologists, anthropologists and demographers, and through time (Table 4.2). Although there is a general agreement that the age of 15 years marks the boundary between immature and mature individuals, there is little agreement over terms used to describe particular immature life stages (Baker *et al* 2005, 10; Halcrow & Tayles 2008). Where not recorded by physiological age, individuals referred to as foetus, perinate, stillborn, newborn, infant, child, juvenile, teenager, adolescent and young person, have been included in this study.

For the purposes of analysis it is proposed here that the general term 'child' should concur with established demographic conventions, to include all individuals from foetus up to, and including, individuals of fifteen years of age. Prior to any evidence to suggest that a real social boundary existed around this age group this definition is, to a certain extent, arbitrary. However, it is necessary to define a realistic proposition of a boundary within which analysis can take place.

The limit of fifteen years is proposed for several reasons. Firstly, the ability to accurately age skeletal remains of children less than fifteen years of age is considered to be far more reliable than those of older individuals. Skeletal and dental development from foetus through to fifteen years of age can be fairly accurately estimated based on the predictable rate of ephiphseal fusion, dental eruption and erosion (Lunt 1972; Baker *et al* 2005; Halcrow & Tayles 2008; Scheuer & Black 2000). Beyond the age of fifteen, identification of the age of

the individual becomes more problematic particularly when based on dental development since the growth of the third molar, often taken as an indicator of skeletal maturity, is more variable in its chronology than the other permanent teeth (Lunt 1972, 114). Frequently individuals of sixteen years or over are classified by osteologists as young adults (Baker *et al* 2005).

Secondly, the onset of puberty is likely to have been used as the indicator of the child's progression into the adult community during a period when chronological time did not exist in the same way as we understand it today. Puberty, as a stage of life development, indicates the beginnings of physiological and sexual maturity.

By grouping aged children together (those to whom a specific age in terms of years or months have been assigned) from both antiquarian and modern records, it is possible to investigate the burials by broad age-group rather than by specific age. Throughout the following case studies aged children will be described as:

- Young child: under 5 years
- Juvenile: 6-10 years
- Older child: 11-15 years

No attempt has been made here to convert generalised terms into specific ages.

4.7 The dataset: problems and challenges

The inclusion of antiquarian records in this study was a conscious decision made by the writer at the very inception of the project. The vast legacy of information created by the early barrow diggers forms the basis of our understanding of the Bronze Age in Britain and underpins current interpretations of funerary practices. As such, this data holds valuable information which cannot be overlooked.

Many current researchers choose not to engage with antiquarian material due to the perceived problems which they can encompass. Typical criticisms of such records focus on levels of accuracy, detail and reliability (Bradley 2007, 154). For example, in Kinnes & Longworth's re-examination of the artefacts recovered from Canon Greenwell's excavations

in Yorkshire in the late nineteenth century, they note that 'Greenwell was occasionally at fault in recording dimensions or compass directions, and this is manifest in the results of modern re-excavation of certain sites' (1985, 13). But they also note that 'Greenwell seems to have been more assiduous than most in collecting and preserving such material' (*ibid*, 13).

It is not disputed here that antiquarian accounts can be of variable quality but the level of detail and accuracy noted within some modern excavation reports can also be questionable. The criteria formulated and used by the writer to interrogate the reliability of each burial record collected (see Figure 4.1) was aimed specifically to remove any such questionable data. But it should be noted that there is no way to test individual details recorded (such as dimensions and orientations) in antiquarian and some early twentieth century records without re-excavation. This has not been undertaken here nor has any attempt been made to resolve archive records with published reports.

One of the main problems with antiquarian work is the lack of retention of excavated material for further examination. Skeletal material in particular was rarely retained as there was a lack of understanding of the full value of skeletal material beyond sexing, ageing and the occasional identification of disease or trauma (Gibson & Bayliss 2010, 72-4). This is particularly true of the cremated bone. With regard to this particular study, the lack of retention of skeletal material means that there is no way to check the identified age at death reported in the original accounts. Without embarking on expensive programmes of re-excavation, re-analysis of skeletal remains is, in most cases, impossible. In many cases, the published antiquarian accounts are the only records surviving. It is for this reason that many researchers have avoided engaging with this material. Despite this problem, the writer contends that these records still hold valuable information about children's burials which need to be considered alongside more recent evidence.

Where re-examination of skeletal remains has been possible the results have been, in the main, positive. Re-examination of the skeletal remains by Ogden from Wold Newton barrow, Yorkshire, excavated by Mortimer in 1894 confirmed the presence of a child of 7-8 years of age, as noted in the original published account (Ogden in Gibson & Bayliss 2010, 83; Mortimer 1905). Similarly, McKinley recently re-analysed the remains of an adolescent from the Sanctuary, Wiltshire, originally identified in the 1920's by Sir Arthur Keith as a 14-year-old boy. Although McKinley was hesitant to comment on the sex of the individual, her

examination agreed with the age originally assigned (McKinley quoted in Pitts 2001). Some discrepancies have also been noted (Brickley & Thomas 2005).

Recent detailed re-evaluation of available skeletal material, certain key grave assemblages and particular Earlier Bronze Age artefact types, all recovered during nineteeth century excavations have highlighted the merit of re-analysis of these valuable antiquarian materials (Gibson & Baylis 2010; Needham *et al* 2006; Needham & Woodward 2008; Needham *et al* 2010; Sheridan 2008; Woodward *et al* 2005).

It is suggested here that the integration of the nineteenth century data with that derived from more recent excavations will allow broad trends to be identified and will allow for any discrepancies between the antiquarian and modern accounts to be qualified.

4.8 Presenting the case studies

Past studies of Earlier Bronze Age funerary rites have tended to focus solely on inhumation burial despite the prevalence of the practice of cremation during this period. This is due to the perceived limitations of archaeological analysis on fragmentary human remains, particularly by antiquarian investigators who rarely studied such burial deposits in any detail. As a consequence there is an enormous discrepancy between the amount of interpretative work undertaken concerning cremation and inhumation burial (McKinley 1994, 134). The study of cremation by archaeologists remains most commonly an analysis of residue rather than an interpretation of funerary ritual (although see Downes 2005 as a notable exception).
Due to the significant differences in the parameters encountered between inhumation and cremation burials, the inhumation and cremation data within each case study area will be discussed separately.

The following three chapters present the individual case studies from Scotland (Chapter 5), Yorkshire (Chapter 6) and Wessex (Chapter 7). Whilst a thorough examination of the archaeological data is a given within the case studies, the narrative approach adopted means that the specific details of individual burials (e.g. their location and full references) are presented mostly in the Appendices provided. Although these form the foundation for the overall study presenting them within the main text would render it unwieldy and impossible to read, as well as masking the broader issues that need to be raised.

This chapter has outlined the main theoretical and methodological issues that need to be considered during analysis of the material. The structure adopted for the rest of the study has also been highlighted. It is argued that this approach leads us towards a fuller account of the funerary rites afforded to children in the Earlier Bronze Age.

CHAPTER FIVE

CASE STUDY ONE: SCOTLAND

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Despite the wealth of evidence of Bronze Age activity in Scotland, particularly that of ceremonial and funerary monuments, it is well known that centuries of intensive agriculture, particularly in lowland areas, have resulted in the reduction or obliteration of most upstanding early prehistoric sites (Cowie & Shepherd 2003, 151). Antiquarian accounts of the destruction of some large burial mounds, such as that at Memsie, Aberdeenshire, provide a valuable insight as to what is now missing from the visible Bronze Age landscape (Wilson 1851, 434).

The artefactual evidence suggests that certain regions may have been richer core areas during the Earlier Bronze Age than others such as the Moray plain, central and north Aberdeenshire, Strathmore, the Lothian coastal plain and Mid-Argyll (Cowie & Shepherd 2003, 153). It is from these core areas that wealthy assemblages of prestige grave goods (such as jet spacer-plate necklaces and copper alloy daggers) are known; many appearing to represent provincial counterparts of types known from the rich Wessex graves (Clarke *et al* 1985, 157-8).

The Scottish burial dataset overall is one of the best available (Cowie & Shepherd 2003, 155), with the qualification that visibility is restricted to a limited section of the population who were accorded formal burial (Bradley 2007, 158)

A total 238 burials of children of Earlier Bronze Age date have been identified in Scotland, consisting of 103 inhumations and one hundred and 35 burials after cremation. Each example has been catalogued and assigned an individual identifying number with pre-fix ‘SI’ to determine inhumation burials and ‘SC’ to identify burials after cremation. A summary catalogue of Scottish burials is provided in appendix A, part I a & b.

As the majority of burials referred to here were excavated and published prior to 1970, pre-1974 county boundaries have been used throughout this study. A distribution of sites referred to in the following text is presented in Figure 5.1.

5.2 INHUMATIONS

5.2.1 Introduction

A total of 142 child inhumation burials of possible Bronze Age date were originally catalogued by the writer from published records in Scotland. Thirty-nine burials have been excluded from consideration here following the criteria set out in chapter 4. These discarded records include 11 burials where the former presence of a child's body was inferred solely from the size of the cist or the small size of accompanying grave goods (e.g. Johnston, Aberdeenshire; Low 1930).

This study focuses on the burial records of 103 children of 15 years of age or less deriving from 88 graves at 67 sites across Scotland (Table 5.1). Only 73% of the original dataset has been retained in the final analysis. A full list of the burials considered here are summarised by county in Table 5.1.

5.2.2 Identification of age and sex

Age

An estimate of age has been expressed in years or months for 73% of the burials under consideration (Table 5.2). The majority (over 60%) of these aged children were subject to skeletal analysis by an osteologist, anatomist or medical professional at, or soon after, the time of discovery.

A programme of re-analysis of both unburnt and burnt human skeletal remains within the archaeology collections of the National Museums of Scotland was undertaken by Koon and McCulloch in 2002 with interesting results (2003). Although the age of individuals was

generally confirmed and refined, the presence of previously unnoticed skeletal elements, including disarticulated bone from additional bodies, was identified in a small number of cases, including those of children's remains. A similar study of the Early Bronze Age human remains in Aberdeenshire museums[3] as part of the Beakers and Bodies Project, is ongoing (Curtis *et al* 2007). Where possible, the results of these modern osteological analyses have been incorporated in this study.

For consistency and to enable comparative analysis, children described in the published record with a specific age expressed in years or months will be examined here under three broad age-groups, defined on page 39. This sub-division (Table 5.2) demonstrates that children over eleven years are marginally better represented than younger children, comprising 35.5% of the aged-children.

Despite this, children under one year, including foetuses, perinates and newborns, are particularly well represented in the 'young child' group in Scotland (Figure 5.2; Table 5.3). The burial of several very young children at some sites (such as at the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Allasdale, Barra) and total absence of perinates and newborns elsewhere (such as at the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Barns Farm, Fife) indicates that age-specific access to burial varied at a local level (Cook 2006; Cook *forthcoming*; Watkins 1982; Wessex Archaeology 2008).

The use of less-precise descriptions for the remaining 23% of the child inhumations in Scotland does not encourage detailed analysis (Petersen *et al* 1973, 49).

Sex

Osteologists rarely attempt to assess the sex of an immature skeleton because of the underdevelopment of sexually dimorphic traits (McKinley 2001, 5; *contra* Molleson *et al* 1998). Assessment has only been attempted in 10 cases (Table 5.4): 3 as the result of post-1970 excavations and 7 from antiquarian investigations in the late nineteenth century. Amongst this group are 8 possible females and two possible males. The writer would urge caution with regard to these identifications following McKinley (*ibid*, 5).

[3] Aberdeenshire Heritage includes Banff Museum, the Brander Museum in Huntly, the Carnegie Museum in Inverurie, the Arbuthnot Museum in Peterhead and the Marischall Museum in Aberdeen.

5.2.3 Grave context and setting

Child inhumation burials in Scotland derive from five main site types: burial mounds (barrows and cairns), inserted into pre-existing monuments (e.g. henge & Neolithic chambered cairns), cemeteries (including enclosed & unenclosed sites and cemeteries inserted into natural mounds), and isolated burials (short cists and flat graves) some associated with natural mounds (Table 5.5; Figure 5.3).

The Earlier Bronze Age funerary landscape of Scotland shows marked regional variation in the distribution of burials and form of predominant monument type. A simplified summary of the major concentrations and distributions is noted below as it is clear that children's inhumation burials in Scotland follow these general trends. It is out with the span of this study to discuss the wider implications of these regional patterns but the reader is encouraged to consult the texts referred to below for more detailed information.

- North East Scotland: particularly in Aberdeenshire, Banff, Morayshire (Shepherd 1986a); dominated by short-cist cemeteries and isolated graves
- Fife and the Lothians: predominantly short cist cemeteries and isolated graves (Hunter 2000).
- Kilmartin Valley, Argyll: dominated by cairns (Sheridan 2010)
- Orkney: predominately barrows and flat-grave short cists (Downes 2005).

Burial mounds

The term 'burial mound' is here used to describe monuments that are built of earth (barrows) or stone (cairns) or a combination of both (composite barrows). Such mounds typically cover multiple burials, often with several phases of funerary activity[4].

The earthen barrows which dominate the Earlier Bronze Age funerary landscape in southern Britain are less common in Scotland (but see Cowie & Shepherd 2003, 151). Concentrations of early prehistoric barrows are known in Orkney (Downes 2005) and in the North East (Sheridan 2010). Only 6% of child inhumation burials in Scotland derive from barrows: from Barns Farm, Fife (SI 43, 44, 45, 46 & 47: Watkins 1982) and from North Mains, Perthshire (SI 87: Barclay 1983).

[4] Aspects of the significance, date and distribution of non-megalithic round mounds of both Neolithic and Earlier Bronze Age date in Scotland have been discussed extensively elsewhere (Kinnes 1979; Sheridan 2010).

Cairns are the most common upstanding funerary monument type in Scotland during the Earlier Bronze Age. It is outwith the scope of this study to discuss or explore the range of cairn types constructed during this period and the writer would refer the reader to existing studies (e.g. Bradley 2000). A total of 12% of the child inhumations in this area were directly associated with stone cairns. These include simple round or oval stone mounds, such as those from Glenhead, Perthshire (SI 86: Anderson 1883) and Carsecreugh, Wigtownshire (SI 103: Wilson 1873), to more complex structures covering multiple graves such as those from Balnabraid, Argyll (SI 20-2: Galloway 1920), Hare Law, Fife (SI 49: Constable 1892) and Quarrel Geo, Orkney (SI 76-8: Downes 2005, 299).

Pre-existing monuments

The significance of the insertion of Beaker-associated burials on earlier sites of communal importance in Scotland has been considered in length elsewhere, but there is a high level of disagreement as to whether such a deposition was an act of reverence or one of disrespect for the earlier ceremonial centres (Clarke *et al* 1985, 87-9; Shepherd 1986a, 9-10).

A small number of children's graves (5%) are associated with pre-existing monuments such as Neolithic cairns and henges. A series of Earlier Bronze Age burials inserted into the Neolithic Orkney-Cromarty-type cairn at Embo, Sutherland (Henshall & Wallace 1963), include two short cists containing child inhumations (SI 95-7). One had been inserted into the top of the cairn and the other into the original stone-lined chamber (*ibid*, 15, 19). A further series of unburnt and burnt human bones, including those of children, were inserted into hollows made in the cairn surface but the date of this activity is unclear and has not been considered here.

An adolescent of 14-18 years of age, associated with Handled Beaker, was buried in the henge at Balfarg, Fife (Mercer 1981). The excavator suggests that it is quite likely that the grave was inserted into the monument at a late stage of its use (or disuse) and that the two phases of activity may be unrelated (*ibid*, 76). This seems unlikely. Rather, this is better interpreted either as a meaningful act of desecration (Clarke *et al* 1985, 88) or as an attempt to legitimise power through association with a generations-old ceremonial centre.

In the mid-nineteenth century, a small number of short cists, including two containing children (SI 5 & 6), were found within a natural mound in close proximity to a henge monument at Broomend of Crichie, Aberdeenshire (Chalmers 1868; Davidson 1868).

The traditional view of the significance of these burials was that they had been deliberately interred in the vicinity of the ceremonial site (Shepherd 1986a, 10). Yet recent re-excavation and radiocarbon dating of the burials has enabled clarification of the sequence of activity here, confirming that the burials, in fact, pre-date the construction of the henge (Bradley & Clarke 2011, 74). Instead, they appear to have been inserted into an area intermittently used during the Neolithic for cultivation. The Beaker-associated grave containing the double inhumations of an adult and child (SI 5) has been dated to 2460-2190 BC (OxA-V 216634) and is amongst the earliest Beaker burials in northern Britain (Bradley & Clarke 2011, 82).

The placement of Earlier Bronze Age child burials in association with earlier, Neolithic sites is a recurring theme throughout this study with examples observed from all three case study areas. Consideration of the significance and motivation behind such associations will be discussed in the concluding chapter (p241). It is suggested here that the placement of these later burials was a deliberate attempt to create links to the past; with the ancestors.

Cemeteries

Over a third (35%) of Scottish child inhumation burials are from cemeteries with no evidence of covering mounds. These include cemeteries of enclosed (5%) and unenclosed forms (17%, Figure 5.4), including suites of burials inserted into natural mounds (13%). Earlier Bronze Age cemeteries are here defined as collections of two or more graves but a wide variety in the number of burials within cemeteries is observed: at Little Kilmory, Buteshire, a linear arrangement of three short cists (Figure 5.5) each containing the crouched inhumation of a child, was observed, contrasting with the cemetery at Holly Road, Leven where a minimum of eleven graves were found (Lewis & Terry 2004, 24).

Flat grave cemeteries, barrows and cairns are often interpreted as family or community graveyards (Barnatt 1999, 46; Hunter 2000, 58; Petersen 1972, 39). The precise rules that structured who were chosen for inclusion in such cemeteries cannot be clearly adduced from the archaeological evidence (Shepherd 1982, 130) and in most cases, in the absence of direct dating, the duration of use of a single cemetery is unclear. Future comprehensive programmes of radiocarbon dating across cemeteries (such as that undertaken at Holly Road, Leven (Lewis & Terry 2004)) in conjunction with DNA analysis is likely to help clarify both the chronological span that such cemeteries were used for and may enable a greater understanding of the social relationship between individuals afforded formal burial.

There are numerous examples of burial sites positioned on raised ground from throughout prehistory and later periods. These natural knolls often formed the focus for cemeteries (such as that at Allasdale, Barra (SI 54-63: Cook 2006; Wessex Archaeology 2008) and West Water Reservoir, Peebles-shire (Hunter 2000) or individual graves, such as West Scryne, Angus (SI 015: Taylor *et al* 1998, 57-60). A total of 24 child inhumations (23%) were interred in graves inserted into natural mounds including 4 from an enclosed cemetery at Holly Road, Leven (3%), 13 from unenclosed cemeteries (13%) and 7 in individual graves (7%).

Isolated burials: cists, stone-lined pits and flat graves

Such graves include both short cists and earth-cut graves with no evidence of a covering mound, referred to elsewhere as 'unobtrusive' cists/graves (Downes 2005, 34). These are typically individual burials which were probably never covered by a burial mound and which were separate and distinct from barrow cemeteries (*contra* Hunter 2000, 59). 35% of the child burials considered here had no evidence of covering mounds or nearby graves that would suggest that they were part of a wider cemetery.

Short cists

The majority of child inhumation burials from Scotland were contained within and protected by stone-built short cists (78% of children, in 83% graves associated with inhumed children; Figure 5.6; Table 5.6). Short cists are here defined as stone boxes of square, sub-square or rectangular plan constructed from a minimum of four upright slabs, typically set into the ground with a capstone slab (e.g. short cist from Holly Road, Leven, Fife, Figure 5.7). The term 'short cist' is characteristically used to distinguish an early cist of restricted dimensions built to contain a crouched or flexed inhumation from 'long cists' of the late Iron Age and onwards, made for extended inhumation. Experimental work has demonstrated that the construction of a cist was itself an act which required significant investment of time and resources, as well as forward planning and a good understanding of locally-available resources (McAdam & Watkins 1974; Watkins 1982, 114-8). The provision of a cist has been considered as indicative of the individual's status within the community (Clarke *et al* 1985, 152; *contra* Hunter 2000, 58).

Fifteen short cists associated with child inhumations (17%) had deliberately laid floors (Table 5.7, Figure 5.8). These consisted of single basal slabs (8), paving made from small flat slabs (3) or water-worn pebbles (3). At Knockankelly, Buteshire, a layer of pure white

sand had been used to create a floor on to which the body of a 10-11-year-old child had been placed (SI 28; Jamieson & Cleland 1886). This appears to be unique and may be ritually significant. One exceptional cist, containing the remains of a child at Portalloch, Argyll, was decorated with seventy small pecked cupmarks; the decorated surface facing into the interior of the cist (Cregeen & Harrington 1981, 19).

Additional attempts to seal the interior of the cists from any infiltration of surrounding soil (beyond the provision of tight fitting capstones and side-slabs) were observed in eight burials (Table 5.8). The joints of four cists had been luted with clay, whilst gaps in the corners of five cists had been plugged with small pebbles. Yet, concern over maintaining the soil-free interior of the cist was not universal. At some sites, such as West Water Reservoir, Peebles-shire, the filling of the cist prior to the setting of the capstone appears to be an integral part of the funerary rites and is observed in three children's burials (SI 82-3, cists 1, 3 & 4; Hunter 2000, 56). Similar infilling is observed in a further three children's burials:

- Aberdour Road, Fife (SI 41: Close-Brooks *et al* 1972b, 123)
- Ferniehill, Fife (SI 48: Callander 1923, 299)
- North Mains, Perthshire (SI 87, burial E; Barclay 1983, 207) (possible example).

Barber (1982, 539) suggests that it is illogical to build a soil-free box in the form of a stone cist and then fill it with soil. Yet a survey of this practice in Earlier Bronze Age Scottish cists suggested that approximately 43% of those examined had been deliberately infilled (Hunter 2000, 56; table 10). It is believed that was undertaken to prevent re-use or continued access to a cist, signifying the final closure of the grave (T Cowie, *pers comm*; Hunter 2000, 57). Only 8% of the children's burials within short cists (6) had been infilled; all come from south-east Scotland, hinting at a regional practice.

Stone-lined pits

These are distinguished from slab-built short cists simply due to the method of construction. Here a series of rounded boulders or slabs have been used to define an oval or sub-circular pit containing a burial and are considered here to be distinct from short cists as defined previously. Only three burials (3%) associated with the remains of 8 children from Allasdale, Barra (Figure 5.9) were contained within stone-lined pits (SI 54-8, SI 61, SI 62-3: Cook 2006; Wessex Archaeology 2008, pl 6). At Allasdale, the choice to use water-worn cobbles and boulders appears to have been the result of limited access to suitable flagstone.

Graves and pits

Child inhumation burials come from a small number of graves (5%) and pits (3%) which lack stone settings (Table 5.9). As considered above, the provision of a stone-built short cist has been seen as an indicator of status. If this premise is accepted, the absence of such stone settings within the grave could indicate that these deceased were considered lower-status individuals. This cannot be argued for in every instance, particularly in the case of the 14-18-year-old from Balfarg, Fife (Figure 5.10) who may have been interred within a wooden coffin instead of a stone cist (SI 42: Barclay & Russell-White 1993).

Unusual cists

Several possible cists of unusual construction are known, particularly from Orkney, but their date is not well understood (Ritchie 1995, 95). These include double or segmented cists (such as that from Gyre Farm: Simpson *et al* 2007; Figure 5.11), two-tiered cists (such as Little Asta, Shetland: Corrie 1932; Figure 5.12), drystone cists (such as Crantit, Orkney: Marwick 1924; Figure 5.13) and cists constructed for continued access (such as Mill Road, West Lothian: Cook 2000; Figure 5.14). Attempts at classification of these more unusual cist forms have been hampered by a lack of extensive, modern excavation and datable association, as well as the great variation in use and morphology which these burials display (Simpson *et al* 2007, 64). Such cists are typically associated with multiple burials, in some cases sequential, and often comprising a mix of unburnt and cremated remains. In terms of construction they are all elaborations of typical four-sided slab-constructed cists and are generally consistent with those of Earlier Bronze Age date. In the absence of direct dating, an Earlier Bronze Age date is suggested (Downes 2005).

The remains of eight children, from five burials (6%) within the dataset were interred within such unusual cists (Table 5.10); all are associated with multiple interments, which will be the focus for discussion later in the paper.

5.2.4 Grave size as a reflection of age?

The internal dimensions of short cists associated with child inhumation burials in Scotland have been recorded in 55 cases (75% of short cist burials in the dataset). Analysis of the measurements (Figure 5.15) shows that they range in internal length from 41 to 180 cm (averaging 96 cm) and from 30 to 120 cm in width (averaging 56 cm). The average internal

dimension of short cists in Scotland is around 100 by 50 centimetres (Hanley & Sheridan 1994, 138), demonstrating that children's graves are generally consistent in terms of size of known examples. Yet, as Figure 5.16 shows, the graves of younger children tend to be smaller (e.g. 64-87 cm in length) than those of older children (e.g. 77.5-107 cm in length). This hints at a correlation between the age (and physical stature) of the child and the size of the associated cist, but this is far from clear, as the 60 cm by 45 cm cist from Boatbridge Quarry, Lanarkshire, containing the crouched skeletons of an adult and child, demonstrates (Clarke *et al* 1984; Hanley & Sheridan 1994, 138).

In a small number of cases, the presence of a child's body within a cist or grave has been inferred from the small size of the burial setting (Table 5.11). In each case, no skeletal remains were present to confirm the presence of a child and, as such, have not been included in this current study. Some examples are more convincing than others, such as the exceptionally small cist (40 cm by 25 cm) at Ambrisbeg Cairn, Buteshire (Spiers 1996) which is unlikely to have held an articulated crouched adult cadaver and the smaller than average cist from Balbair, Inverness-shire found to contain two Beakers, one of which was a particularly small example of the type (Hanley & Sheridan 1994). Yet caution is urged in inferring the presence of a child's body based solely on cist size as there is no guarantee that the cist was built to house an articulated burial (e.g. small cist (46 cm by 36.8 cm) containing disarticulated human bones from Hare Law Cairn, Fife (SI 49: Constable 1892)).

5.2.5 Placement of the body: position and orientation

Soil conditions across many parts of Scotland are such that unburnt human remains do not survive well. In some cases, the only preserved skeletal element of an unburnt body are the enamel shells of the teeth; the dentine and cementum of the teeth and bones decompose entirely (e.g. Barns Farm, Fife, Holly Road, Fife, West Water Reservoir, Peebles-shire and Mill Road, West Lothian (Watkins 1982; Lewis & Terry 2004; Hunter 2000, 56; Cook 2000)). At least 15 children's bodies (14.5%) were fragmentary as the result of severe decay (Table 5.12). A further 8 children's bodies (8%) amongst the dataset were incomplete due to post-depositional disturbance to the grave.

In contrast to the child inhumation burials from both Yorkshire and Wessex, no extended or seated child burials have been recorded in Scotland.

Crouched

It is assumed that the majority of children's bodies were interred in crouched or flexed positions but this cannot be confirmed for the Scottish dataset as the position of the body the grave was rarely noted within early accounts (40% of dataset). Only twenty-eight unburnt children's skeletons (27%) were recorded in a crouched or flexed position (Table 5.12).

The deliberate placement of the body of the deceased into a crouched or flexed position is a defining element of Earlier Bronze Age burial rites, both for adults and children alike. The terms crouched, flexed, contracted and semi-flexed have been used interchangeably in the past. All are taken here to describe the position of the body as lying on one side, with legs bent towards the chest and will be described hereafter by the term 'crouched'. This consistent manipulation of the position of the body within the grave throughout Britain and beyond must have held significant symbolic meaning to the living community and would have fed into the wider cosmology of the period. One of the most long-standing and popular interpretations is that the bodies were arranged to mimic a foetus within the womb, to prepare for the deceased individual's rebirth in the afterlife (Greenwell 1877, 23). Some have suggested that the crouched position represents an individual asleep; perhaps a comfort for the survivors (Mortimer 1905, xxxiii).

As noted by Alexandra Shepherd, there are pitifully few definite records of the orientation of Scottish burials (1989, 79). This is particularly true of children's burials, principally due to the vulnerability of children's fragile bones to advanced decay (Roberts 2009, 58). Despite this, analysis of known orientations is significant as previous studies have shown that the placement of the body in the grave was symbolically structured (Greenwell 1877, 25-6).

Tuckwell's important study into the orientation of adult and sub-adult inhumations in East Yorkshire (1970; 1975) demonstrated a connection between the body orientation and sex. In Yorkshire, Tuckwell observed that male inhumations tended to be placed on their left side in the grave, with their heads to the east and facing south (LESM burials). Conversely, females were placed on their right sides, with heads to the west, facing south (RWSF burials) (1975, 101). A similar study conducted on the Beaker burials of north-east Scotland suggested that the patterns of orientation noted in East Yorkshire could be extended into this area, with hints of similar practice in East Lothian, Berwickshire and Caithness (Shepherd 1989, 80).

Analysis is difficult here due to the paucity of information within the published records. Data is available[5] for only 20 children amongst the dataset, representing 74% of crouched burials and 19% of the total dataset. Although not universally applicable, the orientation of the body generally follows the main axis of the cist. As Table 5.13 demonstrates, no predominant cist orientation is present amongst the children's burials.

The orientation of twenty crouched child inhumations are summarised in Table 5.14. Although the quantity of data is limited, the results of this analysis are significant as they suggest that, in general, children's burials concur with the orientation patterns observed for adult burials in Scotland and beyond. Greater numbers of right-sided burials are present (9), over two-thirds of which share the RSW orientation observed by Shepherd, suggesting the individuals were female (1989, 80). Where sex of the child has been determined in RSW burials, female sex is confirmed. Only two children were on their left sides (SI 88, Barbush Quarry, Perthshire and SI 38, West Fenton, Fife), indicative of male individuals. Unfortunately, the orientation data was incomplete in these two instances preventing confirmation of the LESM pattern noted by Shepherd (1989).

The imbalance between left- (male) and right- (female) sided burials merits further consideration. This could suggest that more female children were afforded formal burial than males, although the absence of any confirmed LESM burials here makes this point difficult to argue strongly. The potential for future DNA analysis to determine sex of immature individuals may help to clarify this particular aspect of Scottish Earlier Bronze Age funerary practice.

5.2.6 Manipulation of the body

Disturbed and disarticulated remains

Differentiating between *in situ* interments disturbed after burial and graves containing disarticulated remains can be challenging. As noted above, a total of 8% of the graves considered here were disturbed prior to excavation (see Table 5.12). This includes a suite of graves at Barns Farm, Fife, which were investigated in the mid-nineteenth century causing

[5] In contrast to the previous studies described above, the analysis of the orientation of children's bodies in the grave will consider unaccompanied child burials, Beaker- and Food Vessel-associated graves.

disturbance and mixing of skeletal remains (and possibly artefacts) between graves (Watkins 1982). The remains in both cist 2 and cist 5 at the site were 'thoroughly jumbled' (Watkins 1982, 63): the former containing the unburnt and poorly preserved bones of a 25-30 year old adult female and one juvenile tooth (SI 43); the latter housing the skeletal fragments of a juvenile (SI 44) and two anomalous adult teeth from an individual over 25 years of age (*ibid* 1982, 63, 68)[6]. Although there are precedents for the deposition of human teeth within Earlier Bronze Age burials, such as that from Kimabo, Argyll (McAdam 1982, 123), the excavator argues that the remains became mixed as the result of the antiquarian investigations (*ibid*, 64).

A total of eleven children (10.5%) were present only as fragments of disarticulated human bone (Table 5.15). In these instances, there can be little doubt that these skeletal remains entered the grave in a fragmentary state. Despite the small numbers of disarticulated children's burials recorded they show a marked concentration in two disparate areas of Scotland: Fife (45%) and Orkney (35%). The wider significance of these concentrations is difficult to assess because of the absence of interpretative work on the frequency and implications of disarticulated human remains in funerary contexts during this period in Scotland[7].

Three distinct forms of deposit of disarticulated child's bones are noted:

- Partially-articulated or disarticulated bones of both adult and child; such as that from Uppermill, Aberdeenshire (SI 9: Kenworthy 1977). See also SI 49, SI 75, SI 76 & SI 77.
- Articulated crouched inhumation of an adult with the disarticulated remains of a child: e.g. Dryburn Bridge, East Lothian (Figure 5.17), where the incomplete, disarticulated bones of a 6-8-year-old had been placed over the feet and lower legs of a crouched adult male (SI 33: Dunwell 2007, 9-11, fig 4 & 8). See also SI 48 & SI 81.
- Unusual deposits consisting of deliberately selected human remains; such as at Barns Farm, Fife (SI 45, 46 & 47: Watkins 1982).

[6] Although the juvenile remains from cist 2 and 5 at Barns Farm, Fife are likely to derive from the same individual separate catalogue numbers have been assigned for the sake of clarity.
[7] Petersen *et al* 1974, 46, is a notable exception.

With the exception of the unusual selective deposits of human remains at Barns Farm, which will be discussed in further detail below, all but one of the disarticulated child's remains appear to have been deposited in a defleshed, white bone, state. The one deviation is that from Uppermill (Ardiffery), Aberdeenshire where the bodies of an adult and child appear to have been interred in a partially-articulated or disarticulated state (Kenworthy 1977, 83).

Mutilation and re-arrangement of the skeleton

Three unusual deposits of selected disarticulated children's bones were noted at Barns Farm, Fife (Watkins 1985, 80-2). Here, three small pits were found to contain the enamel crowns of several people. In all three pits, articulated dental arcades were recognised indicating that the teeth had been buried in the jaws. Since both the upper and lower teeth were present, the excavator concluded that whole heads had been buried in the pits. In each case the pits were too small to have ever contained full articulated bodies. On the weight of the skeletal evidence present, the excavator suggests that the pits contained only severed heads (*ibid*, 80-82). This bizarre practice, which cannot be paralleled in any of the case study areas examined here, is not easy to interpret in the context of the formal burial of children that is the focus for this particular study. It may well be that these are trophies of conflict or a ritual deposit linked to concepts of fertility and regeneration using human remains as the ceremonial focus. It is suggested here, in agreement with McAdam, that the deposits of human heads at Barns Farm are best interpreted as token burials, in line with partial inhumations and token cremations (1982, 126).

5.2.7 Relics: children as ancestors

With the possible exception of the deposits of human heads at Barns Farm, just described, the purposeful deposition of human relics within graves have not been identified in Scotland, probably as the result of a lack of recognition. One further possible exception is the recovery of a single adult tibia from the grave of a child at Holly Road cemetery, Fife (cist 1 (L), SI 50; Lewis & Terry 2004, 30).

5.2.8 Pathology

In Roberts and Cox's study of health and disease in Britain from prehistory to the present day, an increase in indicators of pathology from the Neolithic to Bronze Age periods was noted (2003, 74-89). This increase was attributed to changes in aspects of Bronze Age land-use and climate, the economy and diet of the population. The study focused principally on adults, comprising a total number of 291 individuals from 45 sites throughout Britain (Roberts & Cox 2003, 75). Forms of pathology noted include spinal osteoarthritis and joint disease (seen as the result of stress during growth or trauma), enamel hypoplasia, cribra orbitalia (indicators of dietary deficiency or stress during growth), trauma in the form of fractures, evidence of trepanation and dental disease.

Childbirth

Children, especially young children and infants, are particularly vulnerable to infection and disease due to underdeveloped immune systems. Mortality rates in pre-industrial societies, often used as demographic models for prehistoric societies, were high for infants. It has been suggested that up to 40% of children born in prehistory, died before reaching five years of age (Goodman & Armelagos 1989, 225). Mortality rates are expected to peak at this early stage of childhood, then decease to minimal levels in late adolescence and early adult, and then rise steadily into old age (Chamberlain 2006, 25). The greatest risk to the child, and the mother, was childbirth.

Childbirth posed many dangers to both mother and child (Scott 1999, 30-2), from medical complications during labour such as pre-eclampsia, breach births, foetal distress (e.g. the umbilical cord around the neck of the child) and abruption of the placenta, to post-partum infection. Many of these complications prove a challenge even today despite advancements in medical knowledge, procedures, medicines and equipment. We have no understanding how such risks were confronted in prehistory, nor how successful any attempts to overcome them were, a situation not assisted by the rarity with which perinatal remains are recorded.

As noted in Table 5.3, nine foetuses, perinates and newborns are present amongst the inhumation dataset[8]. It is likely that most, if not all, of these young children were still-born or died soon after birth due to complications during delivery but no pathology is present to confirm this. Death of both mother and baby in childbirth is likely to have been common but

[8] SI 54, SI 55, SI 56, SI 66, SI 76, SI 77, SI 78, SI 95, SI 97.

an unexpectedly small number of possible instances of this are observed in the Scottish dataset. Only three possible examples are suggested:

- Nether Criggie, Kincardineshire (SI 66): 20-25-year-old female and a neonate (Kirk & McKenzie 1956; Bruce 1986, 17)
- Cist I, Embo, Sutherland (SI 95): an adult female and four-month-old foetus. The burial was disturbed prior to excavation making it impossible to confirm whether the foetus was *in utero* at the time of burial (Henshall & Wallace 1963, 23).
- Quarrel Geo, Orkney (SI 78): several centuries after the first interment (disarticulated bones of an adult male) was made within this cist, the unburnt bones of a neonate and the cremated bones of an adult female were inserted (Downes 2005, 299). Also present in the cist were the remains of two neonates who were interred after the initial interment (SI 76 & 77)

The overall restricted number of such burials indicates that mothers and babies who died in childbirth were only exceptionally buried together in Scotland.

A grave at Allasdale, Inverness-shire, contained a very unusual sequence of burials consisting of the skeletons of a two full-term foetuses (SI 54 & 56), a newborn baby (SI 55) and two babies of four to five months (Cook *forthcoming*). This number of particularly young babies within one grave is unparalleled. It is unlikely that all six children died of natural causes at the same time but no evidence of trauma was noted on their remains to suggest infanticide. The care taken over their burial also makes this seem unlikely. It is suggested here that these burials are likely to represent a series of interments made over an extended period of time; perhaps the deceased off-spring of a single adult female[9].

Indicators of dietary deficiency

A minimum of four children amongst the Scottish inhumation dataset displayed evidence of dietary deficiency during life, in the form of cribra orbitalia and enamel hypoplasia.

Cribra orbitalia, observed as pitting on the roof of the orbits, was noted on the skull of a 4-6-year-old child at Auchlin, Aberdeenshire (SI 1: Bruce 1986, 20). Similarly, slight but extensive pitting was visible on the parietal bones of a juvenile from Mill Road, East Lothian (McSweeney 2000, 85). McSweeney notes that such bony changes can be characteristic of

[9] It is recommended here that DNA and radiocarbon analysis of each child is conducted to clarify.

iron deficiency anaemia but are normally seen in conjunction with associated cribra orbitalia (Roberts & Manchester 1995, 167) which could not be confirmed in this case.

Enamel hypoplasia is banding of the tooth enamel. This condition occurs when skeletal development and growth slows down or is halted for a prolonged period of time. This can be due to severe dietary deficiency, prolonged illness, psychological stress or a congenital defect which temporarily halts growth (Roberts 2007, 21). The instances of this condition noted on British Bronze Age skeletons is summarised by Roberts & Cox (2003, 82, table 2.32).

Children with this condition were observed at two sites in Scotland. At Portalloch, Argyll, bands were noted on the teeth of a 7-8-year-old, suggesting a period of severe ill heath at four or five years of age (SI 16: Cregeen & Harrington 1981, 28). Bands of hypoplasia were also noted on five immature teeth from the Mill Road cist, East Lothian, representing a minimum of two children (McSweeney 2000, 85). At least two of the five children from this multiple burial had suffered from periods of illness during childhood (*ibid*, 85).

Infectious disease

A 6-8 year-old child from Dryburn Bridge, East Lothian (SI 33), displayed remodelling of the bone around the nose and mouth) initially believed to be the result of leprosy (Roberts 2007, 22). The earliest known example of leprosy in Britain comes from the Roman Period (Roberts & Manchester 1997) leading the osteologist to reconsider the characterisation of the observed pathology. DNA analysis found no genetic evidence of *Mycobacterium leprae*. Re-evaluation suggested that the skeletal changes observed (Figure 5.18) is a rare case of severe secondary infection from tuberculosis (Roberts 2007, 23). This is the first case of tuberculosis identified in Bronze Age Britain.

Tuberculosis is an infectious disease of mammals and is suspected to have appeared in the human population at the advent of the domestication of animals (Manchester 1984). Two main forms of tuberculosis are known: one comes from animals through infected meat and milk and through inhalation of infected dung, and the other comes from other humans, transmitted by coughing and sneezing (Roberts & Cox 2003, 40). The pathology of the disease implies that the child from Dryburn Bridge was living in close quarters with infected animals or in a densely populated household. This was a serious condition; and without antibiotics at this time, a person who contracted the infection was unlikely to survive long

enough for re-modelling of the bone to occur. This makes the example from Dryburn Bridge all the more significant as it is clear from the extent of bone remodification that the child lived with the condition for an extensive period of time. Although impossible to confirm, the long-term illness implied by the child's bones could suggest that the infection was being treated and controlled in an effort to prolong the child's life.

No evidence of injury or shared genetic non-metric variations have been noted on the Scottish children.

5.2.9 Multiple inhumation burials

A total of 46 graves contained single immature skeletons; representing 52% of the burials under consideration (Figure 5.19 and Table 5.16). The dominance of individual children's burials reflects broader patterns of adult inhumation funerary traditions (Bradley 2007, 153). A very clear concentration of older children, between 11 and 15 years is identified here (Figure 5.20). A total of 75% of children (20) of this age group were afforded individual inhumation burial, opposed to only 31.5% (6) juveniles and 24% (6) of young children. It is argued here that the dominance of older children in unaccompanied inhumation burials indicates that they were more commonly recognised as individuals than younger children, who are typically associated with at least one adult.

The remaining 48% of children's graves (42) contain at least one other individual. These comprise 30 double burials (34% of graves), including 4 double child inhumation burials (Table 5.17) and 26 graves containing the remains of a single child and adult. As Table 5.16 demonstrates, the most common relationship in double interments is the contemporary burial of an adult and child (17) but in a small number of graves the adult and child's remains are disarticulated and may represent sequential deposits (e.g. SI 9, Uppermill, Aberdeenshire; Kenworthy 1977). Further analysis of these double interments (Table 5.18) demonstrates that equal numbers of children were associated with adult females (7) and adult males (7). The sex of three other associated adults could not be determined.

Looking at the ages of associated adults demonstrates a further trend: where specific ages of the associated adult females can be determined (4), all are between 20 and 30 years of age; two of which undoubtedly died as the result of childbirth due to their association with

perinatal or newborn babies (SI 66: Nether Criggie: Kirk & McKenzie 1956, 1-6, 12-14; SI 95: Embo, Sutherland; Henshall & Wallace 1963, 19). Associated adult males show a greater range of ages: two, from West Scryne, Angus and Coneypark, Stirlingshire, are young adults between 20-30 years of age; one, from Hillhead of Fechill, Aberdeenshire is over 30 years and one, from Boatbridge Quarry, Lanarkshire, is between 44 and 48 years of age (Taylor *et al* 1998, 57-60; Thomson 1978, 1-8; Bruce 1986, 29, 36; Clarke *et al* 1984, 557-60). A greater range in pathological conditions have been noted on the adult male skeletons consisting of a possible skull fracture (Hillhead of Fechil), osteoarthritis of the tibia, scapula and thoratic vertebrae (East Barns) and advanced osteoarthritis of the vertebral column of one individual which would have severely restricted his mobility (Boatbridge Quarry).

Some more unusual deposits are present such as the fragmentary unburnt teeth of a child associated with cremated bone at Barns Farm, Fife (SI 47: Watkins 1982, 81) or an articulated child burial with single adult bone at Holly Road, Fife (SI 50: Lewis and Terry 2004, 30). A further 12 graves (14%) contained multiple interments including the skeletal remains of 23 children.

The proportion of children's graves containing various numbers of associated interments varies between regions, illustrated by Table 5.19 and Figure 5.21. The prevalence of single children's inhumation burials is observed in Ayrshire (100%, Berwickshire (100%), Buteshire (100%), East Lothian (71%), Nairn (100%), Peebleshire (100%) and Perthshire (100%). In contrast, multiple deposits involving unburnt children's remains predominate in Orkney (100%).

5.2.10 Grave goods

The majority (67) of child inhumation burials (76%) are accompanied by at least one grave good (Table 5.20). A further four graves containing multiple individuals have grave goods but the position of the objects indicates that they were associated with the respective adult, not the child.

Forty-seven graves contained accompanying pottery vessels: 26 burials associated only with pottery; 19 graves with pottery and non-ceramic grave goods, and two where the grave goods appear to be associated with an adult. Sixteen graves contain only non-ceramic artefacts.

Unaccompanied children's graves are likely to be under-represented here because of the strict thresholds applied for inclusion in this study.

5.2.11 Associated material culture: pottery vessels

A total of 47 child inhumation burials (53% of the dataset) are accompanied by pottery vessels: 19 graves with Beakers, 26 with Food Vessels and 2 further ceramic-associated graves (Food Vessel Urn and Steatite Vessels). The remaining 41 graves (47% of the dataset) are not associated with pottery.

Beakers

Beakers are typically well-made, well-fired pots with S-shaped profiles and often complex geometric decoration (Figure 5.22; Abercromby 1912; Clarke 1970; Lanting & Van der Waals 1972; Shepherd 1986a; Case 1993). The first use of Beakers in Britain is dated to around 2500/2400 BC, introduced and adopted as part of a European-wide phenomenon, and continued in use in Scotland until around 1600/1700 BC (Sheridan 2004a, 259-60; 2007a, 16). Although some of the earliest Beakers are likely to have been imported from the Continent, the majority of pots of this type appear to have been locally manufactured. A small proportion of Beakers have handles, which has strengthened their interpretation as drinking vessels (Gibson 2002, 88). The typological schemes (Figure 5.23) of both Clarke (1970) and Lanting and Van Der Waals (1972) failed to take regional trends into consideration, and recent radiocarbon dating programmes have demonstrated that all styles were broadly contemporary (Gibson 2002, 91; Sheridan 2007, 166).

A total of 23 Beakers were found in association with child inhumation burials in Scotland (20% of the dataset). The majority of graves (15) contained a single vessel. Four graves, each containing two individuals, were associated with two or more pots (Table 5.21).

The presence of two or more Beakers within short cists in Scotland is uncommon. Multiple pots are often interpreted as an indication of the presence of a second individual within the cist where no skeletal remains are preserved (Hanley & Sheridan 1994, 136). In the cases where two pots have been interred alongside double inhumations involving an adult and a child (e,g, at Broomend of Crichie, Uppermill and Nether Criggie; Figures 5.24, 5.25, 5.26),

a marked difference in the size of the respective pots has been noted (Figure 5.27). In addition, at both Broomend of Crichie and Nether Criggie (Figure 5.28), the excavators noted that the larger vessel had been placed beside the adult and the smaller pot beside the child (Ritchie 1920; Kirk & McKenzie 1956, 2-3, pl1.1), suggesting that the smaller vessels had been specifically chosen for interment with the child. Despite the absence of surviving human bone within a short cist at Balblair, Inverness-shire, the presence of a 'full-size' and exceptionally small Beaker within the cist (Figure 5.29) was considered by the excavators to indicate the former presence of an adult and child burial (Hanley & Sheridan 1994). The lack of surviving bone makes confirmation of this suggestion impossible. In this particular instance, on the weight of the evidence presented above, there is a strong likelihood that the excavator's interpretation is correct. This is strengthened by the presence of similar Beaker associations with adult and child burials beyond the study area, such as that from Church Hill, Kent (Figure 5.30), providing tentative hints at a nationwide practice (Curwen & Curwen 1935).

Size

Small-sized vessels are not exclusively found with children in Scotland, nor elsewhere in Britain (Allen & Hopkins 2000, 307). But a tendency for children, particularly in double inhumation burials, to be afforded small sized pots is considered here to be a deliberate attempt on the part of the mourners to acknowledge the child's differential status.

Form

The majority of Beakers associated with children in Scotland (16) are of Clarke's Developed Northern British or Late Northern form (1970, 162-90). Singular examples of All-Over-Cord, Northern British/Northern Rhine, Northern British/Middle Rhine, Rusticated and Handled Beakers are also present (Table 5.22).

The Handled Beaker (Figure 5.31) came from the grave of a 14-18-year-old individual at Balfarg, Fife (Mercer 1981, 76, 133-6, fig 45, pl 7). The vessel is of 'tankard'-like form (*ibid*, 133) with a heavy projecting handle and squat cylindrical body. Handled beakers are relatively rare in Britain, particularly in Scotland (*ibid*, 134; Coutts 1971, 46, fig 83a). The accompanying human bones have recently been radiocarbon dated providing a date of 2025-1825 cal BC (Sheridan*, pers comm*). It has been argued elsewhere that handled vessels, such as the Balfarg Beaker, share stylistic and symbolic links with the handled cups of gold, shale and amber known from Southern Britain and the Wessex area, in particular. Despite the

difference in material, it has been suggested that the pottery versions express power and prestige 'in terms of long established local traditions' (Clarke *et al* 1985, 118). The rarity of this form of Beaker, and the unique association with a child, in Scotland, suggests that this individual was of high-standing in the community. This is emphasised by the close proximity of the Balfarg child's grave to a henge monument and ceremonial complex (Mercer 1981).

Position in relation to the body

Very little information is available about the location of the Beakers in the grave in relation to the body. One Beaker was found in front of the legs of the child (SI 35: Innerwick, East Lothian); one, behind the child's head (SI 36: Nunraw, East Lothian) and one in front of the child's chest (SI 42: Balfarg, Fife) (Childe 1939; Childe *et al* 1944, 116-7; Mercer 1981).

The position of the Beaker at Dryburn Bridge (cist 2), East Lothian, is very unusual (Figure 5.32). It was found on its side directly above the capstones of the cist. There can be no doubt that it was intentionally deposited with this burial, prior to the backfilling of the grave pit, but the significance of its placement outside of the cist is hard to ascertain (Sheridan 2007a, 16). It is suggested here that the Beaker at Dryburn Bridge was interred as a closing deposit similar to that recognised at Chapelden, Aberdeenshire where a Beaker had been smashed and the sherds laid on top of the capstone (Greig *et al* 1989).

Distribution

Beaker-associated children's graves are not evenly distributed across Scotland, reflecting a similar pattern observed in adult burials (Shepherd 1986a, 1). The presence of Beakers within children's graves is noted in only eight regions in Scotland (Aberdeenshire, Angus, East Lothian, Fife, Kincardineshire, Perthshire, Stirlingshire and Sutherland) with a clear eastern distribution. The proportions of Beaker-associated child graves in these areas vary between 7% (Fife) and 86% (East Lothian) of the total number of child graves from the county (Table 5.23).

Food vessels

Food Vessels, pots with heavy everted rims, are known in two main forms: bowl and vase (Figure 5.33). These are distinguished by the form of the body, the former has an individual height less or equal to their greatest diameter, whereas the later are taller than their maximum diameter. Within both forms there are simple, bipartite and tripartite styles

(Gibson 2002, 95). Food Vessels are typically associated with inhumation burials but can also be used as cinerary urns to contain cremated human bone. This ceramic form has a wide distribution over Britain and Ireland, with concentrations in Ireland, Scotland, and north-east England, particularly Yorkshire. The overall dating evidence for Food Vessels indicates their use spanned several centuries from around 3700-3400 BP (Sheridan 2004a, 249).

Twenty-six child inhumation burials in Scotland (30%) were associated with Food Vessels (Table 5.24). In all but two cases, single Food Vessel accompanied each of the graves. The two exceptions are that of the grave of a child at Doune, Perthshire (SI 85: Hamilton 1957; McLaren 2004) and at Embo, Sutherland, sherds of beaker accompanied an intact Food Vessel (SI 96 & 97: Henshall & Wallace 1963, 23) The majority of Food Vessels (21) were from graves containing a single child. Nine graves, representing 35% of Food Vessel-accompanied child burials, consisted of double inhumations of adults and children.

Examination of the ages of children accompanied by Food Vessels in Scotland indicates a marked trend towards association with older children (Figure 5.34). Only two Food Vessels, one fragmentary, came from burials which include young children (SI 95, 96, 97: Embo, Sutherland; Henshall & Wallace 1963).

Form

No one form of Food Vessel is dominant amongst the children's inhumations in Scotland (Figure 5.35). Examples of bowl (12), vase (10) and Food Vessel/Beaker hybrid vessels are present; three pots were fragmentary on discovery and cannot be classified further. Five vessels had stop-ridge grooves encircling the shoulders; four with imperforate lugs (SI 29, SI 51, SI 52 and SI 86) and one with perforate lugs (SI 49). Vessels with distinct shoulder grooves and lugs are often referred to as Yorkshire Food Vessels (Kitson Clark 1937) but this should not necessarily imply a link with Yorkshire.

Size

Analysis of Scottish Food Vessel dimensions by Trevor Cowie (1978, fig 2) has demonstrated that they are generally over 100 mm in height, with rare examples exceeding 200 mm. Vessels smaller than 100mm may justifiably be termed 'miniature'.

Food Vessels associated specifically with child inhumation burials in Scotland range in height from a mere 79 mm to 193 mm. The majority of vessels (15) are between 102-162

mm high, with a distinct cluster between 102 -120 mm (9). Although the dimensions of most vessels associated with children are consistent with the established average, a trend towards the selection of pots towards the smaller end of the size scale is noted. Two pots, one from Doune, Perthshire (SI 85; Figure 5.36) and Bridgeness, West Lothian (SI 98: Figure 5.37) are miniature vessels, shown in Figure 5.38 to be distinctly smaller in size than others associated with children.

Condition

All but two Food Vessels associated with children's burials in Scotland were intact at the time of deposition. At Mains of Melgund, Angus, only a fragment of a Tripartite Bowl Food Vessel was found in association with an adult and child inhumation (MacSween 1998, 52). Similarly, at Doune, Perthshire (Figure 5.39), a large fragment of a Bipartite Food Vessel (and an intact miniature Food Vessel) accompanied a child of approximately 7 years of age (Hamilton 1957; McLaren 2004). The retention and subsequent deposition of fragmentary vessels within graves is considered here to suggest that the pots were special; curated beyond their functional value similar to that seen at Lockington, Leicestershire (Woodward 2000a). The implications of this will be discussed further on p255.

Four pots, from Barnyards (SI 10), Little Kilmory (SI 29), Hare Law Cairn (SI 49), and Holly Road (SI 49) were intact but damaged at the time of burial. The vessel from Barnyards, Angus, is a rare example of a repaired vessel (Figure 5.40), which had been afforded to a 10-12-year-old-child (SI 10: Taylor et al 1994, 47, illus 13b).

Distribution

Like Beaker-associated children's graves, Food Vessel-associated graves are not evenly distributed across Scotland, reflecting a similar pattern observed in adult burials (Simpson 1965). Food Vessels have a wider distribution amongst children's burials than those associated with Beakers (Table 5.25). The absence of Food Vessel-associated child burials in East Lothian is in marked contrast with Beaker-associated graves which encompass 86% of the dataset from this county.

Other

One child's burial, from Broomhill, Berwickshire (SI 25) was associated with a Food Vessel Urn, an enlarged version of the Food Vessels described above (Cowie 1978, 59). These urns

are typically associated with deposits of burnt human remains making this association unusual and difficult to parallel.

At Little Asta, Shetland, the unburnt remains of a 4-5-year-old child (SI 92) and cremated bones of an adult male were recovered from the lower compartment of a two-storey cist; two steatite urns (Figure 5.41) and further unburnt human bones came from the upper compartment (Marwick 1932). The urns and the child's burial are not directly associated but have been noted here for their rarity.

5.2.12 Associated material culture: non-ceramic grave goods

A total of 20 graves, comprising 30% of accompanied child burials, contained pottery and non-ceramic grave goods. A further 16 graves contain non-ceramic artefacts consisting principally of personal tools, and ornaments but a small quantity of organic objects, food offerings and two unusual perforated stone implements are also present.

Personal tools

Flint tools

After ceramic vessels, flint implements (Figure 5.42) are the most common artefacts associated with child inhumation burials in Scotland; they accompany 22 graves. A variety of forms are present, the most common being knives (7), flakes (6) and scrapers (4). Small numbers of chips, points and a core are also noted. No correlation between tool type and age of the child could be determined.

A trend was noted regarding flints associated with multiple inhumations: 7 out of 12 graves (58%) containing double inhumations of an adult and child contained 2 or more flints. In contrast, only single flints accompanied graves containing single children (10). It is not possible to suggest that the number of flints in a grave is indicative of number of individuals but it is suggested here that double inhumations were more likely to be afforded multiple tools. A similar correlation between multiple interments and the number of flint grave goods has recently been demonstrated at the Early Bronze Age cist cemetery at Dunure Road, Ayrshire (Duffy 2007, 108)

Copper alloy awls

Only two children were associated with copper alloy awls:

- SI 29: 11-12-year-old child at Little Kilmory, Buteshire; associated with a Food Vessel (Marshall & Bryce 1934, 425)
- SI 84: 11-13-year-old child at West Water Reservoir, Peebles-shire (Hunter 2000, 59).

Awls are typically considered to be leatherworking tools and are commonly associated with adult females (Sheridan 1999). It is suggested here that these individuals were perhaps no longer seen as children.

Strike-a-light

A stone strike-a-light and accompanying piece of iron ore, used for fire-making, accompanied a girl of 12-17 years of age at Aberdour Road, Fife (SI 41: Close Brooks *et al* 1972, 128, fig 4:1 & 3). These were found alongside a flint knife in the vicinity of the girl's pelvis. It is postulated here that the three tools were contained together in a bag or pouch, perhaps attached to a belt around the girl's waist.

Worked bone tool

A single perforated antler axe-head or pick came from the burial of a c.15-year-old child at Crantit, Orkney (SI 74: Cursiter 1910, 127).

Ornaments, amulets and charms

Ornaments, in the form of beads and pendants made from a variety of materials, are relatively uncommon grave goods within Scottish inhumation burials of this period (Hunter 2000, 61). Where present, these can range from impressive 'Wessex-type' (Piggott 1938) spacer-plate necklaces, composite necklaces made from collections of beads in a range of materials (e.g. jet, shale, faience and even natural fossils), to single beads. It is clear in some circumstances that these beads have been re-used from older necklaces. It is likely that the significance and value of such reused beads would have been increased due to their age and previous use. Recent interpretations of such ornaments by Sheridan and Davis (2002), Woodward (2000; 2002) and others (Woodward *et al* 2005) conclude that past considerations of these re-used ornaments as simple items of jewellery presents too simplistic a view, and that many, particularly single beads or small groups of beads, are

likely to have been seen as amulets, charms and talismans. The evidence from the current dataset reinforces this view.

Five children's burials in Scotland are associated with ornaments, ranging in form from a single bead, at Holly Road cist L (SI 50: Lewis & Terry 2004, 25), argued here to be an heirloom from an older necklace, to a complete disc-bead necklace (Figure 5.43). The latter was found *in situ* around the neck of a 3-5-year-old child at West Water Reservoir, Peebles-shire (Hunter 2000, 9-10, 22-7, illus 14-7). Micro-excavation in the laboratory revealed a two-strand necklace: the outer with a graduated string of 181 cannel-coal disc beads, the inner with 31 lead beads separated by lost organic beads or knots (*ibid*, 22).

This necklace (Figure 5.44) is exceptional for several reasons: the use of lead beads is unique in a Bronze Age context and represents the earliest known use of lead from Britain and Ireland (*ibid*, 23). The lead beads, as rarities, presumably added to the value of the ornament, suggesting that this necklace was a high-status object, afforded to an important individual, The necklace is also significant as it is the only example of a complete disc-bead necklace to be afforded to a child in Scotland. Although disc-bead necklaces are not uncommon, they are not understood to be everyday objects (Hunter 2000, 59). The association of singular jet or cannel coal beads are known from child burials but complete necklaces, considered to be indicators of high-status, typically occur with adult females (Holden & Sheridan 2001; Hunter 2000, 27). Only one parallel is known: an exceptionally rich child's burial from Folkton, Yorkshire where a young child was buried with a complete jet disc-bead necklace and two AOC Beakers (Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 116).

In his consideration of the significance of this artefact in relation to the child, the excavator suggests that the necklace's placement in the grave was not necessarily a deliberate intention to signal the status of the child. Instead it was suggested that the necklace may have been incorporated as a sign of the family's grief at the child's death (Hunter 2000, 59). An alternative view is postulated here: following Holden & Sheridan's interpretation (2001, 97-8) that these necklaces were worn in a 'choker'-like fashion, the diameter of the necklace from West Water Reservoir is so restrictive it must have been designed and made[10] for a person with a very slender neck; plausibly the child it was buried with. This was not the necklace of a bereaved mother given as a gift to her deceased child, but is likely to have been

[10] A consideration of the manufacturing techniques of disc-bead necklaces is presented by T Holden & A Sheridan (2001, 97-8).

made specifically for the child. This implies that the young child at West Water Reservoir was a person of importance within the community or was the off-spring of an important family.

In contrast to the complete, impressive necklace just discussed, the other ornaments associated with child burials in Scotland are modest in comparison (Figure 5.45). Single beads come from two separate child burials at Holly Road, Leven, Fife (SI 50 & SI 51: Lewis & Terry 2004, 25 & 30). One, from the grave of a 6.5-12.5-year-old child (SI 51), consists of a naturally hollow fragment of fossil crinoid, which had been used as a bead (Sheridan 2004b). Its unusual form and its enigmatic origin is argued to ascribe the object with amuletic powers (Sheridan 2004c, 34) and is considered here to have been worn both as an ornament and amulet. The second example from Holly Road is a fusiform jet bead found with a 12-year-old child. It is likely that this bead, made from Whitby jet, was originally from a multi-strand spacer-plate necklace (Sheridan 2004c).

Similar re-use of heirloom beads is indicated at Embo, Sutherland (SI 95) and Barns Farm, Fife (SI 43). At Embo (cist I), two disc-, one annular- and one fusiform bead, all made from cannel coal or jet, were found in a cist associated with an adult female and four-month-old foetus (Henshall & Wallace 1963, illus 4). At Barns Farm (cist 5), two decorated jet spacer-plates were found with the remains of an 11-12-year-old child (Watkins 1982, 68). The number of perforations in the spacer-plates suggests that they were originally part of a four-strand jet necklace but no further beads were recovered to suggest that a complete necklace had been deposited at time of burial. The contents of the cist had been disturbed in the late nineteeth century so the original presence of a full necklace with the child cannot be ruled out.

In addition to the ornaments noted above, two further burials with grave goods are worthy of note. A small leaf-shaped pebble of lignite was found with a Food Vessel-associated child burial at Auchenharvie, Ayrshire (SI 23: Morrison 1971, 9, fig 2, no 1). There was nothing to suggest that the object had been deliberately shaped but the excavator noted that the surfaces were smoothed from wear or handling (*ibid*, 9). Similarly, at Little Kilmory, Buteshire, a lump of lignite came from the grave of an older child (SI 30: Marshall & Bryce 1934, 427). It is considered here that these may have been included in the grave as amulets, similar to that of a worn pebble from a grave at Holly Road, Leven, Fife (Sheridan 2004d). Unworked stone pebbles, were also found the graves of children at Hillhead of Fechil, Aberdeenshire

(SI 07: Shepherd 1986b, 29) and West Water Reservoir, Peeble-shire (SI 86: Hunter 2000, 10) and may have served a similar amuletic purpose.

Battleaxes & maceheads: symbols of power?

A beautifully made miniature battle-axe was associated with a child at Doune, Perthshire (Figure 5.46; SI 85; Hamilton 1957). The battle-axe was very carefully made displaying a high level of craftsmanship in accordance with most battle-axes from Scotland. Unusually, it was produced from bright white quartz-rich sandstone and the surfaces display light polish. The size of this object, being so much smaller than most battle-axes in Scotland, led the excavator to suggest that this had been a child's toy (Hamilton 1957).

A distinction needs to be drawn between small battle-axes and those that can be considered true miniatures. Roe's classification of battle-axes demonstrated that most are between 80 and 178 mm in length (1966, 201). Examples less than 80 mm in length are justifiably regarded as miniatures (McLaren 2004, 292-3). At only 66 mm long, the Doune battle-axe is a clear example. Detailed analysis of this object type by the author has demonstrated that a distinct group of miniature battle-axes (Figure 5.47), ranging between 60-85 mm in length, exist in Scotland and Wales, but there is no equivalent evidence of miniaturisation in Irish examples (McLaren 2004, 292). Like their full-sized counterparts, they lack evidence of practical use as tools and are best regarded as symbols of status (Clarke *et al* 1985, 65).

A similar burial was noted in the vicinity of the grave just described, at Glenhead, Doune (Figure 5.48) consisting of the remains of a young person accompanied by a Food Vessel and a miniature macehead (SI 85: Anderson 1883, 452-3, figs 10-11; Anderson 1886a, 83-4, figs 101-102). The potential significance of these objects will be discussed in detail in the concluding chapter (p250-1)

Organic objects

The use of organic materials (excluding bone which has been discussed separately), particularly leather, woven textiles, wood, bark and reeds for matting and basketry would have been widespread during this period but objects produced from these materials are rarely preserved within graves. Apart from exceptional circumstances, the most that may be left is a staining of the soil (Clarke *et al* 1985, 220).

Organic remains were noted in five graves amongst the dataset. At Broomend of Crichie, Aberdeenshire, the double inhumation of an adult and child were covered by a distinctive deposit which was identified as a hide (SI 5: Davidson 1868, 115). Similarly, at Mount Vernon, Lanarkshire, the body of an adolescent was covered by a 'moss-hair garment' (SI 69: Simpson 1965, 41). A consideration of hide-associated burials by McAdam (1982, 126, table 4) suggest that such items are found in the graves of individuals of special status whose burials required special care and effort. Also in the Broomend of Crichie grave just described, was an unusual horn spoon or ladle (Figure 5.49). This was not strictly associated with the child in the cist, being found within the upright Beaker located behind the back of the adult skeleton (Bradley & Clarke 2011, 81).

One of the potentially deepest expressions of grief at the loss of a child was observed at West Water Reservoir, Peebleshire, where floral tributes appear to have been placed alongside the bodies of children in two separate cists (SI 82 & 83). Micro-sampling of the soil of the cist floors revealed high concentrations of *Filipendula* (meadowsweet) flower pollen, taken to indicate the presence of flowers in the grave (Hunter 2000, 43). The possibility of pollen within a drink in a now-decayed organic container should not be ruled out but the weight of evidence points towards fresh flowers being placed beside the children in the graves (Figure 5.50).

Animal bones

The occurrence of unworked animal bones within Earlier Bronze Age burials, presumed to be the remains of food offerings or the debris from ceremonial feasting, are becoming more frequently recognised in both inhumation and cremation burials. Such food offerings placed within the grave tend to be prime cuts of meat, such as ribs or thigh joints, particularly of pig (Albarella & Sarjeantson 2002), but regional trends and preferences are present in the dominant species present.

Although Bradley suggests feasting was primarily a high status event of conspicuous consumption, enabling economic wealth to be displayed and converted into prestige (1984, 21) others consider feasting to be communal activities, providing platforms for group unity and identity to be affirmed, tested and modified (Allen *et al* 1995, 185).

Only three children's burials are associated with animal bones suggestive of food offerings.

- At Aberdour Road, Fife, pig bones were found at the knees of a 12-16 year old child (SI 40: Close-Brooks *et al* 1972a; 1972b)
- Animal rib bones (species not identified) accompanied the remains of a 10-14 year-old at East Campsie (Taylor *et al* 1998, 54).
- One further association of animal bones was noted with an Earlier Bronze Age burial inserted into a Chambered Cairn at Embo, Sutherland, were fishbones were found amongst the remains of two adults and a foetus. (SI 95: Henshall & Taylor 1957)

5.2.13 Heirlooms: special pots and curated objects

In the past, the condition of fragmentary or broken pottery vessels found in association with burials was commonly interpreted as the result of later disturbance to the grave. It is now clear, demonstrated by the work of Ann Woodward at Lockington (2000, 58-9), that in some circumstances, some pottery vessels were curated and deliberately deposited despite their imperfect state. Examples of such vessels are present in Earlier Bronze Age burials throughout Britain, involving both adult and child inhumation and cremation burials.

One clear example is observed here, from the rich burial of a child at Doune, Perthshire, already discussed (SI 85: Hamilton 1957; McLaren 2004). In Hamilton's original report (1957) he commented that a large fragmentary Food Vessel was found. In keeping with the practice of the day, the fragment was presented in a reconstruction drawing showing it as a complete vessel. Re-examination of the sherd by the writer indicates that the vessel was incomplete at the time of deposition. The fragmentary pot from Doune may not necessarily have been that ancient when it was incorporated into the burial but it has been argued previously that the pot must have been considered special to have been retained in a fragmentary condition and placed in a burial (McLaren 2004, 300). Other aspects of this particular child's burial, the exceptional provision of a miniature battle-axe and small Food Vessel, as well as the carefully constructed short cist that the body was laid to rest in, suggest this child was special; a significant member of the community. It is argued here that the deposition of this special pot within the child's grave suggests that the community was acknowledging the child's lineage.

An alternative view of the inclusion of broken and damaged artefacts as accompanying grave goods, such as the broken stone wristguard and re-worked bone toggle with an adult at Hemp Knoll, Wiltshire (Robertson-Mackay 1980), sees the damage as deliberate: the breakage of the object renders it functionless in this world but allows it to accompany the deceased to the Otherworld (A Woodward, *pers comm*).

5.2.13 Child as object

Garwood (2007) has recently suggested that some children's burials of this period in Southern Britain should not be considered as formal burials but rather, they should be interpreted as objects, interred as grave goods directly and indirectly associated with pre-existing adult burials. There is no evidence of this practice in Scotland.

5.3 BURIAL AFTER CREMATION

5.3.1 Introduction

Records of 193 children's burials after cremation of probable Bronze Age date were originally catalogued following an initial study of published records in Scotland. A total of 58 burials (30% of the original dataset) have been discarded following the criteria outlined in chapter 4. The majority of these records have been eliminated due to their potentially late date indicated by associated diagnostic artefacts (e.g. Later Bronze Age flat-rimmed vessels), radiocarbon dates and/or stratigraphy. This study considers the rites afforded to 135 children of fifteen years of age or younger (70% of original dataset) from a total of 107 burials, from 70 sites in Scotland.

Children are more strongly represented in cremation deposits in Scotland than within inhumation burials. This may be for social reasons but could as likely be a result of taphanomic factors: once cremated, bones are markedly more robust. There has been a suggestion that children are over-represented within cremation deposits due to an over correction in older data: in multiple deposits children are more likely to be visible than adults

(Hunter 2000, 58; Petersen *et al* 1973, 49, & App III). It is certainly true that children are commonly identified within multiple cremation deposits but the writer would refute their presence being over-represented. In fact, from the numbers of children's burials recorded across Scotland as a whole, it is argued here that immature individuals are under-represented in the burial population.

Of the three study areas considered here, the dataset of child cremation burials from Scotland is the most comprehensive in terms of the number of burials recorded and the level of detail observed. Despite this, there remains a dearth of properly examined cremation deposits in Scotland, particularly those recovered in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Shepherd & Cowie 1977, 119). In many cases, cremated bones were considered too fragmentary to merit further study. This was not due to a lack of interest or a disregard for the burials by early investigators, but merely a reflection of the limitations of contemporary anatomical identification. A programme of re-analysis and radiocarbon dating of Bronze Age cremated human bone within the archaeology collections of the National Museums of Scotland is ongoing with the aim of gaining as much insight into these antiquarian collections of Earlier Bronze Age human remains (Koon & McCulloch 2003; Alison Sheridan, *pers comm*).

5.3.2 Identified age and sex

Age

An estimate of age has been expressed in years or months for 70% of the burials (95) under consideration (Table 5.26). The remaining 30% of children (40) are described using imprecise terms such as 'infant', 'child' or 'adolescent'.

This high proportion of precisely aged children within the dataset is considered here to be a reflection of the predominance of burials excavated after 1950 (79) which were subject to examination by an anatomist or osteologist. In the case of earlier excavated material, the results of recent skeletal analysis have been incorporated in this study, where possible (Koon & McCulloch 2003). For consistency and to enable comparative analysis, specifically aged children have been described here under the three broad age categories outlined on p38-9. This sub-division of aged children is arbitrary but enables broad patterns and trends to be determined.

A significant observation is made here in terms of the ages of children afforded burial after cremation. In contrast with child inhumation burials in Scotland where older children are more strongly represented, the aged cremation burials considered here are dominated (54%) by younger children under five years of age (Table 5.26; Figure 5.51). Like the inhumation burial for this region, juveniles are less well represented (15, representing only 16% of aged individuals). This implies that the age of the child was significant in determining the mode of formal burial in Scotland: older children are more likely to be inhumed whereas younger children are more strongly represented within cremation deposits. This variation in burial practice involving children confirms the conclusions reached by the author in an initial study of Scottish burials conducted in 2002 (McLaren 2002).

Closer examination of the ages of younger children in Scottish cremation burials proves fruitful. As Figure 5.52 demonstrates, children under one year of age predominate (21 individuals, representing 41% of aged children). Foetuses and newborns are the most common within this group (16), encompassing 31% of young children and 12% of the Scottish cremation dataset as a whole (Table 5.27). It seems on the weight of this evidence that particularly young children, especially foetuses, neonates and newborns, are more likely to receive formal burial in Scotland than in the other two regions under study.

Concentrations of such young children at specific sites (such as at the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Skilmafilly, Aberdeenshire and Eweford Cairn, East Lothian) and total absence of perinates and newborns elsewhere (such as at the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Barns Farm, Fife) indicates that age-specific access to burial varied at a local level (Johnson & Cameron *forthcoming*; Duffy unpublished; Watkins 1982).

The use of less-precise descriptions for the remaining 40% of the child cremation burials in Scotland makes it impossible to conduct such detailed analysis (Petersen *et al* 1973, 49).

Sex

Assessment of the sex of the burnt immature skeleton has only been attempted in three cases; all from modern excavations. Two, from Limefield Cairn, Lanarkshire (SI 73: MacLaren 1984, 107) and Coalpots, Ayrshire (SI 31: Mackie 1966, 10) are tentatively identified as adolescent females. One possible 12-16-year-old male was found at Skilmafilly, Aberdeenshire (SI 18: Johnston & Cameron *in press*).

5.3.3 Pyre technology and representation of human remains

Cremation burials of this period typically consist of the deposition of significantly heat-affected calcined bone with fragments of burnt material from the pyre, such as ash and charcoal (Wells 1960). In Scotland, burials of cremated human bone are deposited within simple pits or within stone-built short-cists, with or without a container (Downes 2005). If present, the container typically consists of an inverted or upright pottery vessel, such as a Collared or Cordoned Urn, a Food Vessel, or an organic receptacle. Accompanying grave goods are occasionally found, often damaged by fire having passed through the pyre with the deceased.

A study of the average mass of human bone within Bronze Age cremation deposits in comparison with those from modern crematoria has demonstrated that most cremations contain between 40-60% of the expected total weight of burnt human bone from a single individual (McKinley 1993). The quantity of cremated bone present in a burial is determined by both social and taphanomic factors (McKinley 1994). The efficiency of the cremation process itself is significant as this affects the quantity and size of the remaining bone fragments. The fuel used to construct the pyre (wood, peat etc.), the form of the pyre structure, the number of bodies cremated together and the placement of the bodies on, or under, the pyre can all affect the efficiency of the cremation. A recent experimental cremation, replicating aspects of Bronze Age practice, demonstrated that weather conditions were also significant in influencing the efficiency of the cremation (Sheridan *et al forthcoming*). This experiment, using the carcass of a pig, was highly efficient; only small quantities of recognisable bone fragments remained after the pyre was extinguished. Most of the body was reduced to ash which was naturally dispersed by the wind. In addition to these taphanomic factors, the effectiveness of the collection of bone at the pyre site and the deliberate, selective deposition of 'token' deposits of bone influence the quantity of burnt human remains present in a burial (McKinley 1997a).

The weight of cremated bone has been recorded in thirty-seven cases (34.5% of the dataset). The mass of burnt bone present within these burials varies between a paltry 0.2g (SC 47: double cremation of adult and child at Eweford, pit 105; Duffy *unpublished*) to a substantial 6760g (SC 111-114: multiple cremation of at least eight people at Newmains, Perthshire; Barclay 1983). It is clear from the small masses of bones present in many deposits that not all skeletal elements are present and the deposit either represents a deliberate, selective

'token deposit', or demonstrates the efficiency of the cremation process. In contrast, the examination of the burnt bone in some deposits such as that from Benderloch, Argyll (SC 26: Roberts in MacGregor 1998a, 149), Ury, Kincardineshire (Figure 5.53; SC 70: Low 1935, fig 3) and Sketewan Cairn, Perthshire (SC 51: McSweeney 1997) indicate careful and full post-cremation collection. For the reasons just described, it is impossible in most cases considered here to determine whether the quantity of bone present reflects taphanomic factors or socially-structured choices.

As the result of detailed osteological analysis, it is occasionally possible to determine how the corpse was physically arranged on the pyre. At Benderloch, Argyll, the consistent degree of calcination of the bones of both the adult and child included in this deposit, indicated that they had been cremated together on the same pyre. The observed colour of the burnt bones, the degree and direction of heat-distortion and subtle patterns of scorching suggested that the cadavers had been placed in a supine, extended position under the pyre (SC 26: Roberts in MacGregor 1998a, 149). In contrast, examination of the bones of an adult and child from Sketewan, Perthshire, suggested that the two bodies had been burnt together on top of the pyre, also in an extended position (SC 51: McSweeney 1997).

5.3.4 Post-cremation treatment of children's remains

The implications of full or partial collection of cremated bones from the pyre has been summarised already but some details are worth expanding on here in reference to the post-cremation treatment of children's remains in Scotland. The level of detail provided about the form and content of cremated human bone deposits is highly variable in both antiquarian and modern records. The following discussion focuses on only 24 burials where sufficient detail was present to allow consideration (Table 5.28).

In fourteen cases, the presence of re-deposited pyre debris was recorded amongst the deposits of burnt human bone in the form of charcoal, ash, burnt earth, wood and cramp. In one burial, from Kirkpark, East Lothian (SC 54), 'blackened material' was noted alongside poorly-calcined human bone (Low & Anderson 1894, 63). It is unclear whether this material was burnt fuel residues or incompletely burnt soft tissues such as that noted by J. McKinley from a Bronze Age burial in Dorset (1992). In a further two burials (SC 4 & 5; SC 135), the presence of re-deposited pyre material was noted but had been buried separately to the burnt

human bone. At Loanhead of Daviot, Aberdeenshire, a short cist contained the cremated bones of two children and an adult. During excavation it was observed that one cist slab had been moved prior to the backfilling of the grave and that a secondary pit had been sunk in the original position of the stone. This pit contained re-deposited pyre material that appeared to have been separated from the burnt bones within the cist (Kilbride-Jones 1936, 288-9). Such evidence implies that it was fairly typical for pyre debris to be buried with cremated bone deposits in Scotland.

In contrast, pyre debris was absent from seven burials. Three of these deposits of burnt bone appear to have been washed prior to burial (SC 26, SC 64 and SC 79; MacGregor 1998a; 1998b; Shepherd & Shepherd 2001). Only one deposit of cremated bone, from Mains of Airlie, Angus, appeared to have been deliberately smashed or crushed before burial (SC 22; Coutts 1963, 160-1).

The level of detail required to enable this level of analysis was present in only 22% of cremation burials involving children in Scotland. Yet, it is clear that children's remains were subject to the same range of post-cremation treatment as those observed in adult burials (McKinley 1997a, 143).

5.3.5 Pathology

Childbirth

As discussed on page 57, the highest risk of mortality for children during prehistory is likely to be childbirth itself (Scott 1999, 32). A total of eighteen babies within the dataset (13%) are likely to have been stillborn or died during childbirth (Table 5.29). In eight burials, the presence of a foetus or neonate and adult female together suggests the death of a pregnant female and her baby due to complications developed during birth (SC 11, Skilmafilly, Aberdeenshire; SC 30 Coalpots Road, Ayrshire; SC 37, Dollar, Clackmannanshire; SC 47 Eweford Cairn, East Lothian; SC 72, Cloburn Quarry, Lanarkshire; SC 79, Findhorn, Morayshire; SC 100, Beech Hill House, Perthshire; SC 109, North Mains Barrow: Johnson & Cameron *forthcoming*; Mackie 1966, 10, 24-25; Koon & McCulloch 2003; Shepherd & Shepherd 2001; Stevenson 1995, 205; Barclay 1983, 202). In each case, no visible pathological indicators were noted during osteological examination.

The association of young adult females and such young babies strongly suggests both died in as a result of childbirth. Three burials of foetuses/neonates at Brackmont Mill, Fife are unaccompanied suggesting that the mother survived the birthing process but that the baby did not (SC 058, SC 059, SC 060: Childe & Waterson 1942, 86, 89, 90). Four graves include the possible cremated remains of a pregnant female with her baby *in utero* (SC 65, Kirkton, Fife; SC 114 & SC 115, Northmains, Perthshire; SC 122, Sketewan Cairn, Perthshire: MacGregor 1998b, 69-78; Barclay 1983, 207, 228-229; Mercer & Midgley 1997). In each of these cases, the graves contained the cremated bone of multiple individuals. This makes it more difficult to discuss possible cause of death as it is unclear, in most cases, whether the individuals died at the same time (e.g. as the result of disease or trauma) or died separately, with the burnt bones of each brought together for deposition at a later date.

The small number of birth-related deaths within the dataset (13%) suggests that particularly young babies and mothers who died as the result of childbirth were not typically afforded formal burial, perhaps because of perceived social taboos relating to birth. It is significant to note, however, that child-birth related deaths are more strongly represented in Scottish cremation burials than in any of the other burial groups examined as part of this study and are more common in Scotland generally (see inhumation burials, p57-8).

Indicators of dietary deficiency

A minimum of four children amongst the Scottish cremation dataset (2%) displayed evidence of dietary deficiency during life, in the form of cribra orbitalia or porotic hyperostosis (Table 5.29). The pitting of the bone occurs during childhood following an extended period of dietary deficiency but is not necessarily indicative of the cause of death. In the past, this condition was attributed to malnutrition but is better understood today as being related to severe gastro-intestinal problems which could be caused by ingestion of bacteria in water, food or as the result of poor hygiene (Brothwell 1992). Examples of cribra orbitalia in children have been noted amongst the inhumation and cremation burials from each of the areas under study. The evidence from the cremation burials in Scotland contrasts with this with three out of four children displaying such conditions being over 12 years of age (SC 12, SC 14, SC 18) and fourth being described as a juvenile (SC 41) (Johnson & Cameron *forthcoming*; Anderson *in* Kirby 2011).

Other

No evidence of trauma or infection was recorded on the children in the Scottish dataset.

5.3.6 Grave context and setting

Site types

Child cremation burials in Scotland derive from five main site types (Table 5.30): burial mounds (barrows and cairns), Earlier Bronze Age cemeteries (including enclosed & unenclosed sites and cemeteries inserted into natural mounds), isolated flat graves and inserted into pre-existing monuments (e.g. henge & Neolithic chambered cairns) (Figure 5.54).

An outline of the form and distribution of each of these Scottish site types is provided on page 46 with reference to child inhumation burials. Although child cremation burials are recorded from the same general range of site types in Scotland than children afforded inhumation burial a difference in the proportion of burials between funerary site types has been noted here. In contrast to child inhumation burials which tend to be found either within flat-grave cemeteries (35%) or isolated flat graves (35%), the majority of child cremations come from cairns (30%) and cemeteries (30%). Only 14% (15 burials, including 17 children) come from isolated flat graves, some of which were deliberately interred in natural knolls or ridges. A further 11 graves, containing the cremated remains of 12 children, were recovered from areas of known Bronze Age funerary activity (such as the urned cremation at Seggiecrook, Aberdeenshire (SC 6: Callander 1908)), implying the former presence of a small cemetery or now-destroyed mound.

Position under mound: barrows and cairns

Any consideration of the sequence of burials within funerary sites in Scotland is restricted principally to earthen barrows and cairns (Figure 5.55). Only eleven principal graves in Scotland include the remains of children implying that children's burials were rarely afforded such prestigious positions within upstanding funerary monuments (Table 5.31).

Very few inter-cutting graves are known in Scottish flat-grave cemeteries, suggesting that their position may have originally been marked[11] (Hunter 2000, 55). In the absence of direct dating of the grave contents, the sequence of burials within cemeteries is often impossible to determine. Recent extensive radiocarbon dating programmes of Earlier Bronze Age cremation cemeteries at Skilmafilly, Aberdeen (Johnson & Sheridan 2003), Eweford Cairn,

[11] An example of the deliberate marking of a cist was noted at Acharn cairn 2, Argyll (SC 25), where a scatter of white quartz pebbles had been placed over and around the cist (Ritchie & Thornber 1975, 18-19, fig 3).

East Lothian (Lelong & MacGregor 2007) and Lesmurdie Road, Morayshire (Suddaby, *forthcoming*), have enabled the construction of detailed chronologies for the use of the sites and demonstrate the merit in applying comprehensive dating techniques to large funerary assemblages.

Pits

The majority of child cremation burials (63%) were interred within simple pits dug through the old ground surface (67). These pits range in length from a mere 25 cm to graves of 300 cm long (Figure 5.56). No correlation of age of the child represented and the dimensions of the grave pit or cist is observed.

Cists

Over a third (34%) child cremation burials recovered from stone-built short cists (36), ranging in size from 25-220 cm in internal length and 20-150 cm in width (Figure 5.56). These cisted-cremations are concentrated particularly in Orkney and Perthshire, reflecting local funerary practices (Downes 2005). At five sites, four of which are in Orkney, the cists were built directly on the old ground surface (SC 85 & 86, SC 89, SC 90, SC 93, SC 96) and a mound built up around them, rather than being constructed within a grave pit sunk into the ground (Downes 1998a 70; Downes 2005, 289, 264; Downes & MacGregor 1995, 14; Hedges 1977, 136; Jobey 1980, 103). This is a feature of cist construction particular to Orkney (Downes 2005). The same variations of cist-construction methods and styles recorded in association with child inhumation burials in Scotland are also observed in graves containing the burnt remains of children. This includes cists with basal slabs (SC 6, SC 28, SC 82-83, SC 89, SC 109 & 110), pebble floors (SC 99, SC 100, SC 121-3), clay luting (SC 70), dressed slabs (SC 98) and decorated slabs (SC 84).

The frequency and significance of the deliberate backfilling of cists has been discussed in detail with reference to child inhumation burials. Only two cists containing the burnt remains of children appear to have been backfilled: at North Mains Barrow, burial D (SC 115-20) and Dornoch Nursery, Sutherland (SC 131), (Barclay 1983, 207; Ashmore 1989).

Pyres

Funerary pyre sites are rarely recognised in association with graves containing burnt human remains in Scotland, with the exception of Orkney barrow and cairn sites (Downes 2005), and a handful instances in Perthshire (e.g. Sketewan; Mercer & Midgley 1997), East Lothian

and Fife. There remains a problem with recognition of Earlier Bronze Age *in situ* pyre sites which may be mistaken for re-deposited pyre debris. The general absence of pyres in association with burial sites indicates that re-deposition of the burnt bones typically took place outwith the immediate vicinity of their cremation site. Although children's bones are occasionally associated with pyres (such as that at Linga Fiold, Orkney: Downes & MacGregor 1995), the lack of direct dates and accompanying diagnostic artefacts make it difficult to be confident of their Earlier Bronze Age date. As such, the remains of only one child from a pyre, at Sketewan, Perthshire (SC 128: Mercer & Midgley 1997, 293) has been included for consideration as part of this study.

5.3.7 Multiple cremation burials

Cremation graves containing the remains of two or more individuals are a common facet of Bronze Age burial practices (Petersen *et al* 1973, 49-54; McKinley 2004, 58). It is suggested that in most instances these are remains of individuals cremated together on the same pyre, although some appear to be separate collections of cremated remains, brought together at the time of burial (e.g. pit 004 at Skilmafilly, Aberdeenshire (SC 7) which was re-cut after the primary cremation deposit had been made for the insertion of a second cremated individual; Johnson & Cameron forthcoming). The presence of separate deposits of burnt bone can only be detected through precise, micro-excavation of the urned or un-urned cremation deposits or for each of the individuals identified to be independently directly dated using AMS radiocarbon dating techniques (Sheridan 2003b, 201).

McKinley's study of aspects of Bronze Age cremation burials observed that around 5% of burials involve the remains of two individuals, with more in a very small proportion of cases (McKinley 1997a; 2000b, 111). It has also been noted that multiple cremation deposits commonly include a sub-adult (aged over 13 years of age) or an adult with an immature individual (under 12 years of age), particularly with infants (Petersen *et al* 1973; McKinley 2000b, 111).

Analysis of the children's cremations from Scotland (Table 5.32) demonstrates that the majority (66) derive from deposits representing two or more individuals (62% of the dataset). Thirty-nine graves contained the cremated remains of a single child (36%).

Examination of the ages of children recorded here demonstrates that equal numbers of young children and older children are present (Figure 5.57).

The overall proportion of multiple cremation deposits including children's remains amongst this particular burial group in Scotland is much higher than that noted by McKinley in her study of British Bronze Age cremations, just described (1997; 2000, 11). This demonstrates that it was far more likely for the cadaver of a child to be cremated alongside another deceased individual in Scotland than it was for an adult. A hint at this pattern was noted by Petersen and others in 1973 (Petersen *et al* 1973, 49) but remained unconfirmed until this current study.

Thirty-five graves held the burnt bones of two individuals (33%): in 4 instances these included two children buried together (4%); 31 burials comprised the cremated remains of a single adult and child (29% of the dataset; Table 5.33). As Figure 5.58 demonstrates, the majority (11) of aged children (15) in double inhumations (of an adult and child) are younger children under five years of age. The ages of the associated adults have been identified in only 10 burials amongst this group: the majority (7) are young adults between eighteen and twenty-five years of age; one, is 25-35 years and two adults are described as mature (SC 96: Harehope Cairn; Jobey 1980, 103) or middle-aged (SC 72: Cloburn Quarry; Lelong & Pollard 1998, 116, 117). In fifteen adult-child double cremations, the sex of the adult has been assigned, showing a clear association of children with young adult females (Figure 5.59).

A total of twenty-six graves comprised the cremated bones of more than two individuals. A summary of these burials are provided in Table 5.34. The majority of these burials consist of three individuals, often that of a single child with male and female adults, but unusual examples with seven and eight individuals are present at North Mains Barrow, Perthshire (SC 111-120: Barclay 1983).

Interpreting the wider significance of multiple cremation burials is problematic due to our inability, in most circumstances, to differentiate between contemporaneous cremation and contemporaneous deposition. If the cremation was contemporary, on a single pyre, this suggests that the individuals are likely to have died around the same time through disease, infection or the result of a traumatic event. It has even been suggested, where the burial involves an adult and child, for the child to have been killed as a sacrifice (Burgess 1980,

164). This latter interpretation is untenable in light of the data presented here and that such a practice would be difficult to demonstrate unless indicators of trauma were preserved on the bones. The identification of multiple individuals within cremation deposits is so commonly observed that there seems no reason to suggest that collections of cremated human bone consisted of the natural death of a single individual accompanied on the funeral pyre by sacrificed family members or subordinates.

It is unclear whether people were cremated together because they were members of the same family or community, or because of the concurrent time of their deaths. A similar question remains over the significance of 'delayed cremation' where cremated remains were retained and buried alongside another individual (Petersen *et al* 1973, 50). In the absence of direct dating, DNA profiling and/or the rare identification of specific diagnostic hereditary skeletal traits, it is impossible to distinguish whether the social relationship or the time of death was the reason for their synchronous burial. Where a child and adult are identified in a cremation deposit, they are often interpreted as parent and child, based solely on their association in the grave (e.g. Ride 2001, 166).

Although it is important to acknowledge the possibility of practical, rather than sentimental, motivations for multiple cremations, the close proximity of the human remains in death is, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, likely to indicate a social relationship during life, implying they were members of the same family.

A small number of child cremation burials (5) were found in association with unburnt remains. These include:

- Barns Farm, Fife (Grave 1): inhumation of a crouched adult within a wooden coffin. Three separate cremation deposits were found within the grave; one (SC 55) consisting of the remains of a child. All three deposits appear to be contemporary with the deposition of the inhumation (Watkins 1982, 71, fig 9, pl 7).
- Barns Farm, Fife (pit VI): very unusual deposit consisting of a token quantity of cremated bone representing a child (SC 56), buried alongside a possible decapitated head of a further child (Watkins 1982, 82).
- Horsbrugh Castle Farm, Peeble-shire (Figure 5.60): inhumation of a crouched adult within short cist. Two separate cremation deposits were found in the grave pit containing the short cist. These appear to have been deposited after a crouched burial

was placed in the grave and the capstone lifted into position but prior to the backfilling of the grave pit (SC 97: Petersen *et al* 1973, 46-7, fig 2).

- Mill Road, West Lothian: an unusual short cist, constructed for continued access was found to contain the unburnt bones of five individuals (one adult and four children) and a cremation (SC 133: Cook 2000).
- Dornoch Nursery, Sutherland: the mixed cremated bones of an adult and child were inserted into the grave of a crouched adult inhumation (SC 131: Ashmore 1989).

5.3.8 Associated material culture: pottery vessels & other containers

Sixty-one child cremation burials, encompassing 57% of the cremation dataset, were directly associated with ceramic vessels, either as containers for the burnt bones or as accompanying grave goods. The expected range of pottery styles is present including Collared Urns, Cordoned Urns, Enlarged Food Vessel Urns, Food Vessels and Accessory Cups. Most are associated with a single pot (49) but a small number of graves contain two vessels (11) and three graves held only sherds. A further three graves (SC 55, SC 131 and SC 159: Watkins 1982; Ashmore 1989; Morrison 1979) contained pots but these are associated specifically with adult inhumations.

One deposit of cremated bone of an infant and adult from Loth Road, Orkney, was contained within a steatite vessel (SC 91; Sharman 2007).

Collared Urns

These distinctive urns, called 'Overhanging Rim Urns' in early accounts, are widely distributed across Britain and Ireland and are characterised by heavy collared rims sitting on top of a straight or slightly convex-sided body which tapers to a flat base (Longworth 1984). Decoration, where present, is typically confined to the collar and/or neck, although examples with decoration on the body of the urn are also known. Typically, Collared Urns are found in association with cremation burials, being used as containers for the burnt bones but are occasionally known from inhumation burials. Recent dating of these urns, collected as part of the National Museums of Scotland radiocarbon dating initiative, indicate that they were in use in Scotland between 2000/1900 BC and 1600/1500 BC (Sheridan 2007, 165). This indicates that while Collared Urns were in use in Scotland, Enlarged Food Vessels were still being used, as were Food Vessels and late Beakers (*ibid*, 166).

Twenty child cremation burials are associated with Collared Urns in Scotland (17% of dataset; Table 5.35). In most graves, a single pot has been used as a container for the cremated human bones but in two burials, (SC 95 & SC 135) the container is accompanied by an accessory vessel. One, from Harehope Cairn, cremation J (SC 95), is a miniature Collared Urn, being less than 100 mm in height (Longworth 1984, 294, no. 1767b).

Styles

Longworth's classification of Collared Urns in Britain and Ireland defined two main series (Primary and Secondary), two styles (South Eastern Style and North Western Style) and eight basic forms (tripartite forms I-V and bipartite forms BI-BIII) to describe the urns (1984). Unfortunately, a great number of the Urns associated with children's cremation burials are of indeterminate form; both Primary Series and Secondary Series urns are present with forms IA and IC amongst the most commonly observed.

Size

Collared Urns associated with child cremations in Scotland range in height from 78 to 406 mm and from 95 mm to 376 mm in rim diameter. With the exception of the miniature example from Harehope Cairn (SC 95: Longworth 1984, 294, no 1767b, the dimensions of the Collared Urns is consistent with the sizes of provenanced urns from Scotland (Figure 5.61), catalogued by Ian Longworth (1984, 293-313). No correlation between the age of the individual and the size of the pot was observed.

Condition

In each case, it is argued, the urns had been deposited in the grave intact, typically inverted over the cremated human bones. Only one Collared Urn, from Low Glengyre cairn, Wigtownshire (SC 135: Mann 1923) was upright containing the cremation deposit. At Eweford Cairn, East Lothian (Lelong & McGregor 2007), evidence of ancient disturbance to one burial is indicated. It appears that a Collared Urn (urn 3) containing the burnt bones of multiple individuals (including two children: SC 48 & SC 49) was broken when the grave pit for a Cordoned Urn-associated burial was dug. It is not known whether urn 3 had stood upright or inverted in the grave pit, but when it was disturbed, pieces of it were carefully re-arranged on the top of the cremated remains which it had originally contained (Sheridan, *unpublished*).

Cordoned Urns

Thirteen child cremation burials are associated with Cordoned Urns in Scotland (Table 5.36). These urns, which are similar in form to Collared Urns but lack robust overhanging rims and are decorated around the body with at least one encircling, raised, cordon (Figure 5.62), are believed to have emerged as a adaptation from the Collared Urn as early as the nineteenth century BC in Scotland (Sheridan 2007, 165).

All Cordoned Urns associated with child cremation burials were used as containers, inverted over the burnt bones. In one instance, from Saxe-Coburg Place, Edinburgh (SC 78) two urns were reported to have been found in a cist but only one was preserved to allow identification (Anon. 1831, 48; Anon 1892, 162). The ages of children associated with urns of this type form an interesting group: just under two thirds of the urns examined here were containers for the remains of young children under 5-years of age. Four such burials consisted of the remains of a young child and a young adult female (SC 026, SC 30, SC 78, SC 79); two of which can be confidently interpreted as the remains of a mother and her child who both died as the result of childbirth: SC 30, Coalpots, Ayrshire and SC 79, Findhorn, Morayshire (MacKie 1966; Shepherd & Shepherd 2001).

Food Vessels & Enlarged Food Vessels

Food Vessels, as described on page 64-5, are classified in two main groups: bowl or vase. Within both forms there are simple, bipartite and tripartite styles (Gibson 2002, 95). It is only the vase Food Vessels that occur in their larger forms, known as Food Vessel Urns or Enlarged Food Vessels (Gibson 2002, 99). These are exclusively associated with cremation burials.

A total of 8 Food Vessels and 9 Enlarged Food Vessels were associated with child cremations in Scotland (Table 5.37). Looking first at the Food Vessels, these are associated with children of a range of ages, from neonates through to adolescents. In contrast to Enlarged Food Vessels, only two bipartite or tripartite Food Vessels were associated with the cremated remains of multiple individuals: SC 29, Tayvallich and SC 72, Cloburn Quarry. The Enlarged Food Vessels were all found inverted over cremated remains consisting of single and multiple interments, of children of all ages. Three vessels of this type were associated with accessory vessels (SC 42, SC 62, SC 68).

Accessory Vessels

The function of these accessory vessels within the funerary ceremonies is not clear, despite recent analytical work (Gibson 2004b). Some have double perforations that may indicate that the cups were suspended. Some are damaged and distorted by exposure to intense heat, suggesting that they had been placed on the pyre, perhaps in an unfired state, alongside the corpse of the deceased (Sheridan 2007, 173). Antiquarians attributed evidence of burning to their use in holding unguents or incense, burnt as part of the funerary ritual (Gibson 2004b, 270). Not all vessels display this damage, however, and from current evidence, a range of functions is likely (Allen & Hopkins 2000, 313). The miniature vessels that mimic the forms of other earlier Bronze Age vessels are a particular enigma.

A total of ten child cremation burials were associated with accessory vessels, comprising small biconical decorated and undecorated vessels, a miniature Collared Urn (SC 95), a miniature Food Vessel (SC 62) and small plain cups (Table 5.38). In only one instance, that at Kirkpark, East Lothian, were the burnt bones of a child solely associated with accessory vessels (SC 54; Low & Anderson 1894, 63, 70-1, fig 4 & 5); in all other examples, the cremation was accompanied by a full-sized cinerary urn. The separation of the cremated bones of a child to that of an adult within the same grave are noted in two instances: at Blackhills, Fife (SC 57: Smith 1872, 189-91, fig 1 & 2) a Collared Urn was inverted over the bones of an adult female accompanied by an accessory vessel containing the bones (a token amount?) of an infant. This can be paralleled at Balloch Hill (SC 027; Peltenburg 1982, 157, 173, fig 8, fig 13).

Other

Steatite

A complete though broken bowl-shaped steatite vessel, covered with a disc-shaped pot lid (Figure 5.63), was found to contain the cremated bones of an infant and adult at Loth Road Cairn, Orkney (Sharman 2007, illus 5, 10). Despite the simplicity of the bowl's shape (Figure 5.64) and its slightly lop-sided appearance, it is argued here that this would have been considered a special vessel. Steatite is not native to Orkney indicating that the vessel had been imported from Shetland. Sharman's examination of steatite vessels of this form suggest that they saw both domestic and funerary use in Shetland where they were manufactured, but in Orkney they are invariably found in mortuary contexts (2007, 23).

Bucket urn

A highly unusual burial of the cremated bones of an adult and child was encountered at Balloch Hill, Argyll (SC 27: Peltenburg 1982, 157, 173, fig 8, fig 13). The burial is unusual both for the separation of the remains of two individuals within the grave and also because of the uncertainty over the date of the burial and it merits detailed consideration. A plain, badly-fired, bucket urn had been placed upright in a grave containing the burnt bones of an adult. Sitting amongst the adult's bones was a biconical accessory vessel containing a token quantity of burnt bones belonging to a child (Figure 5.65). The mouth of the accessory vessel had been plugged with clay making it clear that two separate cremation deposits are present. A similar separation of adult and child remains is observed at Blackhills, Wester Bucklyvie, Fife (SC 57: Smith 1872, 189-91, fig 1 & 2).

Bucket urns are typically thought to be Later Bronze Age urn types; an assertion borne out by recent radiocarbon dating (Sheridan 2007, 170, 184). Yet, the association of a diagnostic Earlier Bronze Age-type accessory vessel makes the dating of this particular example uncertain. The existing radiocarbon date for this burial, which suggested deposition in the seventeenth century BC, must now be regarded with circumspection given the fact that the date was determined before the mid-1980's (Sheridan 2007, 170). On the weight of available evidence, it is likely that this burial is indeed Later Bronze Age in date but confirmatory re-dating of the bone is recommended, particularly to clarify the chronological relationship between the cremated bones of the adult and those of the child. It is postulated here that the accessory vessel was an heirloom by the time of its deposition and its use as a container for the remains of a child suggests that this was a special pot, selected for the burial of a special child.

Indeterminate form

A further nine child cremation burials were associated with pottery of indeterminate form due to the condition of the pots on discovery (SC 20, SC 32, SC 37, SC 52, SC 53, SC 85 & 86, SC 88, SC 106 and SC 107). Two (SC 52 and SC 106) are likely to be fragmentary Cordoned urns on the basis of their association with flat perforated bone toggles (Sheridan 2007, 175).

5.3.9 Associated material culture: non-ceramic grave goods

Most of the objects selected for inclusion in an Earlier Bronze Age cremation burials in Scotland appear distinctly personal in character in the form of ornaments (beads, toggles, pins and pendants) and personal tools (bronze awls, flint scrapers, utilized flint flakes, cobble tools and small flint and bronze knives), some of which have been included on the pyre with the deceased; others have not. Weaponry is typically rare, but where present can be in the form of flint arrowheads (mainly barbed-and-tanged but occasionally other forms), stone maceheads and battle-axes and, very occasionally, grooved daggers. The provision of placing food offerings on the pyre is an increasingly recognised component of Earlier Bronze Age cremations; the burnt animal bone distinguished from the human bone only by detailed examination of the remains by an osteologist.

Accurate descriptions of the condition of associated objects are sadly lacking from the early records and it is likely that many small, heat-damaged, fragmentary objects were overlooked from early excavations (Shepherd & Cowie 1977, 120). It is clear from the burnt and damaged condition of some artefacts associated with cremation burials, that the objects were either worn by the deceased or placed on the pyre with the corpse during cremation (McLaren 2007, 107). In contrast, some objects appear untouched by fire. In these instances, it is clear that the artefacts were only added to the burial after the remains had been gathered. Why some artefacts were burnt on the pyre with the body and others not remains unclear. In some cases, it seems that the destruction and fragmentation of the object was as important as the reduction of the human body itself to ash and dust.

As summarised by Table 5.39, 41 child cremation deposits (38% of the dataset) were associated with accompanying grave goods other than ceramic vessels. These include 26 burials accompanied by both ceramic vessel (as previously outlined) and other items (24%) and a further 15 (14%) with items but no pot. A total of 29 burials (27%) were unaccompanied (including two where objects were clearly associated with another occupant of the grave). The number of unaccompanied burials is likely to be underrepresented within this study due to the strict criteria for inclusion employed here.

Personal tools

Flint

Eighteen child cremation burials were associated with various flint items, summarised in table 5.40. These comprise plano-convex flint knives, slug knives, scrapers and flakes. Most were burnt but the inclusion of unburnt flints was noted at Kiltry Knock, Banffshire (SC 33 & 34) and Kirkton, Fife (SC 64).

Bronze Awls

Three bronze awls have been found in association with child cremation burials from Balloch Hill, Argyll (SC 27), Kirkton, Fife (SC 64 & 65) and South Mound, Houston, Renfrewshire (SC 129) (Peltenburg 1982, 157, 173; MacGregor 1998b, 69-78; Morrison 1979, 39-40). In addition, a bronze pin, possibly an awl, came from Gennoch (SC 32: MacDonald 1878, 43-6) and staining was noted on the bones at Tayvallich, Argyll (SC 29) that may be the only surviving traces of an awl (Lahane 1986). No pattern of association could be determined.

Ornaments

Seventeen child cremations are associated with ornaments (16% of the database). These ornaments are principally simple dress fasteners such as toggles or pins produced from animal bone or antler (Table 5.42). An illustration of a selection of these items is shown in Figure 5.66.

Bone toggles & pins

The dominance amongst this group of flat perforated toggles of lozenge, sub-rectangular or oval shape is likely to be significant as a recent study by the author has shown a propensity for inclusion within children's burials (McLaren *forthcoming* a). Examination of toggles from Earlier Bronze Age Scottish cremation burials (Table 5.43) show that the most common variants are collared or flat lozenge-shaped forms (McLaren *forthcoming* a). Available dates indicate the use of pins and toggles from the end of the third millennium BC to c.1600 BC (Sheridan 2007, 175). Flat perforated bone toggles or dress-fasteners are not exclusively found with children but 30% of cremation burials associated with such ornaments are those of children under 15 years of age. They are consistently found in a burnt condition from inclusion on the funerary pyre.

Faience

At Findhorn, Morayshire, a large Cordoned Urn contained the cremated remains of a young adult female and a foetus/newborn (SI 79: Shepherd & Shepherd 2001). It is likely, due to the respective ages of the individuals that they were mother and baby who died during childbirth. Amongst the burnt bones were 22 segmented faience beads and a single star-shaped example. Re-deposited pyre debris had been placed over the upper fill of the pit after the deposition of the inverted urn and the cremated bones. This contained a further two faience beads and a small fragment of flint. This represents the largest collection of faience ornaments from a single burial in Britian and Ireland. It has been argued previously that the necklace echoes the fashion, seen particularly clearly in Wessex, for multi-bead necklaces of precious materials (Shepherd & Shepherd 2001, 111). The condition of the beads implies that they were strung as a necklace and placed around the neck of the corpse (?of the adult female); during cremation those lying on the body rather than looped around the neck and shoulders might have been exposed to less heat, whilst two beads in direct contact with the intense heat of the pyre, dropped off the body and into the heart of the pyre to emerge severely heat-affected. The excavators suggest that the lavish grave goods and the particular care taken to retrieve even the smallest of burnt bone fragments of both the adult female and child are manifestations of the intense grief felt by the mourners at the tragic death of this mother and her baby (*ibid*, 124).

Clay ornaments

Fragments of five small globular and barrel-shaped pierced fired clay objects (Figure 5.67) were associated with un-urned cremated bones of an adult female and infant at Howford, Aberdeenshire (SC 2; McLaren *in prep*). These objects consist of small, hand shaped tapering pieces of fired clay which vary slightly in shape but each has been pierced by a single narrow hole which runs longitudinally through, but does not completely perforate, the object. The fact that the hole does not pass all the way through suggests that the holes had accompanied a projecting shank. The function of these objects is not immediately apparent but they are likely to have been decorative pieces shaped around narrow, sub-circular sectioned rods, perhaps of metal, bone or wood. The similarity of size and form suggests that they were intended to be used and displayed as a group. All three of the examined objects have been burnt after initial firing, indicating that they had passed through the funerary pyre.

Although they have not been published previously in any detail, they have been noted briefly in a wider study which considered aspects of Bronze Age material culture in north-east

Scotland (Cowie 1988, 51). Here they were described as pinheads. An alternative explanation postulated by the writer (McLaren, *in prep*) is as decorative terminals of a toggle-type dress fastener or body ornament, worn in pairs at either end of a simple organic shank, giving them a dumbbell-shaped appearance (Figure 5.68). Only one similar collection of clay objects is known from a deposit of cremated bone at Seggiecrook, Aberdeenshire (Callander 1908).

A small incised pottery ball accompanied the cremation of two children and an adult at Kiltry Knock (SC 33 & 34; Shepherd & Cowie 1977). The surface is decorated with six incised concentric grooves c.2 mm wide (Figure 5.69). This item is unique and the excavators have suggested that as found in association with two children, that the ball was likely to have been a toy (*ibid*, 118). This is one of the very few items where the current writer would agree with the original interpretation as a toy.

Amulets?

A very unusual set of grave goods are associated with the cremation burial of a child of 9 years of age at Skilmafilly, Aberdeenshire (Johnson & Cameron *forthcoming*). Two burnt talons from a golden eagle were recovered from amongst the cremated bone of the child along with a short tapering perforated bone toggle or short pin (see Figure 5.70). The talons (Figure 5.70) are burnt, having passed through the pyre with the deceased. They show no evidence of modification in the form of perforations which would suggest that they were worn as beads. No further bones from the bird were noted that would suggest that the talons were articulated at the time of cremation. It is postulated here that these impressive talons should be considered in a similar fashion to boar's tusks: that they were talismans or trophies (McLaren *forthcoming* c). The former interpretation is favoured here due to the recurring association of potential amuletic objects with the burial of children, either by inhumation or cremation.

Animal bones

A recent study of Bronze Age cremation burials demonstrated that approximately 16% contain small quantities of animal bone, with sheep, goat and pig being the most common species (McKinley 1997a; 2000a; 200b). In the majority of cases, the cremated animal bone

is interpreted as food offerings placed on the pyre with the deceased or as feasting associated with the cremation ritual (Anthony 2004, 59).

Animal bone, mostly unidentified cremated fragments, have been recorded amongst 12 child burials, representing 11% of the database (Table 5.41). This is a slightly smaller percentage of burials than anticipated, based on McKinley's findings. However, the presence of animal bones within cremation deposits has only recently been noticed with any frequency, as in most cases, the remains are impossible to distinguish to the untrained eye. It is highly likely that a similar percentage of cremations excavated prior to the introduction of modern investigative techniques, would also have revealed the presence of animal remains. But as most cremated skeletal material was not retained, it is not possible to confirm this trend in burials subject to earlier antiquarian investigations.

5.4 DISCUSSION

This study clearly demonstrates that far greater numbers of Earlier Bronze Age children's burials are present than previously realised. Despite the large numbers of children's burials recorded, it is argued here that children are vastly under-represented in the burial record of Scotland during this period.

Several distinct trends have been identified through this study. The first, is that a distinction in the ages of children afforded inhumation burial and burial after cremation is evident. Where single child inhumations are recorded, they trend towards older children over 12 years of age. In contrast, cremation burials more frequently involve the remains of young children under 5 years of age. Foetuses, neonates and children under 1 year are particularly well represented here. It has also been demonstrated by this study that children within cremation deposits are more likely to be accompanied by another individual than has previously been recognised in adult burials. It is suggested here that these patterns are linked to concepts of identity and personhood, perhaps indicating that older children in Scotland were recognised as full-members of the community, as individuals in their own right, whereas the identity of younger children was less well-defined.

Where children were afforded formal burial, they appear to have been eligible for the full range of funerary practices available but with the caveat that certain objects (such as bronze

knife daggers, and weaponry more generally) do not appear to have been considered appropriate for inclusion in the burial of a child. Most grave goods appear to be distinctly personal in form, comprising ornamental items and dress fasteners, everyday tools and pots.

The inclusion of small pots is a recurring feature of the inhumation burial of children in Scotland, as discussed above. A similar pattern has been noted previously in Ireland (ODonnabháin & Brindley 1990). Although it would be convenient to interpret the small pots in many of these graves as children's toys or as items designed specifically with children in mind, this fails to explain their presence within adult graves (e.g. Gairneybank, Perthshire: Cowie & Ritchie 1991, 105). Although their occurrence within adult burials does not seem to occur with the frequency noted in children's graves, their presence emphasises that assumptions that these diminutive pots are to be associated with the material culture of children alone should be treated with caution. They may not be children's toys but it seems as though, in some instances at least, they were of a size considered appropriate to be included in the burial of a child. Correlation between size of pot and age of individual has also been identified out with the study area at the large Bronze Age cremation cemetery at Pasture Lodge, Lincolnshire (Allen *et al* 1987).

Many aspects of children's graves, including the provision of substantial, carefully constructed stone cists and the careful collection of cremated bone, displays the care and reverence taken towards the disposal of children's remains, when formal burial was undertaken. These burials should be considered as the final manifestation of complex rituals of mourning, either involving the inhumation of unburnt bodies or the deposition of the burnt residues of cremated individuals (Shepherd & Shepherd 2001). Although a wide variation in burial rites are observed the overall consistency of funeral practices across Scotland, as a whole, suggests that the conventions for the burial of a child were well understood.

CHAPTER SIX

CASE STUDY TWO: YORKSHIRE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Yorkshire has long been recognised for its richly preserved Bronze Age landscapes and the wealth of upstanding burial mounds surviving from this period. Thousands of earthen barrows and cairns of Bronze Age date are known from this region which have seen intensive exploration over the last three centuries (Manby *et al* 2003, 35). Despite the wealth of data and high profile of many of Yorkshire's Bronze Age barrows little work has been undertaken on them in terms of re-analysis of existing data or re-excavation of previously explored sites (Gibson & Bayliss 2010, 72).

Until the mid-1970's, Yorkshire was divided into four main administrative areas: East, North and West Ridings and the city of York. As outlined in chapter 4 (p35), reference to the Ridings of Yorkshire has been retained here. This is because the majority of sites included in this study were excavated prior to the 1974 county boundary change. For the sake of brevity, the areas of East, North and West Riding of Yorkshire will be quoted in the following discussion under the abbreviations E.R., N.R., and W.R..

Although the opening of Bronze Age (and later) mounds is likely to have occurred throughout post-medieval times, the field recording of barrows did not begin in Yorkshire until the mid-eighteenth century (Drake 1736). The peak of barrow digging in this region undoubtedly came in the mid- to late-nineteeth century, particularly in the fertile zones of E.R. by prolific antiquarian investigators such as Mortimer, Greenwell, Londesborough, Ruddock, Atkinson and Silburn. The legacy of information left by antiquarian explorers still dominates the regional database (Manby *et al* 2003, 74). This surge in barrow digging occurred at a time when agricultural improvements involved levelling of barrows and other upstanding prehistoric earthworks. It is estimated that some 1500 barrows were opened between 1840-1900 (*ibid* 2003, 36).

Only during the later 1930's did some scientifically motivated excavation begin on the North York Moors barrows (Elgee & Elgee 1933; Brewster & Finney 1995). Funding by the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works for rescue excavation was to be developed during the 1960's and 1970's and provided sponsorship for large-scale barrow excavations (Manby et al 2003, 39). More recent fieldwork has concentrated on the uplands of eastern Yorkshire. These more subsequent excavations have been usefully summarised by Smith (1994) and Manby, King and Vyner (2003), particularly as many have never been fully published.

Both antiquarian and modern excavations have tended to focus on the rich Bronze Age landscapes of E.R. By comparison, the N.R. and W.R. areas are less well represented in the records despite the considerable number of sites known. Information for W.R. is particularly scarce but this is reflective of both a paucity of surviving evidence and a lack of concentrated fieldwork (Vyner 2008, 9). The dominance of evidence from E.R. is reflected in the information available for funerary rites afforded to children in Yorkshire.

A total of 326 burials of children of Earlier Bronze Age date has been identified in the records for this region, consisting of 249 inhumations and 77 burials after cremation. Each example has been recorded in detail and assigned an individual catalogue number with prefix 'YI' to determine inhumation burials and 'YC' to identify burials after cremation. A full catalogue listing of Yorkshire burials is provided in Appendix A, part II a & b. The location of sites referred to in the text is provided in Figure 6.1.

6.2 INHUMATIONS

6.2.1 Introduction

Of the study areas, Yorkshire has the highest number of child inhumation burials. A total of 249 inhumations from Yorkshire involve children of 15 years of age or under, deriving from 212 burials at 117 sites. These are considered in this chapter. A further 107 records of children's inhumation burials have been disregarded, using the criteria set out in chapter 4. The result of this rigorous selection of data means that only 70% of the original dataset has been retained for inclusion in the final analysis (Table 6.1).

6.2.2 Identification of age and sex

Age

An estimate of age has been expressed in years or months for 49% of the burials under consideration. Such specific age estimations are not limited to those burials recorded in the late twentieth or twenty-first centuries but were regularly expressed by antiquarian barrow diggers such as Greenwell (1877) and Mortimer (1905)[12]. The remaining 51% of children are described using generalised terminology such as 'infant', 'child' or 'adolescent' (Table 6.2).

No indication is given by Canon Greenwell or Mortimer in their accounts of the excavation of barrows in Yorkshire as to whether the remains were examined by an anatomist to identify the age and sex of the individuals. The terminology used in some instances (e.g. at Willerby barrow XXXIII when discussing the re-arranged bones of a 7-8-year-old child) suggests they had been identified by a person with more than rudimentary knowledge of anatomy (1877, 181). A small selection of adult skulls was retained by Greenwell for examination by George Rolleston, the Linacre Professor of Anatomy and Physiology at the University of Oxford. Only eleven skulls and two calvariae from thirteen barrows were examined and reported on by Rolleston in 1877, with an emphasis on identifying the shape of the skull (dolichocephalic or brachycephalic) as an indicator of race (Greenwell 1877, 627). Similarly, Mortimer employed Dr W Wright, a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons at Birmingham University to examine and identify sixty-two skulls from his excavations and Dr Garson to analyse the human remains from Howe Hill (Mortimer 1905, lxxix-lxxx, 30-42). In other cases, however, their evidence of anatomical study is unclear.

In both Greenwell's and Mortimer's records the estimation of age appears to have been determined on rudimentary knowledge of anatomy, with assessments of age based on long bone length (e.g. a 14-year-old child from Wharram Percy barrow 70: Mortimer 1905, 47), the general size of the skeleton as a whole and/or the development/state of attrition of the dental remains. Gibson and Bayliss found that no skeletal remains survive in the Greenwell collection (2010). Although there are both human and animal bones surviving in the Mortimer collection at Hull Museum, problems with labelling and identification make re-analysis challenging at best, and in most cases wholly impossible (Gibson & Bayliss 2010,

[12] Broader issues of reliability of such age estimates in antiquarian and early Twentieth century publications are considered in chapter 3.

23). Despite this, where skeletal remains have been available for re-study, analysis by an osteologist shows an encouraging concordance between the original age estimations and those formulated by modern osteological aging techniques (e.g. Ogden 2010, 82). Only in the excavation records published from the late 1960's onwards were skeletal remains examined and reported on in a more systematic and detailed way. Such burials encompass only 16% of the Yorkshire inhumation dataset.

For consistency and to enable comparative analysis, children described in the published record with a specific age in terms of years have been classified under three broad categories defined on page 39. The division into these three categories are entirely arbitrary and has been adopted to provide a framework for analysis. Subdivision into these three categories has demonstrated (Table 6.2) that children under five years of age predominate, comprising 45% of the aged burials. This is consistent with the pattern observed in Wessex where such children of five years of age or less encompass 57% of the aged burials. Amongst these young children, individuals of three years of age or less are most strongly represented (Fig 6.2). The number of children identified as 2-3 years of age is proportionately higher in Yorkshire than in Wessex where this age group is one of the least well represented.

The skeletal remains of only one foetus is noted, at Green Howe Barrow (YI 246; Wood 1972, 6). Similarly small quantities of neonates and newborns were identified: three are present at barrow 275 Calais Wold (YI 15), barrow 118 Painsthorpe Wold (YI 208) and barrow 106 of the Towthorpe group (YI 222) (Mortimer 1905, 13). Demographic models suggest that infant mortality would be particularly high in children below 5 years of age in prehistory so the high proportion of younger children amongst the dataset is expected (Goodman & Armelagos 1996). Yet the youngest children, the foetuses, perinates and newborns, who should be represented in considerable numbers due to natural infant mortality levels, represent fewer than 2% of the Yorkshire dataset. This implies that these very young children were not routinely afforded formal burial by inhumation but in some exceptional circumstances such burial was acceptable.

Juveniles and older children are less well represented amongst the aged burials in Yorkshire (Table 6.2), representing 12% and 15% of the cremation dataset respectively and 25% and 30% of aged burials from the region.

The use of less precise age descriptions for the remaining 51% of the children's inhumations in Yorkshire makes it difficult to conduct such detailed analysis. In some cases different terms have been used to describe the same individual such as at Pickering where an immature individual is described by Bateman as both 'infant' and 'child'(1861, 211, 217). Amongst these burials 'child' is the most common term used to describe the individual (19% of the dataset).

Sex

Assessment of the sex of the skeleton has only been attempted in 12 cases: 5 as the result of modern excavations and 7 from antiquarian investigations. 8 children, between two and fifteen years of age have been tentatively identified as female (YI 87, YI 136, YI 162, YI 172, YI 173, YI 174, YI 237, YI 238), while 4 individuals between five years to under seventeen years of age are possibly male (YI 45, YI 85, YI 158, YI 244).

6.2.3. Grave context and setting

In regard to the context and settings of such burials themselves, it is not unexpected that the majority of reported children's burials come from round barrows and cairn sites (Table 6.3). This is mirrored by the evidence of cremation burial.

Round barrows and cairns

Despite the dominance of barrows in the Earlier Bronze Age funerary tradition of this region there is far less information provided in the Yorkshire records as to barrow types and forms. This, in part, is the result of the more homogenous external appearance of the barrow mounds in Yorkshire and the general absence of more elaborate barrow types, such as disc barrows and saucer barrows as seen in Wessex (Manby *et al* 2003). But is also due to a lack of classification and synthesis of the existing barrow records like those conducted by Leslie Grinsell for much of Southern Britain (e.g. Dorset (Grinsell 1959), Somerset (Grinsell 1969), Sussex (Grinsell 1934), Wiltshire (Grinsell 1957)). There are a few notable exceptions (Elgee 1930; Elgee & Elgee 1933; Crawford 1980; Smith 1994; Spratt 1993; Manby *et al* 2003).

Most barrows are insufficiently described in antiquarian reports for detailed consideration of their form. Two reasons are apparent: first, the early barrow-diggers tended to focus their

excavations only on the upstanding mound and rarely explored the area immediately surrounding it. This has resulted in inconsistency as to whether associated ditches and/or satellite burials were recorded. Secondly, as the early exploration of barrow sites focused on the nature of the mound itself, primary concern was placed on identifying the materials used to construct it (e.g. turves, earth, sand, clay and chalk) rather than observing size or form. Despite the simpler external form of many Yorkshire barrows, modern excavation indicates that many are composite structures built with a variety of materials and were the result of several phases of construction, such as Barrow M, at Heslerton, N.R. (Powlesland 1986, 88, fig.24) and Hutton Buscel barrow 2, E.R. (Brewster and Finney 1995, 6-10). Identification of the form of the barrow may be significant as some commentators suggest the engendering of certain barrow types as well as chronological distinctions (Burgess 1980)[13].

97% of children's inhumation burials come from barrow and cairn sites, reflecting the prevalence for both antiquarian and modern archaeological investigations to focus on the excavations of upstanding remains (Table 6.3, Table 6.4, Figure 6.3). One hundred and fifty-three such burials, representing 72% of the dataset as a whole and 75% of those from barrow and cairn sites, come from barrows of unspecified form. In each case, insufficient information remains to allow the form of the barrow to be determined, following Grinsell's standardised characterisation (Grinsell 1936). Some 13% of children's inhumations in E.R. come from barrows with distinct ditches, broadly categorised here as bowl barrows[14]. No barrows of this form were noted in N.R.. Bell-barrows represent less than 2% of the barrow associated burials in E.R. and no barrows of this type have been identified in association with children's burials in N.R. or W.R.

Cairns constructed from chalk and flint are also an important component of the Yorkshire funerary variations. This can include earthen barrows with inner cairns as well as distinct types of monument such as ring-cairns and banked-cairns, a more frequent component of the funerary monument record in northern England than in the south-west (e.g. Wessex). Only two burials, one from E.R. and one from N.R., were identified from cairn sites (YI 237: Smith, 1994, 110; YI 241 & 242, Bateman 1861, 221-22, Howarth 1899, 17-18).

[13] Certain barrow types are demonstrably associated with principal adult male or adult female burials. No barrow type has been specifically linked to the interment of children. This subject is discussed in more detail with regard to Wessex burials on page 162-3.

[14] It should be noted that these broad classifications are entirely arbitrary but are considered necessary to provide a framework for analysis. All interpretations of barrow types, particularly from antiquarian excavations are subjective and often based on scanty or incomplete data in the original records. No re-examination of the sites has been undertaken.

Placement with the barrow mound

The sequence of burials in barrows and cairns is significant for the way in which we interpret the meaning and importance of the deceased in relation to other burials and the monument as a whole (Woodward 2000b, 21-48). It was typical for a single grave to form the focus for the construction of a covering mound. These principal, often central, burials are either in graves dug into the natural soil or simply laid on the old ground surface prior to construction of the barrow. Frequently, other burials dating to this initial phase of funerary activity are present. In the absence of direct dating, it is assumed that these are roughly contemporary with the principal burial, pre-dating the construction of the mound, or deposited immediately preceding the erection of the mound. Secondary burials might be interred in the barrow during construction of, or modification to, the barrow, or inserted into the mound material after construction had been completed. These later burials often appear to have been deliberately placed in the mound to reference the principal or primary phase interments. In some cases, they appear to deliberately disturb them.

The placement of the children in the 206 burials (involving 244 individual children) from barrow and cairn sites in Yorkshire has been examined. The majority (46% of the dataset) are secondary burials. It should be noted that unaccompanied secondary child burials are likely to be underrepresented here[15].

A more restricted number of children (34 with a further possible 16 examples) formed the principal burial. As demonstrated by Table 6.5, the principal burials of children represent a small percentage of the overall dataset indicating that it was not the normative burial practice in this region to inter children in this position. Yet, the presence of a small number of principal child burials implies that it was acceptable for deceased immature individuals to be interred in this significant position, forming the focus for barrow construction and subsequent funerary activity. A far greater proportion of children in Yorkshire occupy this position than in Wessex where only 12% of child inhumations are the principal burial in barrows.

[15] Only secondary burials accompanied by diagnostic EBA artefacts or stratigraphically secure in EBA contexts have been included in this study. For further details of methodology see chapter 3

A further 26.5% of child inhumations belong to the initial phase of funerary activity. Most appear to be contemporary with the principal burial or, if later, pre-date the construction of the barrow mound itself. In a small number of cases, such as that at Bishop Burton CCLVI, E.R. (YI 02; Greenwell 1890, 32; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 122) and at Etton barrow LXXXII, E.R. (YI 25; Greenwell 1877, 285-6; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 81) no principal burial was identified and the sequence of interments is unclear due to later disturbance.

Graves: pits, chalk-cut graves and cists

The majority of children's burials in Yorkshire (56%) have been interred in grave pits and hollows cut into the old ground surface below barrows or else cut into the mound material (Figure 6.4). The former are sometimes referred to as 'cists' but these should not be confused with the stone-built short cists typical in Scotland. Only one stone-built cist is present amongst the dataset, from Rudston, E.R. (Greenwell's barrow LXII). Here a stone-built cist (1.1m long, 0.6m wide and 0.5m deep), paved with two slabs and covered by a capstone was centrally positioned in a large shaft grave. It contained the crouched inhumation of an adult male with the remains of two infants, presumably also crouched, at his legs (YI 95 & 96: Greenwell 1877, 234-5; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 61-8).

Thirty-nine burials (18%) were in secondary positions in the mound material. In each case, no discernable grave pit was observed. In several cases, such as that of YI 186 from Howe Hill, Duggleby, E.R. (Mortimer 1905, 65), the excavator noted that no grave pit was detected and no cut through the mound observed to suggest that the burial had been inserted into the mound at a date later than construction. It is implied in this case that the burial had been made during the construction of the primary mound.

A significant number of child burials had been placed directly upon the old ground surface prior to the construction of the barrow (32 examples, 15% of the dataset) or at the base of the mound (11 examples equalling 5% of the dataset).

Examination of the position of children's burials in barrows/cairns suggests that there is no correlation between the age of the child and the position of the grave in the mound.

Physical boundaries: flint and chalk arrangements and wooden coffins

The placement of natural nodules of flint and blocks of chalk around the body is not as common a feature of Yorkshire burial rites as was noted in Wessex but is reported from a number of adult burials, such as that of an adult male from Rudston barrow LXVII, E.R. where chalk slabs had been placed on edge behind the deceased's back (Greenwell 1877, 257-8; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 74). No examples involving children are recorded from Yorkshire.

Timber-lined graves, wooden coffins and other organic containers are common in Yorkshire graves of this period. The use of plank cists and coffins is considered to be a regional response to the local absence of stone slabs in the chalk, sand and gravel country of the Wolds (Manby *et al* 2003, 60). Twelve burials involving children are associated with timber grave fittings (Table 6.6). A range of forms is present, including wooden platforms, hollowed-out tree trunk coffins and simple and plank cists, but details relating to their shape, size and construction are generally lacking.

The use of timber grave furnishings varies between and within sites. At Wetwang Slack barrow B, 5 out of 6 graves have traces of wooden fittings including coffins housing the remains of both mature and immature individuals. These include the inhumation of two children (YI 38 & 39: Dent 1979, 26-8), but a further child inhumation lacked a coffin (YI 40: *ibid*, 28) suggesting that the provision of a wooden coffin was not structured by age. At other sites, such as Heslerton IR, E.R., only 2 out of 9 graves had any trace of wooden fittings (Powlesland 1986). Whether the provision of a wooden coffin was structured by family tradition, community preference or available access to the raw material is unclear.

In addition to evidence for wooden fittings, three burials are associated with possible organic flooring:

- Principal grave at barrow 41 of Mortimer's Riggs group, E.R., containing the skeleton of a youth placed on black sooty material covering the floor, plausibly the remains of an organic mat or an oxhide (YI 218: Mortimer 1905, 180).
- At Green Howe barrow, N.R., the excavator noted that child's skeleton had been placed on a layer of carboniferous material (YI 248: Wood 1972, 7-8).
- A child burial, near Pickering, N.R. (YI 243) displayed a highly unusual degree of preservation allowing the remains of branches lining the floor to be observed. Amongst them was a hazelnut shell implying that burial had taken place in the autumn (Howarth 1899, 216).

Sealing the grave: flint & chalk capping

A small number of graves in Yorkshire have been deliberately sealed by the placement of flint nodules and stone slabs over the burial (Table 6.7). This practice is not uncommon in Yorkshire in graves of adults and children alike but remains sufficiently unusual to indicate that this was not a normative rite.

Greenwell suggested that this practice was an attempt by the mourners to protect the body and the grave goods (1877, 161). This deliberate 'closing' of the grave could have been seen as an attempt to anchor the deceased to this world. In this view the flint blocks are not simply a strategy for protecting or marking the physical remains of the deceased, but were also an attempt to protect the living from the metaphysical and physical body of the recently dead. It is possible that individuals treated thus were perceived to have suffered a 'bad' death.

Flat graves: isolated burials and cemeteries

Only 4 children's burials have been noted amongst flat grave cemeteries, such as that at Staxton, Willerby, E.R. (YI 231: Stead 1962), and isolated graves, like that at Wetwang Slack, E.R. (YI 41: Dent 1979, 32) with no evidence of covering mounds. Earlier Bronze Age burials of this form are little understood in Yorkshire due to a lack of systematic study.

Insertion into earlier monuments

In contrast to both Scotland and Wessex, children's inhumations are rarely associated with earlier, pre-existing Neolithic monuments[16]. Only one such burial is present in the Yorkshire dataset, from Garton Slack 37 (YI 26), where re-excavation of one of Mortimer's round barrows demonstrated that the Earlier Bronze Age mound had been constructed on the site of a Neolithic Long Barrow (Mortimer 1905, 262, 432; Brewster 1980). It is unlikely that this superimposition was accidental. The construction of a round barrow over an earlier ritual and funerary monument could be seen as an attempt by the living community to embellish and enhance a site of established ceremonial importance and in doing so, attempt to forge a link

[16] This does not include Earlier Bronze Age burials inserted into Late Neolithic round barrows.

to the ancestors and their connections to the otherworld. Conversely, the remodelling of an earlier site could have been an attempt to reshape the ritual focus of the landscape, severing any established ancestral links and instigating the creation of a new relationship with the ancestors and the Otherworld.

Discussion of funerary site type

No particular Earlier Bronze Age monument type is specifically associated with children's inhumations reflecting the picture presented by contemporary adult burials. Barrows dominate the picture in regards to the placement of these inhumations but it can be demonstrated that the burial record during this period in Yorkshire is significantly biased towards upstanding mounds due to the excavation strategies employed over the last two centuries.

6.2.4 Grave size as a reflection of age?

In a small number of cases, excavators have suggested that a grave or pit formerly contained a child skeleton based only on the size of the feature. For example, at Heslerton barrow IL, E.R., the excavator suggested that grave IL55 had once held the remains of a child due to the small size of the cut, but no skeletal remains were present (Powlesland 1986, 83). As discussed in reference to Scottish burials (p51-2), inferring the presence of a child's burial based on the dimensions of the grave pit and not on any preserved skeletal remains should be avoided, not least due to the regular occurrence of non-funerary features associated with barrows and cairns[17].

Most child inhumations in Yorkshire were placed in graves cut into the old ground surface at the base of the barrow or in the mound material itself. Graves are also described as hollows and pits. Dimensions have only been recorded in 64 instances (representing 54% of graves, 50% of hollows and 100% of pits) demonstrating that they range in length from 50 to 396.5 cm (averaging 181 cm), and from 30 to 344 cm in width (averaging 117 cm). A distinct clustering of grave pits and hollows between 70 and 240 cm in length and 50 to 150 cm in width is demonstrated in Figure 6.5.

[17] One example from Heslerton barrow 1R, E.R. is more convincing than most because of the presence of a particularly small Food Vessel in the grave (Powlesland 1986, 83). This has not been included for consideration in this study because of the uncertainty of the excavator's interpretation but it merits special note because of the small dimensions of the grave and the presence of a below average-sized ceramic vessel.

But is it possible to link the size of the grave pit with the age of the child? The simple answer is no, as many of children are associated in the grave with another individual despite the seemingly small size of the grave. Yet, if we look only at grave pits associated with a single child, a different picture emerges. As Figure 6.6 demonstrates, the graves of younger children tend to be smaller in both length and width than those of older children. The graves of juveniles are far more scattered but two fall in the overlap zone between the two clusters just described.

This suggests that a correlation is present between the age and therefore physical stature of the child and the size of the associated grave pit. Yet the small number of burials where this analysis is possible demonstrates the difficulties in making any broad assertions of the age of the deceased represented based only on the dimensions of the grave.

6.2.5 Placement of the body: position and orientation

Previous studies conducted on the body position and orientation of the body in the grave have demonstrated that this was not random and is related to the gender of the individual (Tuckwell 1975; Shepherd 1989). As is consistent with Earlier Bronze Age burials from Yorkshire and from Britain as a whole, the majority of child inhumations were interred in the grave in a crouched or flexed position (53%). The position of 45 burials (18%) was not recorded and a further 20 bodies (8%) were too badly decomposed to allow accurate observation of their position to be determined (Table 6.8).

Crouched burials

The deliberate manipulation of the body of the deceased into a crouched position[18] is a defining element of Earlier Bronze Age burial rites, both for adults and children. A range of interpretations to explain the significance of the placement of cadavers in this position have been previously outlined (p53-4) and do not require reiteration here. But one significant aspect of crouched inhumations is worthy of further analysis: that of the orientation of the bodies. As noted by John Thurnam in regard to Wessex burials, the pattern of recurring

[18] The term 'crouched' is here used to refer to burials described in the records as crouched, flexed, contracted, semi-contracted and semi-flexed.

orientations of graves and the bodies in them was considered to be significant and an indication of deliberate funerary practices (1871, 319, 321).

It was not until Tuckwell's important 1970 study, outlined on page 53, that the link between body orientation and sex was confirmed (Tuckwell 1970; 1975). By examining the orientation of over 600 East Yorkshire burials, Tuckwell concluded that males tended to be placed on their left side, orientated east and looking south (the LESM burial) and females were placed on their right side, orientated west and looking south (the RWSF burial (1975, 101). It was also noted that 83% of Beaker- associated individuals were orientated on a roughly east-west axis and that over 80% of these were facing in a southerly direction (Tuckwell 1975, 100). The lack of any observable difference in orientation and position of children's burials in Tuckwell's study indicated that, in general, the placement of children's bodies in the grave followed the conventions noted in adult burials, but this conclusion merits further analysis.

By combining the information available for the crouched, on back and extended burials it is possible to tease out some significant details. By examining the side positioning of the burials it is possible to demonstrate that almost equal numbers of children's bodies had been placed on their left and right sides (Figure 6.7)[19]. If, as Tuckwell suggests, side placement is indicative of the gender of the individual, this implies that equal numbers of male and female children are present. So few of these children have been accurately sexed that it is however impossible, with the data available, to confirm that their biological sex concurred with the gender suggested by their position in the grave.

The range of orientations present is generally consistent with those noted by Tuckwell but some differences are apparent (Table 6.9). In Tuckwell's study, the dominant orientation of bodies placed on their left side was E/W. These represent 21% of child bodies. This is a little less than the 23.8% noted by Tuckwell but the proportion is considered here to be consistent with her findings. In contrast are the significant numbers of left-sided bodies orientated NE/SW (19%); an orientation which represented only 6.8% of Tuckwell's dataset. The predominance of west-orientated burials amongst those individuals placed on their right side

[19] It is not possible to clarify the accuracy of the early antiquarian observations regarding the position and orientation of the burials (see criticism of this point regarding Greenwell's observation by Kinnes and Longworth 1985, 13). However, no significant discrepancies between the observations of antiquarians and modern excavators is determined with reference to side positioning.

(Tuckwell 1975, 100) is not reflected in the children's burials. Although 20% of these burials share this association (consistent with Tuckwell's overall figures) a further 20% are orientated towards the east. This suggests that there was less consistency in the placement of children's burials than adults and could suggest that social concepts of gender were more fluid with regards to immature individuals in Yorkshire.

Extended

Bodies placed in extended supine position are not common, but several examples of both adult and child burials are known from Yorkshire (Greenwell 1877, 22). Only four children are recorded in this position, deriving from only two graves:

- Goodmanham LXXXIX: double inhumation comprising the remains of a child of 8-10 years extended with the head to the ENE and the body of a child less than 17 years also extended but with the body orientated in the opposite direction to the younger child (YI 45 & 46: Greenwell 1877, 299).
- Heslerton barrow 1M: grave containing two extended child burials and an adult cremation (YI 172 & 173: Powlesland 1986, 91, fig 25)[20].

Seated

The occurrence of bodies interred in graves in seated postures is very rare in the Early Bronze Age. Only one possible example amongst the dataset, from barrow 265 of Mortimer's Blanch group, E.R. was recorded. Here, two children were interred at the base of the principal central grave, possibly in a wooden container. The bones were described as being in a jumbled, dismembered state in two separate piles accompanied by a fragmentary pot. Mortimer explains the condition of the bones as upright seated bodies which had slumped during decay forming distinct heaps of bones (YI 93 & 94: Mortimer 1905, 330). In this instance, it is more likely that these were reburials of defleshed bones.

6.2.6 Manipulation of the body

Disturbed and disarticulated remains

[20] There is a discrepancy between position of the two extended skeletons described in the text on page 91 and the figure of the grave (fig. 25) in the original published report (Powlesland 1986). In the text, the 2-3 year old child (IM359 = YI 172) is described as placed with the head to the south. In the figure, this individual is orientated with the head to the north. Similarly, the text describes the later cremation as overlying this young child but in the figure the cremation clearly overlies the older child (IM304 = YI 173). Without consulting the site archives, there is no way of resolving this discrepancy in the published report.

Differentiating between *in situ* interments that have been disturbed and graves containing disarticulated skeletal remains can be problematic, particularly from early excavation reports which often lack the level of detail required to clarify. Eleven burials comprise the disarticulated and fragmentary remains of adults and children[21]. These appear to be the dislocated remains of earlier burials, partially removed or disturbed during the insertion of a later burial. This is well illustrated by the scattered bones of three adults and child, associated with sherds from a Beaker in the fill of a primary phase grave at Cowlam LVI, E.R. (YI 19: Greenwell 1877, 214). Maintaining the integrity of the existing interments does not appear to have been of concern to the later grave diggers. This clearly shows that the re-interment of disarticulated skeletal elements of children and adults alike in the grave fill of complete secondary burials was an acceptable, if not common practice (Gibson 2004a).

In contrast, is the careful re-arrangement of a disturbed skeleton was observed at Willerby barrow XXXIII, E.R. Here, the principal interments in a shaft grave containing sequential burials appear to be that of an adult male and a child, both of which were disturbed by the later insertion of the body of an adult female. Greenwell noted that the skeleton of the child had been disturbed and afterwards the bones replaced in some semblance of order. But the person responsible for their rearrangement had got the placement wrong: the pelvic bones were laid close to the head and the right tibia was reversed (YI 225: Greenwell 1877, 181-3). This suggests that the child's cadaver was in an advanced state of decomposition or completely skeletonised when this disturbance and re-arrangement took place.

In other cases it is more difficult to argue that disturbance was due to insertion of later burials, such as that from Towthorpe Barrow 21, where Mortimer observed the crouched inhumation of an adult associated with the fragmentary remains of an infant on a mass of humic material (YI 184: Mortimer 1905, 13). It is unclear from the description whether the incomplete condition of the infant's skeleton was due to advanced decay or because the skeleton was fragmentary at the time of deposition, perhaps representing a reburial from elsewhere. At Ganton XXVI, a child's skull and longbone were found with a crouched adult inhumation (Greenwell 1877, 171-3). Signs of disturbance were noted in the area but in this case it seems plausible that the remains of the child were not complete at the time of burial.

[21] Disturbed remains of children in grave fills: YI 13& 14, YI 17, YI 18, YI 19, YI 62, YI 97, YI 100, YI 150, YI 178, YI 181, YI 232 & 233

Similarly, at Towthorpe barrow 106, a grave was found to contain the crouched inhumation of an adult female and newborn infant. Close to but above the adult, as well as in other places in the grave, were found detached bones of a child of 12-18 months which Mortimer observed had been 'barbarously severed' (Mortimer 1905, 13). It is difficult to know how this should be interpreted but no cut marks were noted on the bones at the time of excavation. As we have seen in the cases described above, fragmentary, disarticulated skeletal remains are frequently encountered in grave fills and in most instances appear to be the re-interment of disturbed earlier skeletons. Mortimer's assertion that the remains had been deliberately mutilated, in this instance, does not appear to be substantiated.

A clear case of reburial of white bone is present at Aldro barrow 54, E.R. (YI 129). Here a jumbled mass of human bones representing an adult and an 8-10-year-old child was found arranged in a long heap at the base of the grave (Mortimer 1905, 65).

Mutilation and re-arrangement of skeletal elements

As demonstrated above, disarticulated and fragmentary immature skeletons are not uncommon in Yorkshire. But the deliberate re-arrangement of the skeleton or mutilation of the corpse after death is rare.

One clear example is present from Garton Slack barrow 51 where a bone was removed from the grave some time after deposition and retained. Mortimer observed that 'the head, vertebrae of the neck and the right scapula had been severed from its shoulders and placed close to its pelvis' (1905, 330). Rather, it is suggested here that the partially decomposed cadaver of the child was disturbed and moved during the insertion of a later adult burial. Manipulation and movement of an earlier interment for the insertion of a new burial is not uncommon but in this instance Mortimer also notes that the mandible was missing suggesting that it had been removed and retained.

The retention of the bones of children from formal burials was clearly not a normative practice, but such it is argued here in accordance with the views of Gibson (2004a) and Brück (2004a; 2004b; 2006) that the fragmentation of human remains and the retention of bones as relics is intertwined with a veneration of the ancestors that appear to permeate Earlier Bronze Age funerary rites. The inclusion of children in this rite demonstrates that it

was not only acceptable for children's remains to be fragmented after burial and elements retained, but that the bones of children and adults alike could be curated as relics.

6.2.7 Relics: children as ancestors

As alluded to above, the process of fragmentation of the human body could be quite deliberate and may have been considered to embody a state of transformation; the bones becoming a source of fertility and continuity (Brück 2006, 302). Most instances of missing bones appear to concur with a re-opening of the grave implying that bones were recovered from the grave when partially or fully decayed.

It has been suggested elsewhere that the retention of skeletal remains, from both burnt and unburnt bodies was practised during this period with far greater frequency than has previously been recognised (Gibson 2004a). In some circumstances it was acceptable for the remains to be kept in circulation amongst the mourners as tokens for the deceased (Brück 2004b, 180). Such ancestral relics may have been deliberately deposited alongside later burials as a form of heirloom.

Fragmentary skeletons of children are frequently encountered in graves in Yorkshire. In many cases these are disturbed earlier burials or deposits of disarticulated bones as discussed above. But in ten further graves isolated bones were found, often accompanying complete crouched adult inhumations (Table 6.10). The propensity for these singular skeletal elements to consist of skull or jaw bone fragments implies that these bones are not simple accidental inclusions or disturbed remains but are specially selected bones. It is suggested here that these are relics; bones retained and curated for some time prior to burial.

When associated with an articulated corpse, the relic bones may have been purposefully positioned. In two instances, at Ganton XXVI (YI 166) and at Moneyhill (YI 57) the child's individual bones were placed at the back of the crouched body; in a position consistent with the placement of a pottery vessel or other grave good, implying that in these instances the child's bones were placed in the grave as objects.

6.2.8 Pathology

Very little data is available about the general health of children during life or possible causes of death of the individuals under consideration here.

Childbirth

As outlined on page 57-8 with regard to Scottish burials, the birthing process posed many dangers to both mother and child. Only one foetus and three neonates are present in the recorded burials from Yorkshire (YI 246: Wood 1972; YI 15, YI 208, YI 222: Mortimer 1905, 13, 125, 162). Based on their respective ages, it is likely that the foetus was stillborn and the neonates died a short time (hours, days or weeks) after birth. This could have been due to a congenital defect, post-partum infection or other complications during birth.

Congenital abnormalities

Recent re-examination of the bones of a newborn baby from Towthorpe barrow 106, E.R. confirmed that the child was no more than one-month-old at time of death (Ogden 2010, 93). Also noted were two fused cervical vertebra indicating that the child suffered from a congenital shortened neck consistent with Klippel-Feil syndrome (*ibid*, 93). Ogden suggests that this syndrome is commonly linked with spina bifida and cleft palate and emphasises that either may have caused the early death of this individual (*ibid*, 93).

Dietary deficiencies

Only one child from Yorkshire displays osteological modifications indicative of dietary deficiency or prolonged illness. Enamel hypoplasia (see page 59), a banding of dental enamel, was noted on both maxillary first incisors, canines and mandible molars of a 14-16-year-old at Caythorpe Barrow, E.R. (YI 16: Abramson 1996, 82). No instances of cribra orbitalia were noted on the children from Yorkshire.

Infection

An 18-30-month-old child at Ampleforth barrow 3, N.R. was found to have suffered a massive infection at the base of the mandible near the ear causing osteological changes to the bone (Brown 1994, 189). It is unclear whether this infection was severe enough to cause the death of the child.

Other

A very unusual pathological condition was noted by Rolleston with regard to a young child at Greenwell's Etton barrow LXXXII. Found in association with this 3-year-old, close to the hips was a 'urinary calculus of the ordinary character, about the size of a large pea' (Greenwell 1877, 286). The 'stone' or calculus was not retained but may be from the kidney or bladder, corresponding to the position of the stone in relation to the body at the time of discovery. It is not possible to be sure which type of 'stone' this person had (Roberts & Cox 2003, 85). If Greenwell's identification is correct, this certainly could have contributed to the death of the child.

No evidence of injury or shared genetic non-metric variations were noted on the Yorkshire children.

6.2.9 Multiple inhumation burials

A total of 127 graves contained single immature skeletons; representing 60% of the burials under consideration (Figure 6.8 and Table 6.11). The dominance of unaccompanied children reflects broader patterns of adult inhumation funerary traditions. No specific age group of child was predominant within single, unaccompanied graves: 56% of young children (31 individuals), 46% of juveniles (14) and 53% of older children (19).

The remaining 40% of child inhumations are accompanied by at least one other individual (Table 6.12). These comprise 33 graves containing the remains of an adult and child, 8 graves with double child inhumations and 5 graves where the unburnt bones of a child are accompanied by cremated human bone. As Figure 6.9 demonstrates, the most common relationship is the contemporary burials of an adult and a child but in a small number of graves (12 examples) the interments were sequential. A summary of these graves is provided in Table 6.13.

Some hints at deliberate patterning are observed in double inhumation burials involving contemporary and sequential adult and child individuals. An assumption is present that adults in such double inhumations are more likely to be female than male, representing a mother and her child (Burgess 1980, 164; Ritchie & Stevenson 1982, 552; Cook 2000, 89;

Kamp 2001, 6). In some cases the identification of the adult as female appears to have been made solely because of the presence of accompanying child. In most burials, the sex of the adult could not be determined but in 13 cases the sex was identified as female (5) and male (8). In contemporary burials, the number of identified females and males is almost equal but in sequential burials children are more commonly found to be associated with adult males, particularly mature adults (Figure 6.10).

No distinct patterns could be determined in regard to the spatial relationship of adult and child bodies in the grave (Table 6.14). Similarly, no distinct trends could be determined in the placement of contemporary double child inhumations with equal numbers of children placed at opposing directions to those sharing orientations.

In addition to the 49 double burials in the dataset, a further 39 graves contained multiple interments (Figure 6.11). A summary of these multiple interments is given in Table 6.13. Both contemporary and sequential multiple interments are noted in relation to child inhumations. No distinction could be determined between the quantity of children present in sequential or contemporary interments; most having two children (Figure 6.12). An exceptionally complex sequence of interments at Willerby XXXIII contained the remains of five children (Greenwell 1877, 181-3).

6.2.10 Grave goods

The majority (58%) of the 249 children in Yorkshire are accompanied by at least one grave good (Table 6.15). In addition, in four graves the relationship between articles of material culture and the deceased is not clear. The remaining 40.5% of children are not accompanied by grave goods. In this group, are 19 graves containing multiple inhumations where grave goods are associated specifically with another interment. Unaccompanied children's graves are likely to be under-represented here because of the strict thresholds for inclusion in the study used here.

6.2.11 Associated material culture: pottery vessels

The most common associated grave good afforded to children in Yorkshire are ceramic vessels, which are found in 40% of the graves (Table 6.16). This frequency of association is higher than expected as it has been noted elsewhere that only 1 in 4 of inhumation burials as a whole in east Yorkshire are provided with accompanying vessels (Manby 1986, 122). This proportion superficially implies that children are more likely to be afforded a pot than adults but the bias in the dataset towards children with diagnostic Earlier Bronze Age grave goods, including pots, has undoubtedly skewed the dataset.

Like adult burials from Yorkshire, the provision of a pot typically involves a single example, usually a Beaker or a Food Vessel. Also present are small quantities of Collared Urns and Accessory Vessels (Fig 5.13). The form of the vessel chosen for inclusion in the grave was not connected to the age of the child but a trend towards provision of smaller-sized pots are noted in regard to both Beaker-and Food Vessel-accompanied graves.

Multiple pots

The majority of graves associated with pottery contained a single vessel (88.5%). Only 11.5% of pottery associated burials, contained more than one vessel, summarised in Table 6.17.

The provision of multiple pots in association with individual children can be seen in this light: e.g. the five- to seven-year-old child at Garton Slack barrow 61, E.R., which was accompanied by a Food Vessel and an accessory cup (YI 31: Mortimer 1905, 213) or the twelve- to fifteen-year-old from Lord Barrow, N.R., accompanied by a Beaker and a single sherd of an accessory vessel (YI 238: Smith 994, 105).

In two graves, including that from Painsthorpe Wold barrow 4, E.R. (YI 71: Mortimer 1905, 115) the number of pots matches the number of individuals in the grave. In this case, the burial was that of an adult and child. Each had been provided with a single Beaker pot, of similar size but of different styles. A similar practice of providing both adult and child with separate pots in a double burial is reflected in graves beyond Yorkshire: from Broomend of Crichie, Aberdeenshire (SI 05: Chalmers 1868) to Church Hill, Sussex (Curwen & Curwen 1935). In such graves, it is typical for the child to have been afforded a pot of much smaller size than that of the adult but at Painsthorpe Wold the pots were of similar dimensions. This

aspect of accompanying grave goods will be considered in more detail in the concluding discussion (p249).

Beakers

Twenty-six children's inhumation burials (11%) were associated with Beakers (Figure 6.14). In 23 of these graves, a single Beaker (either complete or fragmentary) was directly associated with children's skeletal remains (summarised in Table 6.16). In only three graves, more than two Beakers directly were associated with a child or children:

- Two small AOC Beakers placed behind the shoulder of a child or adolescent at Folkton CCXLV barrow, E.R. (YI 155: Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 116)
- A handled and Southern-style Beaker found with two children at Aldro barrow 116, E.R. (YI 142 & YI 143: Mortimer 1905, 55).
- At Painsthorpe Wold barrow 4, E.R. were a series of sequential burials including a double inhumation of adult and child (YI 71); behind the skull of each stood a Beaker (Mortimer 1905, 115).

The provision of two early Beakers with one child at Folkton is exceptional and is considered here to reflect other outstanding aspects of the grave. In addition to the associated Beakers, this child was placed into the grave wearing a complete jet disc-bead necklace; a rare, high-status ornament, typically reserved for adult female burials. The richness of this grave will be discussed in further detail in relation to the other grave goods (p125).

Two other graves, at Acklam Wold, E.R. (YI 118) and Lord Barrow, N.R. (YI 238), contained sherds from a second vessel; the former sherds of a pot of unidentified form and the later a small rim sherd from an accessory vessel (Mortimer 1905, 86; Smith 1994, 105).

Beaker style and form

Clarke's classification system is here quoted (1970) with regard to the form of the Beakers associated with children's burials. Problems relating to Clarke's classification have been acknowledged and outlined elsewhere but it is used here to clearly illustrate form and style (Bradley 2007, 144-5; Kinnes *et al* 1991; Sheridan 2007c, 2-3).

A wide range of Beaker forms accompany child inhumations in Yorkshire (Table 6.18). In contrast to the Beakers provided for children in Wessex, however, only one 'domestic ware' decorated pot is present, associated with a 3-4-year-old child at Painsthorpe Wold barrow 4 (YI 73: Mortimer 1905, 117, fig 282). An unornamented Beaker from Wharram Percy barrow 67, E.R., associated with an infant, may also be considered as a domestic-style vessel (YI 135: Mortimer 1905, 49, fig 84). Clarke's classification of such rusticated Beakers of FN and FP class are discussed in further detail with reference to the Wessex associated examples (see p185). These pots were considered by Clarke to be domestic pots rather than specifically made funerary goods.

Size

Dimensions are available for twenty vessels and are presented in Figure 6.15, showing a wide height range from 80 to 219 mm and 85 to 152 mm in rim diameter. No distinct cluster of sizes, as noted for both Scotland and Wessex, is observed with regard to the Yorkshire Beakers.

Case's 1995 study of Beaker capacities in Yorkshire, Oxford and Wiltshire in relation to the age and sex of the associated deceased individual demonstrated that those from Yorkshire showed far less distinction in pot capacity between adult males, adult females and immature individuals than those in the other study areas (Case 1995, fig 6.2). He demonstrated that pots of low capacity (less than 500 cc) are more commonly associated with immature individuals. Beakers of high capacity (between 2000 and 4500 cc) are rare in this area (far more so than in both Oxford and Wiltshire) but where present are typically associated with adults. In both Oxford and Wiltshire, a clear distinction between pot capacity could be observed between the youngest category of children (defined by Case as 'child') and the oldest (defined as 'adolescent') with the pot sizes associated with adolescents reflecting those of adults. In Yorkshire this distinction is not present. This implies that although immature individuals were more likely than adults to be furnished with a small-sized Beaker, in general, there was little difference in the size and capacity of pots based on age within the study area.

Beaker position relative to the skeleton

Following Clarke's study of the position of Beakers in relation to the body of the deceased (1970, 455), Tuckwell conducted an investigation of the position of Beakers in relation to Yorkshire burials (1975). She devised a scheme of eight variable positions of pottery in the

grave, summarised as: by the face, the hands, the knees, the feet, behind the legs, behind the pelvis, behind the back and behind the head (Tuckwell 1975, fig 1). Tuckwell observed that the majority of Beakers in Yorkshire, looking at adult and child burials together, were positioned behind the head, in front of the face and in front of the feet (1975, 108-9, fig. 8a). The location of the Beaker in relation to the skeletal remains is known in 20 cases (Figure 6.16). In Yorkshire, the majority of Beakers are found by the face of the child (in 6 graves, equalling 23% of Beaker associated graves) and behind the head (in 5 graves, 19%) which is consistent with the dominant positioning of Beakers with adults.

Condition

In 5 graves, Beaker sherds were recovered alongside disarticulated human remains in grave fills containing multiple inhumations (YI 17, YI 19, YI 91, YI 119, YI 183). It is argued that these bones represent disturbed earlier burials, re-arranged by the insertion of a later burial. In these graves it is likely that the Beakers accompanied the earlier interment, broken and dispersed during this disturbance. None of the Beakers appear to have been fragmentary at the time of deposition.

Food Vessels

Food Vessels are the most common vessel type accompanying burials in eastern Yorkshire (Manby 1986, 122). General aspects of Food Vessel and Food Vessel Urn classifications and characteristics are outlined in reference to the Scottish dataset (see p64-5). However, it is worth expanding on this in reference to a particular type of Food Vessel in this region: the Yorkshire Vase (Figure 6.17). This sub-type of Food Vessel, found predominantly in north-east England was classified by Miss Chitty in 1938 and conforms to Abercromby's type 1a (1912) and Childe's type B (1935). These vessels are characterised by their vase-shape, with a groove on the carinated shoulder which often holds a series of perforated or imperforate stops (Kitson Clark 1937).

A total of 57 Food Vessels were found in children's graves, from 55 separate burials. The large majority of graves contained a single Food Vessel in association with a child, or children (95%) but three burials contained more than one pot, including that from Ampleforth barrow 3 where two Yorkshire Vases accompanied a child between eighteen- to thirty-months-old (YI 235: Smith 1994, 100-1).

Form

Food Vessels are traditionally classified into two broad categories: bowl and vases (Gibson 2002, 95). Bowls are small vessels whose height is less than or equal to their greatest diameter whilst vases are taller than their maximum diameter. The majority of vessels in Yorkshire fall into the first category, bowls (Table 6.19). Food Vessels are further distinguished between those of bipartite and tripartite forms (also known as ridged), and the particular class of vessel just considered above, known in north-east Britain as the Yorkshire Vase.

Some less common vessel types are also present, such as a Food Vessel found at Heslerton barrow 1R with a 3-6-year-old (YI 179). This is an uncommon form of Food Vessel due to the single lug attached to one side, just below the rim (Manby 1986, 123). Single-lugged vessels are not common in Yorkshire but are known from Driffield Barrow 278 and Towthorpe Barrow 26, the later accompanying an inhumation (Mortimer 1905, 296, fig 296; *ibid*, 12, fig 26) and are considered to be a distinctive form of Handled vessel.

A further unusual Handled Food Vessel comes from the grave of a child at Garrowby Wold barrow 104 (YI 82: Mortimer 1905, 136, fig 353). Handled Food Vessels are a rare class in the Food Vessel tradition encompassing less than 1% of all Northern Food Vessels (Manby 2004, 215). A detailed discussion of the origins, form, distribution and use of these handled Food Vessels has been advanced by Manby (2004). Manby makes little comment as to the significance and meaning of such vessels in graves but does point out their broad similarity to high-status, exotic handled vessels of amber, shale and gold found in Wessex graves (Gerloff 1975). The implication of the rarity of such single-handled vessels is that they were considered to be high-value items. The selection of such a vessel for inclusion in the grave of a child implies that the child was a significant and important member of the community and/or an individual who required special presentation in the Otherworld.

Size

Food Vessels in children's graves in this region range from 72 mm to 180 mm in height and 86 to 194 mm in rim diameter (Figure 6.18). Most pots are 90 mm to 150 mm in height and 120 mm to 180 mm but 2 miniature vessels, both under 100mm in height and diameter, are present. The Food Vessels show a similar range of dimensions to those from Scotland and Wessex. Although the range of dimensions of Food Vessels present in the graves of children in Yorkshire are broadly consistent with those noted in adult graves, it is significant to note

that older children tend to be furnished with much taller pots than those afforded to young children and juveniles (Figure 6.19).

Placement in relation to the body

As with Beaker pottery, the placement of Food Vessels in the grave in relation to the body is not random. The significance of this is not clear, particularly in relation to Food Vessels which have seen less academic attention, yet Tuckwell noted eight typical positions for pottery to be deposited (1975, 108-9). Her study of the placement of Food Vessels in Yorkshire graves (both adult and children's graves) demonstrated that most vessels were placed at the face or behind the head of the deceased (Tuckwell 1975, 109, fig 8b).

The location of the vessel in the grave is known in 39 child burials (Figure 6.20). Twenty-three pots conform to the preferred suite of locations defined by Tuckwell with the majority being located at the face (15) or behind the head (3) as Tuckwell's wider study demonstrated. A further 7 pots were found 'at the head' of the deceased. More unusual placement of the vessels in the grave were noted in 11 graves: including examples placed at the chest of the deceased (YI 70, 110, 113), at the knees (YI 03, 195, 248), at the legs (YI 34), above the skull (YI 179), associated with a cremation in the grave of two inhumed children (YI 195 & 196), inverted over disarticulated, ?relic bones (YI 236) and finally, one example deposited in a fragmentary condition in two distinct heaps in a grave containing disarticulated remains of two young people (YI 193 & 194).

Condition

Most Food Vessels were placed intact into the grave at the time of deposition. In some instances, the pots were severely crushed or incomplete at time of discovery due to disturbance in antiquity but are likely to have been complete at deposition. In four graves however the pots are clearly fragmentary at the time of deposition and may represent heirlooms or special pots with extended biographies which will discussed be further in the concluding chapter:

- Willerby XXXIV: multiple interment including two children (YI 229-30); basal sherds of Food Vessel present. No trace of missing fragments of pot (Greenwell 1877, 183-4; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 44).
- Blanch group, barrow 265: Possible reburial of disarticulated bones of two young people (YI 93 & 94); sherds of a single Food Vessel had been placed between the

two piles of bone in two distinct heaps. Mortimer notes that a portion of the vessel was missing and could not be located (1905, 330).

- Weaverthorpe barrow XLV: Yorkshire Food Vessel with perforated lugs accompanying child (YI 221). One lug was missing at time of discovery (Greenwell 1877, 199-200).
- Painsthorpe Wold 98: fragments of Food Vessel accompanying burial of very young child (YI 79: Mortimer 1905, 129)

Collared Urns

Six graves associated with inhumed children in Yorkshire contained Collared Urns (Table 6.20). Only three, from Goodmanham LXXXIX (YI 42: Greenwell 1877, 297; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 82), Painsthorpe Wold 102 (YI 80) and Painsthorpe Wold 118 (YI 206) (Mortimer 1905, 125) were recovered intact. A further grave at Cowlam LV (YI 17: Greenwell 1877, 213-4; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 55) also contained sherds of an unidentified cinerary urn; this is likely to have been sherds from a disturbed earlier burial and not necessarily directly related to the child's interment. One possible further urn, from Painsthorpe barrow 118 (YI 209) was described by Mortimer as a 'food-vase'. Mortimer goes on to compare the shape of the vessel to a Collared Urn from the same barrow and notes a similar 'deep border', implying collar (Mortimer 1905, 126, fig. 315). This pot has not been classified by Longworth (1984) and its form cannot be confirmed.

Although none of the Collared Urns associated with children here could be classified as miniatures, it is significant to note that they tend to be smaller than the national average (Gibson 2002, 96). This hints at a practice of specifically selecting small-sized vessels for inclusion in a child's grave.

Accessory vessels

Only four accessory cups are present, two of which have been classified as miniature Food Vessels (YI 31: Garton Slack 62 & YI 39: Wetwang Slack barrow b). The form of the other two is unknown. Two accessory cups, from Garton Slack, E.R. (YI 31) and Lord Barrow, N.R. (YI 238) were associated with another vessel whereas those from Wetwang Slack, E.R. (YI 39) and Goodmanham CXI (YI 49), were the only pots provided.

Previous suggestions that pygmy vessels and other accessory vessel types are specifically associated with the graves of children, as has been proposed for Ireland, cannot be substantiated from the Yorkshire evidence (Ó Donnabháin & Brindley 1990).

6.2.12 Associated material culture: non-ceramic grave goods

A total of 30 of graves, comprising 34% of accompanied burials, contained pottery and non-ceramic grave goods. A further 36 graves contain non-ceramic artefacts consisting of personal tools produced from flint and bone, ornaments of bone, jet and shale, possible organic objects and food offerings *inter alia.* These non-ceramic grave goods will be discussed according to their potential function.

Ornaments, amulets and charms

Ornaments in the form of beads, pins and pendants produced from a variety of materials are amongst the most common associated grave goods in inhumations of this period. This is reflected in the children's graves, with 19 sharing this association.

Worked bone

Two main categories of worked bone ornaments are associated with children in Yorkshire; bone pins and toggles (Figure 6.21).

Bone pins are associated with 11 children's graves (Table 6.21). Following Longworth's classification (1984, 63-4), the examples associated with children in Yorkshire tend to be of skewer type (Longworth type 1) or are imperforate splinters of bone polished only near the point (Longworth type 4). The pins were found at a range of locations in the grave in relation to the position of the body but the majority were found around the skull implying use as hair pins or to secure head gear (Table 6.22). Alternatively these could be seen as shroud pins. One, from Folkton CCXLV, was found behind the femurs of the child beside two chalk drums (Greenwell 1890, 14-16; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 115-116, no.4) and it is suggested here that the pin had been used to secure a fabric or leather bag containing and protecting the chalk objects.

Analysis of the ages of children accompanied by bone pins in Yorkshire shows a definite trend towards association with juveniles and younger children (Figure 6.22). This could imply a difference in the garments worn or a variation in the techniques used to fasten the garments or hairstyles of younger children and those for children of more advanced years.

Bone toggles or dress fastenings were associated with 2 graves (Table 6.21). All three examples are of unusual form. One, from Garton Slack barrow 64, E.R. (YI 31), is a short bar shaped toggle broken across a centrally perforated narrow rounded expansion on one side (Mortimer 1905, 212, fig 531 & 532). A far more elegant example of similar form comes from the Boscombe Bowmen grave in Wiltshire (Fitzpatrick, *in prep)*.

Bronze

Only 2 children were associated with bronze objects: a ten- to seventeen-year-old from Heslerton barrow IR, E.R. was associated with a fragment of copper alloy pin (YI 177: Powlesland 1986, 98) and an exceptional burial of an eight- to seventeen-year-old child from Garton Slack barrow 53 was accompanied by two decorated bronze rings found on either side of the child's skull, possibly originally worn as ear- or hair-rings (YI 30: Mortimer 1905, 218, fig.560-1). Also present in the latter grave was a segmented jet cylinder, similar in appearance to a segmented bead but imperforate, a fragment of fossil ammonite and a piece of ochre, suggested by Mortimer as charms (Mortimer 1905, 218). Bronze ear- or hair-rings of this type are rare and tend to be associated with adult females. The association of these objects with children is exceptional and only one other example, from Barrow Hills, Radley, Oxfordshire is known (Barclay & Halpin 1999).

Beads, buttons and studs: jet and other materials

Only eight children were accompanied by jet ornaments. A summary listing of jet and associated ornaments is given in Table 6.23 and illustrated by Figure 6.23. A wide range of ornament types is present including biconical, disc and fusiform beads, bipartite studs, v-perforated buttons and more unusual items such as the segmented imperforate cylinder from Garton Slack barrow 53 referred to above (YI 30: Mortimer 1905, 218, fig 558). Many of these beads, including those from Pinderdale Wood (YI 237: Hayes 1963; Smith 1994, 101), and the toggle from Painsthorpe Wold barrow 118 (YI 211: Mortimer 1905, 125) are likely to be derived from broken-up spacer-plate necklaces. Such items were probably re-used for their significance as heirlooms and amulets as well as performing a decorative function (Sheridan & Davis 2002, 824, Woodward 2004; 2005, 51).

Two exceptional sets of ornaments are present: including that of the complete disc-bead necklace, comprising 160 individual jet beads, found *in situ* around the neck of an immature individual at Folkton barrow CCXLV (YI 155: Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 116). Complete disc-bead necklaces are typically associated with adult females (Holden & Sheridan 2001) and their association with children in exceptional as discussed with reference to the example from West Water Reservoir, Peebles-shire found with a three- to five-year-old-child (see p.69-70; Hunter 2000).

The second set of ornaments was found with the rich child burial at Garton Slack 53 consisting of a segmented jet toggle, an ammonite fragment and two bronze ear-or hair-rings, discussed in detail above. The ammonite fragment is difficult to catagorise but may have been placed in the grave as an amulet or charm. A further instance of the provision of a fossil in a child's grave comes from Seamer Moor, where a fossil encrinite appears mirrors the shape and form of a segmented faience bead and is likely to have been used to mimic this material (Smith 1994, 153, fig 123:8).

The ages of children accompanied by jet and fossil ornaments shows a clear association with juveniles and older children (Fig 6.24). No young children under five years of age share this association, indicating that ornaments of this type were not considered appropriate for inclusion in the grave of a young child in this region.

Personal tools

Flint tools

After ceramic vessels, flint implements are the most common objects associated with child burials in Yorkshire: they accompany 40 inhumations, listed in Table 6.24. The majority (26) of graves contain only one flint artefact; a small number (7) have two; and more than five flints are rare, with only four examples present. These include the burial of a youth accompanied by 25 splinters of flint found behind the head and shoulders from Hanging Grimston barrow 55, E.R. (YI 202: Mortimer 1905, 101, fig 247a-e).

A fairly restricted range of artefact types is present dominated by tools such as blades, flakes, knives, scrapers, piercers and splinters which are likely to be debitage (Figure 6.24). Also

present are a small number of arrowheads which will be discussed separately in regard to weaponry.

In terms of function and use, eleven broad types of tool have been identified within inhumed children amongst the dataset. These are summarised in Table 6.25.

Four possible functional groups can be discerned:

- Hide preparation and leatherworking: scrapers and points
- general purpose tools (food preparation, leather processing *inter alia*): blades and knives
- working waste: flakes and splinters
- hunting/warfare/ceremony: arrowheads (to be discussed separately)

It is not necessary within the scope of this study to explore the details of these tools in depth. Yet, it is pertinent to consider how these items may have functioned and why these, of the range of tools available, were considered by the living community to be appropriate for burial with a child.

The inclusion of hide preparation and leatherworking tools in 10 burials displays a trend towards association with older children. This implies that flint tools were considered to be more appropriate for inclusion in the burial of children of more advanced years and could suggest that they were functional tools used during life or to be used in the Otherworld by the child. The association of a piercer with an infant from Hanging Grimston barrow 55 is a notable exception (YI 201: Mortimer 1905, 100), although a direct association with the child, rather than the adult in the grave, cannot be substantiated. Could these tools have been provided in the grave to indicate the skills that these older children possessed as leatherworkers? This seems a plausible suggestion but it is also possible that the mourners wanted to present these individuals to the ancestors in the otherworld as potential leatherworkers or craftspeople.

Flint flakes and splinters accompany 12 graves. Here, the range of ages of the accompanying children is wider. Although the suggestion is purely conjectural, it possible that these children were apprentices, being taught the art and skills of flint working as suggested by Finlay (2000) and Grimm (2000) for other geographical areas and chronological periods.

Looking more broadly at the ages of the children that flint tools accompany, a trend towards older children is observed (Figure 5.26). A further 24 children are not accurately aged but again, a general trend towards association with adolescents, young people and youths is noted.

Very few accounts state the condition of the artefacts, although 5 knives and 1 arrowhead from 6 burials (YI 17, YI 34, YI 134, YI 150, YI 155 & 156 and YI 238) are described as fragmentary and may have been broken deliberately at the time of deposition, in effect, ritually killing the object.

Coarse stone tools

Although not a common grave good, coarse stone tools in the form of grinders, pounders, rubbing stones and whetstones are occasionally noted in association with Earlier Bronze Age burials (Brück 2006, 301). Only three child inhumation graves contained coarse stone tools, summarised briefly below:

- Stone chisel: all over ground and polished with a reworked edge; cutting edge damaged (Manby 1974, 118). Associated with the skull of a child at Cowlam barrow LIX, E.R. (YI 24: Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 58-9).
- Pestle with facetted abrasion (grinder?) and a smoothed pebble (smoother/grinder?) associated with a 14-15-year-old at Lord Barrow, N.R. (YI 238: Smith 1994, 105).
- Abraded and split sandstone pebble (?grinder): found at right knee of adolescent in double child inhumation at Goodmanham barrow LXXXIX, E.R. (Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 82-3).

This small suite of tools is dominated by cobble tools displaying abrasion and smoothing, many plausibly interpreted as grinders; general purpose tools which could *inter alia* have been used to grind foodstuffs, prepare clay for potting or grind pigments (McLaren 2011b, 101).

Copper alloy awls

Two children, from Garton Slack barrow 37, E.R.(YI 26) and Aldro barrow 116, E.R. (YI 141) were associated with copper alloy awls (Mortimer 1905, 231, 262, fig 728). Both are

single-sided awls; the example from the later grave retained traces of an organic handle remaining.

Antler picks

Picks produced from antlers are associated with three child graves in Yorkshire: Howe Hill barrow 273, Duggleby, E.R. (YI 86 & YI 87), Painsthorpe barrow 118, E.R. (YI 205) and Riggs group, barrow 41, E.R. (YI 218) (Mortimer 1905, 27, 125, 180). None of the picks were closely associated with the body in the grave and it is unlikely that they were deposited in the burial as grave goods. Rather, it is likely that these picks had been used to dig out the grave in preparation for the burial and had been deposited there either because they had broken or become exhausted through wear or because they were seen as unclean due to their proximity with death. A further grave, at Hunmanby barrow CCLI, E.R. (YI 183), contained an antler fragment, potentially from another pick (Greenwell 1890, 2).

Weaponry

Artefacts of this category are rarely associated with children in Yorkshire or indeed beyond. Three graves in this region are associated with single arrowheads; two of barbed-and-tanged form and one leaf-shaped example. The latter, from Lord Barrow, N.R. (YI 238: Smith 1994, 105) either implies an early date for burial (e.g. Late Neolithic) or that the arrowhead was of some antiquity at time of deposition, perhaps included in the grave of a child as an heirloom.

The other two burials, associated with barbed-and-tanged arrowheads are more problematic. The example from Ganton barrow XXVI does not represent a normative burial: only the skull of the immature individual was deposited, with the arrowhead placed near the face (YI 163: Greenwell, 1877, 171-3). At Cowlam barrow LV, the disturbed bones of an adult and child (YI 17) were found in a shaft grave which contained a sequence of interments. Found in the grave fill alongside the bones of the adult and child were fragments of a cinerary urn, a barbed-and-tanged arrowhead of flint and a fragment of a polished greenstone axe. Because of the disturbed context of the finds, the original relationship between the skeletal remains and the objects could not be confirmed (Greenwell 1877, 213-4). Similarly, at Huggate Wold barrow 225, a series of interments were found including the fragmentary remains of an adult, an infant (YI 162), and at the base of the grave was the articulated skeleton of a young person (YI 163). Mortimer recorded finding a roughout hammerhead produced from antler in the grave (Mortimer 1905, 301).

Organic objects

Eight graves contained traces of organic grave goods in the form of unidentified decayed organic objects, possible animal skin wrappings or garments, and/or leather containers. These are summarised below.

Decayed organic objects:

- Aldro Group, barrow 59, E.R.: crouched skeleton of a child approx. 1 year of age accompanied by a Food Vessel. On the west side of the pot was a cavity in the clay left by a decayed object (YI 130: Mortimer 1905, 69).
- Caythorpe Barrow, E.R.: inhumation of a child in a wooden coffin or timber-lined grave. Further amorphous stains were noted in the fill that may represent organic grave goods (YI 16: Abramson 1996, 11).
- Garton Slack group, barrow 37, E.R.: group of artefacts deposited alongside the remains of a deceased young person including a black flint and a bronze awl enclosed in a dark decayed matter, suggested here as the remains of a leather container (YI 26: Mortimer 1905, 262)
- Huggate Wold barrow 226, E.R.: remains of a decayed wooden object, described by Mortimer as approximately 60cm in length and between 30 and 45cm in width which had been placed along the south side of the body of an 8-10-year-old (YI 64: Mortimer 1905, 303).

Skin wrappings or garments:

- Aldro group, barrow 116, E.R.: behind the pelvis of a child were the radius, ulna and carpal bones (the limb bones) of a dog or fox (YI 141: Mortimer 1905, 54). It was not noted whether the bones were articulated but they could be the remains of a fur garment or wrapping. Alternatively, the fox/dog limb could have been a talisman to protect the child in the Otherworld.
- Garton Slack barrow 53, E.R.: a mass of decayed matter of porous texture was noted by Mortimer in association with this child's burial. Mortimer suggested that this may have been the remains of a food deposit because of the recovery of an ox tooth from the material (see food offerings below). It is possible that this could have been the remains of an oxhide but as the material was not retained it is not possible to confirm (YI 30: Mortimer 1905, 218).

- Green Howe, N.R.: Beneath the body of a 12-13-year-old was a layer of dark carboniferous material, described as greasy to the touch; possibly the remains of an hide (YI 248: Wood 1972, 8).
- Riggs group, barrow 42, E.R.: a layer of black sooty-like mould was observed underlying the skeleton of a child; possibly the remains of a hide or organic wrapping (YI 218: Mortimer 1905, 180).

Food offerings?

Fourteen graves (Table 6.26) were associated with possible food offerings in the form of animal bones (10 graves), fruit or berry seeds (1 grave) and other decayed matter, perhaps representing liquid offerings (3 graves). Looking first at the animal bones, pig, ox and sheep/goat are present as probable joints of meat. Leg-joints and ribs are the most common joints chosen for inclusion but one grave at Painsthorpe Wold barrow 102, E.R. (YI 80: Mortimer 1905, 124) is associated with the jaw bone of an ox.

It is assumed that most Beakers and Food Vessels were placed in the grave as receptacles for containing liquid or foodstuffs of some kind. In 2 graves (YI 03 and YI 34), the remains of food offerings in pots is present. In addition, Mortimer observed cavities in the floor of 2 graves (YI 76 and YI 136) in which he found organic matter that he interpreted as the remains of food offerings.

Other materials

Charcoal

Three graves contained deposits of charcoal: at Aldro barrow 59, E.R., Green Howe, E.R. and Sherburn XII (YI 130: Mortimer 1905, 69; YI 245 & YI 246: Wood 1972, 6; YI 195 & YI 196: Greenwell 1877, 150-2). It is suggested here that such charcoal deposits are likely to be associated with the burning of plant materials or organic objects as part of the funerary ceremony, the residues of which are deposited in the grave alongside the body of the deceased (Greenwell 1877, 30-1).

Shell

The unusual discovery of a scallop shell was made at Hutton Buscel barrow 2, N.R. in association with an 8-9-year-old child (YI 244: Brewster & Finney 1995, 55). Unfortunately this item was not recognised during excavation and was only identified during skeletal analysis but this suggests the shell was closely associated with the body, perhaps attached to a garment or worn as an amulet.

Animal bones

The recovery of horn cores in children's graves has been noted in three instances in Yorkshire. At Aldro barrow 116, E.R., the antler of a roebuck and core of the horn of an ox were found close to the feet of a 10-14-year-old child (YI 140: Mortimer 1905, 55) whereas at Ganton barrow XXIII, the horn cores and frontal bone of an ox were found to the west of the head of an adolescent (YI 162: Greenwell 1877, 168). The purpose and function of these horn cores in the grave are not clear.

At Garton Slack barrow 75, Mortimer records that the greater portion of the skull of a dog was closely associated with the grave of a child (YI 36: Mortimer 1905, 224). No other bones relating to the dog were recorded and it is assumed that the skull was in a defleshed state on deposition. It was suggested, following the assertions of John Lubbock that the dog's skull was placed in the grave as a talisman to protect and guide the child on their journey to the Otherworld (Lubbock quoted in Mortimer 1905, 224).

Special artefacts: heirlooms and ancestors

Greenwell's excavations at Folkton Barrow CCXLV recovered three unique highly-carved chalk artefacts in the grave of a five- to seven-year-old child at the inner edge of the outer ditch of the earthen barrow (YI 153: Greenwell 1890, 14-16; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 115-116). The objects are popularly known today as the Folkton Drums. One object was found near the head, the other two behind the child's hips closely associated with a fragment of bone pin. It seems likely that the later two artefacts were enclosed in a bag fastened by the bone pin. The form and decoration of these objects have been described in detail elsewhere and do not require reiteration here (Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 115-6, no 1-3; Longworth 1999) but are illustrated by Figures 6.27 & 6.28.

Although similar in form, they gradate in size suggesting a group to be used or displayed together. The sides and the tops of each of the drums are highly decorated, displaying a high

degree of craftsmanship and sophistication in design and execution. No other objects like them survive.

Despite previous detailed studies, the use and significance of these objects remains elusive being described previously as skeuomorphs of decorative organic boxes, basketry and drums (Greenwell 1890, 15; Thomas 1999, 158-9; Manby *et al* 2003, 58). They are considered to be objects of great social significance decorated with long established motifs of significant status or magical power (Manby *et al* 2003, 58). None of the previous studies of these objects address or explore the significance of their association with a child. A detailed discussion of the possible symbolism and significance of these objects in this context is offered in the concluding chapter (p253-5)

6.3 BURIAL AFTER CREMATION

6.3.1 Introduction

Despite over two hundred years of barrow excavations in this region, very few Earlier Bronze Age children's cremations have been recorded. This is seen as reflective of the general lack of study of cremated human bone and indicative of the different post-excavation treatment of unburnt and burnt remains.

A total of 93 deposits of cremated human bone involving the remains of children were recorded during a systematic search through the published records relating to this region. By using the criteria outlined in chapter 4 to eliminate questionable data, a somewhat reduced but reliable dataset has been used to inform the following discussion. A total of 18% of the original dataset was disregarded resulting in the consideration of 82% of the original dataset in the current study. This comprises 77 children of 15 years of age or younger, in 74 burials from 62 sites.

The majority of deposits of cremated bones of children come from E.R. (47 children). Smaller quantities of burials after cremation are noted in N.R. (26 children) and W.R. (4 children).

The limited quantity of children's cremations in Yorkshire compared to that of inhumations is mirrored in the dataset from Scotland and Wessex. This pattern is not unexpected given the limitations, particularly those of antiquarian barrow diggers, in identifying children's skeletal remains amongst deposits of cremated bone. It should be highlighted that the dataset under consideration here is likely to represent only a portion of those burials originally present. However, even by taking into consideration the probability of unrecognised cremations, it is clear that children are vastly under represented amongst cremation burials in Yorkshire. This suggests that eligibility to cremation and formal burial was not enjoyed equally during the Early Bronze Age in this region.

6.3.2 Identified age and sex

Age

Less than 20% of the cremation dataset in Yorkshire has been examined and identified by an osteologist or anatomical specialist. This is reflective of the period in which the majority of the burials were excavated and recorded.

As detailed previously, in consideration of the child inhumation burials from this region, specific reports on the skeletal remains only became a regular feature of excavation reports published from the late 1970's only. Such burials encompass only 19% of the Yorkshire cremation dataset. In reports prior to 1970, the age of the individual tended to be referred to by the excavator along side the other details of the burial but was not subject to a separate scientific examination by an osteologist.

The majority of children's cremation burials, encompassing 79% of the dataset, have been described in the published record using imprecise terminology, such as 'child' or 'adolescent', rather that expressing age in precise numerical form (Table 6.27). This is primarily the result of the burnt remains not being examined by an osteological specialist or when the condition/quantity of bones precludes exact identification.

Only 21% of the children identified in cremation burials in Yorkshire have been described in the original published record as being of a specific age, expressed in number of months or years. 56% of these burials were published after 1970 and include reports from osteologists summarising the results of examination of the cremated remains[22]. The remaining 43% are deposits of burnt human bone observed and reported on by Canon Greenwell (1877; 1890) and Mortimer (1905) in the late nineteenth century. For the purposes of analysis and to aid consistency, these children have been described here under the three broad age categories outlined on p39.

As the majority of individuals have been described using broad-meaning terminology, it is difficult to get a useful profile of the ages of the children present in the cremation burials of Yorkshire. What can be noted is how few young children and infants have been noted. This group of children was most at risk from infection and disease and yet only three children are identified as under 5-years of age or described as an 'infant'. Only one foetus was present, likely to have been *in utero* at the time of cremation (YC 45: Wetwang Slack barrow B; Dent 1979). No perinates, neonates or children under 1 year of age were recorded. This is in stark contrast with the cremation burials of Scotland and Wessex and implies that the burnt bones of very young children were rarely formally interred or are seldom recognised in the field.

6.3.3 Pyre technology and representation of human remains

General discussions about Earlier Bronze Age cremation technology, token deposits and collection strategies have been considered in detail in regard to cremations in Scotland (page 75). A few aspects of cremation pyre technology and representation of human remains is worthy of note in specific reference to the cremations of Yorkshire.

Over 80% of the children's cremations in Yorkshire were excavated and reported on prior to 1970 when methods of analysis of cremated bone were both varied in quality and in many instances, non-existent (see Appendix A, part IIb). A general unawareness of the potential importance of aspects of cremation methods, techniques and bone preservation meant that cremation burials were not examined or reported on in any detail prior to 1970. Information relating to the quantity of cremated bone present, the presence of pyre material or evidence for partial collection or post-cremation sorting of remains is generally lacking from earlier

[22] These comprise: YC 11, YC 45, YC 48, YC 56, YC 57, YC 58, YC 62, YC 64, YC 66, YC 74.

reports. Although a little more consistently addressed in later reports, this information is certainly not present in all.

The quantity of cremated bone present can be a useful indication of the efficiency of pyre and the collection of the burnt bone after cremation. The significance of the quantity of bone collected and the treatment of the bones prior to deposition is discussed in relation to Scottish cremations (p77). The weight of cremated bone has been recorded in only nine burials in the dataset (Table 6.28). Antiquarian accounts do not record the quantity of bone with any consistency, usually referring to the deposits as 'small heaps' or 'piles' of burnt bone (Mortimer 1905, 45, 130). The mass of burnt bone present varies between only 65g (such as that from Gnipe Howe; YC 64) and over 2400g, representing multiple individuals (such as that from Sawdon Moor, burial 2; YC 57). It is clear from the small masses of bones present that not all skeletal elements are present and the deposit either represents a deliberate, selective 'token deposit', or that the pyre was highly efficient. In contrast, the examination of the burnt bone in some deposits such as those from Wilton Moor (YC 48) and Sawdon Moor (YC 56 & YC 57) indicates that most of the skeletal elements expected are indeed present.

As well as the limited information present about the mass of burnt bone present, a similar lack of detail is available for any associated burnt material (e.g. ash, charcoal, vitrified material) which may provide information about aspects of pyre technology. Analysis of retained pyre material has not been undertaken with any consistency in Yorkshire but identification of oak charcoal of an early date in the cremated material at Great Ayton Moor (Hayes 1967; Smith 1994, 52) indicates the use of recycled timber in the construction of funerary pyres in this area. Efficiency of the pyre and the process of cremation with regard to children's bodies appears to have been variable with evidence of ineffective cremation in the form of poorly calcined bone from Wetwang Slack barrow B (YC 45 & 46: Dawes 1979, 38) to a very efficient cremation at Wilton Moor (YI 48: Parker 1991, 33).

Where analysis of the burnt bone has been undertaken, tentative hints of how the body was physically arranged on the pyre are observed. At Gnipe Howe, the burnt bones of a 12-16-year-old male, a young adult female and a possible second adolescent were deposited together in a stone-lined cist (YC 62 & 63: Smith 1994, 92; Brewster & Finney 1995, 1-3). The homogeneous degree of calcination of the bone observed from each body suggested that they had been burnt together on a single pyre. The observed patterns of distortion and

twisting of the bones and the subtle differences in levels of burning and scorching of particular bones suggested that the bodies had been placed on top of the pyre rather than laid out under it (Dawes 1995, 54; Wells 1960). In contrast, examination of the bones from a multiple cremation at Sawdon Moor involving the burial of a 6-7-year-old child and two adults suggested that the bodies had been placed in a hollow in the old ground surface with the pyre situated above (Brewster & Finney 1995, 13).

An unusual facet of the Yorkshire cremation dataset is the quantity of cremations *in situ*. Eleven children (12% of the Yorkshire dataset) were cremated *in situ* prior to the construction of a barrow mound. All of these burials, summarised in Table 6.29, were observed during antiquarian barrow investigations. In most instances, it appears that a shallow hollow was excavated in the original ground surface and the body either placed in the hollow and the pyre built above or the body placed on a pyre built above the hollow. When the cremation was complete, the burnt bones and pyre debris was covered over by the construction of the mound.

Several noteworthy points can be teased out of the antiquarian accounts regarding these *in situ* cremations. Firstly, the majority of these comprise the principal interment under their respective barrow mounds. Secondly, children of all ages were subject to this form of burial practice, from a child less than 3 years of age to those described as adolescents. At Goodmanham barrow LXXXIV, E.R. a total of eight cremation burials was noted by Greenwell, six of which were believed to be the remains of bodies cremated on the spot (1877, 288-90). Only one was identified as an adolescent (YC 36); this individual was the only child buried at the site.

The practice of burning bodies *in situ* appears to be a far more prevalent funerary rite in Yorkshire than in the other two study areas.

6.3.4 Post-cremation treatment of children's remains

The question of the full or partial collection of cremated bones from the pyre has been touched on previously, but it is worth expanding on this here in reference to the post-cremation treatment of children's remains in Yorkshire.

The degree of attention given to aspects of the post-cremation treatment of human bones in reference to Yorkshire burials is variable in published accounts both from antiquarian and modern excavations. Despite this, sufficient detail in 15 reports (23%) of children's burials (excluding those identified as cremated *in situ*) allow some general trends to be observed. Over 85% of such burials make reference to the inclusion of burnt materials such as burnt wood, charcoal, burnt gravel and earth, apparently debris from the pyre.

Such evidence implies that it was normal for pyre debris to be included with the burnt bone deposit. In only two instances, is there sufficient information available to suggest that the cremated bone had been sorted and buried separately from the pyre debris:

- Long Hill Cairn North, N.R.: burnt bones of a young child interred in a pit covered by a layer of charcoal and then a dome of clay capped with stones (YC 61). This capping covered a second pit containing ash and charcoal, interpreted as re-deposited pyre material. A broken and burnt flint from this pit was found to rejoin a flint tool found amongst the burnt bones. This implies that the burnt human bone had been carefully collected and separately buried from the pyre debris which was subsequently interred in a separate, but closely associated, pit (Strickland 1950; Smith 1994, 148).
- Cold Kirby barrow, CXXVIII, E.R.: Secondary burial of cremated bones of a young person/adolescent were contained in an upright Collared Urn (YC 59). The urn was carefully packed around with large pieces of charcoal (Greenwell 1877, 339). It is possible that the charcoal packing material derived from the pyre after collection of the burnt bones.

In two instances, from Hutton Buschel barrow 2 involving the cremation of a child and a multiple cremation burial at Sawdon Moor barrow 1, post-cremation mechanical breaking or crushing of the burnt bones has been suggested (Dawes 1995, 56-7).

Although the level of detail included in many of the accounts of these burials is limited enough detail has been presented to illustrate that children's remains were subject to the same range of post-cremation treatment as observed in adult cremation burials (McKinley 1997a, 143). This includes the sorting of cremated bone from the pyre material, the partial collection or partial burial of burnt bone and the crushing of bones prior to deposition.

6.3.5 Pathology

Unlike the cremation datasets from the other case study areas, the Yorkshire children's burials have supplied very little information about aspects of health, diet, disease and pathology. Insufficient detail is present in the antiquarian records to allow consideration of these issues and no indications of pathology were noted in any of the burials subject to detailed, modern, osteological examination.

In only one burial, that of a pregnant young adult female from Wetwang Slack barrow 2, can cause of death be suggested (YC 45, 583; Dawes 1979, 38). In this instance it is likely that complications during pregnancy or childbirth resulted in the loss of both mother and baby. Like that noted in reference to both the Scottish and Wessex burials, the small numbers of burials involving adult females and perinates/neonates is extraordinary considering the high mortality rate expected during this period.

6.3.6 Grave context and setting

As with child inhumations in Yorkshire, the cremation dataset in this region is dominated by burials deriving from round barrows and cairns (Table 6.30 and 6.31). A summary of the funerary monument evidence in Yorkshire as a whole has been considered above (page 101-6).

Table 6.30 demonstrates that the majority of children's cremations in the region came from round barrow sites of unspecified form; dominated by sites excavated by early barrow-diggers.

Barrows and cairns

74 burials after cremation were recovered from barrow sites and cairns. This comprises 98% of the dataset from E.R., 92% from N.R. and 100% from W.R. and includes barrows of unspecified form, double-ditched round barrows, earthen mounds which encompass an inner cairn, kerbed barrows and various forms of cairn (including ring cairns and banked cairns). The general absence of descriptions of the form of these upstanding monuments mirrors that of the child inhumation burials from this area (see page 101).

Pre-existing monuments

A minor component of the Yorkshire cremation dataset is the insertion of child cremations into existing, earlier monuments. In this region, only one example is present at the Neolithic cairn at Street House, Loftus in Cleveland, N.R. The site comprised a multiphase cairn which incorporated a Neolithic mortuary structure overlain in the Earlier Bronze Age with a ring cairn covered by an earthen mound (Vyner 1984). In the core of the mound a series of four Collared Urns including two associated with the cremations of children were recovered. One contained a multiple cremation deposit comprising burnt bones from at least one adult and an infant or young child (YC 54, feature 17; Birkett 1984, 183) and the second comprised the base of a Collared Urn containing the cremated remains of a child (YC 55, feature 16; Birket 1984, 184).

Possible interpretations of the motivations behind the insertion of Earlier Bronze Age burials in Neolithic monuments are explored in the concluding chapter (p241), but it is worth emphasising here that a single interpretation for such an act is not possible. The example at Street House clearly demonstrates that elements of the Neolithic monument would still have been visible at the time of the construction of the later round barrow but a question remains as to whether the deliberate placement of a barrow over an earlier mortuary structure would have been an attempt to align the Bronze Age community with the past, with the ancestors, or an effort to challenge the previous associations of the site.

One child cremation burial, that from feature 16 (YC 55) adds further weight to the former interpretation: that the connection with the ancestors and the continuation of the importance of the site as a ceremonial and funerary monument was key to the establishment of the barrow. This burial, located at the extreme northern edge of the central mound, was contained in the base of a Collared Urn. Associated with this deposit were a few sherds of a putative Grooved Ware pot (Vyner 1984, 170). Possible sherds from the same Grooved Ware vessel came from a further cremation (feature 14) located at the eastern edge of the mound. The presence of early activity on the site could have led to the accidental incorporation of residual sherds in the deposits but this seems unlikely here with sherds from the same pot present in two disparate burials. The evidence suggets that this too was a deliberate act. The establishment of a round barrow on the site of an earlier monument served to legitimise a community's claim to the past and the incorporation of relic pottery in burials to validate individual claims and create a sense of continuity, memory and legacy, either real or imagined.

Flat graves

In contrast to both Scotland and Wessex, no children's cremation burials from Yorkshire were from isolated flat graves or formed part of a flat grave cemetery.

Grave settings, stone arrangements and cists

Various grave settings are recorded including oval graves, sub-circular or oval pits, hollows and bowl-shaped scoops (Figure 6.29). Stone-built cists and stone-lined pits sunk into the old ground surface are rare, with only two examples present. The majority of child remains derive from pits, graves and hollows dug into the original surface, most predating the construction of any upstanding earthen mound or cairn (22%). A further 15% of child cremations (11) came from the mound material itself, 3 of which had been inserted into the mound after its construction rather than being added during the erection of the barrow/cairn. The grave setting of the remaining 5% (4) is not recorded.

Only 15% of the burnt bone deposits were associated with discrete cairns, stone capping, stone-built cists and other stone settings (11 cases, involving 12 children). One secondary burial, comprising the burnt bones of an adult and child, at Quernhow Cairn, N.R., is notable for the embellishment of the burial after deposition. Following the interment of the cremated remains of an adult and child in a grave, accompanied by a Food Vessel, a small cairn was constructed above the pit, either to mark or ritually close the burial (YC 2; Fox 1959, 74-5).

Seven further instances of the capping of graves is recorded amongst the dataset:

- At Mortimer's barrow 251 of the Huggate and Warter Wold group, E.R. the burnt bones of a child were interred in a grave alongside a crouched adult male inhumation. The grave was then sealed by a number of large flints (YC 40; Mortimer 1905, 281).
- At Holt Howe, a pit containing burnt bones of a child was capped by small stones, (YC 65; Brewster & Finney 1995, 4-5)
- At Wilton Moor (YC 48), Ord Tumulus (YC 49) and Herd Howe (YC 50), large slabs covered cremation pits. The slab used to cover the multiple cremation deposit at Ord Tumulus is significant owing to the decoration of the stone with pecked geometric motifs (Figure 6.30; Smith 1994, 50, fig 7:2).
- An unusual capping to a set of two pits was noted at Long Hill Cairn (YC 61; Strickland 1950; Smith 1994, 148). One pit contained burnt human bone, the second

contained pyre debris separated from the bones. Both pits were covered by a layer of charcoal overlain by a dome of clay which was in turn capped with stones, resembling a miniature barrow.

- At Folkton CCXLI, a small pit in the mound material, 0.9m above the old ground surface contained the cremated remains of a young person. It had been lined and covered by chalk slabs (YC 61: Greenwell 1877, 9-10; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 113).

Stone-built cists, similar to that at Folkton just described, are not a common component of the grave repertoire in Yorkshire. Only one further example associated with the cremation of a child is known from the area, from Gnipe Howe round barrow, N.R. (YC 62 & YC 63: Brewster & Finney 1995, 1; Smith 1994, 92, pl 17: 1). Here, seven large upright slabs formed a cist which was covered by a capstone.

Stone-settings around urns containing cremation burials are known from two sites: flint blocks were placed around an inverted Collared Urn containing the cremation of an infant at Cherry Burton (YC 30; Greenwell 1877, 281) and an urn containing the cremated remains of an adult and young child at Boulby barrow 7 was surrounded by a ring of greenstones (YC 53: Hornsby & Laverick 1920; Smith 1994, 77). A similar practice was noted at Blake's Fir cremation cemetery, Wiltshire (Ride 2001).

Size of chalk and clay cut graves

As illustrated by Figure 6.29, the majority of child cremated bones were interred in simple pits, graves and hollows, many cut into the old ground surface. No concordance between pit size and the age of the child could be demonstrated.

6.3.7 Position in the barrow

All but one of the seventy-four deposits of burnt bones involving children in this region were recovered from upstanding monuments such as earthen barrows and cairns. The potential symbolic significance of principal versus secondary burials has been discussed in detail with regard to inhumation burials in the region and does not require repetition.

The majority of child cremation burials from Yorkshire barrows and cairns are secondary burials (42%) (Table 6.32, Figure 6.31). A further 26% of these burials were interred after the principal burial had been made but appear to pre-date the construction of the barrow mound. These burials are located in pits and hollows cut into the old ground surface or placed directly on the old land surface at the base of the mound.

Principal interments typically consist of the interment of unburnt or burnt skeletal remains of adults. Children are rarely afforded this important symbolic position in a barrow. At twenty barrow and cairn sites, the burnt bones of a child or children comprise the principal interment, encompassing 27% of the cremation burial dataset for the region as a whole and comprising a total of 22 children[23]. Most of these principal interments involve the cremated remains of a single child (12) but 6 were associated with a minimum of one adult and two with other children. These multiple burials will be discussed below. The ages of the children present in these principal burials range from young children less than 3 years (YC 32, Etton; Greenwell 1877, 284) to older children of 12-16 years of age (YC 62: Gnipe Howe; Brewster & Finney 1995, 1-3). Most are simply described as 'child' without any indication of specific age but five individuals are described as youths, young person/adolescents and adolescents.

Principal interments of children are not the normative burial position for children during the Earlier Bronze Age but these examples demonstrate that in some circumstances, the interment of a cremated child was considered to be sufficiently significant to instigate the construction of considerable upstanding funerary monuments.

6.3.8. Multiple cremation burials

Although the majority of the child cremation burials in Yorkshire involve the burnt remains of a single individual (47 burials, representing 64% of the dataset), a significant number (27, representing 36% of the child burials) are associated with at least one other individual (Table 6.33 and 6.34).

Multiple cremation burials are defined as the interment of the burnt bones of two or more individuals in a single grave. These multiple deposits are a frequent component of Earlier

[23] Principal cremations of children in Yorkshire are as follows: YC 03, YC 05, YC 14, YC 22, YC 31, YC 32, YC 37 & YC 38, YC 39, YC 40, YC 43, YC 49, YC 53, YC 62 & YC 63, YC 65, YC 68, CY 69, YC 70, YC 71, YC 72,YC 75.

Bronze Age funerary practice (McKinley 2004, 58). In most cases, these burnt remains appear to represent the bodies of the deceased cremated together on the same pyre, although some may be initially separate collections of cremated bone, interred together at the time of burial. Consideration of broader issues regarding the social relationships of the deceased in multiple cremations as well as the significance of the curation and retention of burnt bone is discussed in reference to Scottish children's cremations (page 77-8) but some specific aspects of the Yorkshire dataset are worthy of further note here.

In 16 graves, the child's burnt bones were mixed with those of a single adult (Table 6.33). No separation of the bones was noted suggesting that both adult and child were cremated on a single pyre. In the majority of cases (9), the sex of the adult was not identified but in 4 deposits tentative identifications were made of mature females (YC 04, YC 33, YC 43, YC 53). No adult males were identified. This association of children with adult females in the cremation deposits is in stark contrast to deposits of burnt bones interred with inhumations which show a marked trend towards association with mature males. No trends in the ages of the children could be observed. Only one double child cremation was recorded, that from Goodmanham barrow LXXXV (YI 37 & 38: Greenwell 1877, 290)

In three instances (from Folkton (YC 07), Barrow 36 of Mortimer's Riggs Group (YC 24) and Barrow 251 of Mortimer's Huggate and Warter Wold Group (YC 40)) the child cremation was directly associated with a single crouched adult inhumation (Greenwell 1877, 274; Mortimer 1905, 173, 316). Both the Folkton and Huggate burials involved adult males, whereas the sex of the inhumation from the Riggs barrow was not identified. In two instances, the child's burnt bones appear to have been secondary insertions in the grave (YC 07, YC 24) but at the Huggate burial, the deposition of the adult male inhumation and child cremation appear to have been contemporary, the cremation of the child perhaps contained in an organic bag or container.

Cremation deposits involving more than two individuals are rare in the dataset; only 5 are noted, 1 from E.R and 4 from N.R. These are summarised in Table 6.34, but show no discernable wider trends or patterns.

A small number of more unusual associations are present. In three instances, the cremation burial under consideration encompassed the cremated remains of a single child which was

however deposited in such close proximity to another cremation that a relationship or association was suggested by the excavator:

- Great Ayton Moor, N.R.: a pit, capped by a pear-shaped stone slab, contained three separate cremation deposits (Hayes 1967; Smith 1994, 52). At the east end was an urned cremation, probably of a child (YC 60). Almost abutting this pot was a further urned cremation containing unidentified burnt bones. A third deposit of cremated bone was found at the opposite end of the pit. It is unclear whether these deposits were contemporary or sequential.
- Herd Howe, Moorsholm, N.R.: two small urns were found together on a slab south of the centre of the barrow, both containing the burnt bones of children of 'very tender years' (YC 50 & 51; Smith 1994, 70-2). Beneath the stone slab was an earlier urned cremation of an adult female. Atkinson considered that this vessel held the mother of the children above (Atkinson 1864, 705-9)

6.3.9 Associated material culture: pottery vessels and other containers

The most common grave good associated with Earlier Bronze Age deposits of cremated human bone are pottery vessels. These pots were either used as receptacles to hold the burnt bones or were placed alongside the bones as an accompanying grave good. Most deposits of the burnt bones of children were buried within ceramic vessels. A smaller proportion of the cremated bone deposits appear to have been contained in organic receptacles. Over a third of the child cremations show no evidence of containment in a receptacle of any kind.

No pottery association

A total of 29 cremations in the dataset were not directly associated with a pottery vessel, either as a container or as an accompanying vessel (Figure 6.32). This encompasses a total of 39% of the dataset. The lack of associated pottery vessel is much more frequent in relation to the Yorkshire cremations than those from Scotland and Wessex.

The majority of Yorkshire cremation burials without pottery associations are simple deposits of burnt bones interred in pits or hollows, or placed on the old ground surface under a barrow

or cairn[24]. In four instances, the body appears to have been cremated on the spot (YC 22, Mortimer 1905, 130; YC 32, Greenwell 1877, 284; YC 42, Mortimer 1905, 323; YC 70, Greenwell 1877, 353) and these cases are discussed in more detail above.

In a further 4 graves, the burnt bones of a child were associated with an adult crouched inhumation. Food Vessels were associated with all four burials but in three cases, the pottery vessel was clearly positioned in such close proximity to the inhumation that no clear relationship between the pot and the child cremation could be established (YC 07, Greenwell 1877, 272-4; YC 24, Mortimer 1905, 173; YC 40, 316). In the fourth example, from Lamplough barrow I, Sherburn, the relationship between the various interments and the pot is even less clear (YI 13: Greenwell 1877, 14e8-9).

Organic containers

Only two possible organic containers were noted in relation to the child cremations in this region. At Wetwang Slack barrow B, E.R., the cremated bones of a pregnant female (with foetus *in utero*) and a small child were interred in a trapezoidal wooden funeral casket, approximately 0.35m long and 0.15 to 0.20m in width (YC 45 & 46: Dent 1979, 26-7). The deposition of human remains, by inhumation or after cremation, in wooden caskets or coffins is a consistent feature of the burial rites at this barrow, with five out of six graves providing evidence for an organic container, including the burial of two unburnt infant skeletons (YI 38, YI 39).

The only other cremation from Yorkshire with a possible organic container is that from Wilton Moor, N.R. where the burnt bones of a 1-5-year-old child and a 15-20-year-old young adult were contained in an inverted Collared Urn (YC 48: Vyner 1984, 30). The excavator noted that all of the cremated bone was contained in the urn and that none had spilled out during deposition implying that the mouth of the urn had originally been sealed by an organic covering.

[24] Cremations in pits, hollows or on OGS lacking evidence of containment or accompaniment of a pottery vessel comprise the following: YC 01, YC 03, YC 04, YC 06, YC 07, YC 10, YC 11, YC 14, YC 18, YC 19, YC 21, YC 22, YC 23, YC 24, YC 29, YC 32, YC 33, YC 40, YC 42, YC 56, YC 57, YC 58, YC 65, YC 66, YC 70, YC 75.

Despite the general lack of observed organic containers, it is likely that leather or fabric bags and other forms of organic receptacles were used.

Pottery Vessels

Two main types of pot are found in Yorkshire in association with cremation burials of the Earlier Bronze Age: Collared Urns and Food Vessels (and their enlarged derivatives). In contrast to Scotland, Cordoned Urns are absent, as are Biconical Urns, a recognised feature of the Earlier Bronze Age pottery repertoire in Wessex. In addition to Collared Urns and Food Vessels, accessory vessels are also present (Figure 6.33).

In total, 45 cremation burials were associated with pottery vessels, equalling 61%. A total of 52 vessels were found in relation to these 45 cremations. In the majority of instances, only one pot was directly associated with the cremation deposit. But in 7 cases, more than one vessel was in evidence, sometimes in the form of an accessory vessel or sherds of a second vessel. Three quarters of these vessels (33, possibly 34 pots) had been used to contain the burnt human remains, equalling 46% of the dataset. The remaining 15% of pottery associated burials were accompanied by one or more vessel but were not contained in a ceramic vessel.

There is no correlation between the number of individuals represented in the burial and the quantity of vessels afforded. Two burials from barrow 47, Blanch Group (YC 43) and Thornton-in-Craven (YC 77) both consisted of the cremated bones of an adult and child contained in Collared Urns and accompanied by accessory vessels (Mortimer 1905, 324; Longworth 1984, 256). But at a burial near Bridlington, the cremated bones of a single child were similarly contained in a Collared Urn and accompanied by a miniature vessel (YC 47: Sheppard 1949, 1-2; Longworth 1984, 205).

In one instance, at Goodmanham barrow LXXV, the remains of two children had been burnt *in situ* together and were accompanied by two separate Collared Urns, suggesting that each individual, was afforded a single pot (YC 37 & YC 38: Greenwell 1877, 290).

Collared Urns

Thirty-one Collared Urns are associated with 29 children's cremation burials in the region. These represent 64% of the urned cremation deposits and 39% of the child cremations from Yorkshire.

In 21 graves, the Collared Urns contained the burnt bones of the deceased: 26% (8) inverted over the bones, 23% (7) set in an upright position containing the burnt bone and a further 29% (9) where the orientation was not recorded (Figure 6.34).

In ten graves, the pots accompanied the burnt bones; all derive from East Riding. Only one, a miniature Collared Urn from an isolated burial near Bridlington (YC 47), accompanied an urned burial (Sheppard 1949, 1-2; Longworth 1984, 205). The remaining nine cremations were not contained in a pottery vessel and no container of any kind (e.g. an organic bag) was noted during excavation.

The majority of accompanying Collared Urns were placed upright, often sitting directly on the cremated bones themselves (70%). In three cases, upright Collared Urns were associated with burnt *in situ* deposits.

Styles

Longworth's (1984) classification is followed here describing pots by series, style and form. As demonstrated by Figure 6.35, over two thirds of Collared Urns associated with children's cremations in this region belong to Longworth's Secondary Series of urn, matching the observations made for Wessex.

Unique to E.R. is the presence of Primary Series urns in association with children's burnt bones. Only four pots of this form have been identified amongst the dataset (Table 6.35):

- Barrow 118, S.W. of Bradeham Farm: containing burnt bones of a young person (YC 20: Mortimer 1905, 125-7)
- Cherry Burton barrow LXXIII: Two pots, each associated with the burnt bones of children (YC 30 & YC 31: Greenwell 1877, 280-1, 287-8)
- Goodmanham LXXXIII: accompanying the burnt bones of a child (YC 35).

Only 15 pots have sufficient distinguishing features to allow the classification of style, 6 of which conform to Longworth's North Western Style while 9 are classified as of South Eastern Style. A range of forms are present, the most common of which are form BII (6 examples), IA (4 examples) and I (3 examples).

Size

Ian Longworth classified over 430 Collared Urns in Yorkshire, recording to modern administrative units. Complete rim diameters and heights are known for 64% (280 examples), as summarised in Figure 6.37. Yorkshire Collared Urns show the same range of dimensions than those from elsewhere in Britain and Ireland, but with a particular cluster of urns between 100-200 mm in height and between 100-150mm in rim diameter. Urns over 400 mm in height are uncommon, as are urns under 100 mm, the latter often described and classified as miniature vessels.

If we compare the size of all Collared Urns from Yorkshire to those specifically associated with child cremations (Figure 6.36), we can see that the majority of these urns fall between 100-300 mm in height, and 100-250 mm in rim diameter with a slightly higher frequency of urns being between 100-200 mm in height and between 100-150 in diameter. Only three examples are over 350 mm high and only one Collared Urn is less than 100 mm, thus falling into Longworth's miniature vessel class (1984, pl 246). Overall, the dimensions of Collared Urns associated with children can be seen to match those known from other contexts from Yorkshire, although the larger suite of Collared Urns are rarely present in child burials in this region.

Food Vessels and Food Vessel Urns

An introduction to this class of pot has been given with reference to Scottish examples (see page 64-5).

Style

Only 10 Food Vessels were associated with child cremation burials in Yorkshire, comprising 9 Food Vessels and a single Food Vessel Urn[25]. Of the Food Vessels, 5 conform to 'Bowl'

[25] A Food Vessel was present in a grave containing multiple interments at Greenwell's barrow XII, Sherburn, E.R. The primary interment was that of a crouched adult inhumation. At the feet of the skeleton was a deposit of cremated bone representing a child (YC 13). Also by the feet of the skeleton was a Food Vessel. Greenwell interprets this pot as a grave good relating to the adult inhumation but

classification where the body is broader in proportion to the vessel's height and 4 are 'Vase' shaped where the vessel is taller and narrower than they are broad (Brindley 2007, 11-12; Gibson 2002, 95).

Bipartite bowls are associated with two burials: accompanying the cremation of a child and adult at Quernhowe, E.R. (YC 02: Fox 1959, 76, fig 47:6) and at Wetwang Slack barrow B, E.R. (YC45 & YC 46: Dent 1979, 34, fig 7:5). Two examples of tripartite bowls are also present, associated with the cremation of a youth at Garton Slack barrow 75, E.R. (YC 28: Mortimer 1905, 224, fig 575a) and a multiple cremation involving two immature individuals at Gnipe Howe, N.R. (YC 62 & 63: Brewster & Finney 1995, 1-5, fig 31:5). A further Bowl Food Vessel, from Long Hill Cairn North, N.R. found in association with the cremated remains of a young child (YC 61; Strickland 1950; Smith 1994, 148).

Yorkshire Vases, defined by Kitson Clark (1937), are present in two burial deposits. At Folkton barrow CCXLI a small vase with four imperforate lugs spanning the shoulder groove accompanied the cremated bones of a young person/adolescent (Greenwell 1890, 9-10; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 113, fig: 241:1). While the proportions of this vessel are consistent with bowls the overall characteristics of the urn result in its classification as a vase of Yorkshire Vase type (Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 113; Brindley 2007, 12). Similarly, the Yorkshire Vase from barrow 6, Towthorpe, E.R. shares the same issue as regards its classification. Here, the vessel had a series of regularly spaced perforated lugs and was found accompanying a child (YC 26: Mortimer 1905, 8, fig 13). The remaining two Vase Food Vessels, from Greenlands barrow 46, E.R. (YC 05: Mortimer 1905, 45, fig 68) and barrow 280, near Marton Hall, E.R (YC 12: Mortimer 1905, 345-6, fig 1006) are both of bipartite form.

One Food Vessel Urn, or Enlarged Food Vessel, is noted amongst the dataset in association with the cremation burial of a child or juvenile at Hutton Buscel barrow 2, N.R. (YC 67: Brewster & Finney 1995, 8, fig 37). During excavation, a possible lid was recorded prior to the vessel being lifted in a block however, no evidence of a lid was observed during conservation (Brewster & Finney 1995, 8).

Size

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owing to the vessel's close proximity to the cremation, a connection with the child's burial should also be considered (Greenwell 1877, 148-9; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 35).

Dimensions have been recorded for 8 Food Vessels: these range in height between 90 and 152 mm and vary from 100 to 162 mm in rim diameter[26]. As a group, these vessels sit at the smaller end of the size range for Food Vessels which can be up to 200mm in height (Gibson 2002, 95). Two examples are less than 100 mm. Although not strictly 'miniature vessels' they are notably small: that from Wetwang Slack barrow b is only 90 mm high (Dent 1979, 34) and the example from Garton Slack barrow 75 is approximately 96 mm tall (Mortimer 1905, 224, fig 575a). There appears to be no correlation between the ages of the deceased and the size of the vessels amongst this group. But is should be noted that the imprecise descriptions used to describe the ages of these children may mask any such trends.

Position in relation to cremated remains

Only two pots in this group were used as receptacles for burnt human bones: the bowl from Long Hill Cairn North, N.R., which was inverted over the bones of a young child (YC 61: Smith 1994, 148) and the Food Vessel Urn from Hutton Buschel barrow 2, which was also inverted over the burnt bones (YC 67; Brewster & Finney 1995, 8). At Gnipe Howe, the relationship between the pot and the human remains is less clear. The excavator suggests that the bone found inside the pot was fortuitous and that the vessel was placed in the grave to accompany the cremated remains rather than to contain them (Brewster & Finney 1995, 1-3). The remaining 7 vessels accompany, rather than contain, the burnt human bones. In most cases the orientation of the vessel was not noted but examples of upright pots (e.g. Greenlands barrow 46, YC 05: Mortimer 1905, 45) and inverted vessels (e.g. Wetwang Slack barrow B, YC 45 & 46; Dent 1979, 34) are present.

Accessory Vessels

Six burnt bone deposits were accompanied by accessory vessels, encompassing only 8% of the dataset. This small quantity is similar to the proportion of cremations from Wessex where only 6% of burials shared this association. Those present amongst the Yorkshire burials vary considerably in form, consisting of:

- Bowl-shaped cup (YC 43; Mortimer 1905, 324, fig 969)

[26] All dimensions have been converted into millimetres from the original recorded measurements for the sake of consistency. It should also be noted, that in the absence of recorded dimensions, measurements have been taken from available illustrations. It is therefore recommended that the measurements referred to here in reference to the Food Vessels from Yorkshire are considered to be approximate values.

- Plain round-profiled cup (YC 09: Greenwell 1890, 13; Kinnes & Longworth 1984, 115)
- Bipartite bowl (YC 68: Greenwell 1877, 351; Kinnes & Longworth 1984, 92)
- Plain, tapering, straight-sided vessel with dished base (YC 68; Greenwell 1877, 353-4; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 93)
- Small cup mimicking a ridged bowl-shaped Food Vessel (YC 72; Greenwell 1877, 354-5, fig 142; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 93).

Two accessory cups accompanied the remains of children burnt *in situ*. At Slingsby CXLIV, the cup was found on top of the bones (YC 68: Greenwell 1877, 351). No sign of burning was noted on the cup and the illustration shows it to be intact, suggesting that the cup had been added to the deposit after the cremation process had been completed. Similarly, at Slingsby CXLIX, no fire-damage was noted on the cup, despite it being found overlying the bones of the skull of a 6-7-year-old child, burnt on the spot (Greenwell 1877, 354-5).

In terms of size, all of these cups are less than 85mm tall, ranging from a mere 35mm to 82.5mm in height and having a maximum diameter of 95mm. Some have speculated that such small vessels were made to accompany child burials and that the small size of the vessel is reflective of age (Ó Donnabáin & Brindley 1990) but, as the evidence from the inhumation burials in Yorkshire suggests, it is not possible to substantiate this with reference to the Yorkshire cremation associations.

Other

Neolithic Grooved Ware sherds were found amongst the cremation deposit of a child at Street House Cairn, N.R. (YC 55: Vyner 1984). The significance of these sherds has been discussed in detail on page 255. It is suggested that these relic sherds were deliberately incorporated in the burial as a way of legitimising or strengthening the individual's and community's connection to the ancestors.

Form Unknown

It has not been possible in four instances to confirm the form of the pottery associated with the cremations. In two cases, at barrow 26, Hanging Grimston and at barrow 42a, of Mortimer's Riggs Group, the cremated remains of a child and a youth were contained in inverted cinerary urns (YC 16 & YC 25: Mortimer 1905, 109-12). Neither urn was described

in any detail nor illustrated making identification of the form of the vessels impossible. Due to their stratigraphic positions in the barrows, it is likely that the urns were Collared Urns but this cannot be confirmed. At Herd Howe, Moorsham, N.R. the cremated bones of a child were contained in a Collared Urn associated with sherds of a further vessel (YC 52; Smith 1994, 70-2). These are mentioned by Longworth alongside his description of the Collared Urn, but it is unclear whether these additional sherds were also of this type of pottery (Longworth 1984, 163-4). An additional unidentified body sherd was also present in a burial in pit 20 at Wilton Moor, N.R. (Vyner 1991, 30).

5.3.10.Associated material culture: grave furniture

The majority of child cremations in Yorkshire are associated with artefacts, predominantly ceramic vessels, as discussed above. Also present are a small number of graves which are associated with ornaments of bone and jet, personal tools of flint and bronze and food offerings represented by animal bones and organic matter. No weapons are present. Small numbers of graves are unaccompanied.

Unaccompanied

Nineteen child cremation burials from Yorkshire are unaccompanied, representing just over a quarter of the dataset. Included in this number are 4 child cremations inserted into the graves of adult inhumation burials where the grave goods present are clearly associated the adult body and not the child's burnt bones. The unaccompanied burials also include 15 burials from E.R. (33% of E.R cremations), 3 from N.R. (12% N.R. cremations) and a single example from W.R. (25% W.R. cremations) [27]. Unaccompanied cremations include the remains of single children, child & adult cremations and child cremations associated with adult inhumations with no obvious trend towards children of a particular age receiving particular rites.

Ceramics

[27] Unaccompanied cremation burials from Yorkshire are as follows: E.R.: YC 01, YC 03, YC 07, YC 11, YC 13, YC 17, YC 18, YC 19, YC 21, YC 22, YC 24, YC 29, YC 32, YC 40, YC 42; N.R.: YC 56, YC 66, YC 70; W.R.: YC 75.

The remaining 74% of burials are associated with at least one artefact, the majority of which are ceramic vessels. As noted above, 45 burials are associated with ceramic vessels. Amongst this group are 29 burials, representing 39% of the cremation dataset, which are associated with pottery only and lack other evidence of grave goods. This includes two cremation deposits where the presence of further grave goods is uncertain (YC 43 & YC 76).

Ornaments

Unlike Scotland and Wessex, beads are absent from the child cremations in Yorkshire. Ornaments are still present, in the form of worked bone objects and a single jet pendant, but it is significant that the collections of heirloom beads or necklaces present in the other case study areas are not observed with children in Yorkshire (Table 6.36; Figure 6.38).

Bone pins

Seven cremations in the dataset are associated with bone pins. Four pins are perforated; the remaining three are fragmentary and their form cannot be determined. Of the perforated examples, two, from barrow 109 of Mortimer's Aldro Group, E.R. (YC 06; Mortimer 1905, 58) and from Slingsby barrow CXLV, N.R. (YC 69: Greenwell 1877, 353), are of ring-headed form (Longworth's type 3, 1984, 63). These pins have carefully shaped, expanded rounded heads with round or oval biconical perforations, which taper into narrow circular-sectioned shanks. Pins of this form are traditionally seen as bone copies of Central European ring-headed pins made of bronze (Gerloff 1975, 110; Longworth 1985, 63). Longworth notes six examples associated with Collared Urns from Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Scotland and Wales (1984, 63). Similar pins are noted in Yorkshire from unaccompanied cremations such as that from barrow 47 of the Wharram Percy Group (Mortimer 1905, 45, fig 69) and also in relation to Food Vessels, including one from Hunmanby barrow CCL, associated with a child inhumation (Greenwell 1890, 18-21; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 119, fig 250: 2).

One perforated example associated with the cremation of a young person at Folkton barrow CCXLI is a more simple form. It has been produced from a splinter of bone, retaining the natural articular surface at the butt-end with a simple, off-centre, biconical perforation (YC 08: Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 113, fig 241: 2). Simple imperforate and perforate bones of this form are classified as form 4 by Longworth and have a wide distribution across Britain (Longworth 1984, 64).

In most cases the bone pins are fragmentary and distorted by heat damage, indicating that they had been included on the funeral pyre with the deceased, perhaps having been used to fasten a garment or a shroud.

Bone belt hook

Belt hooks are a distinctive group of objects found in association with both Food Vessels and Collared Urns across Britain and Ireland (Clarke et al 1985, 157). Although several examples are known from Wessex, including one spectacular gold example from Wilsford G.5, Wiltshire (Annable & Simpson 1964, no. 176), their wide distribution indicates that they were a form of object known across Britain (Clarke *et al* 1985, 157).

Belt hooks, made typically of bone, are usually sub-rectangular in shape with rectangular back plates from which small curved hooks (usually singular) project. These are traditionally seen as adult male-associated grave goods (Longworth 1984, 61). A single example of a bone belt hook is present amongst the child cremations in Yorkshire, from Slingsby barrow CXLV, N.R. found amongst the burnt bones of an adolescent with a Collared Urn, flints and a perforated bone pin (YC 69; Greenwell 1877, 352-3). It is the only example of a bone belt hook to be found with a child burial in the three case study areas and may indicate that this particular individual was no longer considered to be a child.

Jet pendant

Only one jet ornament is present in the form of a flat, lozenge-shaped pendant, perforated at one narrow end for suspension. It was found amongst a deposit of burnt bones of an adolescent, and associated with a Collared Urn and flint, from barrow 118, near Bradeham, E.R. (YC 20; Mortimer 1905, 126, fig 312). The pendant appears to be quite crudely produced, probably using a natural pebble of Whitby jet (Alison Sheridan, *pers comm*). A similar, but unperforated, lozenge-shaped lignite pebble comes from burial at Auchenharvie, Argyll, associated with a child's inhumation burial (Morrison 1971, 9, fig 2:1).

Personal tools

Flint

Aside from ceramic vessels, flint items are the most common artefact found accompanying cremation burials of children in Yorkshire: associated with 16 burials (encompassing 21% of

the dataset). A variety of tools are found, including knives of plano-convex form, barbed and tanged arrowheads, scrapers and flakes (Table 6.37; Figure 6.39).

Awls

A single example of a bronze awl was recovered amongst the cremated bones of a juvenile at Holt Howe (YC 65; Brewster & Finney 1995, 4). It was very badly damaged and its form (e.g. single or double-ended) was not identifiable. The function of these tools is uncertain but are likely to have been used in leather-working and are traditionally seen as tools associated with adult females (Sheridan 1999).

Food offerings

Animal bones, representing the remains of food offerings, are included in four burials:

- Sherburn barrow XV, E.R. (YC 14: Greenwell 1877, 155)
- Wilton Moor, N.R. (YC 48: Parker 1991, 33)
- Sawdon Moor, N.R. (YC 56 & 57: Brewster & Finney 1995, 13; Dawes 1995, 58)
- Gnipe Howe, N.R. (YC 64: Dawes 1995, 53).

Despite the small number of burials sharing this association, a wide variety of species are represented. Bones of goat/sheep, pig and red deer have been identified from three separate deposits and that from Wilton Moor is unidentified (Parker 1991, 33). All appear to have been included on the pyre with the deceased as offerings of joints of meat.

A further possible food offering is present in the cremation of a child and adult female at barrow 79 of Mortimer's Aldro Group (YC 04: Mortimer 1905, 76), where a carbonised nut or fruit stone was recovered.

6.4 DISCUSSION

This investigation of 326 children's burials from Yorkshire has enabled the recognition of several significant aspects of burial practice relating to children. Although certain aspects of burial in Yorkshire are regionally specific traditions, such as the use of Yorkshire Food

Vessels as grave goods, children's burial's here are broadly consistent with those examined from Scotland and Wessex. The same styles of pottery found with adults are included within children's graves. Unlike the pattern noted in Scotland, the size of the pottery vessel does appear to have any relation to the child. Most children's graves in Yorkshire are poorly furnished; where grave goods are present they typically consist of a flint tool or an ornament produced from bone or local jet. Certain artefacts, with known adult associations, are absent from children's burials (e.g. bronze knife daggers, battle-axes). A small number of exceptional, richly-furnished graves are present which suggest that it was possible for children to be considered important and significant members of the community. In these cases it is likely that the status of the individual, as indicated by the accompanying grave goods, was afforded to the child.

This study has shown that children are undoubtedly under-represented in the burial record in Yorkshire, despite the large numbers of children recorded here. Young children are poorly represented in both inhumations and burials after cremations. With only a handful of exceptions, foetuses and newborns are largely absent indicating that such young children are rarely afforded formal burial. The noticeable lack of double burials involving young adult females and young babies also indicates that pregnant females (with babies in utero) or those who died during or shortly after giving birth are also excluded from formal burial.

It is clear that variable proportions of children between inhumation and cremation burials were accompanied in the grave by an adult which is argued here to imply that different views of personhood and identity existed between the two rites. Inhumed children are more likely to be unaccompanied in the grave, afforded a true 'individual' burial. In contrast, children are regularly part of multiple cremation deposits where the burnt remains of several individuals are anonymously mixed together. This study has also demonstrated that it is much more likely for a child to be associated with another individual in a cremation deposit than it is for adults.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CASE STUDY THREE: WESSEX

7.1 INTRODUCTION

As outlined in Chapter 4, the Bronze Age of Wessex, in south-west England, has been the focus for intensive archaeological investigation since the early eighteenth century due to the wealth of upstanding remains and a landscape rich in funerary monuments. The legacy of data regarding the Wessex barrows left to us by numerous antiquarian investigators, such as Stukeley, Cunnington, Colt Hoare and Thurnam in Wiltshire, and Warne and Merewether, in Dorset, has continued to be built upon and enhanced by more recent excavations, providing a rich and varied dataset of Earlier Bronze Age burials from the area.

By contrast, the investigation of the Earlier Bronze Age in Hampshire has been limited. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when excavation of burial mounds was proceeding apace in the counties of Dorset and Wiltshire, there was a distinct lack of activity in Hampshire. There are occasional sketchily recorded excavations (e.g. Crawford 1942) and some which were never published, but no individuals emerged to carry out and publish extensive investigations on the scale that Colt-Hoare did for Wiltshire or Warne for Dorset (Fasham & Schadla-Hall 1981, 30). There has been an increase in investigation and excavations since the 1940's but this has tended to be random in approach (Fasham & Schadla-Hall 1981, 30-1).

Throughout these previous investigations, children's burials have been encountered but have received little attention; typically being noted within site reports without any further comment being made on their significance. This study of the inhumation and cremation burials of children in Wessex will demonstrate that significant information is present amongst these records, making it possible to see that many aspects of burial practices involving children mirrored that of adult burials, but with subtle differences.

Consideration of individual child burials will be referenced by their catalogue numbers in the text to allow the reader to refer to the catalogue listing provided in the appendix (Appendix A, part III a & b). Inhumation burial catalogue numbers are indicated by the prefix 'WI', and cremation burial catalogue numbers by the prefix 'WC'. Figure 7.1 shows the distribution of the sites across the study area.

7.2 INHUMATIONS

7.2.1 Introducing the dataset

Through the systematic study of previously recorded excavations in the areas of Wiltshire (Wilts.), Hampshire (Hants.) and Dorset, a dataset of over 240 children's inhumation burials of Earlier Bronze Age date has been compiled. Using the criteria outlined in chapter 4, only 61% of the original inhumation dataset for this region is considered to be suitable for examination (Table 7.1). 38% has been disregarded due to doubts over the date of the burial, the reliability of the original report or the stratigraphic security of the deposit. The data considered here encompasses the skeletal remains of 148 children of fifteen years of age or less, within 130 graves in Wiltshire, Hampshire and Dorset.

7.2.2 Identification of age and sex

A total of 76 children afforded an inhumation burial in Wessex, representing just over half (51%) of the total dataset for this area, have been described in the published reports with an approximate age, in terms of estimated months or years of age (Table 7.2). It is not always clear whether such information derives from the examination of the remains by a medical professional or anatomical specialist. In many cases, a separate specialist report on the human skeletal remains is present, but in some cases the age is simply quoted within the main text of the report.

In contrast, the remaining 49% of children's skeletal remains have been described using descriptive terminology used to convey the early stage of life of the individual, such as

'infant', 'child' and 'youth', rather than providing an exact estimation of biological age. For the reasons outlined in chapter 4, these vague descriptive terms are problematic.

Looking first at the individuals for whom an age approximation has been outlined, it is clear that children under five years predominate, comprising 57% of the aged burials. The dominance of younger children within the aged group is particularly clear in Wiltshire where they represent 60% of the identified individuals. Despite the prominence of young children, the youngest group, the foetuses, perinates and neonates are rarely found. Only 1 foetus (or possible neonate) has been identified, from Twyford Down, Hants. (McKinley 2000b, 88). Similarly small numbers of perinate or newborn infants are present (Table 7.3).

Young children, here defined as foetus' to five years of age, are well represented amongst the inhumation burial groups from Wiltshire and Dorset but are notably absent, save for one example, from Hampshire (Figure 7.2). In Wiltshire alone, children under two years of age are strongly represented, encompassing 20% of the inhumation burials from this county.

Juveniles, here defined as children between six and ten years, are less well represented amongst the inhumation burials. Only 9 individuals of this age are present in Wiltshire and 7 from Dorset; none have been identified in Hampshire. Despite the seemingly small number of children of this age in Dorset, they represent a significant 30% of the aged burials, as opposed to only 18% from Wiltshire.

The lack of explicit definition of the age descriptions used to describe the remaining 37 individuals makes it difficult to conduct such detailed analysis of age, particularly as such broad terms are often used interchangeably. Although it is unwise to put too much weight on vague descriptions, it is interesting to note the large numbers of individuals described as 'infant', 'young infant' or 'baby' (Q=21, 29%) from Wessex. This corresponds well with the higher proportion of young children, under five years, present amongst the individuals with identified skeletal ages (Table 7.2).

Identification of the biological sex, as opposed to socially-constructed gender, of the immature skeletal remains has been attempted on very few individuals included in this study. This is due to the recognised problems entailed in differentiating between immature male and female skeletal remains (see p45). This problem is demonstrated well by a recent re-examination of the skeleton of a fourteen-year-old excavated from the Sanctuary on Overton Hill, Avebury (Pitts 2001). The skeleton was originally identified by Sir Arthur Keith, a

Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, as that of a fourteen-year-old adolescent male (quoted in Pitts 2001, 5). Burl noted, however, that the skeleton was discovered with the head pointing south which suggested to him that the individual was female (Burl 1979, 198). The remains were recently re-examined by McKinley who agrees with the original age identification but notes that the biological sex of the individual is not definitive and in McKinley's view, should not be attempted (McKinley 2001, 5).

These practical difficulties and theoretical problems with the identification of sex in immature individuals have meant that the sex of very few of the inhumation burials from Wessex has been recorded. Identification of biological sex has been noted in only 14 instances from this region. In Wiltshire, equal numbers of male and female children are present (Table 7.4).

All 3 sexed individuals from Hampshire are suggested as female; a fifteen- to seventeen-year-old from Southwick (WI 94), an adolescent from Arreton Down (WI 92) and a fourteen- to twenty-year-old from Balksbury Camp (WI 97) (Denston in Rudkin 1989, 11-12; Alexander et al 1960, 298; Henderson 1995, 82). In Dorset, identification of sex has only been attempted in 5 instances, suggesting the presence of 3 juvenile males from Bincombe Bowl Barrow (WI 99) and Long Crichel (WI 126 & WI 130), an older male child from Bincombe Bowl Barrow (WI 100) and a twelve- to eighteen-year-old female from Long Crichel (WI 129) (Payne 1944, 45, 47; Wells in Green *et al* 1983, 55).

7.2.3 Grave context and setting

Turning from the children's skeletal remains towards the settings of their graves it is possible to demonstrate that the majority of reported children's inhumation burials have been associated with round barrows (Figure 7.3 and Table 7.5). This is likely to be, in part, a bias of archaeological investigation which has, until recently, focused on the upstanding barrow mounds and has largely ignored the surrounding areas. More recent developer-funded excavations are helping to address this imbalance in many parts of Britain (Bradley 2007, 154).

In addition to the occurrences of children's burials from round barrows, a small number of burials were recovered from isolated flat graves, satellite graves to existing barrows, small

flat grave cemeteries and burials inserted into existing Neolithic monuments. These will be discussed in more detail below.

Round Barrows

A total of 86% of the children's inhumation burials in Wessex derive from round barrows. The former number of Earlier Bronze Age round barrows in Wessex is unknown due to the destruction of an unquantified number of upstanding mounds by increasingly intensive agricultural activity and expanding settlement. In the early twentieth century, Canon E. H. Goddard listed 1854 extant round barrows of possible Bronze Age date from Wiltshire alone (Goddard 1913, 378; Stone 1937, 406). Since the time of Goddard's study, the introduction of aerial photography has been responsible for the identification of countless other barrows, unknown to earlier excavators. Even relying upon Goddard's conservative tally of existing mounds, Earlier Bronze Age children's inhumation burials have been recorded in association with less than 4% of the barrows of Wiltshire.

Areas of more intensive archaeological investigation within Wessex, such as Amesbury, Avebury and Wilsford in Wiltshire and Kingston Russell and Winterborne Steepleton in Dorset, have higher quantities of recorded burials, demonstrating that geographical clustering of burials is, in part, a result of a bias in the archaeological record. As such, no detailed distributional analysis of the children's burials from Wessex will be considered here.

In Hampshire, there are over 1000 bowl barrows, believed to be Earlier Bronze Age in date (Fasham & Schadla-Hall 1981, 31) as well as 19 disc and 30 bell-barrows recorded by Grinsell (1974). Children's burials of Earlier Bronze Age date have been recorded from only 5 barrow sites in this county, representing less than 1% of the Hampshire barrow sites.

It is possible to argue, as discussed previously in chapter 4, that problems identifying fragile children's skeletal remains may have caused some children's burials to go unnoticed or to have been incorrectly identified. It is also possible, due to unfavourable soil conditions or later disturbance that some bodies may have disappeared entirely from the archaeological record. But these factors cannot account for this staggering under-representation of children's remains within Earlier Bronze Age burial mounds, within the area of Wessex.

Barrow types

Five Bronze Age barrow types[28] based on shape and form are classified by Grinsell; the bowl, bell, disc, saucer and pond (Grinsell 1936). The most common type is the simple bowl barrow, described as a domed earthen mound defined by an encircling ditch. It is believed here, in agreement with Grinsell, that the classification of barrow form based on outward appearance poses many difficulties due to the possibility of mounds consisting of several phases of construction and varying degrees of destruction by later disturbances (1957, 136). This is particularly true when assessing their chronology. Although some of the more elaborate barrow types, such as saucer and pond barrows, appear to have a more restricted period of construction, bowl barrows continued to be erected beyond the chronological range of this study (Woodward 2000*b*, 43).

Previous studies have suggested the engendering of some barrow types, with bowl barrows typically constructed over the principal burial of an adult male inhumation and disc barrows linked to the cremation burial of adult females (Burgess 1980). No barrow type has ever been identified as being linked to the primary burial of children. This is supported by the data considered here.

As demonstrated by Figure 7.3 and Table 7.5, the majority of children's inhumations in Wessex derive from bowl barrows. In Wiltshire and Dorset, barrows of this type dominate the site record and this is mirrored by the distribution of children's burials within monuments of this type. In Hampshire, less work has been conducted on attempting to classify barrow types, and as such, the majority of children's burials from barrows in this county come from unspecified barrow types. Aside from bowl barrows, children are also found in bell, disc, pond and saucer barrows.

Placement within barrow mound

Of the 86% of child inhumations recorded from barrows, the overwhelming majority are secondary burials which have either been inserted into the mound, or through the mound into old ground surface (Table 7.6). Secondary children's burials within mounds encompass 61% of the inhumations under consideration.

[28] 7 sub-types of barrows were also identified by Grinsell (1936, fig 2). These are all variations on the five main barrow types outlined above.

A much smaller percentage of children were principal burials (9%, with a further 4 possible examples), forming the focus for subsequent funerary activity and the instigation for the construction of substantial mounds. Such small numbers indicate that this was not normative practice. But these examples clearly demonstrate that it was acceptable practice for children's remains to be the focus for barrow construction.

A further 11% of the children's burials were identified as belonging to the primary phase of funerary activity at barrow sites, pre-dating the construction of the barrow mound itself, but not forming the principal burial. In many instances, such as at Badbury Barrow G6a, Dorset (Austen 1846; Warne 1866, 54), no principal burial was identified, and it is unclear whether all burials were contemporary or sequential.

The sequence of burials within barrow mounds can have significant implications for the way in which we interpret the monument itself and the importance of the burials in relation to each other. This is highlighted by the complex Earlier Bronze Age barrow at Arreton Down, Isle of Wight (Alexander *et al* 1960, fig. 2). The principal interment was a Wessex-type burial[29] of an adult female. Her grave was associated with a series of stake circles and alignments and a flint cairn had been erected over her grave, either to demark it or as a closing rite to seal the burial. Subsequently, the whole area, including the grave, ditch and stake features was covered by a layer of silty loam. At least a year after this first interment, a second burial was made; that of an adolescent girl of around 14-years-old (WI 92, Figure 7.4). She had been placed to the north-east of the principal burial, placed directly on the loam that had accumulated since the first interment. This second interment instigated the construction of a further stake circle which traced the original circuit of the ditch and the erection of an earthen mound that overlay both the new interment and the original burial mound. This secondary phase of construction can be viewed in two ways: as a deliberate attempt to align the adolescent's burial with that of the adult female, uniting them under one mound, or as an attempt to erase the memory of the first burial by shifting the focus away from the adult female, to that of the adolescent.

[29] Stuart Piggott advanced the term Wessex culture in his classic study of richly-furnished Earlier Bronze Age graves in Wiltshire, Dorset and parts of Berkshire. The artefacts that Piggott's study focussed on, later to define Wessex-type graves, include Daggers, Dagger-hafts with gold ornament of continental influence, gold objects, faience, amber, halberd pendants, bronze pins, sceptres, considered to be imported objects from the continent and Aegean. The significance of this imported material (much of which is now known to be produced in Britain), as Piggott saw it, was to suggest that a Breton aristocracy had intruded upon the indigenous peoples of Wessex, and established themselves as overlords until eventually absorbed into the native population (Coles & Taylor 1971, 6)

Pejorative attitudes of previous investigators to the presence of a child within the principal, central grave are of interest and go some way to explaining why the study of the burial rites afforded to children during this period have not been seriously or systematically considered in Wessex, and in Wiltshire in particular. This is demonstrated, for example, in reference to the discovery of the principal interment of an infant in a barrow from the Lake Group, Wilts. (G.40; Goddard 1913, 348; Grinsell 1957, 198). Colt Hoare remarks that 'the history of this tumulus, which our learned doctor [Stukeley] would, from its superior size and beautiful form, have styled a King Barrow, shews what little regard we ought to pay to system; for here, at the vast depth of nearly fourteen feet, we find only the deposit of an infant, accompanied by a simple drinking cup' (1812, 210). The hint of disappointment at finding only a child's burial is clear. This attitude to principal children's graves is not restricted to inhumation burials and will be explored further in reference to children's cremation burials from Wessex (see p 214-5).

In the case of finding children's burials in secondary positions within a barrow, apparently interred during the mound's construction or inserted into the barrow some time after, notions of infanticide and sacrifice have been evoked by past investigators. In one instance, from a barrow at Bulford, Wiltshire, the excavator described finding a number of infant inhumations within mound material 'as if they had been carelessly thrown into the heap whilst it was being made' (Hawley 1910, 616). It is unfortunate that in this instance, insufficient details were recorded to allow reinterpretation of the burials. But by looking at these burials in conjunction with others in the dataset, multiple interments of children within a single barrow is not unusual and does not, in itself, suggest infanticide.

These examples demonstrate clearly how our attitude as researchers to the subject of our study can have profound implications on the manner in which we interpret them.

Graves: pits, chalk-cut graves and cists

The majority of children's burials (over 60%) have been deposited in pits and graves (including those within barrows, flat graves and those inserted into earlier monuments). Most lack any additional grave furniture (e.g. stone lining) but at least two interments, from Fordingham Farm East barrow, Dorset, appear to have been deposited within wooden coffins or timber-lined graves (WI 107 & WI 108: Bellamy 1992, 108-9).

Nineteen burials, representing just under 15% of the inhumations, were interred within barrow mound material with no discernable pit suggesting that they had been interred during construction of the mound, the body laid directly on a layer of earth or turves rather than within a grave. A further three similar examples occurred within the make-up of flint cairns underlying earthen mounds.

Smaller quantities of children's burials (8, representing 6%) had been placed directly on the natural surface underlying the mounds. Five child burials had been placed at the base of barrow ditches, prior to silting. Three of these ditch burials, from Net Down bowl barrows G.5a and G5j (WI 41 & WI 43: Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 260, 273), and from bowl barrow G.30 at Winterbourne Stoke, Wiltshire (WI 78: Christie 1967, 378) were overlain by small conical flint cairns, to define the location of the burial or to symbolically mark the closure of the deposit.

Stone-built cists or graves are not common in Wessex. In association with children's interments, they are rare. Greenwell suggests that this is due to the paucity of suitable stone slabs for use in construction (Greenwell 1877, 13). Only 4 examples are noted amongst the inhumations, listed in Table 7.7 and illustrated by Figures 7.5 & 7.6.

In each instance, no comment is given by the excavators on the significance of the stone-built cists in regard to those barrows where both stone-built burials and more typical chalk-cut graves were present, and no information is available on the source of the slabs used in their construction. The provision of stone-built cists or slab-lined graves was clearly an attempt to provide extra protection to the corpse or to create a solid physical and symbolic boundary around the deceased.

In addition to the grave-types already described, a small quantity of more unusual grave settings has been observed amongst the children's burials:

- At Amesbury disc barrow G.61a, Wilts., a sub-rectangular natural hollow in the ground surface contained the disarticulated remains of an adolescent, young child and an adult (WI 9 & WI 10, Ashbee 1985, 49-51).
- At Long Ash Lane barrow G.5, Dorset, a disarticulated, or partially articulated skeleton of a 1-2-year-old child had been placed on a constructed floor of chalk lumps on the old ground surface (WI 111; Forde-Johnston 1959, 119).

- The principal grave at Eweleaze Barn bowl barrow G.46, Dorset, included a carved chalk ledge on the interior of the chalk-cut pit, on which had been placed the skeletons of three infants accompanied by a small Food Vessel (WI 141-3; St George Gray & Prideaux 1905, 21).

Physical boundaries: flint and chalk arrangements

Although not a common practice, a small number of adult and child inhumations have had arrangements of unworked flint nodules or chalk lumps placed around the body.

This practice of either surrounding the deceased by flint nodules or placing alignments of flints in the grave in direct association with the body is not well understood. This practice has been observed in association with only two children's burials in Wessex. One comes from a grave at Kingston Russell barrow G.6a, where a line of large flints had been placed parallel to the child's back (WI 121; Bailey 1982, 24, fig 3, pl II). At Barrow Clump, Figheldean, Wiltshire (WI 37; Last 2005; Last *forthcoming,* fig 8), the crouched burial of a two-year-old child was surrounded by a series of unworked flint nodules (Figure 7.7). The height of the nodules in both cases would have been insufficient to protect the body in the manner of a slab-built cist. The distance between the flints and the body at Barrow Clump, and the distinct sub-rectangular area that they distinguish, suggests that an organic covering or container was formally present. These flints may had been used to weigh down a fabric covering or to wedge the base of a round-bottomed or unstable organic container (e.g. a tree-trunk or basketry coffin) such as that suggested by Watkins for a similar arrangement of stones in a grave at Barns Farm cemetery, Fife (1982, 71). The later hypothesis seems more likely as some flint arrangements do not completely encircle the body.

It is possible that these flint and chalk arrangements had a more symbolic intention. They may have been constructed as symbolic boundaries to prevent the spirit of the deceased from leaving the grave.

Sealing the grave: flint & chalk capping

The interpretation of flint arrangements as symbolic boundaries could be reinforced by a number of child burials with flint or sarsen stones placed on top of the grave, summarised in Table 7.8. In these instances an unusual level of concern is demonstrated for sealing or marking the grave. It is suggested here that these slabs were either aimed to protect the

integrity of the grave or to provide additional protection to the living from the pollution of the deceased.

Flat graves: satellite and isolated burials

Eleven child inhumations have been recovered from flat graves, without covering mounds or surrounding ditches. A group of 3 flat graves, all of children, from Okus Quarries, Wilts., may have formed part of a small flat-grave cemetery (Passmore 1914; Grinsell 1957, 112). Similarly, at Netheravon, Wilts., 2 burials associated with Beakers, one an adult, the other a child, were excavated without any trace of a mound or surrounding ditch identified (Cunnington 1927a).

At Southwick, Hants., the crouched inhumation of a fifteen to seventeen-year-old female was recovered from a grave with no perceptible mound or encircling ditch (WI 94; Rudkin 1989). The presence of a nearby Earlier Bronze Age 'Wessex-type' cremation and a Food Vessel-associated cremation, led the excavator to suggest the former presence of a small barrow cemetery. Barrows constructed solely from turf and earth, stripped from the natural surface in the vicinity of the mound, are known from southern England, such as those recently excavated at Over Narrows, north of Cambridge (Evans & Tabor 2010). Such barrows did not require an encircling ditch to provide additional soil to assist with constructing the mound and are particularly vulnerable to erosion. To reiterate, there is no evidence of such mounds at Southwick, but the possibility of the original presence of a turf-built structure over the adolescent girl's grave is worthy of consideration.

Insertion into earlier monuments

The insertion of 8 children's burials into earlier, Neolithic monuments, such as long barrows and stone circles, is of great interest and challenging to interpret due to the multi-facetted meanings that can be ascribed to such an act. These burials are summarised in Table 7.9.

These burials, particularly the examples from West Kennet Avenue (WI 17 & 18) and the Sanctuary (WI 16), are unlikely to have been placed in such locations due simply to convenience of location, nor as incidental to the existing monuments (Figure 7.8). Even if the mechanisms behind the choices that the living communities made in regard to their funerary practices is not always understood, it is clear that all aspects of the burial during this period, from the position of the body, to the artefacts interred alongside, were carefully and purposefully selected. The selection of these individuals for interment within pre-existing

monuments was also deliberate and such an action would have been loaded with symbolic meaning. This theme will be explored further in the concluding chapter (see p241)

7.2.4 Grave size as a reflection of age?

Full dimensions of grave size are only recorded in 45 Wessex child burials, representing just over a third of the burials within the dataset[30]. The length and width of these graves are summarised by Figure 7.9. This Figure demonstrates that the children's graves in Wessex range from 40 cm to 250 cm in length and 20 cm to 250 cm in width[31], with the majority in graves between 51-150 cm in length. Most adult graves containing unburnt corpses range between 100-250 cm indicating considerable overlap in the size of graves afforded to adults and children (Hanley & Sheridan 1994).

Looking in more detail at the ages of children in relation to the size of graves, it is possible to demonstrate that young children of five years of age and under are present in the greatest range of grave sizes (Table 7.10), but are most prevalent within graves less than 100 cm in length. Older children, by contrast, are most common within the larger grave sizes, particularly those between 151-200 cm in length but are absent within the smallest graves. Similarly, juveniles are present in all but the smallest graves.

Although it is true that the body of a one-year-old child would require a far smaller grave than that of a mature adult male, it can be demonstrated that grave size cannot consistently be regarded as an indicator of the age of the deceased. A good illustration of comes from Durrington Down, Dorset (Figure 7.10). Here, the principal grave, containing the crouched burial of a 7-9-year old, was a substantial, steep-sided oval pit, excavated into the chalk, described by the excavator as being disproportionately large for the body it contained (Richards 1990, 175, fig 125). Conversely, at the popularly named 'Boscombe Bowmen' burial, the grave (Figure 7.11) which held the remains of at least eight unburnt human skeletons and a cremation was described by the excavator as a 'normal sized grave' (Fitzpatrick 2004; McKinley 2001, 18; Fitzpatrick *in prep*).

[30] Where measurements are lacking in the text, the dimensions of the graves has been ascertained from accompanying illustrations and plans, where available.
[31] Depths of the graves have not been considered here as it is not often clear whether depth recorded is that from the contemporary surface of the barrow or depth below ancient ground surface.

In the absence of skeletal remains within a possible grave, the size of the pit has often been considered as a way of differentiating between adult and child inhumations. An example of this is at Winterbourne Stoke G45, where Christie suggests the former presence of a child's burial, based on the observation of a small oval pit cut into the old ground surface but lacking any trace of human bone or staining from the body (Christie 1970, 70). As the examples cited above illustrate, inferring the presence of the burial of a child, solely on the size of the grave is highly problematic and should be avoided.

7.2.5 Placement of the body: position and orientation

Previous studies conducted on the position and orientation of the body within the grave have demonstrated that its placement in the burial context was not random and may be related to the gender of the individual (Tuckwell 1975; Shepherd 1989).

The small number of children within the Wessex dataset that can be sexed makes analysis of the significance of the orientation of the bodies challenging. There is simply not enough information available to determine whether the biological sex of the individuals shows any pattern in relation to the gender suggested by the orientation of the body. Despite the challenge presented by this lack of information, an exploration of the positioning and orientation of these burials is still considered to be of interest as the bodies of the deceased were manipulated into what must have been seen as appropriate configurations and orientations.

In general, the positions of the children in the grave are typical of the period, most (when a record exists) being crouched, or flexed (Table 7.11). A small, but significant number of the burials consist of disarticulated or partially-articulated remains (11%) and some comprise selective skeletal remains. These cases will be discussed in more detail below. In addition to the typical burial positions, there are more unusual forms, including extended, supine and a possible seated burial.

The position of the child's body in the grave, either in text or figure, is absent from the published accounts of 50 individuals, comprising 38% of the dataset.

Crouched and flexed burials

There is no evidence amongst the children's inhumations to suggest that the position of the body in the grave was determined by age or biological sex. Typically, the body was laid on its side, with the knees bent upwards towards the chest and the arms bent at varying angles in front of the face. This manipulation of the position of the body within the grave must have held significant symbolic meaning to the living community and would have fed into the wider cosmology of the period.

Since the late nineteenth century, commentators on Earlier Bronze Age burials have noted patterns in the orientation of inhumation burials. Thurnam's observations on Wessex burials led him to suggest that north was the primary orientation for British Bronze Age burials (Thurnam 1871, 321). Thurnam also suggested that the traditional Bronze Age burial practice was to place the body on the left side (1871, 319). Both points were later refuted by Tuckwell (1975) in her study of the orientation of adult and sub-adult Bronze Age inhumations from East Yorkshire which demonstrated the existence of a link between the sex of the individual and their orientation, particularly in Beaker associated graves (discussed in detail with reference to Scottish child inhumations, page 47). No similar detailed study has been conducted for Wessex.

Only 7 female and 7 male children have been identified in Wessex (Figure 7.12). 80% of the identified female children, where position is known, were placed on their right sides, consistent with the pattern observed in previous studies primarily concerned with adult individuals (Tuckwell 1975; Shepherd 1989). However, 60% of the male children from Wessex also were also laid on their right side.

Looking at the placement of the body of each of the 62 crouched child inhumations within the dataset (Table 7.12) there is a clear predominance of right-sided burials in both Wiltshire and Hampshire. Following Tuckwell's conclusions for Yorkshire, this suggests that the these individuals were of female gender. A different picture is presented for Dorset where equal numbers of left- and right-sided burials imply the presence of equal numbers of male and female children.

Tuckwell also noted that most Bronze Age skeletons were arranged so that they faced south (1975, 100-1). Unfortunately, the line-of-sight of children's bodies in Wessex is rarely noted but it is clear that such a convention was not rigorously adhered to with regard to children's burials. For example, at West Overton G.6b (Figure 7.13), several children's inhumations

were interred towards the edge of the mound with no consistency to their orientation or line-of-sight (Smith & Simpson 1966, fig 2).

Extended

Extended burials in the Earlier Bronze Age are not common (Greenwell 1877, 22; Piggott 1938). Only 3 examples of children placed in an extended position are present in the Wessex dataset:

- A sixteen- to twenty-month-old child at Wilsford Cum Lake barrow G.52, Wilts. (WI 60: Smith 1991, 21).
- At Bridport Barrow (G.5a), Dorset, the extended skeleton of an infant came from the flint cairn in the interior of the barrow (WI 140; Sydenham 1844, 330; Warne 1866, 45).
- Bincombe bowl barrow G.60e, Dorset: possible extended skeleton of an infant was associated with the extended burial of an adult (WI 104: Warne 1866; Grinsell 1957)

Seated

The occurrence of skeletons placed in seated postures during this period are very rare (cf. Bateman 1861, 23). Identifying such burials is very difficult. As the seated skeleton decays, the bones are likely to slump on top of one another, giving the appearance of a heap or stack of skeletal remains. This problem of identifying such burials within the published record is further complicated by the use of the term 'seated burials' by some antiquarian investigators to describe the crouched position of inhumations (Greenwell 1877, 24).

One possible example of a seated child's burial is recorded in Wiltshire at Winterbourne Monkton, discovered in the mid-nineteenth century (WI 76: Hillier 1854, 303-4). The excavator suggests that the interments, including that of a child, were originally placed in a sitting posture, the weight of the stones and earth above naturally forcing them into the apparently confused state in which they were found (1854, 303-4). From the description that Hillier gives of the state of the skeletal remains, it is possible that the bones had had been interred within the grave within tightly bound bundles of already de-fleshed bones such as that from Fordingham Farm barrow, Dorset, which will be discussed further below (Bellamy 1992, 108-9).

7.2.6 Manipulation of the body

As Table 7.13 demonstrates, not all bodies were interred in a complete state. In some instances, the bodies are disarticulated, either disturbed many years after initial burial or deposited in the grave in a jumbled, defleshed condition, perhaps the result of exposure or reburial. In a small number of cases the bones appear to have been re-arranged or mutilated prior to deposition.

Disarticulated remains

In most circumstances, the presence of fragmentary, disarticulated skeletal elements within graves and barrow mound material are interpreted as the disturbed remains of a former burial, such as those of an adult and child at Buxbury Hill, Wiltshire (WI 45, Goddard 1913). In some cases, however, the remains have clearly been deliberately deposited in this state (Table 7.13).

The formal burial of disarticulated, semi-articulated and fragmentary unburnt skeletal remains is becoming a more frequently recognised element of Earlier Bronze Age funerary practices than previously noted (Brück 2004a; 2004b; Gibson 2004a; Petersen 1972). Some of these burials were observed at the time of excavation as jumbled mixtures of human bones, apparently interred with a lack of order or organisation (such as at Long Ash Lane barrow 2, Dorset; Forde-Johnson 1959, 119), whereas others have been interred with far more care (Figure 7.14) and reverence, such as that from Fordingham Farm, Dorset (Bellamy 1992, 108-9).

In each of these cases, it is unclear whether these burials represent the reburial of skeletal remains, perhaps disturbed during later funerary activity at the site (such as has been suggested for those at Long Bredy, Dorset; Eogan 1980), bones collected together after exposure, or the reburial of exhumed remains from another location. Perhaps the partially articulated remains present at the Amesbury disc barrow (Ashbee 1985, 49-51) is the body of a deceased individual who had been transported a long distance prior to burial, resulting in partial decomposition. Or had these bodies been exhumed from a burial elsewhere to be repatriated and reburied within the family sepulchral monument? It is hoped that advances in DNA sequencing of past populations may resolve this type of question which at present has no clear answer.

Mutilation and rearrangement of skeletal elements

Six children's skeletons display some form of mutilation or rearrangement of the skeletal elements within the grave. This group includes largely complete articulated bodies with missing bones and isolated bones with no corresponding skeletons and the two newborn children, described above, from Sheep Down pond barrow, Dorset, which the excavators suggested had been dismembered prior to burial (WI 147 & 148; Atkinson et al 1952, 7).

One complete, articulated, flexed inhumation of an adolescent female from Arreton Down, Isle of Wight, Hampshire, displayed evidence of mutilation prior to burial (Figure 7.15, WI 92; Alexander *et al* 1960, pl xxviib). She lay on her right side, with her right forearm spread across her back at an unnatural position; twisted so far back as to suggest that the arm had dislocated from the shoulder. Although still apparently articulated to the humerus, the right radius and ulna were found to be lying at an angle of about 100° to each other, with the radius extending up towards the tip of the shoulder blade and the ulna directed down towards the hip (Longston & Denston quoted by Alexander *et al* 1960, 298-9). No sign of post-depositional disturbance was recognised that might explain this unusual skeletal placement. It is unclear whether this could have been the result of a severe (and undoubtedly fatal) peri-mortem injury, such as an animal attack, or post-mortem mutilation, for reasons unclear. It is possible that the body was in an advanced state of decomposition when interred in the grave, resulting in the displacement of the forearm bones as the cadaver was laid out.

A further example of possible post-mortem mutilation of the corpse is present at Net Down barrow G.5k, involving the inhumation of a 12-14-year-old, ?female (WI 44; Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 278). The child, tentatively identified as a female, was positioned in a semi-supine position: her upper body resting on her back but with her thighs raised at right angles to the upper body as though in a traditional crouched inhumation pose (Figure 7.16). What makes this burial different is that her lower legs were missing and the upper leg bones appeared to have been cut post-mortem. Green was certain that the grave was not disturbed and the condition of the bones was as deposited (Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 278). Similar mutilation has been noted previously in reference to Neolithic skeletal remains (Ashbee 1960, 79).

Similarly, at Kingston Russell G.6b, Dorset, the crouched inhumation of a five-year-old child appears to have had its left foot removed (Figure 7.17). During excavation it was noted that the left tibia and fibula had been chopped through and no trace of foot or ankle bones

were found. These appear to have been removed prior to burial. The grave is of sufficient size to accommodate the individual so there is no reason to suggest that the removal of the feet was undertaken to fit the body in the pit. Similarly, the excavator did not record any secondary disturbance to the grave that might explain the lack of feet (Bailey 1982, 28)

Another two burials, both from Dorset, have skeletal elements removed. At Long Ash Lane barrow 2, a secondary crouched inhumation of a young person was found to be missing their feet. Despite a careful search for the missing bones, they were not recovered during excavation (Forde-Johnston 1959, 119-20). A similar situation can be seen in an Anglo-Saxon adult burial at Barrow Clump, Figheldean, Wiltshire, where the extended, supine skeleton's feet have been removed in this case by later badger disturbance (Last *forthcoming*). In this case, the animal burrow is clearly visible and it seems unlikely that such a feature could be overlooked in relation to the Bronze Age children's burials considered above.

Within the central grave at Kingston Russell barrow G.6g, Dorset, a series of intercutting burials had been deposited, each disturbing the previous grave contents (Bailey 1982). The second interment here was that of a child, placed in a contracted position on their left side. The insertion of this burial appears to have displaced the remains of the original occupant of the grave, that of an adult female associated with a Beaker. The excavator noted the conspicuous absence of the child's skull, which was believed to be present at the time of burial. It is unclear whether the skull of this individual was recovered when a third, young adult female burial was inserted into the grave in the later part of the Earlier Bronze Age or during an unrecorded subsequent intervention.

It is suggested here that the removal of skeletal elements observed in the cases described above could represent the retention of children's bones as relics.

7.2.7 Relics: children as ancestors

The process of fragmentation of the human body did not simply symbolise death, but may have been considered to embody a state of transformation; the bones becoming a source of fertility and continuity (Brück 2006, 302).

An example of this may be observed at Rockbourne Down, Hampshire, where the inhumation of a young adult was associated with a single infant bone (Piggott & Piggott 1947, 157). Placed in the crook of the arms of the adult inhumation was the basal portion of an upright Food Vessel (Figure 7.18), apparently fragmentary at the time of burial, containing a fish vertebra probably from a pike and another bone fragment described as a very young human sacrum (WI 95: *ibid*, 157). Only one immature bone was present and no further immature remains were recorded during the excavation. The interpretation of such a deposit is difficult but the bone clearly does not represent a formal burial. A ritual interpretation was presented by the excavators stating that 'the pike vertebra and the infant's sacrum form an odd deposit whose purpose seems to imply some obscure magic or ritual rather than a straight-forward deposition of food for the future life' (Piggott & Piggott 1947, 162). It is suggested here that this infant bone was a relic: a bone retrieved from a disturbed burial and curated as a potent ancestral talisman. Here the human bone is regarded as an object and one that can be subject to symbolic manipulation (Sofaer 2006). Such a relic could be imbued with a power and significance, both as a token of the person it came from but also as a tangible tactile link to the ancestors. This interpretation does not negate the Piggotts' suggestion that this bone performed some magical or ritual function but rather enhances it.

Similar fragmentation and retention of children's remains have been observed at Monkton Down bowl barrow and Avebury saucer barrow G.46 (or 46a), both in Wiltshire. At Monkton Down, a Beaker was discovered containing the skull bones of a 'very young person' (Goddard 1913, 359; Clarke 1970, 504, no.1187). No associated formal burial was noted. A similar deposit was noted by Merewether at the saucer barrow at Avebury where a small Collared Urn was found to contain unburnt bones of a young child (Goddard 1913, 180; Grinsell 1957, 222, No.46 or 46a; Longworth 1984, 283, no.1641). It is unclear in both instances whether the bones represented a complete skeleton or only involved selective bones but these examples could represent the deposition of relics.

What seems quite clear, in agreement with Brück's observations, is that it was ideologically acceptable to fragment, rearrange and disperse the human body during this period (Brück 2004a, 181), including the remains of children. The retention of human bones as relics is a subject which has seen less discussion in a Bronze Age context but as the examples above demonstrate, the practice included the remains of children.

7.2.8 Pathology

Childbirth

The dangers of childbirth for both mother and baby alike have been considered in chapter 4 and rehearsed with regard to the Scottish dataset (page 52).

In Wessex, only 6 foetal/perinate/newborn children have identified in the record (WI 25, 43, 89, 96) from all three counties. A further two possible neonates were noted at Sheep Down, Dorset (WI 147 & 8; Atkinson *et al* 1952, 7). The likelihood, inferred solely from their age, is that they died as the result of complications during birth or shortly afterwards. None of these newborns displays any visible pathological indicators to confirm cause of death.

All but one example described below, were interred individually without an associated adult. One, a foetus or perinate from Fordingham Farm east barrow, Dorset, was, exceptionally, associated with an adult female (Bellamy 1992, 109). It was not possible to identify from examination of the skeletal remains, whether the child was *in utero*, stillborn or a neonate (Jenkins 1992, 120), but it was suggested that the child could not have been more than a month old. It seems that this is a fairly convincing example of complications during childbirth leading to the tragic death of both mother and child. It is extraordinary that this association should be so rarely observed within the Earlier Bronze Age record.

Dietary deficiencies

Six children's skeletons displayed osteological modifications that would suggest some form of disease or, more likely, dietary insufficiency. Amongst the burials at West Overton G.6, Brothwell and Powers (1966) noted osteoporitic pitting on the specific areas of the cranium (around the lambdoidal suture of both parietal bones and the occipital bone) of a four-year-old child (child I; WI 53) and a nine-month-old infant (child IV; WI 54). Slight pitting was also observed on the cranium of a child (Figure 7.19) no more than 6 months of age (child V; WI 57) [32]. Marked cribra orbitalia was present on the roofs of the orbits of a 3-6-year-old child from Long Crichel barrow 5 (Green *et al* 1983, 55). This process involves both bone cell destruction and new bone formation, resulting in a pitted spongy appearance of the bone.

[32] Similar cranial pitting was noted by Brothwell on two children from Avebury G.55 bell barrow (Smith 1965; Brothwell 1992). These inhumations have not been considered as part of this study due to questions over the security of the date of the burials.

These bone changes are thought to be the result of severe and prolonged iron deficiency anaemia (Brothwell 1992).

Also from West Overton, a nine month-old-child (child II; WI 55) displayed an irregular pattern of bone thickening on the cranial vault and some osteoporitic pitting like those described previously. No conclusive diagnosis of the cause of the cranial thickening identified on this individual could be offered, but various diseases, such as rickets and severe iron deficiency anaemia may result in such bone changes in the skull (Brothwell & Powers 1966, 147; Brothwell 1992; Roberts and Cox 2003, 67).

The first possible case of Bronze Age scurvy has been noted by Simon Mays in two-year-old child at Barrow Clump, Figheldean, Wiltshire (WI 37; Mays 2008; Last 2005; Last *forthcoming*). The child's skull from Barrow Clump showed abnormal porosity on the external surface of the cranial vault and thick deposits of porous new bone on the orbital roofs. Mays suggests that these endocranial lesions are the result of scurvy (Mays 2008, 179, 184). Scurvy is a disease caused by prolonged vitamin C deficiency in the diet. It is necessary for humans to acquire vitamin C from food sources such as fresh fruit and vegetables as the body is unable to synthesise it. Severe and protracted deficiency of this vitamin leads to weaknesses in the blood vessel walls which can result in haemorrhage. If this haemorrhage occurs in direct proximity to bone, it can trigger modifications to the bone surface. The presence of scurvy in this child from Barrow Clump also indicates that breastfeeding must have ceased some time prior to death as vitamin C could have been provided in the breast milk. Heating or prolonged storage of foods can reduce their vitamin C content indicating the possibility that the child may have been fed on food heated to such an extent that the vitamin content was destroyed (Mays 2008, 185).

Mays also notes that lesions of scurvy are more pronounced in infants and young children as the bone is still developing. Lesions on an adult may be more minor and Mays suggests that there may be an under-diagnosis of this condition within prehistoric populations generally (Mays 2008, 184).

Infection or injury

As well as cranial pitting, possibly the result of dietary deficiency or anaemia, the four-year-old child from West Overton (child I; WI 53) also displayed changes in the bone surface of the frontal bone, around the orbital margins and on the right side of the mandible. This is

taken as evidence for inflammation, possibly the result of an infection. The production of new bone, such as this, can often result from skeletal injury but no evidence of trauma was present here (Brothwell & Powers 1966, 147).

None of the children from Wessex display any traumatic bone injury that might be the result of a serious accident or violence, although information has been rehearsed regarding an adolescent from Arreton Down with possible trauma to her right forearm (WI 92; Ozanne Alexander *et al* 1960, 268, pl xxviiib).

Possible congenital skeletal abnormalities

At Butterfield Down, Amesbury, a secondary crouched inhumation of a child aged approximately twelve years was identified with a severe abnormality of the lumbar vertebrae. It is unclear whether this abnormality was a congenital defect or the result of an injury to the spine but it may have caused permanent paralysis (Rawlings & Fitzpatrick 1996, 10, pl 1). The placement of this child within the grave appears awkward (Figure 7.20) and the grave itself looks as though it had been altered at one side to accommodate the head. It is possible that the body was interred in a state of rigor mortis, the position of the body reflecting the paralysed form of the child.

Destruction of healthy bone in two vertebrae of a 12-18-year-old girl from Long Crichel barrow 5, Dorset, would have caused enduring back pain and may have affected the girl's ability to walk, perhaps giving her a rounded back (Green *et al* 1983, 55). This condition, known as a lumber osteochondritis is an unusual developmental abnormality and its cause is not well understood. It is likely to have caused the girl periods of severe discomfort and at times may have restricted her mobility, but it was not considered to be the cause of death (*ibid* 1983, 55).

Shared non-metric variations: genetic traits

A minimum of 3 of the skeletons from the Boscombe Bowmen burial had small ossicles in the lambdoid suture of the occipital bone of the cranium, predominantly on the left side which may suggest that these individuals were genetically related (McKinley 2011, 19). Similarly at the Lake Group barrow G36f, Wilsford, a genetic link between an adult and 14 to 15-year-old possible male was suggested due to the identification of small wormian bones in the lambdoid suture (W 75; Grimes 1967; Bristow 1998, 119). McKinley notes that such non-metric variations of the lambdoid suture occurs at a high frequency within Neolithic and

Bronze Age individuals (37% and 35% respectively) and highlights the possibility that extrinsic factors such as birth trauma may also be responsible for such skeletal traits and are not necessarily an indicator of genetic links (*ibid* 2011, 19).

At Porton, Wiltshire, the inhumation of an adult female was recorded in close proximity to a seemingly earlier burial of a 6 to 7-year-old child (WI 39: Rawlence 1904, 412-3). Despite their separate graves, anatomist Sir William Turner suggested that the individuals may be mother and child. Sir William noted that both skulls displayed decided hydrocephalic symptoms, especially the child's, which he referred to as 'altogether abnormal' (Turner in Rawlence 1904, 413).

The rarity of recorded burials of foetuses/perinates/newborns is extraordinary considering the high infant mortality rate expected for this period, as is the rarity of double inhumations of adult females and particularly young infants which would suggest death in childbirth to both mother and child. It seems clear that it was not normative practice in Wessex during this period for children of this age to be afforded formal burial by inhumation. Similarly, the burial of a young adult female with foetus *in utero* at Fordingham Farm, Dorset (Bellamy 1992) appears to be exceptional.

Only a small proportion of the Wessex children's skeletons display any evidence of disease, infection and congenital health problems. The most common medical condition associated with children in Wessex appears to be dietary deficiencies causing conditions such as anaemia. These conditions are not necessarily indicative of a lack of food but could be the result of food preservation techniques or even methods of cooking (Mays 2008, 154). In the case of particularly young children, breast-milk was likely to be a large part of their diet. Any insufficiencies in the mother's (or wet-nurses) diet could result in the restriction of essential nutrients being passed on to the child. Similarly, such conditions could be related to weaning (Mays *et al* 2002).

7.2.9 Multiple inhumation burials

The majority of children's inhumation burials in all three counties under consideration comprise the remains of a single child and account for 68% of the dataset from Wessex. A trend towards single child inhumations involving older children is noted. Although greater

numbers of young children are present amongst these burials (23) they represent only 53% of children of this age group recorded in Wessex. In contrast, 71% of older children (12) have been afforded individual inhumation burials. No specific age group of child was predominant within single, unaccompanied graves: 56% of young children (31 individuals), 46% of juveniles (14) and 53% of older children (19).

Adult associations

A third of the children's burials (31) were directly associated with at least one adult. This encompasses a total of forty-nine children in association with a minimum of forty-six adults (Table 7.14). The minimum number of individuals represented range between 2 and 7 people (Figure 7.21). The majority consist of only two individuals per grave, comprising the remains of a single adult and child.

The age and sex of associated adults has not been determined in the majority of cases; the mature individual being described simply as 'young adult' or adult. The sex of 26 associated adults has been identified and a slight trend towards burial with adult females is suggested but is not so pronounced to indicate a definite pattern of association (Figure 7.22). A total of 10 children's burials were associated with adult males, including an example from bowl barrow G.46 amongst the Eweleaze Barn barrow group, Dorset, where 3 infants (WI 141-3: St George Gray & Prideaux 1905) had been interred on a shelf or ledge carved out of the grave side containing the inhumation of an adult male. An initial study of double inhumations in Wiltshire (Grinsell 1957) suggests that it was far more common for children to be interred alongside another individual than that observed for adult burials.

It is observed that there is likely to be an over-representation of adult 'females' in association with children's burials in Yorkshire and beyond. Some adults may have been identified as female simply because of their physical proximity to the remains of a child, rather than due to any physiological characteristics or indicators. This bias in the record is also observed in cremation burials. An example of this is from Blake's Fir cremation cemetery, Wiltshire, where two deposits of cremated bone, one of a young child and the other of an adult, were interpreted as the remains of mother and child, despite the lack of osteological indicators to confirm the identification of the sex of the adult (Ride 2001, 166). However, in the absence of reanalysis of these adult skeletal remains with a view to confirming age and sex, the identifications noted in the published record have to be recognised.

Multiple child burials

Only three double child inhumation burials (WI 2 & 3; WI 70 & 71; WI 147 & 148) and a single example of a triple child burial (WI 126-8) have been recorded in Wessex:

- The crouched remains of two infants were deliberately placed on cattle skulls within the Amesbury barrow G.22, Wilts. (WI 2 & 3: Hoare 1812; Grinsell 1957, 150, 227). This is an exceptionally unusual burial, particularly as the oxen had clear evidence of having been slaughtered. These particular children's remains should perhaps be considered as a ritual offering rather than a formal burial. This is the only example in Wessex where it is appropriate to confidently question whether cause of death was natural.
- A possible double child inhumation burial at Lake House Bowl Barrow 87a, Wilts. (WI 70 & 71). The records here are admittedly a little vague resulting in an uncertainty as to whether the burial consisted of one or two children. The skeletal remains were associated with a ceramic vessel (Goddard 1908, 584).
- Possible dismembered or disarticulated skeletal remains of two children, aged between 2-5 months were found together in a small pit at Sheep Down, Dorset, accompanied by a Collared Urn (WI 147 & 148; Atkinson *et al* 1952).
- A unique (within a Wessex context) triple child burial consisting of the flexed skeletons of a 6-9 year (WI 126), a 5-6 year (WI 127) and a 18-22 month old (WI 128) from Long Crichel Bowl Barrow G.5, Dorset (Green *et al* 1982). It is unclear from the publication whether the interments are contemporary. It is suggested here that aspects of the children's placement in the grave indicate that deposition took place in two phases: occupying the central area of the grave is the body of the oldest child, here suggested as the principal interment; at one end of the grave, the bodies of two children were added, both flexed and orientated face-to-face. All three individuals may have been biologically related[33].

7.2.10 Grave goods

60% of children's burials have been afforded grave goods in the form of ceramic vessels, personal tools, ornaments and animal bones (Figure 7.23). The remaining 40% are unaccompanied.

[33] This multiple child inhumation would be an excellent candidate for future detailed scientific analysis. Radiocarbon dating of each individual to confirm the sequence of deposition and DNA testing of the bones to establish whether the children were biologically related is recommended.

7.2.11 Associated material culture: pottery vessels

This current study has demonstrated that most common grave goods afforded to children in Wessex are pottery vessels (Figure 7.23). Unlike those associated with cremation burials in the same area, these were interred within the grave, alongside the deceased as a grave good, rather than acting as a container for the human remains. The most common vessel-type associated with inhumation burials of this period in Wessex are Beakers (Clarke 1970); this is reflected in the children's burials. Also present are Food Vessels, Collared Urns, Accessory Vessels of various forms and one burial with diagnostic Neolithic sherds (Figure 7.24).

46% of burials involving children (60 burials), encompassing just under 50% of the total dataset, were afforded pots (Table 7.15)[34]. The majority of these graves are associated with a single vessel (81%), but eleven burials have two vessels or more. In most cases, the pots were interred intact within the grave but a small quantity are represented by sherds only and some broken or damaged vessels are also present (Case 2004, 197). It is argued here, that many of these broken or fragmentary vessels may represent 'special pots' whose extended biographies suggest deliberate curation and symbolic importance to the living community (Woodward 2000a).

Multiple pots

Ten burials involving children are associated with multiple pots. In only one instance were more than two vessels interred in the grave (Table 7.16). This was at the highly unusual 'Boscombe Bowmen' grave where the inhumation burial of at least 9 individuals, and a single cremation, were associated with 8 Beaker vessels[35] (McKinley 2011, 18). Although it would be convenient to suggest that each of the 8 pots was associated with specific individuals within the grave, the placement of the pots around the articulated male skeleton and the complex sequence of burial and rearrangement suggests that the picture is far more

[34] A further three burials contained pottery vessels but have not been included in the figures listed above. Two, from Net Down Barrow 5e, Wiltshire and Bincombe barrow 60d, Dorset, were clearly associated specifically with the deceased adult and had no clear relationship with the child in the grave (Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 267; 267. The third example comes from Down Farm pond barrow, Dorset, where a child inhumation was associated with a cremation in a Collared Urn. Here, the relationship between the inhumation and the cremation within the pottery vessel is not clear, and their placement may be coincidental (Green 1994).

[35] At the time of writing, post-excavation analysis of this grave group is still ongoing and many aspects of the grave have yet to be clarified (Fitzpatrick *in prep*).

complex (Fitzpatrick *in prep*). At least 3 of the pots were found crushed above the head of the articulated male placed in the centre of the grave. Two of the children, the 5-6-year-old and the 6-7-year-old, were also found in this area, suggesting that some of the vessels may be contemporary with the children's interments in the grave.

Where 2 vessels are associated with a child, they tend to be vessels of the same form although some combinations of pot type are noted. For example, at Amesbury disc barrow G61a, sherds of Beaker, Neolithic Mortlake and Grooved Ware vessels were found in association with possible re-buried disarticulated and partially articulated remains of an infant, adolescent and an adult (WI 9 & WI 10: Ashbee 1985, 49-51). It is likely that these sherds represent the original grave goods which were incompletely collected along with the human remains prior to redeposition, possibly representing token sherds.

In only 4 cases, multiple pots were associated with multiple individuals including the grave at Boscombe and Amesbury disc barrow, already discussed, and at Lake House barrow G87a where one or two children were associated with a possible Beaker and an accessory vessel, and at Cow Down G.11, Wilts., 2 Collared Urns were placed at the feet of a child, one containing a cremation burial (WI 70: Fitzpatrick 2004; Fitzpatrick *in prep*; WI 9: Ashbee 1985, 49-51; WI 70 & 71: Goddard 1908, 232; WI 34: Lukis 1867, 92).

As demonstrated by Figure 7.24, four main Earlier Bronze Age vessel forms are typically associated with children's burials in Wessex (Beakers, Food Vessels, Collared Urns and Accessory Vessels). Clear distinctions in the range of pottery types associated is, however, detectable between the counties, with Beakers predominating in the record in Wiltshire, and Food Vessels being the dominant pottery association in Dorset. Accessory vessels are evenly represented in all three counties.

Beakers

Thirty-three burials within the Wessex dataset were afforded Beaker vessels and a further 3 children were associated with probable Beakers, making Beakers the most common pottery type to be associated with children's inhumations in Wessex. This conforms to the pattern of pottery association with adult inhumations in the same region (Clarke 1970). Typically, only one Beaker vessel was interred alongside the deceased, but in three graves, described above (Table 7.16), more than one vessel was present.

What kinds of Beakers?

The majority of Beaker pottery vessels associated with children's inhumation burials in Wessex (Figure 7.25) have been classified by Clarke (1970). Despite acknowledged problems with Clarke's classificatory scheme (Lanting & Van Der Waals 1972; Kinnes *et al* 1991; Case 1993, 1995; Gibson 2002) excavators have resisted moving away from his identification and grouping of Beaker types, particularly in southern Britain. For the purposes of describing the form of associated Beakers, Clarke's classification system is here quoted. This is simply to illustrate form and style rather than implying any date or chronological scheme.

Clarke's Wessex/Middle Rhine Beakers, are the most common style to be associated with the children's inhumations in Wessex, and Wiltshire in particular (9 examples; 1970, 84-107). Also present in significant numbers are Southern Beakers (10 examples), particularly Clarke's Developed Southern form (S2, 7 examples; Clarke 1970, 210-224). One, from Bincombe G.11, associated with an eleven-year-old child, is an unusual handled variety (WI 100; Payne 1944, 45-6, 48).

What is most noticeable about the Beaker vessels associated with child inhumations is the frequency of 'domestic ware' decorative styles. Clarke defines 3 main classes of beaker domestic ware: undecorated ware, non-plastic rusticated wear (FN) where the surface of the vessel is impressed with paired fingernail impressions and plastic rusticated ware (FP), where the surface of the vessel has been raised by finger pinching into ribs and cordons (Clarke 1970, 43, 569). Beakers, particularly with finger-nail impressed decoration are a recurring association of the children's burials in Wessex being observed at Wilsford, G.51, Wilsford G.52, Overton Down and Barrow Clump G.25 (Smith 1991, 21; Fowler 2000; Last *forthcoming*). A link between FN Beakers and females with accompanying children, or with secondary burials in an earlier grave has previously been postulated (Pierpoint 1984, 23).

Size of vessels

Dimensions are available for only 24 vessels and are presented in Figure 7.26. The vessels associated with child inhumations range from 80 to 305 mm in height and 76 to 156 mm in rim diameter. A distinct cluster of vessels between 100 to 180 mm in height and 100 to 130 mm in diameter are present amongst this group. Outwith this main cluster, two diminutive sized pots are present. These pots, from Normanton Down, Wilts. and Corton Down, Wilts. are both accessory vessels to a full-sized Beaker (Clarke 1970, 502, 504; Hoare 1812, 102)

accompanying an infant and a young person, respectively. Clarke noted that the custom of placing extra accessory Beakers in graves was strongly linked with the burial of woman and child burials (1970, 265). This does not appear to be borne out amongst the Wessex dataset.

Neither Clarke's (1970) nor Lanting and Van der Waal's (1972) work took the size of the Beaker pots into consideration in their analysis. This anomaly was resolved by Case who collated both funerary and domestic Beaker vessel volume capacity and successfully demonstrated that there is evidence for the deliberate selection of small and medium-sized pots for burial taken from a much larger range of pottery sizes (Case 1995; Gibson 2002, 91). He noted that Beakers under half a litre in capacity were represented in burials of both sexes and all age groups, but noted a trend towards small vessels being associated with children (Case 1995, 60). In particular reference to this study, Case noted that only small (<500 cc) and medium (500-2000 cc) capacity Beakers were associated with 'children (including infants)' in Wiltshire (Case 1995, 60, fig. 6.2).

Beaker position relative to the skeleton

Clarke defined 4 main burial positions for the Beaker relative to the skeleton (Clarke 1970, 455). His analysis of 179 burials indicated the most common positions for Beaker vessels were behind the head and in front of the face.

Tuckwell later suggested that this was too simplistic and devised 7 variable positions which better reflect the recorded location of the pot within the grave, which can be summarised by Figure 7.27 (1975, fig.1). Tuckwell was able to demonstrate that the majority of Beakers in Yorkshire were positioned behind the head, in front of the face and in front of the feet (1975, 108-9, fig.8a). No similar study has been conducted in Wessex.

For Wessex children, the exact position of the Beaker in relation to the children's skeletal remains is known in only 13 cases (Figure 7.27 and Figure 7.28)[36]. The most common position in the graves is by the feet of the deceased child. Most surprisingly, none of the burials record the position of the Beaker as behind the head of child; the typical position for Beakers, noted by both Clarke and Tuckwell (Clarke 1970, 455; Tuckwell 1975, 108-9). This

[36] In addition to the positions illustrated by Figure 6.27, one vessel from Badbury Barrow, Dorset associated with a young child, was described as placed 'at the ribs' of the child (Warne 1866). One, from Monkton Down, was recorded as containing the unburnt bones of a young person (Goddard 1913, 359) and one, from Okus Quarries was found beside the disarticulated remains of a 15 month-old child (Passmore 1914).

implies that the appropriate location of the pot in the grave of a child was different from that of adults in Wessex.

Condition

Six Beakers were present as sherds only. At Buxbury Hill, Wilts. (WI 45), the fragmentary condition of the Beaker is the result of recent rabbit damage whereas at Amesbury disc barrow (WI 9 & 10) and West Kennet Avenue stone hole 25b (WI 17 & 18), sherds were associated with disarticulated human remains, perhaps representing reburial of fragmentary bones and grave goods (Clay 1924; Ashbee 1985, 49-51; Smith 1965, 209-10). Partial vessels were present in 3 burials, at Okus Quarry (WI 48), Snail Down saucer barrow (WI 35) and at Beckhampton (WI 15), (Passmore 1914; Thomas 2005; Young 1950). The condition of the Beakers associated with the 3-year-old child at Beckhampton are of particular interest as they comprise a damaged Beaker, missing a sherd from the upper body, and the rim sherd of a second vessel (Young 1950). The damaged Beaker appears to have been carefully packed around with chalk lumps to keep it upright, suggesting to the excavator that it was interred containing liquid despite its damaged condition. It is suggested here that these fragmentary vessels may have been 'special pots', imbued with significance and deliberately selected for burial despite the prior damage that had been sustained (Woodward 2000a; 58-9).

Food Vessels

Only 13 Food Vessels are present amongst the children's inhumations in Wessex and are more strongly represented within the dataset from Dorset (Figure 7.24). In each case, only a single vessel is associated with the burial.

Form

Both bipartite and tripartite vessels are present amongst the Wessex child burials, the later sometimes referred to as 'Ridged Food Vessels' (Calkin 1964). Where dimensions are recorded the majority appear to conform to bowl form (8 examples). Only 2, from Down Farm Pond barrow (Green 1983; 1994) and Longbarrow Crossroads (Grinsell 1957, 231), are vases.

Size

Food Vessels are generally less than 200 mm in height (Gibson 2002, 95). Dimensions are only available for 9 pots associated with children but show a range in height from 83 to 153 mm and from 89 to 153 mm in diameter (Figure 7.29); all being fairly small examples of this type. Three vessels are particularly small, and conform to Miniature Food Vessels:

- Eweleaze Barn barrow group G.46, Dorset.: found directly in front of three infant inhumations within a pre-existing grave (WI 141-3: St George Gray & Prideaux 1905)
- Bridport Barrow, Dorset: with a 'very young person' and possibly containing cremated remains (WI 139; Sydenham 1844, 331)
- Cow Down, Wilts.: a small undecorated handled Food Vessel (Figure 7.30) was found associated with a child (WI 34: Lukis 1867; Annable & Simpson 1964, 63, no.499).

Position relative to the skeleton

Tuckwell was able to demonstrate that the majority of Food Vessels in Yorkshire were positioned in front of the face or behind the head of the deceased (1975, 109, fig.8b). The position of the vessels within children's graves in Wiltshire has rarely been recorded and can be summarised as:

- In front of the face: at Cow Down, Wilts. (WI 34; Lukis 1867) and Black Down Barrow G.3b, Dorset (WI 122; Bailey 1982)
- Behind the head: at Black Down G.3a (WI 122; Bailey 1982) and at Long Crichel (WI 129: Green *et al* 1983, 43), both Dorset.
- In front of chest: at Earls Farm Down, G.71, Wilts. (WI 12; Christie 1967, 343)
- At Bridport Road bowl barrow, Dorset, the vessel had been placed by the right side of an extended inhumation (WI 140; Sydenham 1844, 330; Warne 1866, 45).

Condition

The majority of the Food Vessels were intact on deposition. One, from Rockbourne Down comprised an unusual burial of an adult with a fragmentary pot containing a single infant bone and the vertebrae of a fish (WI 95; Piggott & Piggott 1947, 157-8, 162, pl I). The Food Vessel was in a fragmentary state prior to deposition; only its basal portion remained. Similarly, at Cow Down, the small handled vessel displayed a worn crack on the rim suggesting that the pot was damaged prior to deposition (Figure 7.30, WI 34; Lukis 1867).

Collared Urns

Child inhumations afforded Collared Urns are rare. For Wessex children, only 10 vessels of this type are associated. The majority of burials are afforded only one vessel but in three instances, more than one pot is present as outlined in Table 7.17.

Form

Only four vessels have been classified by Longworth (1984). These all conform to Longworth's Primary Series, suggesting perhaps an early date in the Collared Urn sequence.

Size

Collared Urns can vary considerably in size from under 100 mm to over 500 mm in height, but most cluster around the 150-300 mm range (Longworth 1984; Gibson 2002, 96). Dimensions were only recorded for 6 of the pots associated with children: range in height from 101 to 350 mm, and diameters from 114 to 163 mm. With the exception of one burial, that of an adult and child from Porton, Wiltshire (WI 39; Rawlence 1904; Longworth 1984, 287) where the urn was recorded as over 350 mm in height, all of the Collared Urns associated with children are towards the smaller end of the size range noted.

Position in relation to body

The position of Collared Urns in relation to the child's body are known in only three instances. Two Collared Urns, one a miniature, and the other containing a cremation burial, were found at the feet of a child at Cow Down, Wilts. (WI 33; Lukis 1865, 92; Longworth 1984, 284). At Sheep Down, Dorset, the Collared Urn was found in front of the face of an eight-year-old child (WI 146; Atkinson et al 1952, 6), whereas at another burial at the same site, the Collared Urn was placed at the opposite end of the grave to the disarticulated or dismembered remains of two 2-3 month old children (WI 147 & 148; Atkinson *et al* 1952, 7). An unusual example comes from the saucer barrow G.46 or 46a, east of Windmill Hill, Wilts. Here, the unburnt remains of a child were found contained within a Collared Urn (WI 19; Merewether 1849, 94).

Condition

All but two urns appear to have been intact at the time of burial. As noted above, the unburnt remains of an eight-year-old child at Sheep Down, Dorset, was associated with two Collared Urns, one complete at time of deposition, the other fragmentary (WI 146; Atkinson et al

1952, 6). At Walworth Barrow, Hants., a large fragment of Collared Urn accompanied the inhumation of a child (WI 88; Scott 1988, 9).

Accessory Vessels

This category encompasses a suite of small-sized pots which are interred as accompanying grave goods within inhumation burials. The term 'accessory vessel' is used here to refer to a range of forms of pottery vessels which have variously been described as 'incense cups', 'pygmy cups', 'miniature vessels' and 'accessory cups'. Also included are small cups considered to be diagnostic of Wessex-type burials, such as perforated wall cups, grape cups and Aldbourne cups (Piggott 1938, 69-77).

Miniature vessels which mimic Beaker, Food Vessel and Collared Urn forms have already been discussed with reference to the inhumation burials. In addition to these forms, a further 6 accessory vessels are associated with children's burials. Two small bowl or conical shaped cups were recovered respectively from Barrow G.16a, Fox Covert Group and Badbury Barrow G.6a, Dorset, accompanying a Collared Urn and a possible Beaker respectively (WI 14, Merewether 1849; WI 136, Warne 1866, 54). That from Badbury, Dorset, was only 38 mm in height and was found at the feet of a young child (Warne 1866, 54). A small biconical vessel, only 66 mm in height was placed before the face of a five-year-old child at Black Down disc barrow G.3b, Dorset (WI 122; Bailey 1982, 28, pl vi). Fragments of an 'incense cup' were noted amongst the fill of the grave of a twelve-year-old child at Butterfield Down, Wiltshire (WI 1; Rawlings & Fitzpatrick 1996, 10, 38). Despite its fragmentary condition it was considered to be a deliberate grave good by the excavators.

The most distinctive Wessex-type burial, comes from Southwick Hill, Hampshire, where an adolescent female was accompanied by a double-ended incense cup and a miniature vessel (WI 94; Rudkin 1989; Piggott 1938). The former is only 61 mm in height, with a maximum diameter of 50 mm. Piggott ascribed cups of this form to the Wessex Culture (1938) and this cup is similar in form, size and decoration to 4 other incense cups from Lake, Winterbourne Stoke, and Stonehenge in Wilts. and Dorchester, Dorset (Rudkin 1989, 10). The second vessel, is an undecorated miniature vessel which mimics elements of both Food Vessel and Collared Urn; it is only 50 mm in height (Rudkin 1989, 9-10). It has no close parallels.

A link between children's graves and accessory vessels has been noted previously in Ireland. Although accessory vessels are present, their frequency is not sufficient to suggest a deliberate association with children's burials in Wessex.

7.2.12 Associated material culture: non-ceramic grave goods

Of the total number of graves, 19% lacked pottery but were associated with non-ceramic grave goods, including tools produced from flint and worked bone, ornaments and amulets, organic objects and animal bones. Only 5% were afforded both pottery vessels and other grave goods.

Ornaments, amulets and charms

Only five children amongst the Wessex dataset were associated with ornaments: four with beads and a further individual with a perforated boar's tusk and bone ring, illustrated by Figure 7.31. A shell associated with a burial at Cop Heap, Wilts., might also be considered as an ornament with amuletic properties (Thomas 1954, 314-5).

Wessex inhumation burials include a more restricted range of materials and limited quantity of beads than the cremation burials from the same region. Three children were each associated with a single bead, 2 produced from Dorset shale, 1 of bone. Both of the shale beads are biconical in form, the same type commonly used in spacer plate necklaces; that from Cow Down bowl barrow G.16, Wilts. was found in front of the chest of a child (Figure 7.31a, WI 34; Lukis 1867, 90; Annable & Simpson 1964, 63, no.498), while the bead from West Overton G.6b, Wilts. came from under the chin of a young child, less than 6 months of age (Figure 7.31b, WI 57; Smith & Simpson 1966, 128, fig 4: 2). It is suggested here that these singular beads may have been re-used, heirloom beads from a broken up spacer-plate necklace. At North Farm, West Overton, Wilts. two beads produced from jet and amber respectively, were found to accompany a adolescent (WI 51; Fowler 2000).

At Cop Heap Hill barrow G10, Wilts., a fossil sea-shell was found in association with an infant (accompanied by an adult ?female and cremation burial) (WI 49; Hoare 1812, 67-8; Thomas 1954, 315; Grinsell 1957, 197). Such fossils occur in the Devizes region and it has been suggested that the shell was collected there and brought to Warminster (Thomas 1954, 315), implying that the object was special, perhaps considered to be an amulet or charm.

At Normanton Down, Wiltshire, the inhumation of an infant was associated with a Beaker, a perforated boar's tusk, and a bone ring[37] (Figure 7.31 c&d: Annable 1961, 130; Clarke 1970, 279). The bone ring or bead is of a simple annular or quoit-shaped form (Clarke 1970, 279, fig 138). In form the bead mimics shale and faience quoit beads, such as those from Shrewton barrow G.5l, Wiltshire (Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 309-11; Woodward et al 2005, 50, illus 4), perhaps made for someone who did not have access to jet or faience.

The boar's tusk from the Normanton Down burial is a particularly intriguing object. It comprises the tip of a small tusk and is perforated for suspension towards the wider end. Boar's tusks within Earlier Bronze Age burials are not common (Kinnes 1979, 69; Woodward *et al* 2005, 45) and tend to comprise tusks of impressive proportions with little evidence of deliberate modification. Previous considerations of these objects in burial contexts have suggested use as metalworking tools, ornaments or hunting trophies, although caution has been recently urged regarding the interpretation as tools, as the damage which was earlier identified as deliberate use, is likely to have been natural wear caused by the animal during life (Woodward *et al* 2005, 45).

Since most of the impressive examples from Wiltshire, Yorkshire and beyond have little evidence of modification or practical function, the importance and significance appear to lie with the material itself, and its connection to the animal. As such, the idea of their inclusion within the grave as hunting trophies is a popular one (Kinnes 1979, 69). These impressive objects may have been considered to be imbued with strength and power of the animal.

The perforated tusk from Normanton Down is somewhat different, it is suggested here (Annable 1961, 130; Clarke 1970, 279). The perforation indicates that the tusk was designed to be worn on the body, possibly displayed, and suspended as a bead or pendant. When this function, as an ornament, is combined with the potential symbolism of the raw material, it suggests that this tusk was worn as an amulet or talisman, not simply as an item of jewellery.

[37] At the time of writing, this burial has not been published in detail. Information about the worked bone ornaments has been gleaned soley from Clarke's Beaker corpus (Clarke 1970, 297, fig. 138).

Personal tools

Flint

Despite the common occurrence of flint tools with adult burials in Wessex (Green 1980), the association was shared by only 3 children within the dataset. These are summarised in Table 7.18.

Worked bone/antler

Four children's burials, from Wiltshire and Dorset, were accompanied by worked bone or antler tools. In one instance, from Amesbury G.71, Wilts. (WI 12), the presence of an antler pick is likely to have been included as a secondary practice of the funerary rituals rather than as a grave good (Christie 1967, 343-4, 349, pl xl). It is suggested here that the pick had been used to dig the grave and was deposited during backfilling either because it was no longer functional or had become unsuitable for further use because it had become tainted by its proximity to the deceased.

A perforated antler hammer or pick (Figure 7.32) was placed behind the lower back of the crouched skeleton of a 6-10-year-old child at Bincombe, Dorset (WI 101; Payne 1944, 45-6, pl viii, fig.1). A similar tool head, produced from an antler tine rather than a beam segment, comes from a bowl barrow at Durrington, excavated by Cunnington (Annable & Simpson 1964, 38, no. 49).

Within the central, principal grave at Net Down bowl barrow G.5e, Wiltshire, many fragments of red deer antler were found in association with the disturbed skeletons of an adult male and an adolescent (WI 42; Green and Rollo-Smith 1984, 267). No further information is given as to the quantity, form or function of these antler fragments, but the excavator suggests that they were deliberately interred alongside the burials (*ibid*, 313).

At Durrington Down round barrow, the crouched inhumation of a 7-9-year-old child was accompanied by a cremation deposit (of a further child) behind the pelvis; antler and bone objects were placed at the feet of the inhumation (Figure 7.10). The bone consisted of a thoracic and lumbar vertebra of a large animal, comparable in size to an aurochs; no wear traces were recorded (Maltby & Richards 1990, 183). The object of red deer antler comprised the beam and the base of the tez tine which had been snapped and showed signs of scorching; the opposite end had been partly sawn with a recessed diagonal groove,

showing considerable wear. Although the function is uncertain, it is possible that this recessed groove may have formed a sleeve to hold a tool of unknown material. It appears that the object had been broken, probably deliberately, prior to being placed in the grave: perhaps broken in this life to be of use in the next.

Organic objects

Only 3 of the Wessex children's graves reveal traces of the former presence of wooden grave goods:

- Earl's Farm Down barrow G.71, Amesbury, Wilts.: Secondary crouched inhumation of a 3-year-old child was accompanied by an elongated rod-like wooden object (Figure 7.33), placed behind the child's pelvis and legs (WI 11; Christie 1967, 343). The object was preserved only as a rod-like stain, curving towards one end, approximately 356mm in length and 76mm wide. Insufficient details were preserved to allow the form of the object to be identified but the excavator suggests that it could have been a toy of some kind (Christie 1967, 343, plate xxxvi: 4).
- At the same site, the contracted skeleton of an eighteen-month-old child had a thin curving layer of carbonized material lying in front of the head and arms that may be the remains of a decayed object (Figure 7.34, WI 13; Christie 1967, 344).
- Long Crichel barrow 7, Dorset: a 3-6-year-old child within the central burial pit was accompanied by a thin wooden rod-like object approximately 600 mm in length and 120-200 mm in width. It lay close to the face and parallel with the crouched body (WI 131; Green *et al* 1983, 44, fig 5). A later burial, of an adult, within the same grave was also furnished with wooden objects; a block-like object with the appearance of a segment of tree-trunk and a long wooden rod 1.25m in length, aligned parallel to the back of the skeleton (*ibid*, 47, 51-2, fig.5). This elongated rod has been interpreted as a simple stave or crook but the possibility of it forming a wooden bow has also been suggested (*ibid* 1983, 53). No consideration of the function of the wooden object accompanying the child was given in the excavation report, but interpretation as a stave or bow must be a possibility.

Animal bones

For Wessex, no synthesis of animal remains associated with Earlier Bronze Age burials has been published but an initial study of animal bones in Wiltshire, Dorset and Oxfordshire has

been conducted (Wilkin 2006). It is presently unclear to what extent any animal bones within graves conform to the contemporary pattern of animal husbandry (Woodward *et al* 2005, 49).

Seven children's burials are associated with unworked animal bones; all are from Wiltshire[38]. None appear to be food offerings, where discrete joints of meat were interred in the grave alongside the deceased. In three burials, from Beckhampton and West Overton G6b, ox bones had been deposited within the fill of the graves (WI 15, WI 55, WI 56: Young 1950, 313; Smith & Simpson 1966, 128). At Beckhampton, a few whole and some fragmentary bones of a very young ox were found interspersed amongst the fill alongside flecks of ash and charcoal. These included both the upper and lower jaws which were found lying together close to the north side of the grave (Young 1950, 313). From the description of the placement of the bones in the grave, it seems unlikely that these were accidentally included in the infill as residual domestic debris. It is suggested here that these cattle bones may represent the remains of a ceremonial feast, held as part of the funerary ritual; and which included token deposits of the ash from the fire and the bones of the consumed animal deposited in the grave fill, perhaps as a closing rite to seal the burial. A similar interpretation could be suggested for the inclusion of a non-human long bone within the grave of a perinate at Snail Down, Wiltshire (WI 35; Thomas 2005, 27).

Turning away from direct evidence of feasting, other practices can be reconstructed. At Cunnington's excavations at Amesbury G.22, Wilts., he uncovered the burial of 2 infants, each placed above the skull of an ox (Hoare 1812, 199). Although Hoare's record of Cunnington's excavation provides little detail of this burial and the infants' relationship to the animal skulls, the accompanying illustration of the cattle skulls reveals the animals had both been poleaxed (Figure 7.35). The lack of associated ox leg bones indicates that these were not 'head and hooves' burials as classified by Piggott (1962) like those from Wessex Neolithic Long Barrows, or the Earlier Bronze Age burial at Hemp Knoll, Wiltshire (Roberston-MacKay 1980), thought to be the remnants of ox-hide cloaks or costumes. The unique association of child inhumations with bovine crania is difficult to explain as does not fit within the patterns of funerary rites discussed so far. These children could have been

[38] Children's inhumations associated with animal bones are found exclusively in Wiltshire at Amesbury G.22 (WI 2 & 3; Hoare 1812, 199); Beckhampton (WI 15; Young 1950); Snail Down G.6 (WI 35; Thomas 2005, 27); Net Down G.5j (WI 43; Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 273) and West Overton G6b (WI 55 & WI 56; Smith and Simpson 1966, 128)

twins whose death and subsequent burial required special attention from the mourners and the ancestors.

Further evidence of ritual practice involving the deposition of animal bones in relation to a child burial is present at Net Down bowl barrow G.5j. Here, a newborn infant had been buried at the base of the ditch, covered by a large flint nodule and a small cairn of flints. The grave itself contained no grave goods, but an ox horn core had been inserted into the flint cairn, presumably during its construction (Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 273). Although this cannot be considered a grave good in the traditional sense, the deposition of the horn core within the covering to the infant's grave must indicate that it was deliberately placed there with reference to the burial.

Unusual artefacts

Accompanying the inhumation of a 5-year-old child in an isolated flat grave at Beckhampton, was a crudely engraved block of chalk (WI 15; Young 1950). The wedge-shaped fragment of chalk (approximately L 102 W 89 T 38 mm), apparently detached from a larger lump, was found by the right shoulder of the child's skeleton, resting on the clean chalk floor of the grave (*ibid*, 314). Carved on its upper surface, which is otherwise smooth and flat, are five very distinct and widely spaced grooves (Figure 7.36); all appear to have been produced by same tool, possibly a wooden point or chisel (*ibid*, 321, fig 2). The excavator suggests that the carving was a representation of a child's right hand, each of the five grooves depicting the digits of the hand (*ibid*, 322). This interpretation seems a little hard to substantiate, but Young went on to suggest that the plaque was likely to have been carved by an older person 'to amuse the child when alive – perhaps during its last illness- and that it was finally placed in the grave by the parents as a mark of affection when the child died' (*ibid*, 324). As an alternative view, it is possible to see this carved chalk wedge as a cruder expression of the decorated chalk plaques from near Stonehenge Bottom, Wiltshire (Vatcher 1969; Clarke *et al* 1985, 257, no.53, fig 3.48). Rather than a child's plaything, this view sees the carved chalk block from Beckhampton as an object of potential wider symbolic significance.

7.2.13 Toys?

Several artefacts found in association with children's graves in Wessex have been interpreted by their excavators as toys. In many cases, the identification of the object in the grave as a toy is made simply due to its association with the skeletal remains of a child. For example, the wooden rod-like object associated with a 3-year-old child at Earls Farm Down, Amesbury G.71, Wilts., was interpreted by Christie as a toy (WI 11; 1967, 343). In contrast, a similar elongated wooden object present in the grave of an adult at Long Crichel, Dorset, was considered to be the decayed remains of a bow or a walking stick. Of course, the possibility of toys in relation to children's burials should not be overlooked, but it is unclear why some excavators feel it necessary to seek an alternative functional explanation for objects associated with children, as opposed to those afforded to adults.

A further example of this practice is clearly demonstrated by the inhumation burial of a child (accompanied by a child cremation) at Durrington Down round barrow, Wilts., where a worked antler and a cow/aurochs vertebrae were associated with the crouched inhumation (Richards 1990, 183). The excavator concludes that 'in the absence of any obvious function, and in the light of the age of both the individuals within the grave, it seems reasonable to suggest that the antler object may have been a toy' (Richards 1990, 175). This view, of classifying an object as a toy solely because of its proximity to the burial of a child, is untenable. It is equally problematic to suggest that an object with no obvious functional use should automatically be categorised as a toy as this implies that the material culture of children and childhood in prehistory requires no functional purpose as would be expected in items associated with adults.

7.2.14 Heirlooms: special pots, amulets and curated objects

Following the work of Woodward (2000, 118-9; 2002) and others (Sheridan & Shortland 2003; Woodward *et al* 2005), it is argued here that heirlooms form a significant component of Earlier Bronze Age burial traditions in association with both adult and children's graves.

Several possible examples of such practices are present amongst the Wessex burials. At least two children's graves are associated with special pots which have seen use and accrued histories prior to deposition. It is argued here that the signs of use and damage enhance,

rather than detract from, the importance of the artefacts. At Cow Down barrow G.16, Wilts., a small undecorated handled Food Vessel was associated with the burial of a child (Figure 7.30). At the time of excavation, the excavator noted that a small fragment of the rim was missing, but the edges of the fracture were worn, indicating that the pot had broken prior to deposition (WI 33; Lukis 1867; Annable & Simpson 1964, 63, no.499). Although not associated with a child burial, a similar but highly decorated small handled Food Vessel from Winterbourne St Martin, Dorset, was missing its handle at the time of deposition (St George Gray & Prideaux 1905, 18-19).

Similarly, at Beckhampton, Wilts., a damaged Beaker was associated with the burial of a 5-year-old child (WI 15). As with that at Cow Down, the excavator notes that the fractures are abraded and worn indicating that the damage to the vessel had happened some time prior to the burial (Young 1950, 313-4). Also within this grave was a single rim sherd from a second Beaker (Young 1950). It is argued here that both the damaged pot and sherd were included within the grave as ancestral heirlooms and would have been considered by the mourners as important and significant objects, perhaps included in the grave to send a message to the ancestors that the child was a member of a particular community or lineage.

In a small number of cases, the selective deposition of only a fragment of pottery vessel is clear, such as that from Walworth, Hampshire (WI 88; Scott 1988, 9), where a large fragment of Collared Urn was buried alongside a child, and at Beckhampton, Wilts., (WI 15) as described above. When only a fragment of vessel is present, unless the condition of the sherd is discussed (e.g. abraded or fresh breaks) it can be unclear whether the pot had been deliberately broken as part of the funerary rites and a token sherd deposited within the grave or as a curated, special fragment. It is argued by some that by breaking an object in this life, makes it functional in the Otherworld as suggested by the condition of the grave goods associated with an adult male at Hemp Knoll, Wilts. (Robertson-Mackay 1984).

Beads may also have been included in the graves of children as heirlooms. As discussed previously, it is rare for children to be afforded complete impressive necklaces but are often associated with singular beads or groups of beads forming small composite necklaces. Many of the beads have been re-used from more impressive necklaces, such as jet or amber spacer-plate necklaces and beads of faience. As others have argued (Woodward 2000b, 118-9; 2002; Woodward *et al* 2005; Sheridan & Shortland 2003), it is likely that these were heirlooms, passed down through the generations from person to person becoming more valuable by

reference to their past owners as well as the exotic quality of the material they were made from. As such, they were likely to have been worn not just for their decorative quality but also for their perceived power as amulets or charms.

7.2.15 Child as object

In a recent review of Bronze Age infant burials in southern Britain, Paul Garwood suggested that the burial of a 2-year-old child, interred in close proximity to an unusual 'head and hoofs' adult male inhumation at Hemp Knoll, Wiltshire, should be considered as an object placed as an offering to the occupant of the principal grave (2007, 76, fig 7.7). This an interesting interpretation but difficult, in this particular instance, to accept as an explanation. The child's grave, positioned slightly north-west of the central grave pit, was clearly placed there by those who had knowledge of the position of the primary grave. In the absence of direct dates for the burials, the excavator suggests that the two graves may have been broadly contemporary, or at least, both graves appear to pre-date the construction of the earthen mound erected over the principal grave (Robertson-Mackay 1980). The practice of inserting burials within pre-existing central graves, or aligning subsequent burials with the primary interment is well known within Earlier Bronze Age funerary rites (Petersen 1972). The insertion of burials in reference to such pre-existing graves can be seen as a way of creating real or imagined social connections to the earlier burial, and in some circumstances, as an attempt to disrupt such links and shift the focus of the monument to the memory of the newly deceased. There seems no reason to suggest that the child's burial at Hemp Knoll was placed there as an object or offering, rather than a formal burial following normative burial practices.

Although the particular interpretation of the child as object at Hemp Knoll is rejected here, the placement and treatment afforded to a small number of partial remains of other children in Wessex burial contexts does suggest that they could have been considered as tokens or relics rather than representing formal burial or a body. This is demonstrated clearly at Rockbourne Down, Hampshire where a single infant bone and pike vertebrae were placed in a broken, perhaps special pot, associated with a secondary crouched adult burial at the centre of the barrow. The excavators interpreted this as the grave of a shaman; the bones and the pot being used for scrying or other ritual ceremonies (WI 95; Piggott & Piggott 1947, 157-8, 162, pl I). A further example of non-normative burial practices is seen at Amesbury G.22,

Wilts., discussed in detail above where two infant skeletons were arranged over the skulls of cattle (WI 2 & 3; Hoare 1812, 199).

It is possible to see the interment of unburnt children's bones buried within pottery vessels, such as that from Fox Covert Group bowl barrow G.16a (WI 14; Grinsell 1957, 153, 228) and the saucer barrow G.46 at Avebury (WI 19; Goddard 1913, 180) in a similar light. Although these could equally be interpreted as the reburial of skeletal remains from another location, with only token sherds from the associated pots being collected from the grave and re-deposited with the bones in their new location.

7.2.16 Discussion

This study of children's inhumations in Wessex indicates that immature individuals, under fifteen years of age, are vastly under-represented amongst the Earlier Bronze Age burials in this region. A similar pattern is seen, and will be discussed below, with regard to children's cremation burials. This suggests that the majority of children were not eligible or were not afforded access to formal (inhumation) burial and that on death, most children, like a significant proportion of the adult population, were disposed of in ways that leave no archaeological trace.

Children of all ages, from foetus to fifteen years, are represented within the burial record in Wiltshire. Young children, below the age of 5 years and 'infants' are particularly well represented. In contrast, perinates are rarely present amongst the inhumation burials. This may suggest that such young children were not considered appropriate for formal burial or could simply be a reflection of the difficulties excavators have to recover such small, delicate remains.

Demographic studies of pre-industrial societies suggest that the infant mortality rate in prehistoric societies would have been very high (Chamberlain 2000). Up to 50% of children born would not live to the age of 5 years. Prematurely born, perinates and newborns are particularly vulrable due to the dangers of birth, infection and disease. The paucity of such individuals within inhumation burials highlights the under-representation of children within the Earlier Bronze Age burial record and suggests that children of this young age were generally not considered appropriate for this form of burial. This may tie in to complex

concepts of personhood suggesting that children of this age may not have been recognised within Bronze Age society as individuals.

Where present, the treatment and rites afforded to children within inhumation burials is consistent with those of adults but with a few subtle distinctions. All monument types (such as barrows, cairns, flat cemeteries, isolated burials and burials inserted into earlier monuments) commonly associated with adult inhumations, also appear to have been suitable for the inhumation burials of children but no specific funerary monument type is principally linked to the burial of children.

Like most adult inhumations within barrows and cairns, the majority of children's burials are secondary to the principal interment, usually that of an adult. Although not typical, a small number of children represent the principal burial and the focus for the construction of, sometimes impressive, barrow monuments. As discussed with reference to the Yorkshire burials, the range of ages of children afforded such prominent positions under barrow mounds suggest that their status was ascribed rather than attained.

Most children were buried individually but multiple burials, involving children and adults, and multiple children are present. The patterns of orientation noted by Alexandra Shepherd (nee Tuckwell) in North-East Scotland and Yorkshire (Shepherd 1989; Tuckwell 1975) which appear in other areas to be directly related to the gender of the individuals is difficult to consider due to the general lack of data, and the paucity of sexed burials.

A small number of cases considered here have indicated the possible retention of body parts and manipulation of bodies. Although not a normative burial practice during the Earlier Bronze Age, this treatment of certain deceased remains is observed with adult and child skeletal remains alike. In some circumstances, it appears that it was acceptable to divide up the body of the child. The retention of body parts is particularly significant as it may suggest that these body parts were curated, perhaps kept in the society as relics. This practice in adult individuals is interpreted as transforming the fragmentary remains into ancestors, and a similar meaning must therefore be evoked for the practice involving children.

The most common grave good associated with a child inhumation is the provision of a single pottery vessel. As with adult burials, it is likely that these pots were used as containers for a liquid beverage or some other foodstuff. The style of these vessels (e.g. Beakers, Food

Vessels, Accessory Vessels) conform to those provided in adult inhumations. Yet a trend towards selective deposition of smaller sized vessels and particular styles of Beakers (FN decorated pots) in association with children is apparent.

The provision of a small pot is more typical of children's burials than adults but they are by no means exclusively found in association with children. It cannot be argued that these small pots were made specifically for children but a trend towards the deposition of small-scale vessels in association with children is observed and could indicate an acknowledgment or understanding of the child's differential status or consumptive abilities.

The range of grave goods afforded to children in inhumation burials in this region is restricted in comparison to that associated with adults. Pottery vessels of various styles, worked bone objects and ornaments which likely functioned as amulets are the most common associations. Weaponry, such as bronze knife daggers or flint arrowheads, are rare and few richly-furnished burials are present. Only one 'Wessex-type' burial is present at Southwick Hill, Hampshire (WI 94; Rudkin 1989). This suggests that some artefacts and burial forms, such as Earlier Bronze Age 'archer's burials' are likely to have been, in part, restricted to certain age-cohorts.

7.3 BURIAL AFTER CREMATION

7.3.1 Introduction

Despite the sizable number of records relating to possible Earlier Bronze Age children's cremation burials in Wessex (221), a large proportion of data has not been considered appropriate for final inclusion in this study due to questions over the reliability of the recorded details and doubts regarding the stratigraphic security, and therefore, the date, of the burial. By using the criteria outlined in chapter 4 to eliminate questionable data, a much reduced but reliable dataset has been used to inform the following discussion. The result is that only 32% of the original dataset for Wessex is considered to be of suitable quality for consideration (Table 7.19). This comprises a total of 69 children of fifteen years of age or younger, within 59 graves from 49 sites throughout Wiltshire, Dorset and Hampshire. The

small number of Earlier Bronze Age children's cremation burials demonstrates clearly that children are under-represented amongst cremation burials in Wessex. A full list of the cremations included is presented in Appendix A, part IIIb and are referred to throughout the text by their catalogue numbers with 'WC' prefix.

There is a clear difference in the number of identified children's cremation burials (69 individuals) in Wessex from those afforded inhumation burials (148 individuals). The cremation burials of children in Wiltshire dominate the dataset for Wessex, reflecting the pattern observed for inhumation burials in the same region.

The difference noted between the numbers of children afforded inhumation burial and burial after cremation in Wessex is likely to be, in part, a reflection of a modern bias in recovery where unburnt skeletons were identified and recorded more comprehensively than deposits of burnt human bone. This is particularly true for investigations carried out during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries where there was a lack of recognition for how much information such deposits of cremated bone could reveal. In most cases, cremated bones were considered too fragmentary for further study and little effort was made to identify the remains.

The limited number of children's cremations in Wessex compared to that of inhumations is not surprising due to the limitations, particularly those of antiquarian investigators, in identifying children's skeletal remains amongst deposits of cremated bone. As such, it is suggested that the dataset under consideration here is only a portion of those burials originally present.

7.3.2 Identified age and sex

Just over 50% of the cremations under consideration have been examined by an anatomic specialist or osteologist and have been provided with an estimate of age in terms of years or months, summarised in Table 7.20 as individuals with identified age estimations. For the purposes of analysis and for the sake of clarity, the individuals have been described here as young children under five years of age, juveniles between six and ten years of age and older children between eleven and fifteen years of age.

The same problems and restrictions with identifying and expressing the age of children within burials, considered in reference to the children's inhumation burials, are current

amongst the cremation burials. Some 45% of the children in cremations have been described in the published record using generic terminology, such as 'child' or 'infant', rather than expressing their age in precise numerical form. This usually results from the remains not being examined by an osteological specialist or when the condition of the bones precludes exact identification. For the reasons explained previously, these terms are not universally understood and cannot be taken as the representation of a specific life-stage or age.

In contrast with the Wessex child inhumations where young children are more firmly represented, numbers are more evenly distributed by age amongst the cremation burials within the region as a whole. Yet, as with the inhumation burials in Wiltshire, young children under five years of age dominate the cremation burials in the county. Significantly, no foetal remains have been identified amongst the cremation burials and very few neonates are present (only 3 in total).

In Hampshire 93% of the identified child cremations have been provided with an identified age in terms of years and months, reflecting the predominance of records from twentieth century excavations in this county. This is in stark contrast to Dorset, where only 35% of the children have been identified in terms of years and months.

Identification of biological sex from the skeletal remains has been attempted in only one burial, a possible female of 12-14 years from Winterbourne Strickland, Dorset (WC 69; Warne 1866, 14). This means that the possibility for discussing the significance of biological sex, as opposed to gender, will be limited for this case study area.

7.3.3 Pyre technology and representation of human remains

The quantity of human bone present within deposits of burnt bone is significant as it can provide valuable information about the effectiveness of the pyre and how well the bones were collected after burning[39]. For the Wessex child cremations, few of the published excavation reports (22%) record the quantity of cremated bone recovered. Where present, a wide range of quantities are present ranging from minute quantities such as the 37g of cremated bone of a 2-3 year old child recovered from a pit at Buckskin Barrow, Hampshire

[39] An outline of Earlier Bronze Age pyre technology and consideration of general aspects of pyre technology and collection strategies have been discussed previously with regard to the cremations from Scotland and do not require rehearsal here.

(WC 39; Allen et al 1995, 165) to the 1.5kg of cremated bone and pyre debris from a child at Snail Down bell barrow, Wiltshire (WC 18, Thomas 2005, 148).

The deposits of burnt human bones in Wiltshire are predominantly collections of fragmentary and distorted bones which have been gathered from the pyre site and deposited elsewhere although small numbers of cremations *in situ* are observed. These are pyre sites where the body was cremated and then covered over, such as those recorded at Collingbourne Kingston 21a and 21b, and at Market Lavington 2 in Wilts.; and at the Nottington Barrow, near Weymouth in Dorset (Vatcher 1963, 440).

Two possible examples of cremations *in situ* are recorded amongst the dataset:

- Lamb Down bowl barrow No. 5, Codford St Mary, Wilts. (WC 13: Vatcher 1963, 425)
- Buckham Down, Dorset (WC 53: Batchelor & Rawlence 1956, 137)[40].

7.3.4 Post-cremation treatment of children's remains

In most cases, information regarding aspects of pyre technology or the treatment of the cremated bones prior to deposition is very limited, not just for children's burials but for adults. Only 23% of the published records of children's cremation burials provide information on this aspect of burial. Investigation of these details proves fruitful and illustrates that children's remains were subject to a range of post-cremation treatment, consistent with those observed in regard to adult cremations during this period. This includes the collection and deposition of cremated bone and pyre debris, the sorting of cremated bone from the pyre, the deliberate smashing of bones prior to deposition and the partial collection and deposition of cremated bone.

The question of the full, or partial, collection of the cremated bones from the pyre has been touched on in previous chapters but is worth expanding here in terms of post-cremation

[40] Maud Cunnington noted a further possible cremation *in situ* involving a child at Bowl Barrow G.3, Amesbury. Through the old ground surface, at the centre of the barrow, a small grave had been cut, containing cremated remains. Due to the small dimensions of the grave, it was suggested that 'this was a child's body burnt on the spot and then covered up' (Cunnington 1927b). The identification of the presence of a child rested solely on the size of the grave pit and has not been considered as part of this current study.

treatment. A minimum of 4% of the children's cremations involve such small quantities of cremated bone that they must be considered to be token or partial deposits. These include the presence of a single cremated neonate bone alongside the cremated remains of an adult in burial 123 at Winterbourne Stoke, Wilts. (WC 36: Gingell 1988, 55), or the 58g of cremated remains representing an infant and an adult from cremation burial 3a at Blake's Fir, Easton Down, Wilts (WC 2, Ride 2001, 166-8).

It is clear that in some cases, the cremated remains were collected and buried alongside debris from the pyre, in the form of ash and fragments of charcoal. This is demonstrated by the burial of a five-year-old-child at Easton Down, Wiltshire (WC 38, Stone 1934, 219) and that of an adolescent cremation at Snail Down (Collingbourne Kingston G.6), Wiltshire (WI 17, Thomas 2005, 26).

In contrast, in 6 deposits, the burnt human bone had been deliberately sorted from the pyre debris, such as those of a child from Thorness, Isle of Wight (WC 51, Sherwin 1939, 146) and Blake's Fir, Wiltshire (WC 4, Ride 2001, 167). In these instances, no pyre debris was present but in some, such as at Stockbridge Down, Hants., the pyre debris and bone had been separated and deposited differentially. Here, burnt bones of a fifteen-year-old child had been interred in a Collared Urn. The excavator notes that pyre debris, previously separated from the bones, had been packed around the inverted urn (WC 50, Stone & Gray 1940, 42). A similar practice was observed at Easton Down, Wiltshire, where the burnt bones of an eight-year-old child contained in an inverted urn, had been packed in and surrounded by pyre debris (WC 37; Stone 1934, 219).

Although difficult to determine due to the small number of burials suitable for analysis and the restricted level of detail in some published reports, it appears that these practices were consistent across counties. But certain funerary customs appear to have been favoured by discrete communities or social units who had access to individual barrows or cemeteries. This is demonstrated well by the cremation cemetery at Blake's Fir, Easton Down, Wiltshire where it was typical practice for the cremated bone to be separated from the pyre debris in both adult and child interments (Ride 2001).

A traditional view of the deposition of cremated remains during the Earlier Bronze Age is that the body or bodies are cremated and then immediately buried. The short interval between cremation and deposition is demonstrated well by the burial of an eighteen-month-

old child and fragment of an older individual within a chalk cut grave at Hinton Ampner, Hants. (WC 40, Winbolt 1930; Milner 1947). The scorched sides of the interior of the burial pit indicate that the remains were interred whilst the cremated skeletal material was still hot from the pyre. A similar practice is seen at Cow Down bowl barrow G.10, Collingbourne Ducis, Wilts. (WC 16; Lukis 1867, 97). Here the still-hot cremated remains of a young person were interred in a hollowed-out tree trunk which was then deposited within a chalk-cut pit. The hot embers of the pyre, charred the timber container and preserved it (Lukis 1867, 97).

In contrast, some deposits suggest the retention of cremated remains for burial at a later date. This is illustrated by the cremation burial of multiple individuals at Mockbeggar Lane Barrow, Hants. (Coles 2004), which comprise the burnt remains of a minimum of twelve individuals. McKinley's examination of the remains has identified the remains of 6 children of a variety of ages, ranging from a possible neonate, through to a child of eleven to thirteen years of age. They were deposited alongside the remains of 4 adult males and 2 possible adult females.

McKinley suggests that it is highly unlikely, though not impossible, that all 12 of the individuals represented in this burial died and were cremated contemporaneously (2004, 57). She suggests the possibility that the remains are from a series of cremations, curated elsewhere, for an unknown period of time, and that this mass burial was made at a later date. McKinley also suggests that the close proximity of the twelve individuals in death, may imply a similarly close relationship during life and that this composite burial may represent a family plot (McKinley 2004, 58).

The possible retention of skeletal elements has been discussed in relation to unburnt human bones (Gibson 2004a; Brück 2004a; 2004b; 2006) and it is likely that the practice of selecting and curating bones from cremation burials can be seen in the same light.

7.3.5 Pathology

As outlined previously, it is estimated that up to 40% of children within any prehistoric population may have died before the age of five (Goodman & Armelagos 1989). Young children are especially susceptible to infections and disease, few of which leave any visible

traces on the skeletal remains. But the most dangerous moment for both mother and child was during parturition.

It is surprising that only 3 possible neonates were identified amongst the cremation burials, two from multiple cremation deposits at Winterbourne Stoke G.39, Wilts. (WC 36; Gingell 1988, 55) and Mockbeggar Lane barrow, Hants. (WC 42; Coles 2004, 34), and a third unaccompanied cremation at High Dell Farm, Dorset (WC 52; *unpublished*)

Only 3 children amongst the cremation burials in Wessex have identifiable pathology, comprising only 4% of the total dataset. This includes the principal interment within a bowl barrow at Hinton Ampner, Dorset, consisting of the burnt bones of an 18-month-old child, and a skull fragment from an older person, who may have been cremated *in situ*. Examination of the skeletal remains by Sir Arthur Keith in the late 1920's identified the remains as those of a child suffering from rickets (Keith in Winbolt 1930, 251). No further detail of the observed pathology was given by Keith to explain his diagnosis but it can be assumed that Keith was far more familiar with the condition than we are today and there seems no reason to doubt his observations. He was not able to comment on whether the severity of the symptoms might have contributed to the death of the child.

Rickets, or vitamin D deficiency, can be the result of a number of factors. Vitamin D is synthesised in the skin by exposure to ultraviolet light (e.g. sunlight) although diet also plays a role (Roberts & Cox 2003, 142). Foods such as egg yolks, fish oil and liver contain high levels of Vitamin D, and fruit and vegetables dried in the sun also contain small quantities of this vitamin. A deficiency in this vitamin leads to a lack of mineralization of the bones during growth resulting in softening and deformation of the bones (particularly long bones but the skull, spine and rib bone joins may also be effected) during childhood (Figure 7.37). The indications of rickets in a child can be seen as the product of several possible factors including a genetic metabolic disease which prevents the body from effectively absorbing vitamin D, a lack of exposure of the body to sunlight, and deficiencies in the diet. It has also been suggested that certain clothing (such as leather garments), which shield much of the body from direct sunlight, can exacerbate the problem (Roberts & Cox 2003, 143). The implications of this pathology will be discussed in further detail in the concluding chapter (see p245)

There is also limited information to help us to understand whether people during this period had an understanding of how to look after sick or disabled members of the community. An assumption has been made in the past that prehistoric infants born with visible disabilities or congenital abnormalities would not survive into adulthood due to insufficient medical knowledge to sustain life, deliberate neglect or infanticide (Mays 1993; 2000; DeMause 1976). This view is drawn primarily from interpretations of childcare in classical times where children with physical abnormalities were reportedly feared, and in some cases, deliberately killed (Watts 1989)[41]. There is no evidence amongst the children's burials in Wessex (either by inhumation or cremation) to indicate violence during life. However, it should be noted, that the victims of infanticide are rarely afforded a formal burial such as those that are the subject of this current study. Similarly, signs of violence or neglect are not always possible to detect from skeletal remains. In contrast to the above view expressed by May (1993; 2000), others have suggested that we must assume that prehistoric people had a natural innate sense of caring for the sick and less fortunate (e.g. Roberts & Cox 2003, 58-59)

One of the few pieces of evidence we have to indicate an attempt to treat sickness or injury in early prehistory is examples of attempted trepanation, which involve the surgical removal of a piece of bone from the skull. It is impossible in most cases to determine why the procedure was undertaken, but severe head injury, headaches, migraines, psychological problems or suspected possession by evil spirits may have been considered justification for such a treatment (Roberts & Cox 2003, 59). Over a hundred instances of this procedure are known from early prehistoric Europe with notable concentrations in France and southern Britain (Cornwall & Thomas 2005, 151). Piggott lists those known from Neolithic and Bronze Age Britain (1940, 112-3) and more recent discoveries have been compiled by Cornwall & Thomas (2005, 151-2) discussed in reference to the recent recovery of a further example, on a adolescent from Snail Down, Wiltshire (WC 17; Thomas 2005, 26).

This burial involved deposition of the burnt bones of a possible female adolescent or young person in a simple pit (pit 2) accompanied by a Food Vessel. On the floor of the pit was found an unburnt disc of bone (Figure 7.38) which had been trepanned from a human skull,

[41] These traditional views of Classical childcare, often gleaned from historical textual accounts, are increasingly considered to be problematic and more complex than previously understood. Aspects of contemporary propaganda, political agenda and incomplete understanding of child-rearing processes by male narrators have led to a misunderstanding or misrepresentation of child-care during this period to be presented (Harris 1994).

identified by Ian Cornwall as more likely to be from a female than a male. The corresponding hole could not be seen in the fragments of the cremated skull that survived to be buried but the osteologist and the excavator believe it is likely that the trepanned unburnt cranial disc derived from the same cremated individual (Cornwall & Thomas 2005, 151-2).
No evidence of further pathology was noted in the adolescent from Snail Down to explain why this operation was considered necessary, and it is unclear whether the girl survived the operation.

7.3.6 Grave context and setting

Barrows, flat graves and cairns
Wessex children's cremations derive predominantly from barrow sites. This is not unexpected as the earthen barrows of the Wessex earlier Bronze Age have dominated discourse of funerary practice during this period and, as visible upstanding monuments in the landscape, such mounds have been the focus for excavations for centuries (e.g. Hoare 1812; Goddard 1913; Warne 1866; Grinsell 1941, 1957; 1971; Forde-Johnston 1959, Piggott 1938; Burgess 1980).

A total of 50 child burials derive from barrow sites, comprising 72% of the dataset for Wessex (Table 7.21). Simple bowl barrows are the most common mound-type in the region and the majority of child cremations derive from such monuments in each of the three counties under consideration (25, equating to 36% of the group) but examples from bell, bowl/bell, disc, pond and saucer barrows are also present. The greatest range of funerary type sites with evidence of children's cremations comes from Wiltshire (Figure 7.39). As expected the most restrictive range of site types comes from Hampshire where children's cremation burials were found only in bowl barrows, undefined barrows, and flat graves. This is a reflection of the more restrictive range of barrow types recognised in Hampshire dating to the Earlier Bronze Age than in Wiltshire and Dorset.

Only 14 cremations were recovered from flat graves, representing 20% of the group. Five such burials came from isolated graves with no evidence of the former presence of a barrow (7%), whilst 13% came from early burials within cremation cemeteries.

Five cremation burials derive from cairn sites; 3 from a cairn at Litton Cheney, Dorset (WC 61-3; Piggott & Piggott 1939; Catherall 1975), and 2 from an unusual site at Easton Down,

Winterslow, Wilts., where a curvilinear arrangement of burials in pits had been covered by a long cairn constructed of flint nodules (WC 37-8; Stone 1934).

Barrow type and size

The classifications of barrow types known from Wessex have been outlined previously and do not merit revisiting here. It is, however, worth emphasising the link noted by others previously between some barrow types and the gender and funerary treatment of the principal interment (Piggott 1938; Grinsell 1941; Burgess 1980). Piggott noted that, in general, principal interments within bowl barrows were crouched inhumations of adult males whereas those associated with disc barrows were typically adult female cremations, sometimes accompanied by children. No specific barrow form has ever been associated with the interment of children.

Looking at the children's cremations from Wessex as a whole, this pattern is confirmed. As noted above, the majority of children's cremations from barrow sites are associated with bowl barrows. Despite the link suggested between disc barrows and double adult female and child cremations, only three children's cremations considered here come from barrows of this type. It does not appear possible, based on the available evidence, to suggest that children's cremation burials are associated with one particular barrow type, but like adult individuals, most derive from bowl-barrows.

Stukeley's investigation of barrow mounds in the eighteenth century led to his observations on the different sizes of barrow present in Wiltshire, particularly those with barrow groups. He states, in reference to one Amesbury barrow group, that 'it would seem that a man and his wife are buried in the two great ones and these little ones are their children' (quoted in Hoare 1812, 126). The accumulation of evidence for both inhumations and cremations in differently-sized barrows since that time negates this assertion.

Flint cairns and grave settings

Stone settings and flint cairns are a common component of earthen burial mounds of this date. It is suggested here that the purpose of these stone mounds within earthen barrows were constructed to provide protection to the underlying barrows and to create a physical and metaphysical boundary around the core group of burials. Over a third of the cremations considered here were associated with flint cairns, with examples present from all 3 counties.

This includes the unusual long cairn from Easton Down, Wilts., constructed over a series of seven burial pits set out in a curvilinear arrangement (WC 37-8: Stone 1934) and burials associated with barrows with central flint cairns, such as Litton Cheney, Dorset (WC 61-3: Piggott & Piggott 1939; Catherall 1975) and Hinton Ampner, Hants. (WC 40: Winbolt 1930; Milner 1947).

Many cremation pits, both under barrow mounds and in 'flat' cemetery sites without a covering mound, are marked by small individual flint cairns. At Blake's Fir cremation cemetery, many of the cremation burials deposited in small pits had been covered by small flint cairns, including the double burial of an adult and child (cremation 3, WC 2; Ride 2001, 166). This practice was not consistent across the cemetery and it is unclear why some burials were afforded a cairn marker and others not (Ride 2001). In addition to those capped with cairns, there were also cremations surrounded by more ephemeral arrangements of stone (e.g. cremation burial 9 (WC 4): Ride 2001, 168).

Small flint cairn coverings are not confined to central, primary burials under earthen barrow mounds. This is repeatedly observed amongst the secondary children's cremations such as those at Stockbridge Down, Hants. (WC 50; Stone & Gray Hill 1940) and at Snail Down bell barrow, Wilts. where the secondary cremation burial of a child (WC18, cremation 8), situated in the south-west quadrant of the berm was covered by a small flint cairn (Thomas 2005, 37-8).

In addition to flint cairns, a small quantity of the cremation burials have other forms of stone furnishing associated with the grave. At Ewelease Barn barrow G.44, Wilts., the cremation of a five-year-old child was contained within a Collared Urn inverted upon a large, irregular stone slab (WC 68; St George Gray & Prideaux 1905). At Hinton Ampner, the cremated remains of an adult and child were deposited within a deep pit cut into the natural clay with a deliberately laid floor of flint pebbles (WC 40; Winbolt 1930; Milner 1947, 43-7). The provision of constructed floors within Earlier Bronze Age graves is observed in association with both cremation and inhumation burials and is a common component of cist burials in Northern British burials, particularly in Scotland (Shepherd 1986a).

Size of chalk and clay cut graves

Over 60% of the cremations considered here were deposited in pits, many cut through the old ground surface and excavated into the natural chalk or clay. Like graves for inhumations,

pits for cremations have no standard size. In the main, the dimensions of the burial pits containing cremations are controlled by the maximum diameter of any associated ceramic or assumed organic containers, rather than the volume of cremated bones and associated pyre material.

Dimensions (and partial dimensions) of the graves have been provided for 33 burials (56% of the dataset). Figure 7.40 presents the range of grave size for 26 burials where diameters are known. This demonstrates that the majority are between 30 to 100 cm in length and 10 to 80 cm in depth. Some particularly large graves are present, being over 200 cm long and over 130 cm in depth. These larger graves include those which held inhumation burials to which the cremations have been added. Others, such as interment 1 at Net Down bowl barrow G.5f, were of sufficient size to have accommodated a crouched inhumation but only contained a small deposit of cremated bone (WC 24; Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 269, fig.8).

7.3.7 Position within the barrow

Principal vs secondary burials

The majority of child cremation burials from the Wessex barrow mounds were secondary additions to the mound after the deposition of the principal interment and after the construction of the barrow mound. These encompass 21 burials involving 28 children, equal to 37% of the cremation burials in the dataset. These secondary burials are either deposited during construction of the mound, in a pit or hollow dug into the mound material itself, or deposited around the barrow (e.g. on the berm or in the vicinity of the ditch) after the erection of the mound.

However, child cremation as the principal interment does occur. Eleven barrow mounds have been constructed over central, or near central, principal cremation burials of children[42], (18% of the cremation dataset), and a further 5 possible principal interments involving children have been recorded[43]. The small number of children afforded this rite indicates that this is not the normative burial position of children in the Earlier Bronze Age, but their presence indicates that in some circumstances, it was considered appropriate for a child's burial to instigate the construction of an impressive earthen mound.

[42] Principal cremations of children in Wessex are as follows: Wiltshire WC 5, WC 9, WC 13, WC 16, WC 22, WC 23, WC 24, WC 28, WC 33; Hampshire: WC 40; Dorset: WC 69.
[43] Possible principal cremations are as follows: WC 8, WC 25, WC 34, 35 & 36, WC 56 &57, WC 67.

The principal interment at Net Down bowl barrow G.5f, Wilts., was that of the burnt bones of a child, deposited in an organic container within the central grave pit (Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 271). The grave was then sealed by turves and a chalk and earth mound constructed which was subsequently capped by chalk blocks. Although little remains of the bell-barrow mound itself, the presence of the ditch implies that a mound with turf core and chalk capping was built over this burial. It is interesting to note the excavator's reluctance to accept that such an imposing monument could have been erected for the burial of a single child. It is noted that 'the apparent simplicity of the barrow and the single individual, only a child who benefited initially from this effort belie the labour necessary for its construction' (Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 271). This reluctance to accept the possibility that a child's burial could assume the primary burial position within a barrow mound is significant as it has implications as to how the sequence of burials in some structures is interpreted.

This issue can be demonstrated clearly by the interpretation of the principal interment within a disc-barrow at Net Down (G.5g), Wilts., a further barrow in the same group as that discussed above (Figure 7.41). After excavation of the entire mound and extensive slots through the berm and ditch, only two burials were encountered. Both consisted of cremations deposited in pits cut into the chalk ground surface and both comprised the cremated remains of immature individuals: an adolescent from pit 1 (WC 25), and a child from pit 2 associated with a fragmentary collared urn (WC 26). The adolescent's grave was slightly south-east of centre and likely to either predate, or be contemporary with, the construction of the mound. Pit 2, containing the child's remains, had been cut through the mound near its south-west edge and is clearly later than the adolescent's burial. Although the mound had been largely destroyed by ploughing, enough remained to suggest that it had been constructed of chalk rubble and turves with a flint kerb or capping. It has been highlighted by the excavator that the construction of this barrow would have required the expenditure of a significant amount of labour (Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 271) and that the excavation of the ditch alone would have represented a substantial task. In this instance, the impressive size of the barrow and the identification of the structure as a disc-type barrow, traditionally associated with female 'Wessex-type' burials, appear to have led the excavators to dismiss the primary adolescent's interment as the principal burial in favour of an unrecorded, 'removed', possible Wessex-type adult female interment (*ibid* 1984, 271). No evidence is however provided in the report to confirm, or even suggest, that the barrow had been investigated or disturbed previously. Nor were any further skeletal remains encountered to suggest the former presence of another burial. This suggestion of a removed principal burial is impossible to maintain under

scrutiny. Whether it was the conscious intention of the excavators or not, the sole primary phase burial associated with the disc-barrow at Net Down G.5g was dismissed as the focus for the construction of the monument because the individual was not an adult.

A further 3 child cremations, 1 from each of the counties considered, are primary burials contemporary with the principal grave (WC 14, WC 52, WC 58). Grinsell (1957) refers to these burials as 'subsequent primaries' indicating that they are associated with the primary phase of burial activity on the site but are not the focal burial for the construction of the barrow.

The cremation burials of children at 2 sites were early burials, possibly even foundation burials, in later Deverel-Rimbury cremation cemeteries:

- Kimpton, Hants.: the funerary use of the site began in the later years of the Earlier Bronze Age with three cremation burials, around which an extensive Later Bronze Age cremation cemetery had been constructed. Two deep conical pits dating to this early phase were dug into the old ground surface, one containing the cremated remains of an adult, the other (pit 5) containing cremated bone of a child less than 6-7 years of age (WC 48: Dacre & Ellison 1981, 151).
- Knighton Heath, Dorset: a cluster of early primary burials was identified amongst the later cremations within this Deverel-Rimbury cemetery. At the centre of this cluster, and apparently the earliest amongst the group, was the cremation of an immature individual within a Biconical Urn (WC 64: Urn 28, Petersen 1981, 28, fig 6).

Four cremations were interred alongside or inserted into the grave of an inhumation burial[44]. At Cow Down bowl barrow G.11, Wilts. and Durrington Down round barrow, Wilts., the position of the cremation in relation to that of the inhumation within the grave suggests that they were buried contemporaneously (WC 15, Lukis 1867; WC 20, Richards 1990, 175). In contrast, at Boscombe (WC 12) and West Overton G6b (WC 40), both in Wilts., the children's cremations appear to have been inserted into the grave, either during infilling or at a later date (Fitzpatrick *in prep*; Smith & Simpson 1966, 127).

[44] Child cremations associated with inhumation burials: WC 12, WC 15, WC 20, WC 30, WC 41.

7.3.8 Multiple cremation burials

A total of 17 burials in Wessex, involving the cremated remains of 26 children, are associated with at least one other individual. These burials are detailed in Table 7.22 and summarised in Table 7.23. In 4 cases, the association with a second individual is certainly post-cremation. These comprise the insertion of cremation burials into pre-existing graves or contemporary inhumation burials and will be discussed separately below.

The presence of children within multiple cremation deposits comprise 22% of the child cremation burials from Wessex. This percentage of multiple burials amongst the child cremations is much higher than the rate noted for Bronze Age cremation burials in general (McKinley 2000, 11). This indicates that it was more likely for a deceased child to be cremated alongside another individual in Wessex, than is observed in cremation burials as a whole.

A small majority of the multiple cremation deposits involving children in Wessex involve only one further individual (54% of the multiple cremations). Contrary to an established expectation that children are typically associated with female individuals in multiple burials (Burgess 1980, 164), only 3 adult females have been identified in association, including one where the excavator appears to have assumed the individual was female, and therefore mother of the child, on the simple basis of the association with the infant (Ride 2001, 166).

Two burials involve the contemporary deposition of two children together:

- Avebury bowl barrow G.55, Wilts.: Cremation II comprises the burnt bones of 10 to 12-year-old child and a younger child under 1 year-of-age (WC 10 & 11; Smith 1965; Brothwell 1992, 144)
- Earls Down Farm barrow, Amesbury G.71, Wilts.: comprises the burnt remains of a 14- to 18-year-old alongside an 8-9-year-old (WC 6-7; Christie 1967, 344).

The presence of more than 2 individuals within multiple cremation burials during this period is more unusual (Petersen 1972). Previous studies have demonstrated that 68% of multiple cremations comprise the remains of 2 individuals and 32% encompass the bones of 3 or 4 people (McKinley 2004, 58). The largest number of individuals currently identified in one grave is 19, from a late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age cist grave at Trelowthas Barrow, Cornwall (McKinley 1997b), outwith our study area.

Only three deposits of cremated bone within the current study, include the remains of more than 2 individuals:

- At least 8 individuals are represented amongst a token collection of burnt human remains at Winterbourne Stoke G.39: four adults, one with a neonate (WC 36), a possible male adolescent (WC 34), a child aged 4-5 months (WC 35), (Gingell 1988, 55, 74-5)
- A grave at Thorness, Isle of Wight, contains the cremated bone of a child (WC 51), a young adult female and a possible third, adult, individual (Sherwin 1939, 146).
- At Mockbeggar Lane Barrow, Hants., a deposit of burnt bones comprising the remains of several individuals had been inserted into an existing pit below the barrow[45]. The remains consisted of the burnt bones of 12 individuals including 6 children (WC 42-7), 4 adult males and a minimum of 2 adult females. It has been suggested that it would be highly unlikely for all 12 individuals to have died and been cremated contemporaneously. McKinley suggests that it is probable that the remains are from a series of cremations, curated for an undefined period of time and deposited as this single mass burial in one grave (2004, 58).

In 3 instances, from Durrington Down round barrow (WC 20), Cow Down Barrow 11 (WC 15) and West Overton G6b (WC 23), in Wilts., the cremated remains of children were inserted into a primary inhumation's grave. In each case, it is unclear whether the deposition of the inhumation and cremation were synchronous or sequential. It is also unclear in each example, what role the cremation burials played in relation to the inhumation burials (e.g. accompanying formal burial or ancestral relics). The cremation at Durrington Downs was placed at the rear of the pelvis of a crouched child inhumation (Figure 7.10), probably within an organic container, in a recognised position for grave goods (Richards 1990, 175, fig. 125).

Similary at Cow Down, Wilts., two Collared Urns, one containing the cremated remains of a young person (WC 15), was placed at the feet of the crouched inhumation of a six-year-old child (WI 33; Lukis 1867, 92). It is unclear whether these particular cremations should be viewed as burials, or as grave goods in association with the inhumation burials.

[45] Although McKinley describes this as a Later Bronze Age burial (2004, 58), the radiocarbon assay from associated charcoal places the burial at the later end of the period of study (Coles 2004, 34).

7.3.9 Associated material culture: pottery vessels & other containers

During the Earlier Bronze Age, a variety of methods were used to contain the cremated human bone during burial (Longworth 1984; Cowie 1978).

The children's cremation burials from Wessex are dominated by those interred within pottery vessels (Figure 7.42). Twenty-three graves, comprising the remains of 29 children in Wessex, are not associated with pottery vessels. Of these unurned burials, 8 children within 7 cremation burials (all from Wilts.) were within organic containers of various forms which will be discussed in further detail below.

Absence of containers

A total of 15 burials had no evidence of being buried within a container of any kind. The majority of these cremations (involving 26 children) appear to have been placed directly into pits cut into the natural or mound material[46]. Included in this number are an unurned cremation inserted into the grave of unburnt burials at Boscombe, Wilts. (WC 12: Fitzpatrick *in prep*) .

An additional cremation, that of an adolescent from a disc barrow amongst the Net Down barrow group, Wilts., also lacks evidence for the provision of a container (WC 25: Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 271. Yet, the excavator has suggested that an urn may have originally been present but had been removed prior to excavation. No supporting evidence of this interpretation has been outlined in the published record making this assertion impossible to substantiate.

An interesting aspect of these unurned cremations is the ages of the children buried in this way (Figure 7.43); the biggest group represented are young children (under 5 years-of-age) and juveniles (6-10 years). Only three older children (12-15 years) or adolescents are present. This suggests that young children may have been less likely than older children to be afforded a ceramic or organic container.

[46] Cremations in pits with no ceramic or organic container evident comprise: (Wiltshire) WC 1, WC 2, WC 33, WC 33, WC 38; (Hampshire) WC 39, WC 40, WC 42-47, WC 52; (Dorset) WC 61, WC 62, WC 63.

Organic containers

Preservation of organic objects is rare but there is good evidence for the deposition of cremations within bags and other containers during this period (Henshall 1950). This typically takes the form of very compact, well-defined deposits of burnt bone that give the appearance of being enclosed by a container, rather than the preservation of the organics themselves. Without containment, the cremated bone is commonly observed as a diffuse spread or small heap with ill-defined edges.

Ten burials, consisting of the cremated remains of 11 children, are associated with organic containers (Table 7.24), comprising over 17% of the cremations from Wessex. The majority of examples come from Wiltshire (9). Although the overall quantity of burials contained within organic containers is small, they comprise nearly a quarter of the cremations from this region (23%). In contrast, only one example has been recorded in Dorset, and the children's cremations from Hampshire so far lack evidence of this association. Two of these burials associated with organics were also contained within pottery vessels (WC 29 and WC 68; Smith & Simpson 1966, 128-9; Gray & Prideaux 1905, 28).

The form of the organic containers associated with cremation burials appears to be wide and varied, comprising textile or leather bags, basketry and timber coffins or other wooden receptacles. A useful general summary of Bronze Age textiles and other fabrics has been provided elsewhere and does not merit rehearsing here (Henshall 1950, 158-9, 162; Crowfoot 1988, 62). The pattern of use of bags and other containers appears to reflect individual preferences or site specific practices. On some sites where several cremation burials are present, deposition in organic containers appears to be a consistent or typical practice (e.g. Net Down barrow cemetery, Wilts.; Green & Rollo-Smith 1984); on other sites, only single examples are present (e.g. West Overton, Wilts.; Smith & Simpson 1966).

Bags

Simple flexible bags produced from woven textile or animal skins are the most common organic containers associated with Earlier Bronze Age burials. Evidence from children's burials mirrors this. 5 cremations contained in bags are noted within the dataset in Wiltshire and Dorset, encompassing 50% interred within an organic container.

An exceptional example, associated with the cremated bones of a 5-year-old child, comes from Eweleaze Barn bowl barrow, Dorset (WC 68: Gray & Prideaux 1905). Only fragments

remained at the time of excavation but they represent portions of a simple, coarse, woven bag, made from grass-like fibres, and a piece of knotted string which may have been used to tie the bag (Figure 7.44; Gray & Prideaux 1905, 29). This is one of the best preserved examples of an organic container associated with a cremation burial in Britain.

The possibility of retaining the cremated remains for some time prior to burial, as discussed previously, is emphasised by the burial of bagged cremations alongside inhumation burials such as those at Durrington Downs (Figure 7.10) and West Overton, Wilts. (WC 20: Richards 1990, 175; WC 30: Smith & Simpson 1966, 127-8).

A fascinating example, that gives us a glimpse of an aspect of the burial rite not normally visible, comes from Blake's Fir cremation cemetery, Wiltshire. Here the cremated bones of a 10-12-year-old child were deposited in a flexible bag of either woven fabric or animal skin (Ride 2001, 167). The presence of a bag was indicated by the compacted, bun-shaped deposit of bones but no trace of the material was recovered. On top of the bones, lying in a horizontal, central position was a bronze awl which may have been used to fasten the bag together (Ride 2001, 167). A similar interpretation for the reuse of a bronze awl has been suggested for a cremation (age and sex unidentified) within an oak coffin at Latch Farm, Dorset (Piggott 1938, 173).

Other forms of organic container

As demonstrated by Table 7.24, several other forms of organic containers were present which include a timber coffin and a shallow box. Although not strictly a container, such as those referred to above, traces of a carbonised basketwork sling were observed down the sides and across the floor of a burial pit at West Overton G.6b, which contained the cremated remains of a three year-old child within a Collared Urn (WC 29: Smith and Simpson 1966, 128). It was suggested that the urn was lowered into position using this sling whilst the bones were still hot enough to scorch the withies and the pit sides (*ibid* 1966, 129).

Pottery vessels

54% of cremation burials involving children were directly associated with pottery vessels[47],

[47] Children associated directly with pottery vessels: Wiltshire: WC 5, WC 6 & WC 7, WC 8, WC 9, WC 15, WC 17, WC 18, WC 19, WC 21, WC 23, WC 26, WC 27, WC 28, WC 29, WC 31, WC 37; Hampshire: WC 49, WC 50, WC 51; Dorset: WC 53, WC 54, WC 55, WC 56 & 57, WC 58, WC 59, WC 60, WC 64, WC 65, WC 66, WC 67, WC 68, WC 69.

comprising just under 50% of all children from Wessex cremations[48]. In each case, the cremated remains were contained within an urn, either in an upright or inverted position (Table 7.25). No unurned cremations were accompanied by pots, although a small number of urned cremations were afforded accompanying vessels.

The proportion of associated pots with children's cremations is not consistent across the counties. In Hampshire, a third of cremations were interred within an urn but this comprises only 18% of the children recorded. By contrast, 81% of children's cremations, involving 82% of children recorded, were afforded pottery grave goods in Dorset. In Wiltshire, 47% of cremations were afforded a pottery vessel, involving 45% of the children from this county.

The majority of urned burials (28, equalling 88%) are contained within a single urn, 9% have 2 vessels and only 3% have 3 vessels. Only 4 children's cremations from Wessex have been provided with accessory vessels. There does not appear to be any correlation between the number of individuals in the burial and the quantity of pottery vessels accompanying it.

Three main types of urn are found in Wessex in association with cremation burials of this period: Collared Urn, the Food Vessels (and its enlarged derivative) and Biconical Urns (Calkin 1964, 7). Examples of all three main urn types are associated with children's cremations in Wessex, as well as accessory vessels and an unusual example of an Amorican-style handled haematite burnished vase, will be discussed in detail below.

Collared Urns

Twenty-two child cremation burials from Wessex were associated with Collared Urns. Twenty urns acted as containers for the cremated bone and one accompanied a deposit of burnt bones. At Lamb Down bowl barrow G. 5, Wilts., the relationship between sherds of Collared Urn and the cremation burial of a child is not clear. Here, the child appears to have been cremated *in situ* (WC 13). Sherds of Collared Urn (Longworth 1984, 285, no 1169) were found scattered in the area of this cremation and have been interpreted as the remains of a deliberately smashed and scattered pot (Vatcher 1963, 425). In this instance, the pot is

[48] As the presence of associated diagnostic earlier Bronze Age pottery was one of the criteria used to determine the reliability of the date of the burial, it should be expected that those with such associations are better represented within the dataset than those without, and this is reflected in the high percentage of burials sharing this association.

neither container nor grave good, but appears to be broken as a deliberate ritual act that took place as a part of the funerary ceremonies sometime after the cremation of the body and prior to the construction of the mound. This practice of the destruction of a vessel as part of funerary ritual can be paralleled at a bowl barrow at Snail Down, Collingbourne Kingston, where a Collared Urn had been deliberately smashed within the burial pit and the cremated adult bones poured into the pit, on top of the broken urn (Annable 1960, 7) and at Kimpton, Hampshire, where a smashed vessel had been carefully collected and redeposited alongside a an adult cremation (Figure 7.45; Dacre & Ellison 1981; Brück 2006, 301)

A single sherd from a Collared Urn was recovered from the upper fill of the primary cremation at Avebury bell barrow G.55 (WC 9: Smith 1965, 29), that of an adult and child. The excavator observed that the bones had the appearance of being tipped out of a container suggesting that the cremation may have originally been protected by a Collared Urn which had been almost entirely removed when the burial was disturbed (Smith 1965, 29). In contrast, a sherd of a Collared Urn recovered from the upper fill of an unurned cremation of a young child at Snail Down pond barrow, Wiltshire (WC 14: Thomas 2005, 91) was interpreted as an accidental inclusion.

Styles

As demonstrated by Figure 7.46, over two thirds of Collared Urns associated with the children's cremations belong to Longworth's Secondary Series of urn (1984). Only 5 pots have sufficient distinguishing features to allow classification of style, all of which can be assigned to Longworth's South Eastern Style, as expected for Wessex (1984, 35-40). The designation of urn forms to the Secondary Series Urns is also consistent with the expected trends (Longworth 1984, 40); the majority are identified as form I and its derivatives, with smaller quantities of forms II, IV and BI and II also present.

Size

Collared Urns vary considerably in size from under 100mm to over 500mm in height. Most cluster around the 150-300mm range (Longworth 1984; Gibson 2002, 96) [49]. The majority of those associated with children's cremations in Wessex fall within the typical range, with a cluster between 150-250 mm (Figure 7.47 & Figure 7.48). Some smaller examples are present, the smallest classified as a miniature Collared Urn, only 89m in height. This is the

[49] Dimensions quoted in the published records vary from measurements in feet, inches, metres and centimetres. For the sake of clarity and for comparative purposes, all urn sizes quoted here will be in millimetres.

third smallest Collared Urn recorded from Wessex (Longworth 1984). The larger suite of Collared Urns (e.g. taller than 400 mm in height) are rarely associated with children's burials.

Inverted or upright

Collared Urns associated with cremations are generally used as containers for the burnt bones and are usually found in an inverted position, covering the skeletal remains (Gibson 2002, 97).

This practice is confirmed by the cremations from Dorset, where 7 out of 8 Collared Urns are recorded were inverted (Table 7.26). By contrast, in Wiltshire, the practice is more varied. Here, the majority of Urns associated with cremations considered in this study, were upright. This contrasts with those recorded by Longworth from Wiltshire where 35% of Urns were inverted and only 17% were upright (1984, 281-92).

Food Vessels and Food Vessel Urns

The Food Vessel tradition, though present is less strong in south-west England (Gibson 2002, 96). This is reflected in the small quantity of vessels of this type present amongst the cremations considered here. Only 6 Food Vessels were recovered in association with the Wessex child cremations, comprising 3 small vase-shaped, bipartite Food Vessels from Wiltshire and Dorset and 3 Enlarged Food Vessels, from Wiltshire and Hampshire.

As expected, 2 of 3 of the Enlarged Food Vessels (from Earls Farm Down G.71, Wilts. (WC 6 & 7) and Chosely Farm, Hants. (WC 49); Christie 1967, 344, Willis 1954, 60) were inverted, covering the cremation burial. The position of the third example from Amesbury G.44, Wilts., is not known (WC 8; Hoare 1812, 161; Goddard 1913, 168-9). One of the bipartite Food Vessels was found in an upright position containing cremated bones (WC 17, Snail Down saucer barrow, Wilts.; Thomas 2005, 26), one inverted (WC 27, Net Down barrow G.23, Wilts.; Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 283); the position of the third example was not recorded (WC 58, Latch Farm, Dorset; Calkin 1964, 13).

Looking at the group of Food Vessel-associated burials as a whole, it is possible to see that a mix of monument forms (barrow and flat graves), prominence within barrow monuments (primary and secondary) and number of individuals (single children and double child cremations) is present. None of these cremations are multiple deposits involving adults.

Another significant aspect is the age of the children associated with pots of this form. In contrast to that noted for unurned cremations, the majority of children associated with Food Vessels are juveniles and older children (Figure 7.49). Only one possible younger child is present, described as an 'infant' (Calkin 1964, 13).

Biconical urns

Wessex Biconical Urns, also known as Wessex Handled Urns or Horseshoe Handled Urns, have a restricted geographical distribution (Gibson 2002, 101). The form of Biconical Urns is fairly self-explanatory, being biconical in shape, although some have more rounded lower bodies and concave necks. Normal features include the presence of raised or applied handles to the neck or shoulder (Calkin 1964, 35).

The date of Bronze Age Biconical Urns has long been debated, with some suggesting an affinity with Earlier Bronze Age pottery styles, while others profer a connection to Deverel-Rimbury forms. The lack of reliable radiocarbon dates from directly associated burials makes clarification impossible[50]. On typological and stylistic grounds the Biconical Urn has its foundations in the Earlier Bronze Age ceramic tradition (D.V.Clarke *pers comm.*; Calkin 1962; Hawkes 1933, 438; Tomalin 1988; Gibson 2002) and without radiocarbon dates to the contrary such vessels are taken here to be of Earlier Bronze Age date.

Only one Biconical Urn is present amongst the cremations. This single urn came from Knighton Heath cremation cemetery, Dorset (WC 64; Petersen 1981). This substantial Later Bronze Age, Deverel-Rimbury cremation cemetery was focused around, and marked by, a small round barrow, beneath which were several earlier burials dug into the pre-barrow ground surface. One of these early burials, arguably the earliest on site, was the cremation of an immature individual interred within an inverted Biconical Urn (Petersen 1981, 29).

Haematite burnished vase

[50] A dated example from Wouldham, Surrey (Cruse & Harrison 1984) indicates an Earlier Bronze Age date.

A rare example of an Amorican-style haematite burnished vase (Tomalin 1988) was associated with the cremated bones of a child within a bowl barrow at Keyneston Down, Dorset (Warne 1866, 7, no.6). The finds are now lost and the information about the burial comes solely from the account of William Shipp, worth quoting here in full:

'…the workmen had scarcely commenced operations before one of them unfortunately struck his pickaxe into a small compact two-handled vase of dark colour lying in an inclined position on the east side of the tumulus and within some six inches of the surface. It had been placed under some flints…and was about seven inches and a half in height being filled with the calcined bones of a child. Amongst the bones was an oblong piece of thick dark coloured glass' (Shipp in Warne 1866, 7).

These vessels have been the cause of much speculation and discussion since Martin demonstrated their discrete distribution in Early Bronze Age contexts in Brittany (Martin 1900), in part due to their rarity in southern Britain and to their unusual burnished surface finish which sets them apart from most Earlier Bronze Age pottery types. Tomalin's 1988 paper discusses the distribution of such vessels in Brittany, the Channel Islands and south-west England and demonstrates that all 5 imported examples known from the south-west occur in the Wessex area (Tomalin 1988, 208, fig. 3). He includes the two-handled vase from Keynston Down amongst these[51]. It is unfortunate that this urn has not survived and no illustration of its form has been recorded.

Accessory vessels

This category of pottery vessel generally refers to small sized pots, in a range of forms, interred alongside the burial as an accompanying grave good rather than a container. In a small number of cremation burials, the accessory cup does hold the cremated remains, such as at Black Hill, Wester Bucklyvie, Fife (SC 57: Smith 1872), but this is not a trait observed amongst the Wessex children's burials. Accessory vessels are normally associated with cremations in urns but nearly a quarter of known examples in Wiltshire and its surrounding area come from inhumations (Cunnington 1934, 95).

The term 'accessory vessel' is used here to refer to a suite of small pottery vessels, variously called 'incense cups' (first named by Hoare), 'pygmy cups', 'miniature vessels' and

[51] Site is referred to as Tarrant Keynston G.1a by Tomalin (1998, 201).

'accessory cups'. Other cups are in effect, miniatures of other styles of Early Bronze Age pottery forms, such as the miniature Collared Urn from cremation at Snail Down, Wilts. (WC 19; Thomas 2005, 39). Some have speculated that such diminutive sized vessels were made to accompany children's burials (Ó Donnabháin & Brindley 1990) but this is not substantiated amongst the Wessex cremations where only 6% of the dataset share this association.

Only 4 of the cremation burials from Wessex have associated accessory vessels (Table 7.27)[52]. Most are of simple bipartite form, some with double perforations (such as that from Batt's Meadow, Grafton (WC 21); Passmore 1906; Longworth 1984, 286). No Wessex-type cups were associated with the children's cremations.

A particularly unusual cremation was encountered at Snail Down bell barrow (WC19; Thomas 2005, 37-8), associated with a Collared Urn and two accessory vessels. Here, the cremation of an 18-24-month-old child had been interred within an intact upright Collared Urn. Due to the shape of the pit, the urn was unstable and had been wedged into position by a complete miniature collared vessel on one side and a small bipartite accessory vessel with damaged rim on the opposite side. The burial showed signs of being disturbed in antiquity, perhaps by someone attempting to retrieve something from the grave. Extraordinarily, it appears that the cairn above the burial had been dismantled, the pit reopened and the cremation temporarily removed from the urn. It seems that someone may have been looking for something that had been interred with the burial but it is unclear what, if anything, had been removed. The cremated bone was then replaced within the urn, and the urn reinterred within the pit. It is unclear whether the accessory vessels were an original part of the burial deposit, or had only been added during the reburial to stabilise the urn.

It has been demonstrated in some Earlier Bronze Age inhumation burials that the number of pots within a burial can be a reflection of the number of individuals within the grave (e.g. Church Hill, Kent (Curwen & Curwen 1935); Broomend of Crichie, Aberdeenshire (Chalmers 1868)). The relationship between the number of pottery vessels associated with cremation burials is more complex and does not, in the case of the children's cremations

[52] A further possible example is known from Kimpton Cremation Cemetery, Hampshire where an accessory vessel had been placed near to the cremation of a child. The lack of direct association makes the relationship between the vessel and the burial unclear (Dacre & Ellison 1981, 151).

considered here, appear to have a bearing on the number of individuals whose remains were associated.

Form unknown

Three further children's cremations were interred within pots which have either not survived in sufficient condition to allow identification or have been described vaguely as 'cinerary urns':

- The principal cremation of an immature individual at Amesbury G.72, Wiltshire (WC 5; Ashbee 1985, 63-7)
- The principal cremation of a child at Castle Barrow, Wiltshire (WC 28; Cunnington 1939).
- The principal cremation of a 12-14-year-old ?female at Rowbarrow, Dorset associated with a cinerary urn, referred to by Warne as an early British Urn (Warne 1866, 14). The similarity of his sparse description and classification to those discussed in Smart (1891) suggests that this example is likely to have been a Collared Urn.

7.3.10 Associated material culture: non-ceramic grave goods

Only 15 cremations, equalling 25% of the dataset, are associated with recognised grave goods. The most common association with children's cremations in Wessex are ornaments, in the form of beads and pendants, but small quantities of flint, bone and bronze tools are also present. With the exception of one burial, high-value artefacts such as gold items, bronze knives, etc. are absent. Residual or accidentally included flints have been recorded in association with a further 8 cremations. These have not been included in the grave good totals presented here.

Ornaments

Eight children's burials in Wessex are associated with ornaments[53]; 5 from Wiltshire (WC 3, WC 8, WC 9, WC 18, WC 37), 2 from Hampshire (WC 42-7, WC 50), and 1 from Dorset

[53] Although not included in this dataset due to the LBA date, a further example of the inclusion of a faience bead with a cremation burial of a child is worthy of note, that from an urned cremation burial at Simon's Ground, Dorset. The cremation comprised the remains of an adult female and infant associated with a star-shaped faience bead. The bead showed no evidence of having been burnt but it was remarkably worn (White 1982, 27). Despite reflecting aspects of Earlier Bronze Age Biconical

(WC 66). Although the number of burials sharing this association amongst the children's burials is small, they are equivalent to over 13% of the cremation burials as a whole and over 45% of the burials associated with non-ceramic grave goods.

Beads

The majority of the ornaments associated with children's cremations are collections of beads of various materials that appear to have been assembled from other necklaces and include examples with significant wear and those that look unworn (Table 7.28; Figure 7.50).

The largest quantity of beads from a child cremation in Wessex comes from Stockbridge Down, Hants., associated with the cremation of a 15-year-old child (WC 50: Stone & Gray Hill 1940, 42-6, fig 2). A total of 136 beads were recovered, comprising lignite disc-beads, faience and shale beads, including an unusual quoit-shaped example. The most significant are 2 annular calcite beads, translucent and light orange in colour, likely to have been selected to mimic amber where none was available. The lack of heat-damage to the beads suggests that they were only added to the burial after the body had been cremated. Similarly, at Avebury G.55, Wilts., 3 fossil encrinte beads, a chalk bead and a perforated horn or bone object were found accompanying the cremation of an adult and child, apparently unburnt (WC 9: Smith 1965, 30, fig 3). The latter item, was originally described as a pendant but its size and form is consistent with a perforated bone toggle, such as those from cremations at Eweford, East Lothian and Deskford, Morayshire (McLaren 2007; McLaren *forthcoming a*; Sheridan 2007, fig 14.11).

Several beads were also found with the cremation of a child at Snail Down, Wilts. (WC 18: Thomas 2005, 37-8). In addition to beads being directly associated with the cremation in the grave, a large dumb-bell shaped bead was found amongst the flint cairn covering the grave (Figure 7.50c) which may have formed part of an offering incorporated into the cairn. From the position of the beads within the burial, it seems unlikely that they had been deposited as a strung necklace and are likely to have been deposited loose within the cremation (Thomas 2005, 215).

Vessels, the associated urn is considered to fit within the Deverel-Rimbury panoply of vessel forms due to its slack profile (Ann Woodward, *pers comm*). Apart from the inclusion of the faience bead, there is little to distinguish this burial from the others in cemetery that could suggest that this was an earlier, foundation burial. The inclusion of the faience bead within this burial is an interesting late example of the retention of, or reference to, Earlier Bronze Age funerary traditions.

An unusual arrangement of beads comes from Blake's Fir cremation cemetery in association with the cremation of a 10-12-year-old child. Here, the cremated bones were buried within a flexible bag fastened by a bronze awl. From the excavators description, it appears that the beads had been purposefully arranged. "On top of the bones, and positioned centrally and horizontally lay a bronze awl…Centrally placed on the awl in CB8 [cremation 8] was a black shale barrel bead, 12.4mm in diameter and 8.5mm long….On top of the barrel bead lay a circular quoit bead (possibly sandstone or ceramic) 21mm in diameter, and above it a similar one, differently coloured, 29mm in diameter. 50mm from this arrangement lay a cylindrical segment of a fossil belemnite, almost certainly intended for use as a bead, too" (Ride 2001, 167).

The surviving beads from Easton Down, associated with an 8-year-old (WC 37) were recently re-analysed (Woodward *et al* 2005, 51). The pale turquoise segmented faience bead and the surviving amber bead had been broken in antiquity; the amber bead also displayed signs of wear. Scientific analysis of the 4 black beads revealed that 3 were indeed produced from Whitby jet but 1 was different and had been made from Kimmeridge shale (Bussell et al 1982, 31). These black beads were all fusiform and biconical in shape and are likely to have originally formed part of an earlier spacer-plate necklace.

A particularly unusual set of objects was associated with a thirteen or fourteen-year-old, ?female at Amesbury, Wilts. excavated in the eighteenth century by William Stukeley (WC 8: *Stonehenge*, 44, plxxxii; Hoare 1812, 161; Goddard 1913, 168-9) and later classified by Stuart Piggott as his Wessex burial 35 (1938, 103). The richness of this burial, in relation to a child, is exceptional not just for Wessex but for Britain as a whole. The provision of both a bronze knife and gold covered ornaments with a child is unique and suggests that this particular individual has been incorrectly identified as a child by Stukeley.

Beads as amulets and charms

The combination of beads of different conditions and ages, with distinctive life-histories, suggests that such beads were valued, special objects which were curated and reused, possibly passed down within families as heirlooms (Sheridan 2007b; Woodward 2002; Woodward *et al* 2005, 49-53). This practice is repeated throughout Britain during this period and will be discussed further in the concluding chapter. Although the quantity and combinations of the beads differ tremendously between burials, a remarkable consistency is observed in the forms and colour combinations used. The combination of blue (faience),

red/orange (amber) and black (jet and jet-like stones) is a consistent theme, in both adult and children's burials alike.

Impressive composite necklaces, constructed from large numbers of beads of different forms and materials, are most frequently associated with adult females (Sheridan 2002). In light of this, how should these more restrictive collections of beads associated with children be viewed? Looking at the ages of the children associated with beads a tendency to be associated with older children is noted suggesting that some of these individuals may no longer have been considered as children (Figure 7.51). Yet the picture is far from clear: a suite of faience beads with the cremation of a neonate at Little Chesterford, Essex (Collins 1980) indicates that the role of these artefacts in burial contexts is far more complex than originally appreciated.

There are good ethnographic parallels for the symbolic significance of beads in relation to children, particularly well illustrated by the rich symbolic practice of the Beng people of Ivory Coast (Gottleib 2004). The Beng people have a complex belief system surrounding babies and children, who are believed to be reincarnated ancestors imbued with spiritual knowledge. This ideology affects every facet of child rearing practices, one aspect of which is the use of different coloured beads, worn around specific areas of the body as amulets to protect the child from a range of medical, spiritual and physical dangers (Gottleib 2004). Selection of beads of particular colours and materials are favoured to provide protection from specific perceived dangers (Figure 7.52) and are worn by the child principally as amulets and charms rather than for their decorative properties (*ibid* 2004, 113). The combination of old and new beads associated with children's burials in Wessex and beyond can also be viewed as amulets worn to protect the child either in life, or in the Otherworld.

Bone pins

Simple pins produced from animal bone, are commonly associated with cremation burials of this date, particularly in association with Collared and Cordoned Urn burials (Longworth 1984, 64). In many instances, the pin is distorted and damaged from exposure to intense heat, indicating that they passed through the pyre, perhaps worn by the deceased as a hair ornament or garment fastener. Alternatively they could have been used to pin together a shroud or covering over the corpse during cremation. Rarely, the item is unburnt, indicating that it was added only after the bone had cooled and been collected for burial.

Only one cremation burial amongst the dataset shares this association. The remains of 3 pins were found amongst the multiple cremation burial at Mockbeggar Lane barrow, Hants. (WC 42-7; Anthony 2004, 58). All were burnt indicating their use as pyre goods.

Personal tools

Flint

Items of flint are one of the most typical associations in Earlier Bronze Age cremations. Yet many are disregarded as residual debris or accidental inclusions, unless they take the form of recognisable tool types. Longworth (1984, 47) points out an interesting pattern in the distribution of flint objects in association with Earlier Bronze Age burials in general. He highlights the high incidence of flint objects recorded from northern British burials, where such objects are considered an appropriate grave good on account of the rarity of flint sources in the region, but an apparent low incidence of such finds in the South, despite the natural abundance of the material. He suggests that in southern Britain, flint objects within graves are more likely to be considered incidental, unless they are diagnostic Bronze Age forms (Longworth 1984, 47).

This trend is apparent in the children's cremations where struck flint is a common occurrence but is rarely considered pertinent to the burial. This is observed amongst the cremated remains at Avebury G.55 (WC 10 & 11), Snail Down bell-barrow (WC 19); Snail Down pond barrow (WC 14), West Overton G.6b, urn II (WC 29), Easton Down long cairn (WC 38) and Crouch Hill (WC 59) (Smith 1965, 32; Thomas 2005, 35, 90-1; Smith & Simpson 1966, 128-9; Stone 1934, 219; Cunliffe 1987, 47)

Two struck, unburnt, flint flakes were amongst the primary cremation burial of a child at Lake Group bowl barrow G37, Wilsford (WC 33). They were recorded as being accidental and were discarded (Grimes 1964, 101). In this instance, the excavator's interpretation of the flints being residual is questioned, not just for their evidence of working, but due to their unburnt condition. It is likely that these flints had been added to the burial after the cremated bone had been collected.

At Hinton Ampner, Hampshire, a worked flint was recorded amongst the cremated skeletal material of the primary burial, which comprised the remains of an eighteen month old child

and an adult (WC 40; Winbolt 1930, 250). This object was later identified as a small flint knife but no further details were provided as to its form or size (Milner 1947, 47).

Coarse stone

Only one coarse stone tool, a possible grinder or pounder, was recorded in association with the cremation burials from Wessex; at Snail Down, Wiltshire (WC 19: Thomas 2005, 39).

Copper alloy and bone awls

Four cremations were associated with copper alloy awls (WC 3, WC 8, WC 9, WC 5); a further example with an awl of bone (WC 37). In each instance, the awl was associated with a suite of ornaments, more specifically composite necklaces or collections of beads (see above). All of the awls associated with the child cremations are single pointed, handled forms. It is likely that these tools were used in leather-working and an association with adult female graves has been noted previously (Sheridan 1999, 197-8).

At Avebury G55, Wilts., an awl was associated with the burnt bones of a 9-12-month-old child and an adult (WC 9: Smith 1965, 29-31). Patches of fibres near the tip of the point could suggest that the awl was buried within a textile sheath or pouch (Smith 1965, 30, fig 3:2). Is suggested here that the awl was used to fasten a textile bag containing the cremated remains, like that at Blake's Fir, Easton Down (Ride 2001, 167). Here too the bronze is a single-tipped form with evidence of abrasion, either from production or use (Ride 2001, 168). The form of the awl is described as identical to that found with a child cremation from Stockbridge Down, Hampshire, although this later example is copper rather than bronze (WI 50: Stone and Gray Hill 1940, 46).

Weaponry

A bronze knife, associated with the cremation of a thirteen- or fourteen-year-old child from Amesbury twin bell barrow, excavated in the eighteenth century by William Stuckley, is the only example of a bronze blade to be found in association with an immature individual in Wessex (*Stonehenge*, 44; Hoare 1812, 161; Goddard 1913, 168-9; Piggott 1938, 103). A question over the reliability of this particular record has already been raised.

A perforated hammer or macehead of antler was found amongst the cremated remains of a child at Cow Down Bowl barrow G.11 (WC 16; Annable & Simpson 1964, 49, no.236). In

form it mimics a simple stone battleaxe with a vertically perforated contracted waist and an expanded butt-end. No record of any wear on the hammerhead was noted and it is unclear if this was a functional object. Antler hammerheads are not common amongst Earlier Bronze Age burials in Wessex but a few examples, of slightly different form, are known such as that from a secondary cremation in bowl barrow, Wilsford G.60, Wiltshire (Annable & Simpson 1964, 50, no.272).

Food offerings?

A single Wessex child cremation include animal bones; from the multiple cremation burial at Mockbeggar Lane barrow, Hants. (WC 42-7; Coles 2004). This is a little surprising considering how many of the burials were examined by medical professionals, if not modern osteologists.

7.3.11 Discussion

This investigation into the rites afforded to children in Earlier Bronze Age cremation deposits has revealed that, like the inhumations from Wessex, the cremated remains of children are vastly underrepresented.

There are very few children's cremations in comparison to the quantities of inhumation burials recorded. This is not unexpected due to the different archaeological approaches taken to the recovery, identification and recording of the two forms of burial, which have undoubtedly biased the Earlier Bronze Age burial record in favour of inhumations.

In general, young children are better represented than their older siblings amongst cremation burials in Wessex. The greater number of children of this age within the dataset conforms to the expected pattern, however, there are very few perinates, the age group that should be best represented if individuals of all ages had equal access to this form of burial.

Yet, where present, the rites and grave goods afforded to children follow that of adult burials. Children appear to have been eligible for burial in the same forms of funerary monument as adults but no particular monument type was the principal focus for the burial of children. Most children's burials are secondary to adult's graves within barrow mounds. Despite this, a small number of children's graves are the principal burials, being the focus for the construction of impressive earthen barrow mounds.

Children's access to grave goods is also in line with those observed in association with adult burials. Pottery vessels are the most common associated object with over half of the children's cremations sharing this association. In each case the pots were used as containers for the cremated remains, but in a small number of cases accessory vessels were provided. The pottery styles associated with children echo those identified with adults and children seem to have had access to the same range of forms and sizes of vessels than adults, although associations with the larger range of pots is not observed. Younger children appear less likely to be associated with a pottery vessel than older children.

Accompanying grave goods are also similar in form to those of adult burials; the most frequent non-ceramic grave good being ornaments, particularly collections of beads. The combination of old and new beads, some possible heirlooms with amuletic properties, is regularly observed.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Overview

This study has examined a total of seven hundred and eighty-one burials of children from Scotland, Yorkshire and Wessex; key zones of Earlier Bronze Age burial evidence. The discussion was based on five hundred examples of the inhumation burial of children from the case study areas and two hundred and eighty-one burials after cremation.

The aim of these case studies (chapters 5-7) was to outline observable trends in funerary practice related specifically to the burial of children during the Earlier Bronze Age, as defined on page 36-7. The examination of funerary records of any time period is considered here to be incomplete without considering the rites afforded to children. This current study marks an important step in helping to illustrate an aspect of Bronze Age burial practice which until now has seen little investigation.

The main conclusions that can be drawn are:

- Children under 15 years of age are under-represented in the burial record of this period. This suggests that the normative burial practice for deceased children during this time is one which has left no visible trace within the archaeological record.
- Similar trends in funerary practice afforded to children are observed in each of the case study areas. These are indicative of broader symbolically structured mortuary rites observed throughout Britain.
- Where formal burial of children was afforded, the funerary rites conform, in general, to those of adult burials.
- Some evidence of age-specific practices has been observed at a regional level.

Each of these key points will be expanded on in the following discussion.

8.2 The dataset and its problems

In order to gain as much information as possible about children's burials during this period, the dataset was drawn from both antiquarian accounts and modern excavation reports. Despite the problems and challenges that antiquarian sources present (as outlined in chapter 4) these early accounts form the basis of current understanding and interpretations of Bronze Age funerary practices and comprise a vast resource that should not be overlooked. Issues with quality of detail and reliability have been addressed, with regard to both antiquarian and modern records, by the application of a set of rigorous criteria aimed at eliminating any dubious or vague sources. The result is that only reliable data relating to burials of Earlier Bronze Age date have been included in this study.

A key criticism of antiquarian excavations is how the age of individuals was assigned from skeletal material: in many cases it is not stated within the published report whether the bones were examined by an anatomical specialist at the time of excavation. As the human bones from these early investigations were rarely retained for further study (Gibson & Baylis 2010, 72-4), very few unburnt skeletons or deposits of cremated bone from these early excavations have been available to re-examine to modern osteological standards. But where such re-analysis has been possible, the results are encouraging.

How do we resolve the problem of aligning the original identification of age with our modern standards? Without embarking on expensive programmes of re-excavation, re-analysis of skeletal remains is, in most cases, impossible (Sheridan 2008, 62). It is for this reason that many researchers have avoided engaging with this material. Despite this problem, it is contended here that these records still hold valuable information and have provided a rich and valuable source of information about children's burials considered in this study. The strategy employed here in grouping children from both antiquarian and modern sources together, to which an estimate of physiological age (in terms of months or ages) has already been assigned, allows the consideration of the data to focus on broad age-groups rather than specific ages.

A similar challenge is faced as a result of the use of vague or generalised terminology in describing children's skeletal remains. This is a product of the mistaken view that such terms as 'infant' and 'adolescent' are widely if not universally understood and applied. This problem has been considered in detail in Chapter 4. The use of imprecise terminology

describing children's ages necessarily limits the inferences that can be made as to their significance. There is no way to resolve this problem in past records without re-examination of the skeletal remains in question. The use of ambiguous terminology describing children in burial contexts is not confined only to antiquarian records but is even now a reoccurring problem in some modern excavation reports. Only by highlighting this issue in studies such as this can this problem be overcome for future recording.

8.3 Impact of theoretical approaches to the current study

Assessing the impact of current theoretical approaches to children in archaeology to this current study is problematic for the simple fact that there is no one, single, theory which structures research into past children and childhood (Crawford & Lewis 2008). The study of children and childhood in prehistory does not follow a single methodological or theoretical approach which can be followed verbatim; rather, it is a disparate group of researchers investigating varied aspects of childhood and/or the role of children in the past. In many instances, such as this current study, these investigations are founded on very little, if any, previous work on children in the scholars chosen research area. For this very reason, such studies are of considerable importance as they have the potential to illuminate previously under-researched aspects of prehistoric society and customs.

The methods employed in attempting to access information about children in the past are similarly varied with some researchers choosing to investigate aspects of osteology, material culture, technological knowledge, funerary populations, mortuary practice, settlement structure, *inter alia* (Crawford & Lewis 2008). These methodologies necessarily follow the researcher's own particular sphere of expertise.

Despite this variability two common threads are noted about investigations of children and childhood in the past which have impacted directly on this current study. The first is an awareness on the part of the researcher, whether an archaeologist, demographer, osteologist or historian, of the general invisibility of children in our narratives of the past and the gap in our knowledge of past societies that is created as a result (Lillehammer 1989). The importance of this is clear when we acknowledge that without information on aspects of children, childhood and child-rearing techniques, our understanding of past community dynamics, structure and motivations are incomplete. With that in mind, this study has sought

to assess the quantity and quality of data available on children during the British Earlier Bronze Age and through this data, has attempted to integrate and establish children within a narrative past burial practices.

The second aspect which has greatly influenced this study is the awareness that the experience and perception of children and childhood is not universal; these are widely variable concepts (Derevenski 1997). Although it may seem a simple point, the awareness of the variability of childhood and child-rearing practices is essential to be able to investigate children in prehistory and to prevent our modern conceptions of children and childhood influence our interpretations of the past (Lillehammer 1989). This requires the researcher to be explicit in the methods and approaches used (see chapter 4) and to remain as objective as possible with respect to the data.

8.4 Representation of children within the burial record

The population of Britain during the Bronze Age is difficult to estimate but a figure of 100,000 for England and Wales and 2,500 for Scotland has been suggested (McEvedy & Jones 1978). Stuart Needham has recently suggested a population of 200,000 for Britain is more probable (Needham *forthcoming*). Such variation clearly demonstrates that estimates of population levels remain a contested issue for Bronze Age studies.

Estimating the level of population of Britain during this time is crucial in understanding the burial rites of the period as it is clear that only a selection of the population was afforded formal burial (Bradley 2007, 158; Downes *et al* forthcoming). Even taking into consideration the unqualified, but presumably large number of burial sites that have been destroyed and are unknown to us, Stuart Needham has recently estimated that only 1 in 18 of the Earlier Bronze Age population were afforded formal burial, either by inhumation or after cremation (Needham *forthcoming*). Determining the criteria for selection for burial is still a hotly debated topic (Downes *et al* forthcoming) but past interpretations have focused on aspects of status, power, wealth and influence of the individual as the main criteria for burial based on the quantity, quality and overall richness of associated grave furnishings or the prominence of the location of the grave. The situation is now understood to be far more complex, with grave goods appearing largely symbolic in nature and not necessarily owned, worn or used by the deceased individual during life but chosen by the surviving community (Bradley

2007, 159; Needham *forthcoming*). The dominant hypothesis favours mourners creating a specific representation of the deceased to the ancestors in the Otherworld.

Despite Needham's and others assertions that only a small selection of the population were afforded such lavish burials (*ibid*; Bradley 2007, 158), the restricted number of Earlier Bronze Age children's burials within the three case study areas (in comparison to the numbers of recorded adult burials) demonstrates irrevocably that children under the age of fifteen years are underrepresented within the funerary component of the archaeological record, particularly in Wessex.

Mortality rates for children under five years of age within pre-industrial societies are estimated to be up to 50% even within stable and expanding populations (Chamberlain 2000; 2006), with only 20% of children surviving to 5 years of age (Goodman & Armelagos 1989). If the known Earlier Bronze Age burials represented the population as a whole, it would be expected that the graves of children would vastly outnumber adult burials for any given community. This is simply not the case.

The youngest children, particularly foetuses, perinates, newborn babies and infants under 1 year of age are undoubtedly under-represented, either because they decayed *in situ* or because they were buried elsewhere. Neonate mortality of up to 40% is likely and yet children in these cohorts are the least well represented in all three case study areas (Molleson 1981, 20).

Children are clearly better represented on some sites (such as at West Overton G.6a, Wiltshire: Smith & Simpson 1966) but at other sites are wholly absent. This indicates that the criteria as to who was eligible for formal burial varied at a local or even family level. Differences in selection strategy are also suggested among the regions of study as children are better represented in Scotland and Yorkshire than in Wessex.

Differences in the level of representation of children between inhumation and cremation burials is also seen to vary at a regional level. The under-representation of children within cremation burials is undoubtedly affected by early recognition and identification techniques. In early excavations there was a perception that little useful information could be determined by the examination of cremated remains. In many cases, cremated bones were considered too fragmentary to merit further study. This was not due to a lack of interest or a disregard for

the burials by early investigators, but merely a reflection of the limitations of contemporary anatomical identification. This problem affects all regions considered here. In many cases, deposits of cremated human bone were not retained, meaning that modern osteological examination is impossible (Gibson & Bayliss 2010). Other factors affecting the visibility of children's cremations also require consideration: pyre technology, the strategies used for collecting the remains, and the criteria adopted by the living community to select the deceased for cremation burial, are all likely to have influence on the visibility of deposits of burnt children's bones within the archaeological record.

The intensity and effectiveness of the pyre will determine the quantity of cremated remains available for deposition (Sheridan *et al forthcoming*). Aspects such as the size of the pyre in relation to the body, the quality of its construction, the materials and fuel used, the weather conditions and how many individuals were cremated on the same pyre will all affect the efficiency of the cremation process. The small, delicate skeleton of a child is particularly vulnerable to being consumed by fire and, where the pyre has worked efficiently, may be reduced to only a few recognisable bone fragments. Partial or selective collection of cremated bone from the pyre was often practiced (McKinley 1994; 1997a), further influencing the ability of excavators to recognise the remains of children within burnt bone deposits.

Although our understanding of Bronze Age pyre technology has increased dramatically in the last fifteen years due to comprehensive programmes of analysis of cremated human bone and their corresponding pyre sites (e.g. McKinley 1989; 1993; 1994; 1997a; 2000) few studies have focussed on the rite as it pertains to children's bodies. This lack of concentrated study means that there is little understanding of how much bone should be expected from an immature body despite similar studies having been conducted on adult burials (McKinley 1993; 1997a). This makes it difficult, if not impossible, to establish in the case of child cremation burials, whether the cremated bone present represents full collection of the remains or a selected, 'token' deposit.

The general under-representation of children in the burial record clearly reflects Bronze Age choice as to who was appropriate for formal burial, problems with our ability as archaeologists to recognise children's remains undoubtedly contributes to their low visibility within the record.

8.5 Grave setting and context

In each of the case study areas, children's graves are situated in the same range of site types as adults. These include earthen barrows, stone cairns, flat grave cemeteries, as well as insertion into Neolithic monuments and non-funerary ceremonial sites.

Where interment in a barrow took place, most children's burials, like that of adults, are associated with simple round or bowl barrows, the most common form. In contrast to adult burials where a connection between the gender of the individual within the principal grave and the form of barrow has been noted (e.g. disc barrows = female, bell barrows = male), no particular barrow form is specifically linked to the burial of children.

The placement of Earlier Bronze Age child burials in association with earlier, Neolithic sites is a recurring theme throughout this study with examples observed from all three case study areas (e.g. Embo, Sutherland, SI 95-97; Balfarg, Fife, SI 42; Street House Cairn, N.R. Yorkshire, YC 54; West Kennet Avenue, Wiltshire, WI 17-18 (Henshall & Wallace 1963; Mercer 1981; Vyner 1984; Smith 1965, 209-10; Pitts & Whittle 1992)). It is suggested here that the placement of these later burials within pre-existing communal or ceremonial monuments was a deliberate attempt to create links to the past and in particular with the ancestors. The insertion of a burial into a Neolithic long barrow or ceremonial site, could be an attempt to re-establish or create a link to a family group or to the past in general, by burying their family in a gravesite belonging to their ancestors. The burial of a child or immature individual within such a context could be seen as a particularly potent symbolic act (Mizoguchi 2000). The juxtaposition between children, representatives of the future, and an ancestral monument could have been a powerful way of creating links between the present and the past.

8.6 Position within the mound

Where burial took place within an earthen barrow or stone cairn, children's burials display the same range of locations within the mound as adult burials (e.g. principal burial, primary phase or secondary burials). But as the datasets from Scotland, Yorkshire and Wessex demonstrate, children were far less likely than adults to be placed at the centre of the barrow as the principal interment. Nonetheless, a small proportion of children's burials in Yorkshire

and Wessex do form the principal burial, indicating that it was appropriate in some instances for such a prestigious position to be held by a child.

A defining aspect of Bronze Age inhumation burials is the arrangement of the body within the grave into a crouched or flexed position with the knees bent up towards the chest (Greenwell 1877, 24). The arrangement of children's bodies within the grave conforms to this wider practice. A small number of children's skeletons are extended.

Tuckwell's 1975 study of the orientation and arrangement of the deceased within Yorkshire graves concluded that it was possible to demonstrate a link in adult burials between the side the body had been placed on and the gender of the individual. A similar analysis was later conducted on inhumations from north east Scotland where a consistent pattern was noted (Shepherd 1989). Examination of the position and orientation of children's bodies in the grave has been conducted here for each of the case study areas. This has shown that insufficient information on the sex of the individuals is available to enable confirmation that orientation was related to gender in immature individuals throughout the study areas. Yet it should be noted that in Yorkshire, similar numbers of left and right sided children's burials were observed suggesting that if Tuckwell's conclusions extend to children's remains, both sexes are equally represented in the burial record (1975). In Wessex, a different picture is present, with more children placed on their right side suggestive of female sex. This is mirrored, albeit with only small numbers of children, in Scottish inhumation burials. The implication of this appears either to be regional differences in the representation of male and female children within burial record or that different strategies and conventions regarding the alignment of the body were employed in reference to children's burials across Britain.

The over-representation of female children's burials has been observed at the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Mokrin, Romania, where the remains of over 120 children were recovered from a single cemetery population of 268 (Rega 1997, 231). At Mokrin, it is argued that the statistically significant excess of female children in the cemetery was due to the fact that greater numbers of females were alive in the community because of male-specific neglect and infanticide resulting in a larger pool of female children surviving past infancy (*ibid*, 236-8). A similar interpretation of the child dataset under consideration here cannot be substantiated due to these small numbers of individuals where sufficient data is available.

Analysis of the orientation of children's skeletons in the grave also shows further regional differences. In Wessex and in Scotland, the orientation patterns noted previously (Tuckwell 1975; Shepherd 1982) are upheld by the children's burials. In contrast, the orientation of children's bodies within the grave in Yorkshire fits less well with the patterns noted for adult burials, suggesting that the range of acceptable orientations for adult burials was less strictly adhered to for children. The data presented in this study demonstrates that the body orientation of children in the grave was deliberate and culturally significant, but whether it can, in all circumstances be directly linked to gender is unclear in in some areas (e.g. Yorkshire, p 108).

8.7 Manipulation and representation of human remains

The manipulation of disarticulated remains is considered a distinctive trait of Neolithic mortuary practices (Edmonds 1999, 58-9) but recent studies by Brück (2004a; 2004b; 2006) and Gibson (2004a) suggest that the fragmentation of the human body and the retention of skeletal remains, both from burnt and unburnt bodies, was a more frequent aspect of Earlier Bronze Age symbolic action than has previously been acknowledged. The process of fragmentation of the human body did not simply symbolise death, but may have been considered to embody a state of transformation; the bones becoming a source of fertility and continuity (Brück 2006, 302). The white bone condition of these many of these remains implies that they had been previously buried elsewhere, exhumed and reburied or that their cadavers had been subject to the process of excarnation.

From the evidence provided by all three case studies (e.g. Dryburn Bridge, East Lothian, SI 33; Ganton XXVI, Yorkshire, YI 166; Long Ash Lane barrow 2, Dorset WI 109-110 (Dunwell 2007, 9-11; Greenwell 1877, 171-3; Forde-Johnson 1959) it is clear that children's remains were not exempt from these practices of manipulation, although this seems to have been a more prevalent practice in Yorkshire and Wessex than in Scotland. As with adult burials, there was no taboo regarding the disturbance or manipulation of children's bodies within the grave.

The role of incomplete skeletal remains and isolated bones within Earlier Bronze Age funerary contexts has been considered elsewhere to be indicative of the deliberate retention

of human remains as tokens of the deceased (Brück 2004a; 2004b; 2006). Such ancestral relics may have been deliberately deposited alongside later burials as a form of heirloom.

Examples of such a practice involving children are present in Yorkshire and Wessex but, with the possible exception of the deposits of human heads at Barns Farm, Fife (Watkins 1982), the purposeful deposition of human relics within child's graves has not been identified in Scotland, probably as the result of a lack of recognition.

8.8 Pathology

We have little direct evidence for the strategies of care employed for children during this period. Only a small proportion of the children within the dataset from all three regions, display pathological indicators; and very few of these can be demonstrated to be cause of death.

The small number of birth-related deaths within the dataset suggests that particularly young babies and mothers who died as the result of childbirth were not typically afforded formal burial, perhaps because of perceived social taboos relating to birth. It is significant to note, however, that child-birth related deaths are more strongly represented in Scottish cremation burials than in any of the other burial groups examined as part of this study and are more common in Scotland generally. This suggests that different attitudes to death as the result of childbirth were present in Britain during this period.

The most common pathology recognised on the children's skeletal remains are indicators of dietary deficiency disease. The most common of these is cribra orbitalia and enamel hypoplasia which are taken to be indicators of iron-deficiency anaemia. These conditions which effect the growth of bone and teeth, only mark bones during childhood when the skeleton is still developing. In the past, this condition was attributed to malnutrition but is better understood today as being related to severe gastro-intestinal problems which could be caused by ingestion of bacteria in water, food or as the result of poor hygiene (Brothwell 1992). Examples of cribra orbitalia in children have been noted amongst the inhumation and cremation burials from each of the areas under study.

Conditions such as rickets and scurvy have also been noted (Mays 2008). The number of children displaying these conditions almost certainly represents only a minimum as it is unlikely that such indicators would have been detected on the skeletons during many earlier investigations. In most cases, the age of death of children with these conditions are young children under four years of age.

Although the identification of the young child suffering from rickets at Hinton Ampner has not been confirmed by a modern osteologist, it is not the only example of possible dietary deficiency to be identified amongst the children's burials from Wessex. Two further possible examples were noted by Brothwell (1992) from bell barrow G.55 at Avebury, Wilts.; only one of which has been included in this current study[54]. This burial consisted of the cremation of a young child between 9 and 12 months of age and a young adult aged around 25 years. Brothwell noted distinctive thickening and pitting of the skull of the child, which could indicate that the child either suffered from rickets or severe iron deficiency anaemia (1992, 142-4). In this instance, Brothwell advises caution in suggesting that the bone changes were indicative of rickets due to the similarity of the pathology, here the presence of reactive bone, to anaemic conditions during childhood. This, he suggests, could be the result of environmental stress on the quality of the food consumed by the child causing gastroenteritic problems, possibly exacerbated by weaning (Brothwell 1992, 142).

Both the children from Hinton Ampner and Amesbury G.55 were less than two years of age. Although impossible to confirm as part of this current study, it is interesting to speculate that the dietary deficiencies noted in both children may have been in part due to weaning. This is consistent with a recent study of stable isotope levels in infants from medieval Wharram Percy (Mays *et al* 2002). In this analysis, stable nitrogen[15] isotope levels were measured to identify the trophic level of the infants in relation to the rest of the population. Trophic levels indicate the position of the individual in the food chain; for example the worm consumes nutrients in the soil (level 1), birds eat the worms (level 2), and humans eat the birds (level 3). During breastfeeding, infants are consuming nutrients from their mother or wet-nurse, placing them at a higher trophic level to the non breast-fed population. During the weaning process, as the mothers milk is replaced, the trophic level of the child declines. The stable

[54] The unburnt remains of an infant, approximately 6 months old, was also recovered from Avebury bell-barrow G55, within pits 3/3A (Smith 1965; Brothwell 1992, 142). No dating evidence was present to confirm that this infant was earlier Bronze Age in date and, as such, has not been included in this current study. Examination of the skeletal remains by Brothwell identified bone changes in the form of pitting and cranial thickening, as well as hypoplastic defects of the teeth; possible indicators of rickets or severe iron deficiency anaemia (1992, 142).

isotope levels noted in the infants at Wharram Percy indicate that infants were weaned from breastmilk between the ages of one and two years (Mays *et al* 2002).

The period of weaning for an infant in prehistory is likely to have been fraught with dangers (Brothwell 1992, 144). At this time, the infant diet may have been insufficient in essential nutrients due to difficulties in the child's adjustment to the change in diet and regime. The shift towards the consumption of more solid foodstuffs can often lead to gastroenteritic problems, which, if severe enough, can lead to bouts of anaemia. It is impossible for us to reconstruct the levels of hygiene during this period. Yet, hygiene is clearly an important factor in the health and well-being of a child of young age, when resistance and immunity to disease is still developing. Simple problems, which have substantially been eliminated today, such as contaminated water-sources, food, sanitary condition of containers and utensils for food consumption, as well as aspects of personal hygiene, could pose a very real health threat for young children in prehistory.

One of the few instances of medical intervention is that of trepanation of the skull, a surgical procedure where a hole is made in the skull to relieve inter-cranial pressure on the brain (Roberts & Cox 2003, 59). Evidence for this procedure in the Bronze Age is rare and is typically only observed on adults. One possible female adolescent from Snail Down, Wiltshire, may have undergone this dangerous operation (Cornwall & Thomas 2005). It is unclear if the girl survived the procedure.

8.9 Infanticide

There is exceptionally little evidence of intentional violence towards children in the Earlier Bronze Age that might indicate the practice of infanticide. Only two burials are sufficiently unusual for the cause of death of the child to be called into question. At the Earlier Bronze Age cemetery at Barns Farm, Fife, a pit was found to contain human crania (Watkins 1982, 81-2). No post-cranial bones were found and the pit was of insufficient size for full articulated bodies to be accommodated. The implication is that the pit contained decapitated human heads, including those of children. The second example comes from Amesbury barrow G.22, Wiltshire, where Colt Hoare records that Cunnington discovered two infant burials, the bodies placed side-by-side, each on a slaughtered ox skull. No evidence of violence was noted on the children's skeletons but the animals had clearly been deliberately, perhaps ritually killed, having been poleaxed (Hoare 1812, 199). In both cases the

circumstances of deposition of these children are so unusual that they cannot be considered to be normative burials and are unique within an Earlier Bronze Age context.

Despite the lack of evidence for violence towards children during this period it must be remembered that the burials under consideration here represent only a selection of the immature population. Although the mechanisms for selection for formal burial are currently unknown, it is likely that infanticide victims would not have been afforded formal burial rites (Mays 2000). This has been observed at the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Mokrin, were a distinct lack of male infants has been interpreted as the result of sex-specific infant mortality or neglect (Rega 1997).

The lack of evidence for infanticide within the burials under consideration in this study cannot be used to suggest that such a practice was not undertaken during this period. The absence of skeletal trauma does not negate the possibility of violence or neglect but there is no evidence within the dataset of Wessex, Yorkshire or Scotland to confirm the practice during this period (Molleson 1981, 26).

8.10 Material culture of children and childhood

This study has shown that there is little evidence for specific child-centred objects (feeding bottles, carry-slings, cradles etc.) or toys in the Earlier Bronze Age. It is clear that a huge array of organic objects has not survived within the archaeological record so such items made of wood, leather or textile may well have been present in prehistory. Yet, from the evidence examined here there is a complete lack of items which could conceivably have been made primarily as toys for children. Only one possible example, a decorated pottery ball from a cremation burial at Kiltry Knock, Banffshire, is suggested (Shepherd & Cowie 1977).

As discussed in Chapter 5 in reference to the miniature battle-axe from Doune in Perth and Kinross, Earlier Bronze Age children are occasionally associated with miniature objects which, by virtue of their association with a child, are interpreted as toys. It is argued here that in most cases miniature items were not toys but items of greater significance (McLaren 2004, 296-8). Miniature and small-sized versions of recognised Earlier Bronze Age objects have previously been suggested as items made specifically for children and have often been

described as toys simply due to their size (O'Donnabhain & Brindley 1990; Hamilton 1957). What is interesting about the way that such small-sized objects are interpreted when found accompanying a child burial is that in conjunction with a noted reduction in scale of the item is a decline in the perceived value of the object. The writer would contend this view by suggesting that these small-scale versions must inevitably contain resonances of the meanings inherent in the larger examples.

8.11 Grave goods: associated material culture

The number and form of the grave goods provided for the deceased by the living community have long been considered to be an indication of deceased's standing in society during life (Greenwell 1877, 57). Although we now postulate that the provision of grave goods was aimed to indicate far more than simply status and wealth, the quantity of artefacts associated with the grave is still argued to be significant; linked perhaps to the living community's desire to present the importance of the individual to the grave side mourners or to the Otherworld ancestors.

Previous studies of Early Bronze Age burials suggest that two structuring principles can be observed with regard to grave assemblages (Hunter 2000, 61). The first is the marking of the deceased as part of the community following local traditions and by the provision of items the community saw as the essential everyday equipment of life, or death, such as pots and tools (Hunter 2000, 161). The second highlights aspects of identity, whether real or imagined, by the provision of more specialist equipment (e.g. 'archer' burials, such as that at Culduthel, Inverness-shire; Clarke *et al* 1985, 267), heirlooms or ornaments. Pierpoint's (1980) study of burials of this period suggested that age and sex are key determinants to the selection of grave goods, with certain objects being seen as appropriate for certain sexes (e.g. bronze knife daggers with older adult males). From examination of the grave goods afforded to children in the three case study areas, the writer would agree with both Hunter and Pierpoint's previous assertions but would add that this current study has demonstrated clearly that certain artefacts (such as knife daggers of flint or bronze, and weaponry in general), by their absence in the graves of children, confirm that age was also a key structuring principle in the choice of grave goods interred with the deceased.

As with inhumation burials, most of the objects selected for inclusion in an Earlier Bronze Age cremation burials in Scotland appear distinctly personal in character in the form of ornaments (beads, toggles, pins and pendants) and personal tools (bronze awls, flint scrapers, utilized flint flakes, cobble tools and small flint and bronze knives), some of which have been included on the pyre with the deceased; others have not. The provision of grave goods in cremation burials is proportionally rarer than that observed in inhumation burials. Longworth notes that 'if the deposition of metal or of trinkets made from exotic substances like gold, faience, amber or jet were to be used as a measure of wealth, then Collared Urn users would be deemed relatively poor' (1984, 48). However, it is unlikely that most of the materials mentioned by Longworth would have survived the process of cremation, if placed on the pyre alongside the deceased (Sheridan, *pers comm*).

Many Earlier Bronze Age graves were unaccompanied or, if furnished, held a restricted, limited quantity of grave goods, such as a single ceramic vessel (e.g. a Beaker or Food Vessel). This practice was shared by adults and children. Differences in the frequency of associated material culture in children's graves have been noted between the case study areas. Children's burials, both by inhumation and after cremation in Yorkshire are more typically accompanied by grave goods than in Scotland and Wessex.

Pots

The most common associated artefact with children's burials, both by inhumation and after cremation, are pottery vessels. The range of pottery styles afforded to children thus conforms to those associated with adults (e.g. Beaker, Food Vessel, Collared Urn, Biconical Vessels and Accessory Vessels). No particular form of ceramic vessel is specifically associated with children. Although the range of pottery sizes associated with children is generally consistent with adult burials, a tendency for children to be provided with smaller-sized pots has been noted. Clarke noted that the custom of placing extra accessory Beakers in graves was strongly linked with the burial of woman and child burials (1970, 265). Small-sized vessels are not exclusively found with children in Scotland, nor elsewhere in Britain (Allen & Hopkins 2000, 307). But a tendency for children, particularly in double inhumation burials, to be afforded small sized pots is considered here to be a deliberate attempt on the part of the mourners to acknowledge the child's differential status.

Although it would be convenient to interpret the small pots in many of these graves as children's toys or as items designed specifically with children in mind, this fails to explain

their presence within adult graves (e.g. Gairneybank, Perth & Kinross & Garton Slack, Yorkshire: Cowie & Ritchie 1991, 105; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 37-8). Their occurrence within adult inhumation burials does not seem to occur with the frequency observed in children's graves, bur their here presence emphasises that assumptions that such diminutive pots are to be associated with the material culture of children alone should be treated with caution. They may not be children's toys but it seems as though, in some instances at least, these small-sized pots were considered to be particularly appropriate for inclusion in the burial of a child. Distinct regional strategies regarding the size of vessel afforded to children in a burial context have been clearly demonstrated by this study. This practice is particularly prevalent in Scotland, for example at Broomend of Crichie (Davidson 1868; Ritchie 1920) and Neither Criggie, Aberdeenshire (Kirk & McKenzie 1955) but is widely practiced across Britain as a whole with examples from Ireland (O'Donnabhain & Brindley 1990), northern and south-east England known (e.g. Pasture Lodge, Lincolnshire and Church Hill, Kent: Allen *et al* 1987; Curwen & Curwen 1935; McLaren 2011a).

Tools

Personal tools frequently accompany children's graves in all three case study areas, including flint knives, bone and copper alloy awls and occasional coarse stone tools. A particular link with probable leather-working tools has been observed in Yorkshire.

Weaponry

In general, children's burials lack evidence of weaponry, in the form of bronze knife daggers, flint daggers and arrowheads. Only one child's burial is recorded as being associated with a bronze knife-dagger. This individual, described by the excavator as that of a 13- or 14-year-old female, from Amesbury G.44, Wiltshire, was excavated in the late eighteenth century by Stukeley. There is no evidence to suggest that the skeletal remains were ever examined by a medical professional familiar with immature anatomy and the age of this individual is suspect. When compared to other children's burials from Wiltshire, and Wessex in general, this burial is unusual in other respects. The gold-covered button or disc is unique in the context of a child's burial and jet buttons are rarely associated with children. This grave is unusual, both for the richness of the associated objects and the presence of a knife-dagger and this study has called into question the original identification of the individual as a child. This suggests that some of the artefacts we commonly recognise within Earlier Bronze Age adult graves, often referred to as gender specific items, were also age-specific artefacts, not considered appropriate for inclusion in the burial of a child.

The association of miniature stone implements with children at Doune and Glenhead (Figure 5.48) makes it easy to assume that such items were children's toys. It is argued here, however, that we could be aware that our modern westernised notion of the purpose of a 'toy' should not be considered universal, loaded as it is with preconceived notions, as discussed on page 15-6.

If the miniature stone implements at Doune and Glenhead are not toys, as argued here, is it possible to determine the significance of the miniaturisation? Using ethnographic examples, Park (1998, 275) demonstrates that miniature representations of symbolic items formed an integral part of an Inuit shaman's kit, suggesting the possible magico-religious significance of miniature items. In Bronze Age Scandinavia, the inclusion of specially manufactured, small-scale objects were interred within graves as representations of full-sized objects (Lillehammer 1989). Similarly, miniature versions of pots and battle-axes have been noted within Late Neolithic burials in the Czech Republic (Turek 2000). In these examples, miniatures appear to have been specially produced funerary objects. But the presence of miniature battle-axes in Scottish settlement contexts (Calder 1956; McLaren 2004, 293-6) suggests that the Scottish examples may have served a wider range of functions. Certainly, they appear to require a more complex interpretation than just that of representational items. Similarly, the lack of consistent association with children suggests their use as toys is unlikely. It is important to note in this context that battle-axes small enough to be viewed as toys have been found associated with adult burials, such as that at Thirkel Low, Derbyshire, where the battle axe was some 85 mm in length (Ward 1897, 263-6).

Full-sized battle-axes have an accepted ceremonial and ritual use acting as powerful symbols of wealth, power and social status (Clarke *et al* 1985, 65). These easily recognisable objects reflect the power of the associated individual but could also have been a means whereby that power was legitimised. These small-scale versions must inevitably contain resonances of the meanings inherent in the larger examples. It is argued here that we cannot see the miniature battle-axe as a 'toy' if that means that we detach it from the significance of the full-sized object.

Many small objects appear in the archaeological record during the Neolithic and Bronze Age and the reasons for this have rarely been considered (Gibson 2004b, 273). Alex Gibson suggests that miniature metal objects were trial pieces and/or trinkets but emphasises that other artefacts, such as miniature pots, polished axes and battle-axes, are not so easy to

explain (*ibid*, 273). In some cases, these small artefacts are described as 'toys' simply due to their small size. It is here postulated, in agreement with Gibson, that this interpretation is too simplistic and fails to consider both the technological aspects of these objects manufacture and use, and their potential symbolic significance.

Ornaments and amulets

Ornaments are a common association with children in both inhumation graves and deposits of burnt human bone, encompassing beads produced from a range of materials (including amber, bone, faience, fossils, jet and shale), bone pins and toggles. In the case of beads, full necklaces (e.g. disc-bead necklaces) are rarely associated with children. Those from West Water Reservoir, Peebles-shire (Hunter 2000) and Folkton, Yorkshire (Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 116) are exceptional.

Elaborate jet spacer-plate necklaces, considered here to be high-status jewellery indicative of adult females (Holden & Sheridan 2001), are not found with children, but re-used beads from spacer-plate necklaces of jet, shale and amber are a recurring association. Singular beads or small groups of ornaments, either strung together as a composite necklace or retained as an unstrung collection of beads are commonly found. The beads included in children's graves are commonly made from a range of materials, but a regularity of colour has been noted with preferences towards black jet or shale, white bone and occasionally blue faience such as those associated with the burnt bones of a neonate at Little Chesterford, Essex (Collins 1980).

The special qualities of these ornaments are demonstrated by how frequently they are kept in circulation, often being recovered from graves as collections of individual beads from different necklaces brought together to form new composite necklaces or simply groups of unstrung beads. This connection of children and amulets is not unfamiliar; contemporary children across the world today are still adorned with amulets to protect them from sickness and other perceived dangers (Paine 2004). This is illustrated well amongst the Beng of the Ivory Coast who have a rich tradition and mythology surrounding their children (Gottleib 2004). Infant mortality rates amongst the Beng are high but this does not stop attempts to guard them from danger in the form of amulets and charms. Perceived dangers are met with age-old techniques: the babies are painted with special pigments and are adorned with beads and strings. These necklaces are not simply decorative: each colour and material of bead has a different meaning and their combinations are specially designed to ward off particular

dangers (*ibid*, 113). A similar amuletic purpose should be considered for the beads associated with the children discussed in this study.

Heirlooms: portable objects with extended biographies

An heirloom can be defined as an object that is portable, that has been inherited either before or after the death of the previous owner, and has been maintained in circulation for a number of generations (Lillios 1999). Such items can be complete, or fragmentary, functional or broken, but their retention across generations suggests these objects were valued beyond the material worth of the item (Thomas 1999, 141-82). In addition to the extended biographies, the histories that such heirlooms embody, their portability makes them highly charged objects (Lillios 1999). Selecting such items for inclusion within a burial indicates a deliberate choice to remove such powerful objects from circulation. At the moment of deposition, two contrasting symbolic messages are invoked, understood only by those observers who are aware of the object's biography. The visible display of such objects to the mourners prior to burial could be seen to emphasise, and perhaps legitimise, social ties and connections. In contrast, the deposition of such objects within the grave removes them from the world of the living; they have become not just a mnemonic for memory, but a memory itself. Recent analysis by Woodward and others suggests that heirlooms or relics are a more common feature of Bronze Age material culture than has previously been acknowledged (2000; Woodward *et al* 2005). The possible role of heirloom beads as amulets and charms has already been discussed but occurrence of possible ancestral objects and 'special pots' is worthy of further note.

Greenwell's excavations at Folkton Barrow CCXLV recovered three unique highly-carved chalk artefacts in the grave of a five- to seven-year-old child at the inner edge of the outer ditch of the earthen barrow (YI 153: Greenwell 1890, 14-16; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 115-116). The objects are popularly known today as the Folkton Drums. Although similar in form, they gradate in size suggesting a group to be used or displayed together. Despite previous detailed studies, the use and significance of these objects remains elusive being described previously as skeuomorphs of decorative organic boxes, basketry and drums (Greenwell 1890, 15; Thomas 1999, 158-9; Manby et al 2003, 58). They are considered to be objects of great social significance decorated with long established motifs of significant status or magical power (Manby et al 2003, 58). As noted on page 132, none of the previous studies of these objects address or explore the significance of their association with a child.

Thomas has suggested that the ambiguity of the significance of earlier prehistoric motifs such as that observed on the Folkton Drums is part of the strength and importance of the artefact (1999, 159). Although the meaning behind the individual motifs inscribed on the drums is not well understood today, the 'language' of the design is clearly set in wider decorative traditions which would have been familiar during the time of their production and use.

The geometric decoration observed on all three drums is embedded in the familiar motifs and decorative schemes of the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic. Similar motifs are known in Neolithic passage grave art, Later Neolithic Grooved Ware pottery and other portable artefacts such as the Towie stone ball and the flint macehead from Knowth, Ireland (Longworth 1999; Kinnes 1995). Longworth has suggested that the decoration does not simply look back to the Neolithic but forward to decoration observed on Beaker pottery indicating a very Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic date for manufacture (1999). Through the artistic motifs, the writer would argue that the Drums were designed to capture the essence of the past, present and the future. The stylised faces observed on two of the drums also fits with the same traditions and suggests that these items may have been portable representations of the collective ancestors, similar perhaps to the recently recovered figurine from Links of Noltland, Orkney (Goring 2011). Seen in this light, the Folkton Drums could also have been tools to envoke personal and collective memories amongst the living community with reference to the ancestors and their mythology.

It is not possible to closely date the child's burial that the drums accompanied so the timespan between manufacture of the drums and their deposition in the grave is unknown[55]. The grave appears to be secondary, situated near the outer ditch implying that the grave was inserted into the monument after initial construction. This suggests that the drums may have been of some age at the time of their deposition. They may only be a few generations removed from the date of production but the softness of the chalk and the crispness of the incised decoration implies that these objects were carefully looked after, perhaps stored in a bag to protect them when not in use.

[55] Skeletal remains, possibly from this individual, have recently been discovered in the stores at Hull Museum (A. Sheridan, *pers comm*). Re-analysis of the bones by an osteologist and direct AMS radiocarbon dating has been recommended.

If seen as representations of the ancestors, as argued above, and as objects with extended biographies, their deposition in the grave of a child adds a new level of significance to their role in the grave. Why these highly symbolic, potent ancestral objects were selected for burial with this particular individual is unclear. Perhaps this child the last of a powerful family and the deposition of these objects with the child symbolised the end of that lineage. Or perhaps their placement in the grave by a living member of the community was used as an opportunity to legitimise the individuals' lineage ties and re-establish or reform social bonds.

The deposition of these objects in a burial context and their subsequent removal from circulation could suggest a change in the social relationships of the living community and in the uses of memory. The act of deposition of such an object in the burial of a child must have been a highly-charged event which placed the child at the focus for the creation of a new social memory (Lillios 1999). Not only does the evocation of memory serve as a vehicle for the naturalisation and legitimisation of position and authority, but the construction of memory can be seen to symbolically align one individual to another, in this case, perhaps the deceased with the ancestors (Mizoguchi 2000, 149).

The fragmentary ceramic vessels associated with a hoard of Bronze Age metalwork found in a barrow at Lockington, Leicestershire highlighted that heirlooms were not just weapons, jewellery or decorative dress fittings but could also include pottery (Woodward 2000b). Such special pots, fragmentary and damaged vessels have also been noted in association with children's burials. The inclusion of such 'special pots' accompanying children's burials have been observed in each of the case study areas considered here. This was not a practice restricted only with children but the recurrence of similar associations suggests a deliberate and widespread tradition.

Some objects appear freshly broken, either as a deliberate act to render the object functionless in this world but purposeful in the Otherworld, or due to later disturbance. Other items have seen significant use or are damaged at the time of deposition. It is argued here that these objects must have been considered special to have been retained in a fragmentary condition, perhaps considered a relic and a link to the past.

By burying special pots or relics within the grave of a child, the community was acknowledging the child's lineage and using the pot to delineate social relations; with each

other and with the ancestors. The reuse of these objects in a burial context and their subsequent removal from circulation suggests changes in social relationships and in the uses of memory. The act of deposition of emotive and evocative artefacts with the deceased child places that child at the focus for the creation of a new social memory (Mizoguchi 2000). Not only does the evocation of memory serve as a vehicle for the naturalisation and legitimisation of position and authority, but the construction of memory can be seen to symbolically align one individual to another, in these cases, perhaps the deceased child with the ancestors.

Children, in our modern, Westernised view, are seen to embody our hopes and expectations for the future. But we are reminded by Mizoguchi 'that the position of a particular child within a group hierarchy may be constituted by reference to that of their parents and ancestors' (2000, 141) and can be viewed as potent symbols for the life of the community in general, representing links to the past, present and future. When these powerful symbols are removed by death, a unique occasion is created when social roles can be publically modified, renewed and bargained (Mizoguchi 1993; 2000). Invented links may play a part, proving especially potent if the child is seen as heir to past greatness. These concerns may then be addressed and communicated through the objects given by the mourners. The recurring association of amulets and heirlooms, it is argued, implies a concern for the well-being of the deceased and the presentation of the individual to the ancestors in the Otherworld.

The inclusion of possible heirlooms as grave goods with children has been a recurring observation throughout this study. The association of heirlooms and relics with Earlier Bronze Age graves is not a new concept but their presence has recently been emphasised by Woodward (2000a; 2000b; 2002). Their association with children's burials had not previously been noted prior to the work of the current author (McLaren 2004).

8.12 Conclusions

Case (1995), Burgess (1981) and others have suggested that children's graves during this period tend to be less richly furnished than contemporary adult graves. This study has confirmed that the majority of child's graves are poorly furnished but it should be remembered that the majority of adult burials, by inhumation or cremation, are also unaccompanied or include only small numbers of associated objects (Clarke *et al* 1985).

Elaborate weaponry (e.g. bronze knife daggers) and ornaments (such as jet or amber spacer-plate necklaces and items of gold), as seen in a small proportion of adult graves, are absent from children's graves, as are collections of large numbers of artefacts.

Richly furnished children's graves (in terms of quantity and quality of grave goods provided) are rare. It is suggested that the small number of exceptionally richly furnished graves of children are significant by any standard, as the disc-bead necklaces, from Folkton, Yorkshire and West Water Reservoir, Scottish Borders, and the chalk drums, also from Folkton, demonstrate (Greenwell 1890; Hunter 2000; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 116). Despite the focus that has been drawn to Wessex in the past due to the presence of a small number of exceptionally rich adult graves (Piggott 1938; Bradley 2007, 153; Needham & Woodward 2008), no particular concentration of richly furnished 'Wessex'-type children's graves was noted in Wessex.

Whether the status of an individual is attainted or attributed is a difficult question to answer. On the basis of the evidence from the three study areas here considered, I would suggest that indications of both are present. It is clear from the grave goods afforded, that most accompanying items are everyday objects consisting of pots for containing food and drink, dress fasteners, possibly for securing clothing and tools such as flint blades and knives. The provision of high-status objects, such as the disc-bead necklace from West Water Reservoir and Folkton, the miniature battle-axes from Doune and the chalk drums from Folkton are exceptional. In some areas, it is possible to suggest that certain artefacts were considered more appropriate for association with an older child, such as the trend towards the provision of flint tools with older children in Yorkshire and that of bronze awls in Scotland. Here it is suggested that these may have been tools used in life by the child, or items that the mourners considered that the individual would require in the Otherworld, suggesting that some grave goods were directly linked to the achieved position of the child in the community. In contrast, the West Water Reservoir necklace, afforded to a 3-5 year old child is likely to be a reflection of the importance and influence of the the child's family.

When we consider that formal burial and subsequent inclusion into the realm of the ancestors involved only a small selection of the immature population, even the children within poorly furnished graves must have been considered significant and important members of the community. It is argued here that even these less-well furnished children's graves were not simply constructed for the disposal of the deceased but were the reflection of a deliberate

choice by the family and/or the community to emphasise these particular individuals. Many aspects of funerary practice afforded to children show a great concern with providing a suitable setting for burial with the construction of substantial graves, stone built cists and covering mounds. Such provisions would have required planning and preparation (McAdam & Watkins 1974). These graves represent the last act in a series of ceremonial and ritual funerary practices (Shepherd & Shepherd 2001), much of which remains unseen today, that are likely to have brought the whole community together to grieve for the death of a child.

This investigation into the funerary rites afforded to children in Earlier Bronze Age has clearly demonstrated that children are under-represented within the burial population during this period. The motivation behind the selection of particular children for formal burial is not always clear but the quality and quantity of grave goods associated with some imply that these children were important members of the community. It is argued here that when it was decided to bury a child, they were eligible for the full suite of available burial rituals of the period. This study marks an important step forward in our attempts to integrate children within our narratives of the Bronze Age of Britain.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER WORK

With every research project of this nature and scale, a number of questions arise as a result of the work undertaken which cannot be answered within the confines of the original study. As such, I have outlined a number of recommendations for further work:

- Radiocarbon dating: with the advance of AMS radiocarbon dating techniques (Sheridan 2007) which allow more accurate dates to be obtained from smaller samples and for cremated bone to be reliably dated for the first time, a priority for further study should be more comprehensive dating of Earlier Bronze Age burials. The radiocarbon dating programmes of the British Museum (1990's) , the National Museums of Scotland (ongoing), The Beakers and Bodies project (ongoing) and the direct dating of two complete Earlier Bronze Age cremation cemeteries in Aberdeenshire have demonstrated the merit of comprehensive dating programmes. Most of the burials considered as part of this study lack direct dates, particularly those in Yorkshire and Wessex, where retention of human remains from antiquarian investigations are variable. An initial study conducted by the author of Bronze Age burials in south-east England (McLaren 2011; see Appendix II, part B) demonstrated that less than 1% of the burials considered had been dated, making it impossible to consider chronological variations in funerary practices beyond those suggested by relative dating. Radiocarbon dating of burial deposits is a more regular feature of post-excavation analysis today than even ten years ago but it is far from routine, particularly in southern Britain., In an ideal world, where no limitations on post-excavation budgets were enforced, each individual within a burial (within a barrow, cairn, cemetery or flat grave) should be sampled for dating, irrespective of associated artefacts.

- Where possible, re-examination of antiquarian finds (both skeletal remains and artefacts) would be beneficial.

- Strontium Isotope analysis would be beneficial to assess the level of mobility within burial populations. Child fosterage, such as that argued to be present in some areas of Early Historic Britain and continental Europe cannot be discussed at present in relation to the Bronze Age. This is due to a lack of understanding over the mobility of individuals and communities during this time. Strontium isotope analysis would be one way to allow such ideas to be considered within an early prehistoric context.

- Stable isotope analysis (particularly Nitrogen 14 ratios) of skeletal remains from a sample of the Medieval population at Wharram Percy in Yorkshire have demonstrated that this technique can be a useful indicator of the age of weaning in children amongst the burial population. This technique could help us assess better the social aspects of child-rearing and parenting during the Earlier Bronze Age.

- DNA analysis: There remains a common assumption that associated individuals within graves (whether by inhumation or after cremation) are biologically related. This is particularly prevalent with regard to double inhumation and cremation burials involving an adult and child. Similarly, many barrows, cairns and cemeteries, consisting of several individual graves, are considered to be family burial plots. DNA testing could help to resolve whether the individuals are biologically related but are known to have variable success rates. At Benderloch, Argyll, samples from a double cremation of adult and child at Benderloch, Argyll (MacGregor 1998a, 150) were unable to provide any DNA. As a result the usefulness of the regular application of DNA analysis to the study of cremations of such antiquity was brought into question (ibid, 150). The current writer believes that with the refinement in analysis techniques, DNA analysis could still be a useful technique in helping us address some of the 'big' questions that remain unanswered regarding Earlier Bronze Age funerary practice.

- Can the broad patterns identified here be observed in other areas of Britain not considered within this study?

- How does the representation of children within funerary contexts of the Neolithic and Later Bronze Age compare with the Earlier Bronze Age pattern?

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Abbreviations used:

Antiq J	Antiquaries Journal
Archaeol J	Archaeological Journal
Archaeol Scot	Archaeologia Scotia
Ayrshire Archaeol & Nat Hist Coll	Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Collections
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
Buteshire Nat Hist Soc	Proceedings of the Buteshire Natural History Society
Curr Archaeol	Current Archaeology
Discovery Excav Scot	Discovery and Excavation in Scotland
European J Archaeol	European Journal of Archaeology
Glasgow Archaeol J	Glasgow Archaeological Journal
Hist Berwickshire Nat Club	History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club
J Archaeol Sci	Journal of Archaeological Science
Proc Aberdeen Univ Anatomical Anthropol Soc	Proceedings of Aberdeen University Anatomical and Anthropological Society
Proc Arch Inst Salisbury	Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute at Salisbury
Proc Dorset Nat Hist Archeol Soc	Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeology Society
Proc Hants Field Club Archaeol Soc	Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society
Proc Isle of Wight Nat Hist & Archaeol Soc	Proceedings of the Isle of Wight Natural History and Archaeology Society
Proc Prehist Soc	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society
Proc Soc Antiq Scot	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
Soc Antiq Scot	Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
Scot Archaeol Internet Rep	Scottish Archaeology Internet Report (SAIR)
Tayside Fife Archaeol J	Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal
Trans Buteshire Natur Hist Soc	Transactions of the Buteshire Natural History Society
Trans Dumfries and Galloway Nat Hist Antiq Soc	Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History Society
Trans Glasgow Archaeol Soc	Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society
Trans Hawick Archaeol Soc	Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society
Trans Roy Soc Edinburgh	Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh
WA&NHM	Wiltshire Archaeology and Natural History Magazine

WAM	Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine
Yorkshire Archaeol J	Yorkshire Archaeological Journal

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Funerary rites afforded to children in Earlier Bronze Age Britain: case studies from Scotland, Yorkshire and Wessex

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TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 4.1

Chronology of current study in the context of established southern British Chalcolithic, Early Bronze Age and Middle Bronze Age schemes (*after* Needham *et al* 2010, table 1).

*Following Needham *et al* 2010, dates are based on calibrated radiocarbon determinations.

Chronology of current study	Periodisation following Needham *et al* (2010)	Date range (cal BC)*	Predominant burial rite	Main distinctive burial traditions	Simple description	Metalwork traditions (southern Britain)
Earlier Bronze Age circa 2500-1400 cal BC	Period 1 (Chalcolithic)	2450-2200/2150	Inhumation	Beaker ('Pioneering' phase → 'fission horizon')	'Early Beaker'	Copper: Moel Arthur
	Period 2 (Early Bronze Age)	2200/2150-1950	Inhumation	Beaker/Food Vessels/flat bronze daggers (Butterwick-Masterton series)	'Climax Beaker'	Earliest Bronze: Brithdir → Mile Cross
	Period 3 (Early Bronze Age)	1950-1750/1700	Cremation	Food Vessels/Urns/'Wessex 1' (Bush Barrow series)	'Early Urn'	Willerby
	Period 4 (Early Bronze Age)	1750/1700-1550/1500	Cremation	Urns/'Wessex 2' (Camerton-Snowshill)	'Middle Urn'	Arreton
	Period 5 (Middle Bronze Age)	1550/1500-1150-1100	Cremation	Deverel-Rimbury and related Urns	'Late Urn'	Acton → Taunton → Pernard

Table 4.2
Age divisions of the 'subadult' period (*after* Halcrow & Tayles 2008, table 1)

Age division	Clinical paediatrics (Forfar *et al* 1998, 2003; Scheuer and Black 2000b, Appendix A)	Developmental Osteology (Scheuer and Black 2000a, b)	Bioarchaeology - British (Lewis 2007)	Bioarchaeology - Continental Europe (Knussman 1988)	Evolutionary anthropology (Bogin 1997, 2003)	Medical Anthropology (Panter-Brick 1998,1, 66-7)
Prenatal	Up to the time of birth	Up to the time of birth	.	.	.	.
Embryo	The first 8 weeks (2 lunar months) of intra-uterine life	The first 8 weeks (2 lunar months) of intra-uterine life	First 5 weeks of intra-uterine life	.	.	.
Foetus	From week 9 to birth	From week 9 to birth	From 8 weeks of intra-uterine life to birth	.	.	.
Trimester	One-third of the time of normal pregnancy, thus first, second and third trimesters	One-third of the time of normal pregnancy, thus first, second and third trimesters	.	.	.	.
Pre-term	From < 37 weeks (258 days) gestation	From < 37 weeks (258 days) gestation	.	.	.	.
Full-term	From 37-42 weeks (259-293 days) gestation	From 37-42 weeks (259-293 days) gestation	.	.	.	.
Post-term	> 42 weeks (294 days) gestation	> 42 weeks (294 days) gestation	.	.	.	.
Stillbirth	Infant born after a gestational period of 24 weeks but shows no signs of life (in UK reduced from 28 weeks in 1992 (Forfar *et al.* 1998, 3)	Infant born after a gestational period of 24 weeks wo shows no signs of life (in UK reduced from 28 weeks in 1992 (Forfar et al. 1998, 3)	Infant born dead after 28 weeks gestation	.	.	.
Perinate, perinatal	Literally around the time of birth- from 24 weeks gestation to 7 postnatal days	Literally around the time of birth- from 24 weeks gestation to 7 postnatal days	Around birth, from 24 weeks gestation to 7 postnatal days	.	.	.
Neonatal, neonate	From birth to 28 days	From birth to 28 days	From birth to 27 days	.	From birth to 28 days	.
Post-neonatal	29 days to the end of the first year of life	29 days to the end of the first year of life	28-346 postnatal days	.	.	.
Infant	From birth to 1 year	Birth to the end of the first year	Birth to the end of the first year	Infans I: 0-7 years. Infans Ia: birth to two years	2nd month to end of lactation (usually by the age of 36 months)	0-1 year

Age division	Clinical paediatrics (Forfar *et al* 1998, 2003; Scheuer and Black 2000b, Appendix A)	Developmental Osteology (Scheuer and Black 2000a, b)	Bioarchaeology - British (Lewis 2007)	Bioarchaeology - Continental Europe (Knussman 1988)	Evolutionary anthropology (Bogin 1997, 2003)	Medical Anthropology (Panter-Brick 1998,1, 66-7)
				Infans Ib: 2-7 years (infant: 0-1 year, young child 1-7 years; Martin and Saller 1957) (Infant I: 0-4 years, infant II: 5-14 years; Ascádi and Nemeskéri 1970)		
Childhood	From 1 year to puberty/adolescence. Sometimes arbitrarily divided into: early childhood: 0-5 years, late childhood: about 6 to about 12 years. Forfar *et al.* (1998) give the childhood range as 1-15 years.	From 1 year to puberty/adolescence. Sometimes arbitrarily divided into: early childhood: 0-5 years, late childhood: about 6 to about 12 years. Forfar *et al.* (1998) give the childhood range as 1-15 years.	1-14.6 years	Infans II: 7-14 years (7-15 years; Martin and Saller 1957)	3rd to 7th year	1-15 years: early childhood: 1-5 years, late childhood: 5-15 years (UNICEF (1996) defines childhood as 0-15 years of age)

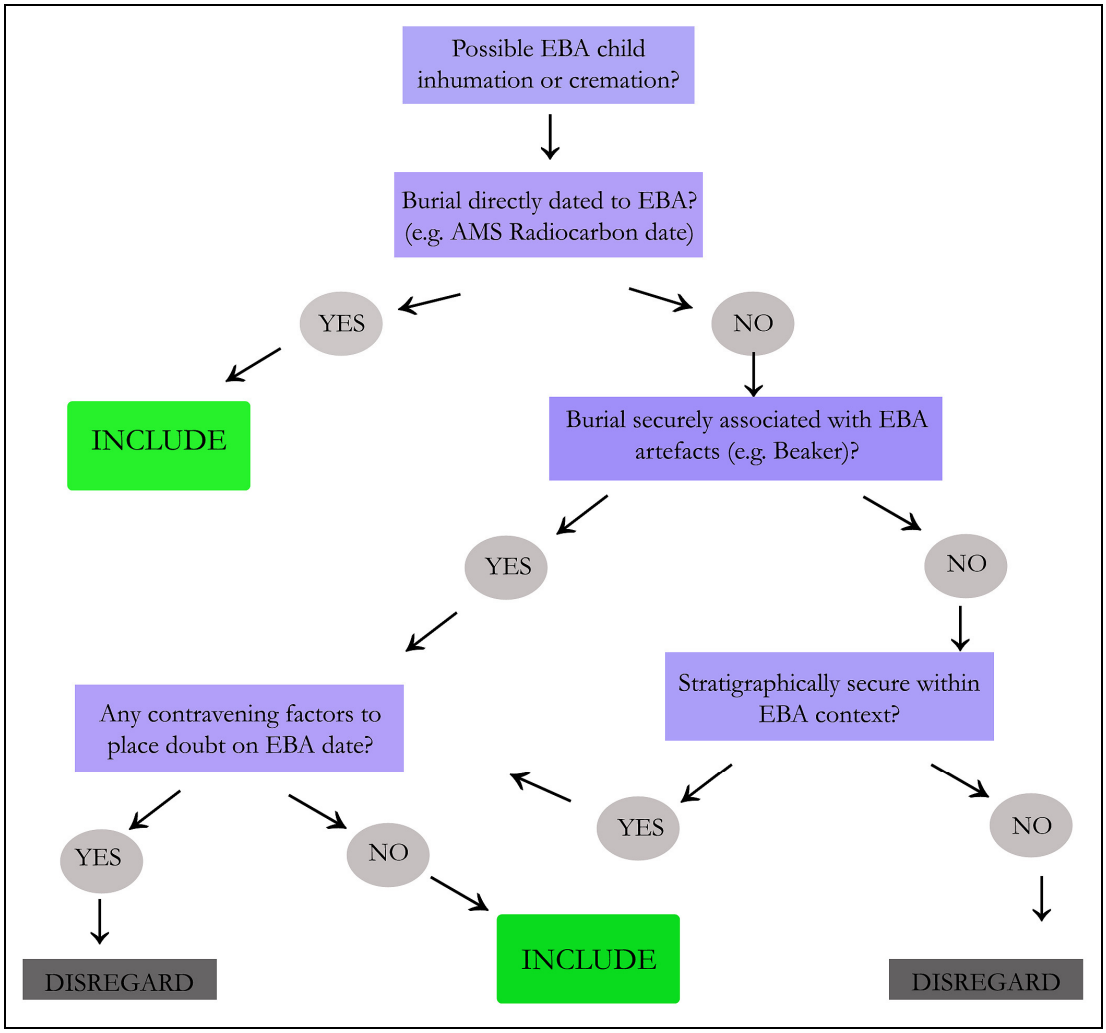


Figure 4.1
Criteria used to test the reliability of records included in the study



Figure 4.2
Map of Britain
The three areas under consideration are shaded

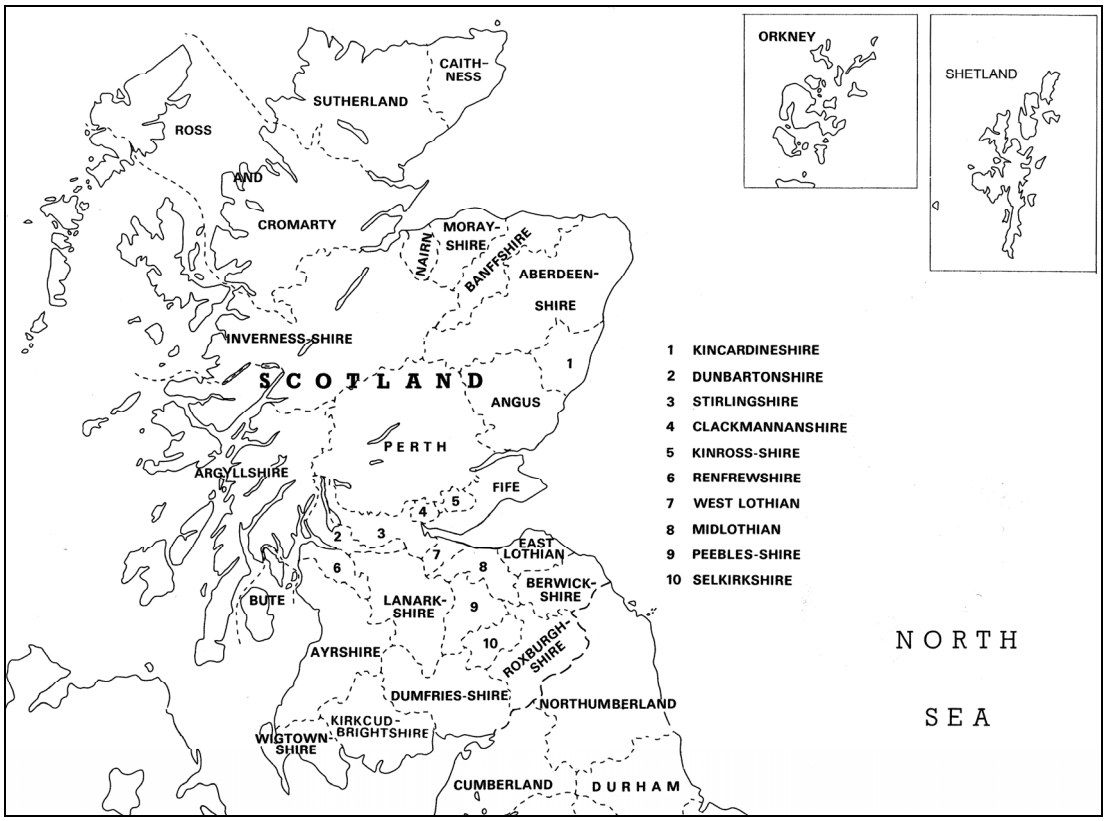


Figure 4.3a
Scotland (pre-1974 boundaries)

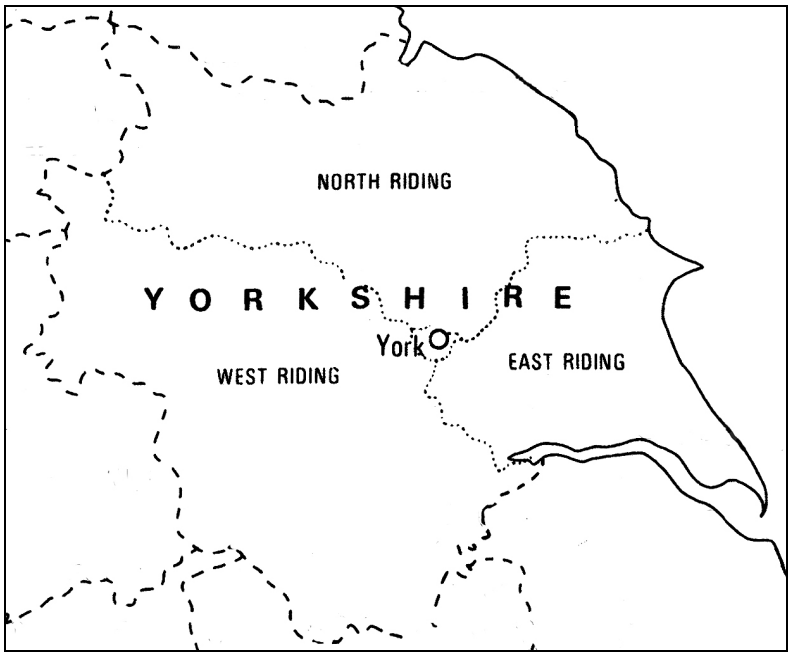


Figure 4.3b
Yorkshire (pre-1974 county boundaries)

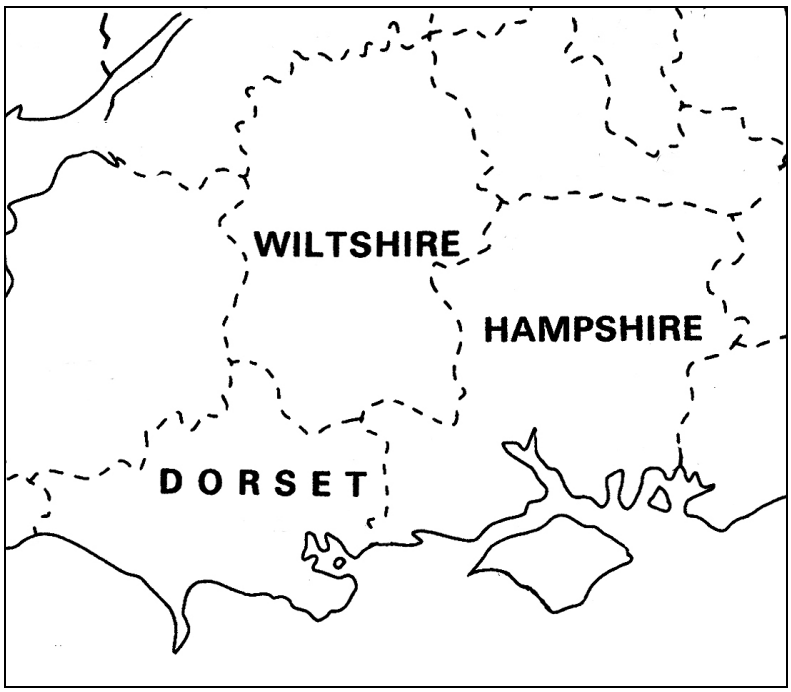


Figure 4.3c
Wessex: Wiltshire, Dorset & Hampshire (pre-1974 county boundaries)

CHAPTER FIVE

CASE STUDY ONE: SCOTLAND

TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 5.1
Number of child burials by Scottish county
Pre-1974 county boundaries have been used throughout

County	Catalogue No.	Number of sites	Number of graves	Number of children
Aberdeenshire	SI 01-SI 09	7	8	9
Angus	SI 10 - SI 15	6	6	6
Argyll	SI 16 - SI 22	4	7	7
Ayrshire	SI 23 - SI 24	2	2	2
Berwickshire	SI 25 - SI 26	2	2	2
Buteshire	SI 27 - SI 31	3	5	5
Dumfriesshire	SI 32	1	1	1
East Lothian	SI 33 - SI 39	7	7	7
Fife	SI 40 - SI 53	6	14	14
Inverness-shire	SI 54 - SI 63	1	4	10
Kincardineshire	SI 64 - SI 67	4	4	4
Lanarkshire	SI 68 - SI 70	3	3	3
Midlothian	SI 71 - SI 72	1	1	2
Nairn	SI 73	1	1	1
Orkney	SI 74 - SI 81	5	5	8
Peebleshire	SI 82 - SI 84	1	3	3
Perthshire	SI 85 - SI 90	6	6	6
Roxburghshire	SI 91	1	1	1
Shetland	SI 92	1	1	1
Stirlingshire	SI 93 - SI 94	1	2	2
Sutherland	SI 95 - SI 97	1	2	3
West Lothian	SI 98 - 102	2	2	5
Wigtownshire	SI 103	1	1	1
Total		***67***	***88***	***103***

Table 5.2
Number of Scottish child inhumations by age
'*' denotes aged children whose estimated age overlaps the groups defined above:
SI 004: 4-6 years; SI 044: 9-12 years; SI 051: 6.5-12.5 years, SI 079: 3-7 years; SI 081: 4-6 years

Form of Age Estimate	Age description	Number
Identified age estimation	Young Child (0-5 years)	25
	Juvenile (6-10 years)	19
	Older child (11-15 years)	27
No identified age estimation	"infant"	2
	"young infant"	1
	"juvenile"	2
	"child"	12
	"young child"	2
	"adolescent"	2
	"young person"	4
	"sub-adult"	2
	Other*	5

Table 5.3
Number of children under 1 year of age in Scotland

Age	Number of children
Foetus	2
Perinate/newborn	7
<6 months	4
6-12 months	2
Total	***15***

Table 5.4
Identified sex of children in Scotland

Sex	Cat. No	Site	County	Age of child
Female	SI 004	Borrowstone, Newhills	Aberdeenshire	Sub-adult
	SI 005	Broomend of Crichie	Aberdeenshire	Infant
	SI 011	East Campsie, Lintrathen	Angus	10-14 yrs
	SI 013	Ninewells, Dundee	Angus	12-15 years
	SI 017	Ardachy	Argyll	c. 12 years
	SI 018	Ardachy	Argyll	c.10 years
	SI 040	Aberdour Road, Dunfermline, Fife	Fife	12-16yrs
	SI 086	Glenhead, Kilmadock	Perthshire	15-21 years
Male	SI 028	Knockankelly, Kilbride	Buteshire	10-11 yrs
	SI 060	Allasdale, Barra	Inverness-shire	Adolescent

Table 5.5
Range of site types associated with children's inhumation burials in Scotland

Site type		Number of associated children	Catalogue numbers
Mounds	Barrow	6	SI 43, SI 44, SI 45, SI 46, SI 47, SI 87
	Round cairn	13	SI 12, SI 20, SI 21, SI 22, SI 39, SI 49, SI 76-78, SI 86, SI 93, SI 94, SI 103
Pre-existing monument	Associated with Henge	2	SI 5, SI 6
	Associated with Neolithic cairn	3	SI 95, SI 96 & 97
Cemeteries	EBA cemetery: enclosed	5	SI 50, SI 51, SI 52, SI 53, SI 89
	EBA cemetery: unenclosed	18	SI 4, SI 16, SI 17, SI 18, SI 24, SI 29, SI 30, SI 31, SI 33, SI 40, SI 41, SI 48, SI 64, SI 68, SI 70, SI 71 & 72, SI 88
	EBA Cemetery: natural mound	13	SI 54-8, SI 59 & 60, SI 61, SI 62 & 3, SI 82, SI 83, SI 84
Isolated graves	Flat grave: natural mound	7	SI 14, SI 15, SI 25, SI 26, SI 28, SI 66, SI 91
	Flat graves: no covering mounds	36	SI 1 & 2, SI 3, SI 7, SI 8, SI 9, SI 10, SI 11, SI 13, SI 19, SI 23, SI 27, SI 32, SI 34, SI 35, SI 36, SI 37, SI 38, SI 42, SI 65, SI 67, SI 69, SI 73, SI 74, SI 75, SI 79 & 80, SI 81, SI 85, SI 90, SI 92, SI 98, SI 99-102

Table 5.6
Range of burial settings associated with child inhumations in Scotland

Burial setting	Number of children	Number of burials	Catalogue numbers
Grave	4	4	SI 21, SI 22, SI 42, SI 72
Pit	3	3	SI 45, SI 46, SI 47
Short cists	80	73	SI 1, SI 2, SI 3, SI 4, SI 5, SI 6, SI 7, SI 8, SI 9, SI 10, SI 11, SI 12, SI 13, SI 14, SI 15, SI 6, SI 17, SI 18, SI 19, SI 20, SI 23, SI 24, SI 25 SI 26, SI 27, SI 28, SI 29, SI 30, SI 31, SI 32, SI 33, SI 34, SI 35, SI 36, SI 37, SI 38, SI 39, SI 40, SI 41, SI 43, SI 44, SI 48, SI 49, SI 50, SI 51, SI 52, SI 53, SI 59, SI 60, SI 64, SI 65, SI 66, SI 67, SI 67, SI 68, SI 69, SI 71, SI 72, SI 73, SI 76, SI 77, SI 78, SI 79, SI 80, SI 82, SI 83, SI 84, SI 85, SI 86, SI 87, SI 88, SI 89, SI 90, SI 91, SI 93, SI 94, SI 95, SI 96, SI 97, SI 98, SI 103
Unusual cists	8	5	SI 74, SI 75, SI 81, SI 92, SI 99, SI 100, SI 101, SI 102
Stone lined pits	8	3	SI 54, SI 55, SI 56, SI 57, SI 58, SI 61, SI 62, SI 63

Table 5.7
Range of floor-types within short cists containing child inhumations in Scotland

Cat. No.	Site	Cist Floor Type			
		Single base slab	**Pebble floor**	**Floor of small slabs**	**Other**
SI 005	Broomend of Crichie, Aberdeenshire	x	x		Layer of waterworn pebbles overlay base slab
SI 008	Upper Mains of Muiresk, Aberdeenshire	x			
SI 012	Mains of Melgund, Angus	x			
SI 015	West Scryne, Angus		x		
SI 023	Auchenharvie Estate, Ayrshire	x			
SI 026	Folden Newton, Berwickshire	x			
SI 028	Knockankelly, Buteshire				Floor lined with pure white sand
SI 035	Innerwick, East Lothian	x			
SI 036	Nunraw, East Lothian			X	
SI 065	Catterline, Kincardineshire	x			
SI 066	Nether Criggie, Kincardineshire			X	
SI 079 & SI 80	Riff, Orkney	x			
SI 087	North Mains barrow, Perthshire (burial E)				Layer of gravel laid over old land surface
SI 094	Coneypark, Stirlingshire (cist 2)		x		
SI 103	Carsecreugh, Wigtownshire			X	

Table 5.8
Short cists with clay luting and stone plugging

Cat. No.	Site Name	Clay luting	Stone plugs
SI 005	Broomend of Crichie, Aberdeenshire	x	
SI 015	West Scryne, Angus		X
SI 032	Mossknow, Dumfriesshire	x	X
SI 035	Innerwick, East Lothian		X
SI 041	Aberdour Road, Fife		X
SI 050	Holly Road, Fife (cist 1/L)	x	
SI 065	Catterline, Kincardineshire		X
SI 094	Coneypark, Stirling	x	

Table 5.9
Summary of graves and pits containing unburnt children's burials in Scotland

Cat No.	Site	Description	Reference
SI 021	(Grave 13) Balnabraid, Argyll	Secondary grave within cairn material	Galloway 1920, 172
SI 022	(Grave 14) Balnabraid, Argyll		
SI 042	(Beaker grave) Balfarg, Fife	Principal grave: wooden coffin?	Barclay & Russell-White 1993, fig 15
SI 061	(Grave 112) Allasdale, Inverness-shire	Secondary grave?	Wessex Archaeology 2008, 43
SI 070	(Grave 10) Springhill farm, Lanarkshire	Secondary grave?	Maxwell 1939, 296
SI 045	(Pit 2) Barns Farm, Fife	Unusual deposits of human remains: not formal burials	Watkins 1982, 82-3
SI 046	(Pit 3)Barns Farm, Fife		
SI 047	(Pit 6) Barns Farm, Fife		

Table 5.10
Summary of unusual cist constructions containing unburnt children's remains in Scotland

Cat. No.	Site	Cist type	Burial	References
SI 074	Crantit, Orkney	Two-tiered cist; upper cist is of drystone construction.	The lower compartment contained at least two deposits of cremated bone and the unburnt body of a 15-year-old	Cursiter 1910, 215, 217; Hedges 1981, 61-2; Marwick 1924, 48; Kirkness 1927
SI 075	Gyre Farm, Orkney	Segmented short cist	Jumbled disarticulated bone of at least five people, including one 11-15-year-old	Simpson *et al* 2007, 63
SI 081	Backakelday, Orkney	Segmented cist; the eastern segment with a pitched slab-built 'roof'. Joints luted with clay preserving finger-impressions	Within the smaller, western cist were the remains of a 13-16-year old; the adjoining cist contained the crouched remains of a young adult and cremation of a 17-year-old	Marwick 1928
SI 092	Little Asta, Shetland	Two-tiered cist; the W side slab had been dressed, providing two small carefully made notches, perhaps to facilitate lifting.	The lower compartment contained the remains of a 4-5 year old child and the cremated bones of an adult. The upper compartment was said to contain the remains of a 'young person'	Corrie 1932
SI 099 - 102	Mill Road, West Lothian	Short cist with removable S. slab for continued access	Contained the disarticulated remains of at least 5 unburnt skeletons (1 adult, 4 children) and cremated human bone	Cook 2000

Table 5.11
Summary of short cists with assumed child burials based on cist size

Site	County	L (cms)	W (cms)	References
Johnstone	Aberdeenshire	51	35.5	Low 1930
Murton	Angus	59	38	Taylor *et al* 1998, 44-5
Burnside of Whitefield	Banffshire	61	61	Clarke 1970, 514, no 1571; Coles 1906b, 308-9, figs 13-14; Mitchell 1934, 179; Walker 1966, 108-9
Ambrisbeg Hill cairn	Buteshire	40	25	Spiers 1996
Kirkburn	Dumfriesshire	66	40.6	Cormack 1962; Cormack 1964
Kirkburn	Dumfriesshire	46	43	Cormack 1962; Cormack 1964; Simpson 1965, 39, no 20
Kirkton	Fife	80	60	Cormack 1964
Balblair	Inverness-shire	65	45	Hanley & Sheridan 1994
Harehope cairn	Roxburghshire	70	50	Jobey 1980
Cairnpapple Hill	West Lothian	112	61	Piggott 1948

Table 5.12
Position of the child's body within the grave/cist in Scotland

Position of the body	Number of children	Percentage of dataset	Catalogue numbers
Crouched	28	27%	SI 4, SI 5, SI 10, SI 11, SI 12, SI 23, SI 25, SI 28, SI 35, SI 36, SI 38, SI 39, SI 40, SI 41, SI 42, SI 51, SI 52, SI 61, SI 68, SI 69, SI 74, SI 82, SI 83, SI 87, SI 88, SI 89, SI 91
Fragmentary: disarticulated?	11	10.50%	SI 15, SI 43, SI 44, SI 53, SI 63, SI 95, SI 96, SI 97
Fragmentary: decay	15	14.50%	SI 9, SI 33, SI 45, SI 46, SI 47, SI 48, SI 49, SI 75, SI 76, SI 77, SI 81
Distrurbed	8	8%	SI 16, SI 21, SI 24, SI 27, SI 29, SI 30, SI 37, SI 71, SI 72, SI 79, SI 80, SI 99, SI 100, SI 101, SI 102
Unknown	41	40%	SI 1, SI 2, SI 3, SI 6, SI 7, SI 8, SI 13, SI 14, SI 17, SI 18, SI 19, SI 20, SI 22, SI 26, SI 31, SI 32, SI 34, SI 50, SI 54, SI 55, SI 56, SI 57, SI 58, SI 59, SI 60, SI 62, SI 64, SI 65, SI 66, SI 67, SI 70, SI 73, SI 78, SI 85, SI 86, SI 90, SI 92, SI 93, SI 94, SI 98, SI 103

Table 5.13
Cist orientation of child burials in Scotland

Cist orientation	Number of cists
North/South	6
East/West	4
North-east/South-west	5
North-west/South-east	3

Table 5.14
Orientation of crouched child inhumations in Scotland

Cat. No.	Site	Side	Orientation of head	Line of sight	Sex of child
SI 088	Barbush Quarry, Fife	L	N	S	?
SI 038	West Fenton, East Lothian	L	?	?	?
SI 004	Borrowstone, Aberdeenshire	R	W	S	F?
SI 040	Aberdour Road, Fife	R	W	S	F
SI 041	Aberdour Road, Fife	R	W	S	?
SI 082	West Water Reservoir, Peebles-shire	R	W	S	?
SI 083	West Water Reservoir, Peebles-shire	R	W	S	?
SI 036	Nunraw, East Lothian	R	W	S	?
SI 012	Mains of Melgund, Angus	R	NE	N	?
SI 068	Boatbridge Quarry, Lanarkshire	R	S	SE	?
SI 042	Balfarg Henge, Fife	R	S	E	?
SI 005	Broomend of Crichie, Aberdeenshire	?	?	E	F
SI 028	Knockankelly, Buteshire	?	S		M
SI 089	Loanleven, Perthshire	?	E	?	?
SI 035	Innerwick, East Lothian	?	E	?	?
SI 052	Holly Road, Fife	?	N	?	?
SI 051	Holly Road, Fife	?	N	?	?
SI 087	North Mains barrow, Perthshire	?	S	?	?
SI 084	West Water Reservoir, Peebles-shire	?	W	?	?
SI 010	Barnyards, Angus	?	W	?	?

Table 5.15
Summary of disarticulated children's remains from Scotland

Cat. No.	Site	Burial description
SI 009	Uppermill (Ardiffery), Aberdeenshire	Richly furnished Beaker-associated double inhumation burial of 20-25 year old adult male and 8-10 year old child. Re-analysis of the human bones suggested that the incompleteness of the skeletons was not warranted by the state of preservation of the surviving bones. The excavator suggests that the bodies may have been partially articulated or completely defleshed at the time of burial (Kenworthy 1977)
SI 033	Dryburn Bridge, East Lothian	Stone cist containing the crouched inhumation of an elderly adult male (45-60 years). Overlying the adults feet and lower legs at the SW corner of the cist was a collection of disarticulated bones representing a 6-8-year-old child (Dunwell 2007, 9-11, illus 4, 8).
SI 045	Barns Farm, Fife (pit 2)	Small pit containing the remains of the enamel crowns of human teeth representing at least four individuals. The pit is of insufficient size to have contained multiple articulated bodies. The remains suggest that contained the severed heads of four people, including one child (Watkins 1982, 81-2).
SI 046	Barns Farm, Fife (pit 3)	Small pit containing human teeth, representing the severed heads of at least two individuals (a child of 2-3 years and a young adult of 18-20 years) (Watkins 1982, 82).
SI 047	Barns Farm, Fife (pit 6)	Small pit containing unburnt human teeth and a little burnt bone. The teeth, of which only the enamel crowns survived, were found in a single clump and seem to represented the head of a child of 8-9 years. As with pits 2 and 3, the excavator suggests that only the head was deposited (Watkins 1982, 82).
SI 048	Ferniehill, Fife	Short cist containing the articulated crouched body of an adult female over 25 years of age and a 'young person'. The excavator suggests that the young persons remains were disarticulated at the time of burial (Callander 1923)
SI 049	Hare Law Cairn, Fife	At the time of discovery, the short cist was noted by the excavator as being 'crammed full of bones' (Constable 1892).
SI 075	Gyre Farm, Orkney	Unusual segmented short cist containing the disarticulated remains of at least four adults (4 skulls but only 3 matching adult long-bones) and a 11-15 year old child (Simpson *et al* 2007)
SI 076 & SI 077	Quarrel Geo (Banks), Orkney	Sequence of interments made within a short cist including the disarticulated bones of an adult male and two neonates (Downes 2005, 299)
SI 081	Backakelday, Orkney	Unusual segmented short cist: in one segment was a heap of disarticulated bones of a 13-16 year old child, the other held the crouched inhumation of a young adult and cremated bones of a 17 year old (Marwick 1928)

Table 5.16
Number of associated interments within children's graves in Scotland

Interments	Relationship	Number of burials	Number of children	Catalogue numbers
Single	Single child	46	46	SI 4, SI 6, SI 8, SI 10, SI 11, SI 13, SI 14, SI 17, SI 18, SI 19, SI 22, SI 23, SI 24, SI 25, SI 26, SI 27, SI 28, SI 29, SI 30, SI 35, SI 36, SI 37, SI 38, SI 39, SI 40, SI 41, SI 42, SI 43, SI 51, SI 51, SI 52, SI 52, SI 53, SI 61, SI 65, SI 69, SI 73, SI 82, SI 83, SI 84, SI 85, SI 86, SI 87, SI 88, SI 89, SI 90, SI 94
Double	Double child inhumation	4	8	SI 11 & 12, SI 59 & 60, SI 71 & 72, SI 96 & 97
	Double inhumation: adult & child	17	17	SI 3, SI 5, SI 7, SI 12, SI 15, SI 21, SI 34, SI 48, SI 66, SI 67, SI 68, SI 70, SI 91, SI 93, SI 95, SI 98, SI 103
	Double burial: disarticulated adult & child	3	3	SI 9, SI 46, SI 49
	Double burial: articulated adult & disarticulated child	1	1	SI 33
	Double burial: disarticulated child & cremation	1	1	SI 47
	Double burial: articulated child & single adult bone	1	1	SI 50
	Double burial: adult & child (relationship unclear)	3	3	SI 16, 44, 64
Multiple	Multiple (>2 individuals)	12	23	SI 20, SI 32, SI 45, SI 54-8, SI 62-3, SI 74, SI 76-8, SI 79 & 80, SI 81, SI 92, SI 99-102

Table 5.17
Summary of double child inhumation burials in Scotland

Cat No.	Site	Child I	Child II	Position	Reference
SI 1 & SI 2	Auchlin, Aberdeenshire	4-6 years	"older child'	Unknown. Child II ID during skeletal analysis	Bruce 1986, 36
SI 59 & SI 60	Allasdale, Inverness-shire (Cist II)	8-8 1/2 months	"adolescent'	Adolescent fragmentary	Cook, M *forthcoming*
SI 71 & SI 72	Bellfield, Midlothian (Cist II)	"child'	0-6 months	Unknown. Child II ID during skeletal analysis	Turner 1917, 185, 187, 203, 204; Sheridan *pers comm*
SI 96 & SI 97	Embo, Sutherland (Cist II)	6 months	perinate/newborn	Disturbed	Henshall & Wallace 1963, 19

Table 5.18
Summary of contemporary double adult and child inhumation burials in Scotland, sorted by associated adult sex.

Cat No.	Site Name	Age of Child	Age of Adult	Sex of Adult	Pathology of adult	Position of adult in relation to child
SI 003	Beaties Hill, Aberdeenshire	5-8 yrs	20-25 yrs	Female	Unknown	Unknown
SI 021	Balnabraid, Argyll (burial below deposit D)	8 yrs	c.30 yrs	Female?	Unknown	Female crouched; position in relation to child unknown
SI 048	Ferniehill, Fife	'young person'	25+	Female	Unknown	Unknown. Adult crouched on R side, head to NW end of cist.
SI 066	Nether Criggie, Kincardineshire	neonate	20-25yrs	Female	Childbirth?	Adult crouched, head to W. Child near legs.
SI 067	Spurryhillock, Kincardineshire	8 yrs	Young adult	Female	Unknown	Unknown
SI 095	Embo, Sutherland (cist I)	4 month foetus	Unknown	Female	Childbirth?	Disturbed; position unknown.
SI 103	Coneypark, Stirlingshire	young child'	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown
SI 005	Broomend of Crichie	Infant	Unknown	Male		Adult crouched in front of infant; on L side, head to E. Shared line of sight.
SI 007	Hillhead of Fechil, Ellon	c.5	30+ yrs	Male	Possible skull fracture; antemortem tooth loss	Unknown
SI 012	Mains of Melgund, Angus	7-9 yrs	30 yrs	Male		Adult crouched; back to back with heads to E end of cist; male faced S, the child faced N.
SI 015	West Scryne, Angus	Child	20-30 yrs	Male		Unknown. Male crouched, facing S with head at E end.

Cat No.	Site Name	Age of Child	Age of Adult	Sex of Adult	Pathology of adult	Position of adult in relation to child
SI 068	Boatbridge Quarry, Lanarkshire	3-4 yrs	44-48 yrs	Male	Advanced osteoarthritic condition of the vertebral column (possibly due to trauma)	Crouched L side, head at NE end; the child lay partially beneath the pelvis.
SI 091	Menslaws, Stirlingshire	juvenile	Unknown	Male		Unknown. Male tightly crouched: bound?
SI 093	Coneypark, Stirlingshire	child	24-30 yrs	Male	Slight traces of burning on R leg	Unknown
SI 034	East Barns, East Lothian	Juvenile	Unknown	Unknown	Osteoarthritis of tibia and scapula and thoracic vertebrae	Unknown: remains decayed
SI 070	Springwell farm, Lanarkshire	child	Young adult	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
SI 098	Bridgeness, West Lothian	7 yrs	<30 yrs	unknown	Unknown	Child in front of adult. Adult crouched on R side, head to W, facing S (orientation suggests female)

Table 5.19
Number of interments in children's graves in Scotland by county

No. of child graves	County	Single burial		Double child burial		Adult and child burial		Multiple burial	
		Graves	%	Graves	%	Graves	%	Graves	%
8	Aberdeenshire	3	35.7%	1	12.5%	4	50%	0	0%
6	Angus	4	66.6%	0	0%	2	33.3%	0	0%
7	Argyll	4	57%	0	0%	2	29%	1	14%
2	Ayrshire	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
2	Berwickshire	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
5	Buteshire	5	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
1	Dumfriess-shire	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
7	East Lothian	5	71%	0	0%	2	29%	0	0%
14	Fife	7	50%	1	14%	5	36%	1	14%
4	Inverness-shire	1	25%	1	25%	0	0%	2	50%
4	Kincardineshire	1	25%	0	0%	3	75%	0	0%
3	Lanarkshire	1	33.3%	0	0%	2	66.6%	0	0%
1	Midlothian	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%
1	Nairn	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
5	Orkney	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	5	100%
3	Peebles-shire	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
6	Perthshire	6	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
1	Roxburghshire	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%
1	Shetland	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
2	Stirlingshire	1	50%	0	0%	1	50%	0	0%
2	Sutherland	0	0%	1	50%	1	50%	0	0%
2	West Lothian	0	0%	0	0%	1	50%	1	50%
1	Wigtownshire	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%

Table 5.20
Summary of grave goods associated with child inhumation burials in Scotland
'*' denotes burials associated with charcoal or burning

Associated grave goods	No. of burials	Catalogue Numbers
Unaccompanied	25	SI 1 & SI 2*, SI 6, SI 16, SI 18, SI 26, SI 27, SI 31, SI 32*, SI 37, SI 47*, SI 53, SI 54-8, SI 59 & SI 60, SI 61, SI 62 & SI 63, SI 68, SI 70, SI 71 & 72, SI 73, SI 75, SI 76-78, SI 79 & 80, SI 81, SI 89, SI 93
Ceramic vessel only	23	SI 3, SI 8, SI 10, SI 12*, SI 13, SI 14, SI 24, SI 25, SI 28, SI 34, Si 35, SI 38, SI 39, SI 49, SI 52, SI 64, SI 65, SI 67, SI 90, SI 94, SI 96 & 97, SI 98, SI 103
Non-ceramic only	16	SI 11, SI 15, SI 21*, SI 22, SI 30, SI 40, SI 43, SI 45*, SI 46*, SI 48*, SI 50*, SI 74*, SI 82, SI 83, SI 91, SI 99-102
Ceramic & non-ceramic grave goods	20	SI 4, SI 5*, SI 7*, SI 17, SI 19, SI 20, SI 23, SI 29, SI 36, SI 41, SI 42, SI 51, SI 66, SI 69, SI 84, SI 85, SI 86, SI 87, SI 88, SI 96
Pot/other specifically with adult	4	SI 9, SI 33, SI 44, SI 92

Table 5.21
Summary of Beaker associated child inhumation burials in Scotland

Cat No.	Site Name	Inhumation	No of vessels	Beaker	Height (mm)	Rim diam (mm)
SI 004	Borrowstone, Aberdeenshire	Sub-adult	1	N3/Step 5 Beaker (Shepherd 1986a, 34)	148	?
SI 005	Broomend of Crichie, Aberdeenshire	Adult male and infant	2	N2 Beaker (Clarke 1970, 510, no 1435, fig 542)	180	141
				N2 Beaker (Clarke 1970, 510, no 1436, fig 544	141	99
SI 007	Hillhead of Fechil, Aberdeenshire	Adult male (30+ yrs) and child c.5 yrs	1	N3 (L)/Step 6 Beaker (Clarke 1970, 511, no1451, fig 704; Shepherd 1986a, 29)	168	147
SI 008	Upper Mains of Muiresk, Aberdeenshire	Child <15 yrs	1	N3 Beaker (Clarke 1970, 512, no. 1505, fig 683)	180	153
SI 009	Uppermill (Ardiffery), Aberdeenshire	Adult male (20-25 yrs) and child 8-	2	N2 Beaker (Clarke 1970, 510, no 1423, fig 551)	183	135

Cat No.	Site Name	Inhumation	No of vessels	Beaker	Height (mm)	Rim diam (mm)
		10 yrs		N2 Beaker (Clarke 1970, 510, no 1424, fig 552)	141	126
SI 014	Wellgrove, Angus	Young person	1	N2 (L) Beaker (Clarke 1970, 513, no 1526, fig 502)	210	141
SI 033	Dryburn Bridge, East Lothian	6-8 yrs	1	N2/N2 (L) or Step 5 Beaker (Sheridan 2007, 14-8)	185	130
SI 034	East Barns, East Lothian	Juvenile	1	N/MR Beaker (Clarke 1970, 516, no 1632, fig 235)	195	141
SI 035	Innerwick, East Lothian	3-5 yrs	1	N2 Beaker (Clarke 1970, 516, no. 1635, fig 525)	189	141
SI 036	Nunraw, East Lothian	6-7yrs	1	N2(L) Beaker (Clarke 1970, 517, no. 1646, fig 558)	150	130.5
SI 038	West Fenton, East Lothian	c.11-12 yrs	1	N3 Beaker (Clarke 1970, 516, no. 1625, fig 606)	196	130
SI 039	West Links, East Lothian	Young person	1	N2 Beaker (Clarke 1970, 517, no. 1645, fig 519)	159	150
SI 042	Balfarg , Fife	14-18 yrs	1	Handled Beaker (Mercer 1981, 1330136, fig 45)	?	?
SI 064	Balbridie, Kincardineshire	Sub-adult	1 (at least)	*3 Beakers are recorded from site but it is unclear which was associted with this burial: N/NR (1677), N3 (1678), N2 (1680) (Clarke 1970, 518, Nos 1677-80; Bruce 1986, 37)	?	?
SI 065	Catterline, Kincardineshire	6-7 yrs	1	N3/step 5 Beaker (Shepherd 1989, 73)	168	145
SI 066	Nether Criggie, Kincardineshire	Adult female (20-25 yrs) and neonate	3	N3 (L)/Step 6 Beaker (Clarke 1970, 518, no 1683, fig 324)	132	120
				N3 (L)/Step 6 Beaker (Clarke 1970, 518, No 1684, fig 323)	120	112.5

Cat No.	Site Name	Inhumation	No of vessels	Beaker	Height (mm)	Rim diam (mm)
				N/NR Beaker (Clarke 1970, 518, no. 1685,fig 322)	108	99
SI 090	Upper Muirhall, Perthshire	12-15 yrs	1	N3/Step 5 Beaker; decorated base (Reid 1987)	170	138
SI 094	Coneypark, Stirlingshire	4-5 yrs	1	Rusticated-type Beaker with crude decoration	152	142
SI 096 & SI 96	Embo, Sutherland (Cist II)	6-mth-old child and perinate/new born	Sherds of 2 vessels	Rim, wall & base sherds of indeterminate Beaker (Henshall & Wallace 1963, 23, no 3)	?	?
				Sherds of Food Vessel (ibid, 23, no 5)	?	?

Table 5.22
Range of Beaker forms associated with child inhumation burials in Scotland

Beaker form	No. of vessels
AOC	1
N2	6
N2 (L)	2
N2/N2 (L)	1
N3	5
N3 (L)	3
N/NR	1
N/MR	1
Rusticated	1
Handled	1
?	2

Table 5.23
Percentage of child graves associated with Beaker pottery by county
'(*)' denotes total number of child burials from the respective county

County	Number of child Beaker graves	Percentage of graves by county
Aberdeenshire	4 (8)	50%
Angus	1 (6)	17%
East Lothian	6 (7)	86%
Fife	1 (14)	7%
Kincardineshire	3 (4)	75%
Perthshire	1 (6)	17%
Stirlingshire	1 (2)	50%
Sutherland	1 (2)	50%

Table 5.24
Summary of Food Vessel-associated child inhumation burials in Scotland

Cat. No.	Site Name	Burial	No. of pots	Food Vessel Form	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)
SI 003	Beatties Hill, Aberdeenshire	5-8 yr old and 20-25 yr old female	1	Food vessel/Beaker Hybrid	?	?
SI 010	Barnyards, Angus	10-12 yr old	1	Bipartite Bowl Food Vessel; intact but repaired (Taylor *et al* 1994, 47, illus 13b)	119	160
SI 012	Mains of Melgund, Angus	7-9 yr old and 30 yr old male	1	Tripartite Bowl Food Vessel; not complete at time of deposition (MacSween 1998, 52)	145	198
SI 013	Ninewells, Angus	12-15 yrs	1	Bipartite Vase Food Vessel (Jervise 1865)	?	?
SI 017	Ardachy, Argyll	12 yrs	1	Bipartite Vase Food Vessel; damaged at the rim (during excavation?): unclear which of two cists this came from (Mitchell 1897, fig 2)	?	?
SI 019	Cour, Argyll	Child	1	Tripartite Bowl Food Vessel (Scott 1971, fig 2)	102	136
SI 020	Balnabraid, Argyll	Young infant and adult	1	Tripartite Vase Food Vessel (Galloway 1920, fig 9)	140	165
SI 023	Auchenharvie Estate, Ayrshire	14-16 yrs	1	Tripartite Bowl Food Vessel (Morrison 1971, 9, fig 2.1)	155	171
SI 024	Doonfoot, Ayrshire	c.9 yrs	1	Described as a small cup but broken prior to excavation	?	?
SI 028	Knockankelly, Buteshire	10-11 yrs	1	Tripartite Vase Food Vessel; very similar to that from Balnabraid (Cleland 1886, fig 1)	158	170

Cat. No.	Site Name	Burial	No. of pots	Food Vessel Form	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)
SI 029	Little Kilmory, Buteshire	11-12 yrs	1	Bipartite Vase Food Vessel with grooved shoulder and perforated lugs. Originally three lugs but only two remained (Marshall & Bryce 1935, 425, fig 3)	162	160
SI 041	Aberdour Road, Fife	12-17 yrs	1	Tripartite Bowl Food Vessel (Close-Brooks et al 1972, 127, fig 3)	110	137
SI 049	Hare Law Cairn, Fife	Child and young adult	1	Bipartite Bowl Food vessel with shoulder groove and series of perforated stops. Damage to one side of the vessel in antiquity (Constable 1892, 116, fig 1)	102	129
SI 051	Holly Road, Fife	6.5-12.5 yrs	1	Biparitite Vase Food Vessel with a stop-ridge groove, markedly similar to, but slightly smaller than than SF 1. Upright. Minor ancient damage to the rim and neck. (Sheridan 2004d, 36-7, illus 14a)	115	142
SI 052	Holly Road, Fife	12-15 yrs	1	Bipartite Vase Food Vessel with a stop-ridge groove, again markedly similar to SF 1, and to the cist A pot with which it is almost identiical in size (Sheridan 2004d, 37-8, illus 4b)	113	143
SI 067	Spurryhillock, Kincardineshire	8 yr and young adult female	1	Food vessel/Beaker Hybrid	?	?
SI 069	Mount vernon, Lanarkshire	"adolescent'	1	Bowl Food Vessel (Simpson 1965, 41, no.61)	?	?
SI 084	West Water Reservoir, Peebles-shire	11-14 yrs	1	Bipartite vase Food Vessel (Sheridan 2000, 27-8, illus 8)	136	146

Cat. No.	Site Name	Burial	No. of pots	Food Vessel Form	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)
				Small bipartite bowl (Hamilton 1957; McLaren 2004, fig 100	86	76
SI 085	Doune, Perth & Kinross	c.7 yrs	2	Large bipartite vase Food Vessel (Hamilton 1957; McLaren 2004, fig 101)	193 (surv.)	200 (surv.)
SI 086	Glenhead, Perthshire	15-21 yrs	1	Bipartite Bowl Food Vessel with imperforate lugs (Anderson 1883b, 452, fig 10)	114	151
SI 087	North Mains barrow, Perthshire	4-6 yrs	1	Bowl Food Vessel (Cowie 1983, 213-4)	120 (surv)	125
SI 088	Barbush Quarry, Perthshire	9-12 yrs	1	Bipartite Bowl Food Vessel (substantially complete; missing rim)(Sheridan 2001, 95-6, ills 6 & 7a)	192 (surviving height	205
SI 095	Embo, Sutherland (Cist I)	4 mth foetus and adult female	1	Tripartite vase FV/Beaker hybrid (Henshall & Wallace 1963, 23 fig 6:4): found in sherds but intact when buried	117 mm	104 mm
				Sherds of an indeterminate Food Vessel, intact when buried (Henshall & Wallace 1963, 23, fig 6: 5)	?	?
SI 096 & SI 97	Embo, Sutherland (Cist II)	6-mth-old child and perinate/newborn	Sherds 2 pots	Sherds of Indeterminate Beaker (Henshall & Wallace 1963, 23, no 3)	?	?
SI 098	Bridgeness, West Lothian		1	Rounded bipartite bowl (miniature Food vessel) (Callander 1924, 290-1, fig 6)	79	104

Table 5.25
Percentage of child graves associated with Food Vessel pottery by county.
'(*)' denotes total number of child burials from the respective county.

County	Number of child Beaker graves	Percentage of graves by county
Aberdeenshire	2 (8)	25%
Angus	3 (6)	50%
Argyll	3 (7)	43%
Ayrshire	2 (2)	100%
Berwickshire	1 (2)	50%
Buteshire	2 (5)	40%
Fife	4 (14)	29%
Kincardineshire	1 (4)	25%
Lanarkshire	1 (3)	33%
Peebles-shire	1 (3)	33%
Perthshire	4 (6)	66%
Sutherland	2 (2)	100%
West Lothian	1 (2)	50%
Wigtownshire	1 (1)	100%

Table 5.26
Number of Scottish child cremations by age
'*' denotes aged children whose estimated age overlaps the groups defined above

Form of Age Estimate	Age description	Number
Identified age estimation	Young Child (0-5 years)	51
	Juvenile (6-10 years)	15
	Older child (11-15 years)	21
No identified age estimation	"infant"	8
	"young infant"	1
	"older infant"	1
	"juvenile"	1
	"older juvenile"	2
	"child"	16
	"young child"	2
	"adolescent"	2
	"young person"	1
	"sub-adult"	2
	"immature"	4
	Other*	8

Table 5.27
Number of children under 1 year of age in Scottish cremation burials

Age	Number of children
Foetus/neonate	12
Newborn	4
<6 months	2
<12 months	3
Total	***21***

Table 5.28
Summary of post-cremation treatment of child cremation burials in Scotland

Cat. No.	Site Name	Burial	Cremation details
SC 4 & 5	Loanhead of Daviot, Aberdeenshire (Pit 12a)	Multiple cremation of adult and two children	Bones carefully seperated from pyre debris. The burnt bones were placed in side the cist; the pyre debris was deposited in a pit immediately outside the cist.
SC 006	Seggiecrook, Aberdeenshire	Cremation of a 1-6-year-old child	Pyre debris: charred earth and wood
SC 022	Mains of Airle, Angus	Single cremation of a 12-17-year-old	Presence of pyre debris not noted; bones deliberately smashed after cremation
SC 026	Benderloch, Argyll (Burial 1)	Cremation of an adult female and 1.5-4 year old child	No pyre debris present; washed
SC 030	Coalpots Road, Ayrshire (Urn 1)	Cremation of an adult female and foetus (*in utero?*)	No pyre debris present
SC 031	Coalpots Road, Ayrshire (Burial 2)	Single cremation of 14-16-year-old	No pyre debris present
SC 032	Genoch, Ayrshire	Single cremation of a 5-6-year-old child	Pyre debris: ash
SC 033	Kiltry Knock, Alvah	Cremation of an adult female and two children	No pyre debris present
SC 041	Lockerbie Academy, Dumfries-shire (F34)	Cremation of at least one adult and a juvenile	No pyre debris present
SC 046	Eweford Cairn, East Lothian (Pit 40)	Cremation of adult female and 0-3-year-old child	Pyre debris: charcoal
SC 048	Eweford Cairn, East Lothian (Pit 27)	Multiple cremation of two adults and an older child	Pyre debris: charcoal

Cat. No.	Site Name	Burial	Cremation details
SC 050	Eweford Cairn, East Lothian (Pit 32)	Multiple cremation of two adults and an older child	Pyre debris: charcoal
SC 052	Eweford Cairn, East Lothian (Grave 81)	Multiple cremation of a minimum of four individuals including a child	Pyre debris: charcoal
SC 054	Kirkpark, East Lothian (Urns 4 & 5)	3-4 month old child	Pyre debris?: 'blackened material'. Fuel or inadequately calcined human remains
SC 064	Kirkton, Fife	Multiple cremation of two adult females and a 4-7-year-old	No pyre debris present; may have been washed
SC 071	Kilmagadwood, Kinross-shire	Single cremation of child	Pyre debris: ashes
SC 075	Patrickholm Sand Quarry, Lanarkshire (Grave 3)	Multiple cremation of two adults and a 7-12-year-old child	Pyre debris: charcoal; bones appear to have been interred when still hot
SC 079	Findhorn, Morayshire	Cremation of an adult female and foetus/newborn	No pyre debris present; washed
SC 084	Ferndale, Orkney	Multiple cremation of two adults and a 15-month-old child	Pyre debris: fuel ash slag/cramp
SC 085 & 86	Gitterpitten, Mound 4, Orkney (central cist)	Multiple cremation of adult male and two children	Pyre debris: charcoal, burnt turf, cramp
SC 091	Loth Road Cairn, Orkney (cist 069)	Cremation of an infant and adult	Pyre debris: burnt soil and cramp
SC 092	Tafts mound, Orkney	Multiple cremation of two adults and a child	Pyre debris: fuel ash slag/cramp
SC 134	Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire	Single cremation of a 12-15-year-old	Pyre debris: charcoal
SC 135	Low Glengyre, Wigtownshire	Single cremation of a child c. 8 years	Seperation of pyre debris from cremated bone. Charcoal (from pyre?) deposited around the urn containing burnt bones

Table 5.29
Child cremations within indications of pathology in Scotland

Cat No.	Site Name	Burial	Visible pathology	Cause of death
SC 011	Skilmafilly cremation cemetery, Aberdeenshire (Burial 7)	Foetus and adult female	None	?childbirth (mother & child)
SC 012	Skilmafilly cremation cemetery (Pit 17)	12-13-year-old child	*Cribra Orbitalia*: iron deficiency anaemia	Dietary deficiencies? Long-term illness?
SC 014	Skilmafilly cremation cemetery (Pit 26)	14-16-year-old child	*Cribra Orbitalia*: iron deficiency anaemia	Dietary deficiencies? Long-term illness?
SC 018	Skilmafilly cremation cemetery (Pit 44)	12-16-year-old male and adult	*Cribra Orbitalia*: iron deficiency anaemia	Dietary deficiencies? Long-term illness?
SC 030	Coalpots Road, Ayrshire (urn 1)	Foetus and 22-25 year old adult female	None	?childbirth (mother & child)
SC 037	Dollar, Clackmannanshire (Burial 1)	Neonate, youth/young adult and mature adult	None	?childbirth (mother & child)
SC 041	Lockerbie Academy, Dumfries-shire (F34)	Juvenile and at least one adult male	*Porotic hyperstosis*: iron deficiency anaemia	Dietary deficiencies? Long-term illness?
SC 047	Eweford cairn, East Lothian (pit 105)	Possible foetus and adult (sex not assigned)	None	?childbirth (mother & child?)
SC 058	Brackmont Mill, Fife (Burial B)	Newborn	None	?childbirth (baby only)
SC 059	Brackmont Mill, Fife (Burial V)	Newborn	None	?childbirth (baby only)
SC 060	Brackmont Mill, Fife (Burial VI)	Young infant or newborn	None	?childbirth (baby only)
SC 065	Kirkton, Fife (Burial 2)	c.7 month old foetus and two adults: 25-50 yr female, 25-40 yr male	None	Feotus *in utero*: death of pregnant female and another individual
SC 072	Cloburn Quarry, Lanarkshire (068)	Feotus/neonate and adult, probably female	None	?childbirth (mother and child)

Cat No.	Site Name	Burial	Visible pathology	Cause of death
SC 079	Findhorn, Morayshire	Feotus 3rd trimester/ newborn and 18-25 adult female	None	?childbirth (mother and child)
SC 100	Beech Hill House, Perthshire (Cist 2)	Neonate or young infant, 1 young adult, 1 mature adult and a possible third adult	None	?childbirth (mother and child) & 2 other individuals
SC 109	North Mains Barrow, Perthshire (burial b)	Infant/neonate & two adults: male & female	None	?childbirth (mother and child) & adult male
SC 114	North Mains Barrow, Perthshire (burial c)	Feotus & three further children and four adults	None	Multiple burial: death of pregnant female and 6 other individuals
SC 115	North Mains Barrow, Perthshire (Barrow D)	Feotus/neonate & 2 adults under 30 years (male and female)	None	Death of pregnant female (or death of mother and child in childbirth) and adult male
SC 122	Sketewan Cairn, Perthshire (Cist 4)	Four individuals: a feotus, a neonate, a young child and an adult	None	Death of pregant female (or death of mother and child in childbirth) and two other immature indivduals
SC 124	Sketewan Cairn, Perthshire (Cist 5)	Newborn and adult (sex unassigned)	None	?childbirth (mother and child)
SC 126	Sketewan Cairn, Perthshire (F88)	Feotus/neonate, child and an adult male	None	?childbirth (baby only) & 2 further individuals

Table 5.30
Summary of child cremation burials by site type in Scotland

Site type	No. child burials	Total no. children	Catalogue numbers
Barrows	16	25	SC 20, SC 55, SC 56, SC 68, SC 84, SC 85, SC 86, SC 87, SC 88, SC 89, SC 90, SC 92, SC 93, SC 108, SC 109 & SC 110, SC 111-114, SC 115-120
Cairns	31	37	SC 23, SC 25, SC 29, SC 43, SC 41, SC 44 & SC 45, SC 46, SC 47, SC 48 & SC 49, SC 50 & SC 51, SC 52, SC 53, SC 54, SC 62, SC 69, SC 71, SC 72, SC 73, SC 91, SC 94, SC 95, SC 96, SC 99, SC 100, SC 121-123, SC 124, SC 125 & SC 126, SC 127, SC 128, SC 129, SC 135
Unenclosed cemeteries	28	35	SC 7, SC 8, SC 9 & SC 10, SC 11, SC 12, SC 12, SC 13, SC 14, SC 15, SC 16 & SC 17, SC 18, SC 19, SC 30, SC 31, SC 32, SC 58, SC 59, SC 60, SC 61, SC 64 & 65, SC 74, SC 75 & SC 76, SC 78, SC 80, SC 81, SC 82 & 83, SC 98, SC 103-5, SC 106
Enclosed cemeteries	3	4	SC 3, SC 4 & SC 5, SC 63
?small cemeteries	11	13	SC 1, SC 2, SC 6, SC 24, SC 38 & SC 39, SC 40, SC 67, SC 70, SC 77, SC 132, SC 134
Isolated flat-graves	15	17	SC 21, SC 22, SC 26, SC 27, SC 33 & SC 34, SC 37, SC 42, SC 57, SC 66, SC 79, SC 97, SC 101 & SC 102, SC 131, SC 133
Chambered cairns	2	3	SC 28, SC 35 & SC 36
Henge	1	1	SC 107

Table 5.31
Position of child cremations within barrows and cairns

Site type	Principal grave	Secondary grave	No stratigraphic information
Barrows	SC 84, SC 85 & SC 86, SC 88, SC 89, SC 90, SC 92, SC 93	SC 20, SC 55, SC 56, SC 68, SC 87, SC 108, SC 109 & 110, SC 111-114, SC 115-20	
Cairns	SC 29, SC 71, SC 128, SC 135	SC 41, SC 43, SC 44 & 45, SC 46, SC 47, SC 48 & SC 49, SC 50 & SC 51, SC 52, SC 52, SC 53, SC 69, SC 72, SC 73, SC 74, SC 91, SC 95, SC 96, SC 99, SC 100, SC 121-123, SC 124, SC 127	SC 23, SC 25, SCV 54, SC 129

Table 5.32
Summary of associated interments with child cremation burials in Scotland

Interments	Relationship	Number of burials	Number of children	Catalogue numbers
Single	Single child	39	39	SC 6 SC 8, SC 12, SC 13, SC 14, SC 15, SC 19, SC 20, SC 21, SC 22, SC 23, SC 24, SC 25, SC 31, SC 32, SC 40, SC 42, SC 54, SC 58, SC 59, SC 60, SC 61, SC 63, SC 66, SC 69, SC 71, SC 73, SC 77, SC 80, SC 81, SC 88, SC 89, SC 90, SC 95, SC 98, SC 127, SC 130, SC 134, SC 135
Double	Double child cremation	4	8	SC 16 & SC 17, SC 35 & SC 36, SC 44 & SC 45, SC 82 & 83
	Double cremation: adult & child	31	31	SC 2, SC 11, SC 26, SC 27, SC 28, SC 29, SC 30, SC 41, SC 43, SC 46, SC 47, SC 57, SC 62, SC 67, SC 68, SC 70, SC 72, SC 74, SC 78, SC 79, SC 87, SC 91, SC 93, SC 94, SC 94, SC 96, SC 97, SC 99, SC 106, SC 107, SC 124, SC 132
Multiple	3 individuals	14	23	SC 1, SC 4 & SC 5, SC 7, SC 9 & SC 10, SC 33 & SC 34, SC 37, SC 38 & SC 39, SC 53, SC 84, SC 85 & SC 86, SC 92, SC 101 & SC 102, SC 103 - 105, SC 125 & SC 126
	4 individuals	8	15	SC 48 & SC 49, SC 50 & SC 51, SC 52, SC 64 & SC 65, SC 75 & SC 76, SC 100, SC 109 & 110, SC 121-3
	5 individuals	1	1	SC 108
	6 individuals	1	1	SC 128
	7 individuals	1	6	SC 115-120
	8 individuals	1	4	SC 111-114
Other	Child cremations associated with inhumations	5	5	SC 55, SC 56, SC 129, SC 131, SC 133
	Closely associated adult & child cremations	2	2	SC 3, SC 18

Table 5.33
Summary of double adult and child cremation burials in Scotland

Cat. No.	Site	Age of child	Age of adult	Sex of adult
SC 002	Howford Farm, Aberdeenshire	2-4 years	25-35 years	Female?
SC 011	Skilmafilly, Aberdeenshire	Foetus	Adult	Female
SC 026	Benderloch, Argyll	16 months - 4 years	20-25 years	Female: pathological indicators of porotic hyperostosis & ankylosis
SC 027	Balloch Hill, Argyll	Child	Adult	?
SC 028	Dalneun, Argyll	Immature	Adult	Female?
SC 029	Tayvallich, Argyll	12-20 years	Adult	Female?
SC 030	Coalpots Road, Ayrshire	Foetus (c. 7 months)	20-22 Years	Female
SC 041	Lockerbie Academy, Dumfries-shire	Juvenile	Adult (at least 1 present)	Male
SC 043	Eweford Cairn, East Lothian	11-18 years	Under 20 years	?
SC 046	Eweford Cairn, East Lothian	0-3 years	Adult	Female
SC 047	Eweford cairn, East Lothian	?foetus	Adult	?
SC 057	Blackhill, Fife	Infant	Adult	? Female sex has been assumed by excavator due to presence of child
SC 062	Craigdhu, Fife	Child	Young adult	?
SC 067	Tayford, Fife	Child	Adult	?
SC 068	Westwood, Fife	Infant	Adult	?
SC 070	Ury, Kincardineshire	3-5 years	Adult	?
SC 072	Cloburn Quarry, Lanarkshire	Foetus/neonate	Middle-aged adult	Female?
SC 074	Patrickholm Sand Quarry, Lanarkshire	12-20 years	20 years	?
SC 078	Saxe-Coburg Place, Midlothian	<1 year	18-20 years	?
SC 079	Findhorn, Morayshire	Feotus/newborn	18-25 years	Female
SC 087	Gitterpitten, Mound 4, Orkney	Infant	Adult	Female
SC 091	Loth Road Cairn, Orkney	Infant	Adult	?

Cat. No.	Site	Age of child	Age of adult	Sex of adult
SC 093	Varme Dale, Mound 1, Orkney	Older juvenile	Adult	Male
SC 094	Harehope Cairn, Peebles-shire	Child	Adult	?
SC 096	Harehope Cairn, Peebles-shire	Child	Mature/elderly adult	?
SC 097	Horsburgh Castle farm, Peebles-shire	6 yrs	Adult	?
SC 099	Beech Hill House, Perthshire	Sub-adult	Adult	Male
SC 106	Murthly, Perthshire	<12 years	Adult	?
SC 107	North Mains Henge, Perthshire	4-6 year	Adult	Male
SC 124	Sketewan Cairn, Perthshire	Newborn	Adult	?
SC 132	Blackness Castle, West Lothian	2-6 years	Adult	?

Table 5.34
Summary of multiple cremation deposits including children in Scotland

Cat. No.	Site	MNI	Children		Adults		
			Number	Age	Number	Age	Sex
SC 001	Howford Farm, Aberdeenshire	3	1	c. 2yrs	2?	>20 years; poss. 3rd individual	?
SC 037	Dollar, Clackmannanshire	3	1	Neonate	2	2 adults: youth/young adult and mature adult	?
SC 004 & 005	Loanhead of Daviot, Aberdeenshire (pit 12)	3	2	2 children	1	Adult	?
SC 007	Skilmafilly, Aberdeenshire (pit 4)	3	1	c.9 years	2	2 adults	1 male; 1 female
SC 009 & 010	Skilmafilly, Aberdeenshire (pit 3)	3	2	5-7 years & c.12 years	1	Adult	?
SC 038 & SC 39	Carronbridge, Dumfries-shire	3	2	3-12 years & infant	1	Adult	?
SC 033 & 34	Kiltry Knock, Banffshire	3	2	Infant & 6-9 year old	1	Adult	Female
SC 053	Eweford Cairn, East Lothian (grave 065)	3	1	0-3 years	2	2 Adults	1 male; 1 female
SC 084	Ferndale, Rendall	3	1	c. 15 months	2	18-30 yr old female	1 male; 1 female
SC 085 & 86	Gitterpitten 4 (central cist), Orkney	3	2	Older juvenile & young child	1	Adult	Male
SC 092	Tafts mound, Orkney	3	1	Child	2	2 Adults	?

Cat. No.	Site	MNI	Children		Adults		
			Number	Age	Number	Age	Sex
SC 101 & SC 102	Callum's Hill, Perthshire	3	2	8-10 years & 3-5 years	1	Adult	?
SC 103, 104, 105	Grantully, Perthshire	3	3	3 children: 5-12 years	0	n/a	n/a
SC 125 & SC 126	Sketewan Cairn, Perthshire	3	2	child & foetus/neonate	1	Middle-age	Male
SC 048 & 49	Eweford Cairn, East Lothian (grave 027)	4	2	11-18 years & 9 months - 1.4 years	2	2 adults (one under 20 years)	1 male
SC 050 & 51	Eweford Cairn, East Lothian (pit 32)	4	2	11-18 years & 0-3 years	2	2 adults under 20 years	1 male; 1 female
SC 052	Eweford Cairn, East Lothian (Grave 81)	4	1	immature	3	3 adults	Male
SC 064 & SC 65	Kirkton, Fife	4	2	4-7 years & foetus c.7mths	2	25-50 yrs & 25-40 years	1 female; 1 male
SC 075 & SC 76	Patrickholm Sand Quarry, Lanarkshire (Grave 3)	4	2	7-12 years & 7-12 years	2	>25 years; >20 years	?
SC 100	Beech Hill House, Perthshire	4	1	neonate/ young infant	3	1 young; 1 mature; one unknown	1 male; 1 female; 1 unknown
SC 109 & 110	North Mains Barrow, Perthshire (burial B)	4	2	infant/ neonate, 12-14 years	2	2 adults	1 male; 1 female
SC 121, 122, 123	Sketewan, Perthshire (cist 4)	4	3	2-5 years; 1 newborn; 1 foetus	1	Adult	Female

Cat. No.	Site	MNI	Children		Adults		
			Number	Age	Number	Age	Sex
SC 108	North Mains Barrow, Perthshire (burial A)	5	1	4-5 years	4	4 adults	3 males; 1 female
SC 128	Sketewan, Perthshire (pyre)	6	1	2-6 years	5	5 adults	?
SC 115-120	North Mains Barrow, Perthshire (burial D)	7	6	Foetal/ neonate; 6 months; 2-3 years; 12-18 months; 6 years; 11-12 years	2	2 adults under 30 years	1 male; 1 female
SC 111-114	North Mains Barrow, Perthshire (burial C)	8	4	c.6-12 years; 6 years; 6 months-1 year; foetus/ neonate	4	4 adults	?

Table 5.35
Summary of Collared Urn associated child cremations in Scotland

Cat. No.	Site Name	No of vessels	Form	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Position
SC 001	Howford Farm, Aberdeenshire	1	Secondary Series, SE style, Form IA (Longworth 1984, 305, no. 1901)	249	183	Inverted
SC 004 & 5	Loanhead of Daviot, Aberdeenshire (Pit 12)	1	Secondary Series, Form IC (Longworth 1984, 303, no. 1885, pl 232a)	Unknown	413	Inverted
SC 009 & 10	Skilmafilly, Aberdeenshire (Pit 3)	1	Tripartite Collared Urn	180 mm (surv)	210	Inverted
SC 011	Skilmafilly, Aberdeenshire (pit 7)	1	Form Indeterminate; not fully published at the time of writing	Base lost	280	Inverted
SC 013	Skilmafilly, Aberdeenshire (pit 21)	1	Form Indeterminate; not fully published at the time of writing	300	260	Unknown: broken in antiquity
SC 018	Skilmafilly, Aberdeenshire (pit 44)	1	Form Indeterminate; not fully published at the time of writing	Unknown	Unknown	Inverted
SC 020	Fordhouse, Angus	1	Form Indeterminate; not fully published at the time of writing	Unknown	Unknown	unknown
SC 021	Graham's Firth, Angus	1	Secondary Series, Form IC (Longworth 1984, 313, no. 1991, pl 216a)	406	256	Inverted
SC 038 & 39	Carronbridge, Dumfries-shire (Burial 1)	1	Primary Series, Tripartite Collared Urn (MacSween 1994, 264, illus 22)	303	282	inverted

Cat. No.	Site Name	No of vessels	Form	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Position
SC 040	Carronbridge, Dumfries-shire (Burial 2)	1	Consistent with Collared Urn but not possible to reconstruct (MacSween 1994, 264)	unknown	unknown	Unknown
SC 048 & 49	Eweford Cairn (Grave 27: Urn 3)	1	Triparite Collared Urn (Sheridan unpublished)	216	unknown	Unknown: it had been broken and the sherds rearranged when a later grave pit (032) was inserted.
SC 059	Brackmont Mill, Fife (Burial V)	1	Secondary Series, North Western Style, Form IC (Longworth 1984, 301, no. 1847, pl 90a)	241	177	Inverted (base missing)
SC 067	Tayfield, Newport, Fife	1	Indeterminate form (Longworth 1984, 298, no. 1816)	unknown	305	Inverted
SC 077	Braid Hills, Midlothian	1	Primary Series, Form IA (Longworth 1984, 306, no. 1916, pl 53d)	not noted	325	not noted
SC 094	Harehope Cairn, Perthshire (cremation C)	1	Sherds only. Form indeterminate (Longworth 1984, 294, no. 1767c)	Sherds	Sherds	unknown
SC 103-5	Grantully,Perthshire	1	Secondary Series, Form 1A (Longworth 1984, 313, no 1998, pl 196d)	299	376	Inverted
SC 127	Sketewan, Perthshire (F90)	1	Tripartite Collared Urn (Burgess 1997, 307-8, Illus 23)	306	216	Inverted

Cat. No.	Site Name	No of vessels	Form	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Position
SC 134	Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire (urn 1)	1	Indeterminate form (Davidson 1952, 46, Fig 2: 1)	Rim only surviving	178	Inverted
SC 095	Harehope Cairn, Peebles-shire (cremation J)	2	Indeterminate (Longworth 1984, 294, no 1767a)	79 mm survives	143.5	Inverted
			Miniature Collared Urn (Longworth 1984, 294, no 1767b)	78	95	Under Collared Urn
SC 135	Low Glengyre, Wigtownshire	2	Indeterminate form (Longworth 1984, 297, No 1800, pl 244b)	190	165	Upright
			Biconical accessory vessel (Longworth 1984, 297, no. 1800, pl 244b). Undecorated. No perforations.	58	57	Upright (beside Collared Urn)

Table 5.36
Cordoned Urns associated with child cremations in Scotland

Cat. No.	Site Name	Burial info	No. of urns	Container?	Position
SC 006	Seggiecrook, Aberdeenshire	1-6 year-old-child	1	Y	Inverted
SC 019	Strichen, Aberdeenshire	Child'	1	Y	Inverted
SC 026	Benderloch, Argyll	16 months - 4 year-old child and 20-25-year-old female	1	Y	Inverted
SC 030	Coalpots Road, Ayrshire (Urn 1)	Foetus and 20-22-year-old female (death in childbirth?)	1	Y	Inverted
SC 031	Coalpots Road, Ayrshire (Urn 2)	14-16 year-old child	1	Y	Inverted
SC 050 & 51	Eweford Cairn, East Lothian (Urn 4)	Multiple cremation deposit: 0-3 year-old, 11-18-year-old; 2 adults (1 male & 1 female) under 20 years	1	Y	Inverted
SC 061	Brackmont Mill, Fife (Burial 5)	2-5-years of age	1	Y	Inverted
SC 069	Stoneyfield, Inverness-shire (Pit 30)	3-4-years old	1	Y	Inverted
SC 073	Limefield Cairn, Lanarkshire (Burial 5)	immature individual'	1	Y	Inverted
SC 078	Saxe-Coburg Place, Midlothian	<1 year and 18-20 year old female (mother and child?)	2 (one lost)	Y	Inverted
SC 079	Findhorn, Morayshire	Foetus and 18-25-year-old female (death in childbirth?)	1	Y	Inverted
SC 080	Lesmurdie Road, Morayshire (Pit 022)	4-5-year-old child	2	Y	Inverted
SC 081	Lesmurdie Road, Morayshire (Context 183)	4-5-year-old child	1	Y	Inverted

Table 5.37
Food Vessels and Enlarged Food Vessel Urns with child cremations

Cat. No.	Site Name	Burial	No of associated vessels	Enlarged Food Vessel Urn	Food Vessel
SC 003	Loanhead of Daviot, Aberdeenshire (burial 1)	3-4 year-old child. Adjoining pit contained urn and cremated adult	1	Inverted over burnt bones	
SC 036	Glenvoidean, Buteshire	Adolescent	1	Upright. Not all sherds were present. May not have been complete at time of depsoition	
SC 042	Hillend Farm, Dunbartonshire	Child	2	Inverted over burnt bones: accompanied by an accessory vessel	
SC 062	Craigdhu, Fife	Child and adult	2	Inverted over burnt bones and miniature Food Vessel	Miniature Food Vessel
SC 068	Westwood, Fife (Urn 6 1 & 2)	Infant and adult	2	Upright; containing burnt bones; smaller Food Vessel inverted in the mouth	Small Food Vessel inverted in the mouth of Enlarged Food Vessel
SC 071	Kilmagadwood, Kinross-shire	Child	1	Inverted over burnt bones	
SC 101 & 102	Callum's Hill, Perthshire	8-10 years & 3-5 years and adult	1	Inverted over burnt bones	
SC 130	Dunion Hill, Roxburghshire	child	1	Inverted over burnt bones	
SC 33 & 34	Kiltry Knock, Banffshire	Infant, 6-9 year-old child and adult female	1	Inverted over burnt bones	
SC 022	Mains of Airle, Angus	12-17-year-old	1		Undecorated Food Vessel/Beaker hybrid
SC 029	Tayvallich, Argyll	12-20 years & adult female	1		Unusual Food Vessel/Beaker hybrid
SC 058	Brackmont Mill, Fife	Newborn?	1		Upright Bowl Food Vessel with ceramic pot lid

Cat. No.	Site Name	Burial	No of associated vessels	Enlarged Food Vessel Urn	Food Vessel
SC 063	Holly Road, Fife (cist C)	c.14 year-old child	1		Upright Food Vessel
SC 066	Pitmilly,Fife	>13 year-old child	1		Tripartite Food Vessel. Position not known
SC 072	Cloburn Quarry, Lanarkshire	foetus/neonate and adult female (death in childbirth?)	1		Bipartite Vase Food Vessel with imperforate lugs
SC 060	Brackmont Mill, Fife (burial VI)	Young or newborn infant	1		Small Food Vessel/Collared Urn hybrid
SC 023	Mains of Melgund, Angus	Young child	sherds		Food Vessel: sherds only

Table 5.38
Summary of child cremations associated with accessory vessels

Cat No.	Site	Accompanying ceramic vessels
SC 027	Balloch Hill, Argyll	Undecorated bucket urn (potentially LBA in date) containing a miniature biconical accessory vessel which was sealed with clay, contaning the cremated bones of a child.
SC 032	Genoch, Ayrshire	Indeterminate cinerary urn containing a small biconical accessory vessel plugged at the mouth
SC 042	Hillend Farm, Dunbartonshire	Enlarged Food Vessel invered over cremated bones of a child accompanied by a small accessory vessel
SC 054	Kirkpark, East Lothian	2 accessory vessels accompanied the burial of a 3-4 month old child: a biconical accessory vessel, resembling a squat Collared Urn and a small, undecorated rounded cup with two perforations
SC 057	Blackhill, Fife	Cordoned Urn inverted over cremated bones of an adult female. Within the burnt bones was a small biconical accessory cup containing bones of an infant
SC 062	Craigdhu, Fife	Enlarged Food Vessel invered over cremated bones of a an adult and child accompanied by a miniature Food Vessel
SC 068	Westwood, Fife	Enlarged Food Vessel set upright containing the remains of an adult and child. A small Food vessel had been inverted in the mouth, effectively plugging the upright urn
SC 080	Lesmurdie Road, Morayshire	Cordoned Urn inverted over the cremated bones of a 45-5 year old child. A small accessory vessel (form not known at time of writing) accompanied the burnt bones
SC 095	Harehope Cairn, Peebles-shire	Collared Urn inverted over the cremated bones of a 4-5 year old child accompanied by a miniature Collared Urn
SC 135	Low Glengyre, Wigtownshire	An upright Collared Urn contained the cremated bones of a child of less than 8 years. Set beside the urn in the grave was an upright plain biconical accessory vessel

Table 5.39
Summary of associated objects with child cremations in Scotland

Grave goods	Number of burials	% of dataset	Catalogue numbers
Ceramic vessel(s) only	37	35%	SC 01, SC 03, SC 09 & 10, SC 13, SC 19, SC 21, SC 22, SC 23, SC 26, SC 31, SC 35 & 36, SC 38 & 39, SC 40, SC 42, SC 50 & 51, SC 54, SC 57, SC 58, SC 59, SC 60, SC 61, SC 62, SC 63, SC 66, SC 67, SC 68, SC 71, SC 77, SC 78, SC 88, SC 91, SC 94, SC 95, SC 134, SC 130
Pot & other item	26	24%	SC 04 & 05, SC 6, SC 20, SC 27, SC 29, SC 30, SC 32, SC 33 & 34, SC 37, SC 48 & 49, SC 52, SC 53, SC 69, SC 72, SC 73, SC 79, SC 80, SC 81, SC 85 & 86, SC 97, SC 101 & 102, SC 103-5, SC 106, SC 107, SC 127, SC 135
Grave goods (no pot)	15	14%	SC 02, SC 07, SC 08, SC 28, SC 41, SC 64 & 65, SC 70, SC 74, SC 75 & 76, SC 93, SC 99, SC 100 SC 109 & 110, SC 111-114, SC 129
Unaccompanied	27	25%	SC 12, SC 14, SC 15, SC 16 & 17, SC 24, SC 25, SC 43, SC 44 & 45, SC 46, SC 47, SC 56, SC 82 & 83, SC 84, SC 87, SC 89, SC 90, SC 92, SC 96, SC 98, SC 108, SC 115-20, SC 121-3, SC 124, SC 125 & 126, SC 128, SC 132, SC 133
Unaccompanied (grave goods with inhumation)	2	2%	SC 55, SC 131

Table 5.40
Summary of flint associated with child cremations

Cat No	Site	Burial	No. of flint items	Description of flints
SC 027	Balloch Hill, Argyll	Adult and child	3	Includes a scraper and blade (but may be directly associated with the adult rather than child)
SC 029	Tayvallich, Argyll	12-20yr old and adult female	1	Flake
SC 030	Coalpots Road, Ayrshire	foetus & 20-22 year old female	1	Scraper
SC 033 & 34	Kiltry Knock, Banffshire	Adult female and infant	8	Plano-convex knife (unburnt), flake knife (burnt), 2 flakes (1 burnt, one unburnt), 4 burnt flakes
SC 041	Lockerbie Academy, Dumfriesshire	Juvenile and at least one adult (male)	7	Includes a plano-convex knife
SC 064	Kirkton, Fife	Multiple deposit including two children and two adults	3	1 point, 2 flakes (2 out of 3 are burnt)
SC 070	Ury, Kincardineshire	3-5 year old child	1	Burnt flake with evidence of secondary retouch
SC 073	Limefield Cairn, Lanarkshire	Immature individual	1	Flake
SC 074	Patrickholm Sand Quarry, Lanarkshire	adult and chil	1	Burnt scraper
SC 075 & 76	Patrickholm Sand Quarry	2 children 7-12 years and two adults	1	Burnt flake with evidence of secondary retouch
SC 079	Findhorn, Morayshire	Foetus and adult female	1	Flake
SC 081	Lesmurdie Road, Morayshire	4-5 years	6	Re-touched blade and scraper (both burnt)
SC 103-5	Grantully, Perthshire	Three children between 5-12 years of age	13	1 knife, 12 flakes (burnt)
SC 107	North Mains Henge, Perthshire	Adult and 4-6 year old child	4	3 burnt flakes, partially burnt broken end scraper
SC 109 & 110	North Mains Barrow, Perthshire	Infant/neonate with two adults	2	1 slug knife and a flake knife (burnt)
SC 111-4	North Mains Barrow, Perthshire	Multiple deposit comprising at least 8 individuals, including 4 children	1	Burnt Flake
SC 135	Low Glengyre, Wigtownshire	>8 years	3	Thumb-nail scraper, 2 small flakes (burnt)
SC 002	Howford Farm, Strichen	Adult female and child	11	2 scrapers and 9 flakes (burnt)

Table 5.41
Summary of animal bones within child cremation burials in Scotland

Cat. No	Site	Burial	Species
SC 028	Dalneun, Argyll	Immature individual and adult, ?female	pig phalanges
SC 037	Dollar, Clackmannanshire	Foetus/neonate with two adults	unidentified animal bone
SC 072	Cloburn Quarry, Lanarkshire	Feous/neonate and adult, ?female	fragments of long bone, scapula and cranium belong to a sheep/goat sized animal were identified. Completely cremated.
SC 080	Lesmurdie Road, Morayshire	4-5 years	unidentified animal bone
SC 081	Lesmurdie Road, Morayshire	4-5 years	c.50 fragments (unidentified)
SC 085 & 86	Gitterpitten, Mound 4, Orkney	Older juvenile and adult male	sheep or goat (burnt)
SC 089	Knowes of Quoyscottie, Orkney	Possible child	unidentified animal bone
SC 093	Varme Dale, Mound 1, Orkney	Older juvenile and adult male	sheep or goat (burnt)
SC 101 & 102	Callum's Hill, Crieff, Perhtshire	8-10 years; 3-5 years and adult	sheep or goat (burnt
SC 127	Sketewan, Banaguard	2-5 years	2 trout vertebrae
SC 002	Howford Farm, Aberdeenshire	2-4 year-old child and adult, ?female	unidentified animal bone
SC 033	Kiltry Knock, Banffshire	Infant and adult female	unidentified animal bone

Table 5.42
Summary of ornaments associated with child cremations in Scotland

Cat No.	Site	Burial	Material	Quantity	Form
SC 002	Howford Farm, Aberdeenshire	2-4 year-old-child and adult, ?female	Ceramic	>5	Remains of at least 5 burnt clay objects. Double ended toggles?
SC 004 & 005	Loanhead of Daviot, Aberdeenshire (pit 12)	Two children and an adult	Bone	1	Collared bone toggle
SC 006	Seggiecrook	1-6 years	Clay	7	6 cylindrical and 1 conical ?pierced clay objects. Toggle terminals?
			Bone	1	Collared bone toggle
SC 007	Skilmafilly, Aberdeenshire(004/6)	c.9 year old child and two adults	Bone	3	Bone short pin/toggle/pendant and 2 golden eagle talons!
SC 008	Skilmafilly, Aberdeenshire (012)	c. 10 year-old child	Antler	>2	2 of 4 antler fragments were from perforated toggles
SC 033	Kiltry Knock, Banffshire	Two children and an adult female	Stone	1	Perforated stone pendant; shaped from a apebble of phyllite; slightly eccentrically drilled hourglass perforation
			Clay	1	Clay ball with incised concentric decoration
SC 041	Lockerbie Academy, Dumfries-shier	Juvenile and at least one adult (male)	Antler	1	2 fragments of an incomplete roe deer antler pin
SC 048	Eweford Cairn, East Lothian (grave 27)	11-18 years and two adults	Bone	1	Unburnt bone bead
SC 052	Eweford Cairn, East Lothian (Grave 81)	Immature individual and three adult males	Bone	1	Lonzenge-shaped bone toggle, multiple perforations. Incomplete. Further fragment found c.24 in cairn material
SC 053	Eweford Cairn, East Lothian (Grave 065)	0-3 years and two adults	Bone	1	Sub-rectangular flat perforated toggle
SC 069	Stoneyfield, Raigmore (pit 30)	3-4-year-old child	Bone	1	Lozenge-shaped bone toggle, two perforations
SC 075 & 76	Patrickholm Sand Quarry, Lanarkshire (pit 3)	7-12 year-old child and two adults	Stone	1	Small stone disc/bead (natural?), 3 1/2 bone beads + 5 frags & possible toggle fragment
			Bone	>3	3 bone beads and a further broken fragment

Cat No.	Site	Burial	Material	Quantity	Form
			Bone	1	Possible toggle fragment
SC 079	Findhorn, Morayshire	Foetus and adult female	Faience	25	22 segmented, 2 star 1 quoit shaped bead - faience
SC 080	Lesmurdie Road, Morayshire (pit 22)	4-5-year-old-child	Bone	1	Flat perforated toggle
SC 081	Lesmurdie Road, Morayshire (context 183)	4-5-year-old-child	Bone	1	Decorated collared toggle
SC 093	Varme Dale, Mound 1, Orkney (central cist)	Older juvenile and adult male	Bone	1	Form not known at time of writing
SC 099	Beech Hill House, Perthshire	Sub-adult and adult male	Bone	2	Perforated toggle with expanded ends; globular pommel

Table 5.43
Earlier Bronze Age flat perforated bone toggles from Scotland

Site	Context	Toggle type	Urn type	Accompany items	Date
Eweford, East Lothian (McLaren 2007; McLaren *unpublished*)	Found in two contexts – redeposited pyre material on cairn and within multiple cremation burial of 3 adults and a child.	Lozenge shaped flat toggle with c.13 circular perforations	Indeterminate		SUERC- 5354, 3385±35 BP (Ashmore 2005, 169-70),
Raigmore, Highland (Simpson 1996)	Cremation of a 3-4 year old child within an urn from pit 30.	Lozenge shaped flat toggle with two circular perforations	Cordoned		GrA-24014, 3350±40BP, 1690-1530 cal BC at 1 sigma, 1740-1520 cal BC at 2σ.(Sheridan 2007)
Seafield West Cemetery, Highland (Cressey & Sheridan 2003)	Un-urned cremation burial of a 18-30 year old	Lozenge shaped flat toggle with two circular perforations	No urn		GU-7590, 3360±50, 1750-1510 cal BC at 2σ (Cressey & Sheridan 2003, 77).
Deskford, Morayshire (i) (McLaren *forthcoming a)*	Scattered un-urned cremation deposit of 26-45 year old adult female	Incomplete lozenge shaped bone toggle with two perforations at either edge of the widest part of object. A short linear groove underlies both perforations	no urn	An incomplete flat sub-rectangular double perforated burnt bone toggle	GrA-24885, 3370±45, 1750-1520 call BC at 2σ (Hunter *pers comm*.)
Orkney, exact location unknown. (Noted in a letter from Graham of Skail to Joseph Banks in late 18th century. In Lysaght 1974, 227-8)	Associated with cremation within cist. Cist also contained inhumed skeletal remains.	Lozenge shaped flat plate toggle with two circular perforations	no urn	200 small black beads (probably remains of a necklace of jet or jet-like material)	
Murthly, Perth & Kinross (Mitchell 1972)	cremation of a child of unknown age or sex within an urn	Lozenge shaped flat toggle with two circular perforations	Unknown		

Site	Context	Toggle type	Urn type	Accompany items	Date
Woodhead of Garvock, Dunning, Perth & Kinross (Cowie 1978)	Cremated remains within vessel (A). Cremated remains not identified	Lozenge shaped flat toggle with two circular perforations	Enlarged Food Vessel		
Kinneill Mill, Stirlingshire (Marriott 1968)	Cremation of an adult, possibly over 30 years of age, possibly male, within urn 1	Elongated lozenge shaped flat toggle with four evenly spaced perforations.	Cordoned		GrA-19425, 3420±45BP, 1860-1630 cal BC at 1 sigma, 1800-1600 cal BC at 2σ.(Sheridan 2007)
Eweford, East Lothian (McLaren 2007; McLaren *unpublished*)	Cremated remains within pit 064 representing multiple individuals.	Small sub-rectangular flat toggle with a single central circular perforation	no urn		
Balnabraid, Argyll & Bute (Galloway 1920)	Cremation of an adult 20-25 years, found within urn in cist 5	Sub-rectangular flat toggle with two circular perforations	Cordoned Urn	149 fragments of bronze sheeting (179)	
Deskford, Morayshire (ii) (McLaren *forthcoming a*)	scattered un-urned cremation deposit of 26-45 year old adult female	sub-rectangular flat bone toggle with two circular perforations	no urn	See Deskford (i)	GrA-24885, 3370±45, 1750-1520 call BC at 2σ (Hunter *pers comm*.)
Moncreiffe, Perth & Kinross (i) (Close-Brooks 1985)	cremation within urn. Cremated remains not identifed.	Sub-rectangular flat toggle with two oval perforations	Cordoned/Collared Urn	Perforated bone pin and a flat plate with expanded semi-circular ends. Circular perforation at both ends.	

Site	Context	Toggle type	Urn type	Accompany items	Date
Lesmurdie Road, Elgin, Morayshire (McLaren *forthcoming b*)	Context 22. ass with cremated remains of 4-5 year old child	Oval flat toggle with two large circular perforations at either end and a small central oval perforation	Collared Urn	Accessory cup	GrA-24854, 3410±45BP, 1860-1620 cal BC at 1 sigma, 1880-1530 cal BC at 2σ (Sheridan *pers comm.*)
Park of Tongland, Dumfries and Galloway (McLellan 1992)	Cremated remains of an adult within inverted urn.	Incomplete sub-circular flat toggle with the remains of two small centrally placed perforations	Collared Urn	Accessory cup	GU-2379, 3480±50BP, 1930-1680 call BC at 2σ (Sheridan *2007*)
Moncreiffe, Perth & Kinross (ii) (Close-Brooks 1985)	Cremation within urn. Cremated remains not identifed.	flat plate toggle with expanded semi-circular ends, both with circular perforation	Cordoned/Collared Urn	Perforated bone pin and sub-rectangular double perforated flat bone toggle (see i)	

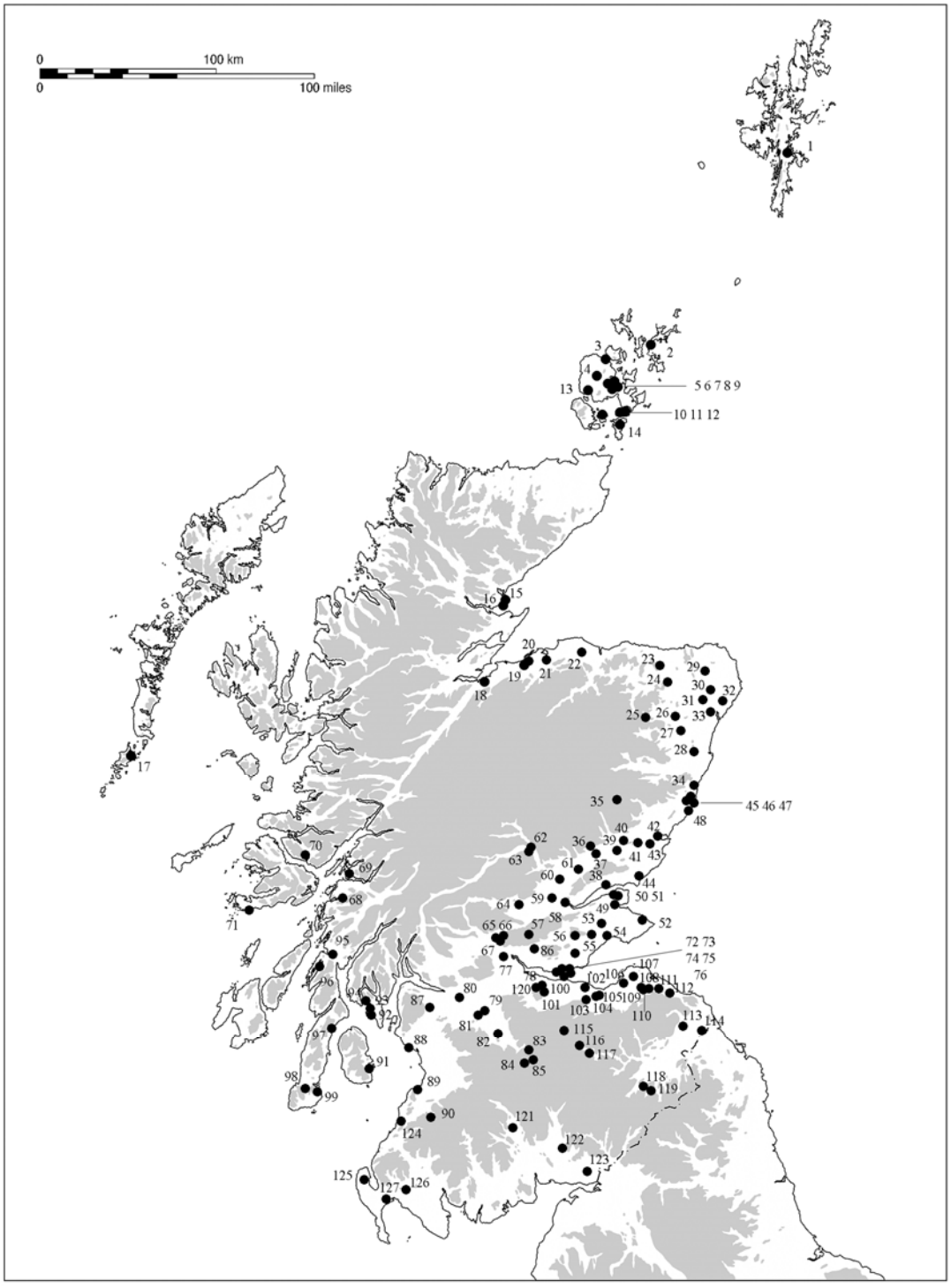


Figure 5.1
Distribution of children's burial (by inhumation and after cremation) sites in Scotland
(Key on following page)

1. Little Asta
2. Loth Road
3. Taft's Mound
4. Knowes of Quoyscottie
5. Ferndale
6. Crantit
7. Gitterpitten
8. Varme Dale
9. Riffs
10. Gyre Farm
11. Backakeldy
12. Blomuir
13. Linga Fiold
14. Quarrel Geo
15. Dornoch
16. Embo
17. Allasdale
18. Raigmore
19. Lochloy
20. Auchlin
21. Findhorn
22. Lesmurdie
23. Kiltry Knock
24. Upper Mains
25. Loanhead of Daviot
26. Seggiecrook
27. Broomend of Crichie
28. Borrowstone
29. Strichen
30. Howford
31. Skillmafilly
32. Hillhead of Fechil
33. Uppermills
34. Ury
35. Wellgrove
36. East Campsie
37. Mains of Airlie
38. Ninewells
39. Newmontmill
40. Barnyards
41. Mains of Melgund
42. Fordhouse
43. Graham's Firth
44. West Scryne
45. Nether Criggie
46. Beattie's Hill
47. Spurryhillock
48. Catterline
49. Brackmontmill
50. Westwood
51. Tayford
52. Pitmilly
53. Kirkton
54. Holly Road
55. Balfarg
56. Kilmagood
57. Northmains
58. Upper Muirhall
59. Loanleven
60. Murthy
61. Beech Hill House
62. Grantully
63. Sketewan
64. Callum's Hill
65. Doune
66. Barbush Quarry
67. Glenhead
68. Dalneun
69. Benderloch
70. Ardachy
71. Acharn
72. Aberdour Road
73. Blackhills
74. Ferniehill
75. Barns Farm
76. Craigdhu
77. Coneypark
78. Bridgeness
79. Springwell Farm
80. Hillend Farm
81. Mount Vernon
82. Patrickholm Sands
83. Cloburn Quarry
84. Limefield Cairn
85. Boatbridge Quarry
86. Dollar
87. South Mound, Houston
88. Auchanharvie
89. Doonfoot
90. Gerloch
91. Knockankelly
92. Little Kilmory
93. Auchantirie
94. Glenvoiden
95. Portalloch
96. Tayvallich
97. Cour
98. Balloch Hill
99. Balnabraid Bridgeness
100. Blackness
101. Saxe-coburn
102. Braid Hills
103. Bellfield
104. Kirkpark
105. West Fenton
106. West Links
107. Phantassie
108. Nunraw
109. Eweford
110. Dryburn Bridge
111. Innerwick
112. Broomhills
113. East Barns
114. West Water Reservoir
115. Horsburgh Castle Farm
116. Harehope
117. Menslaws
118. Dunion Hill
119. Mill Road
120. Carronbridge
121. Lockerbie
122. Mossknowe
123. Coalpits
124. Glengyre
125. Carsecreugh
126. Glenluce



Figure 5.2
Age distribution of young children in Scotland

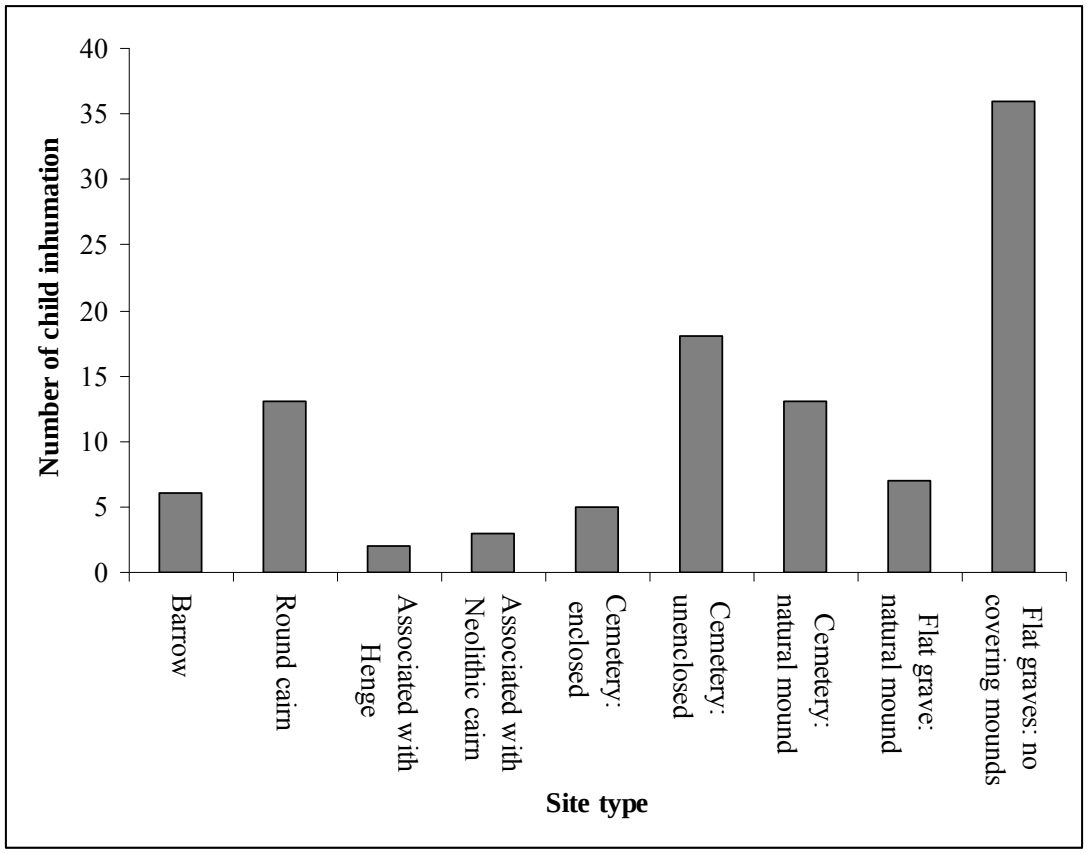


Figure 5.3
Site types associated with child inhumation burials in Scotland

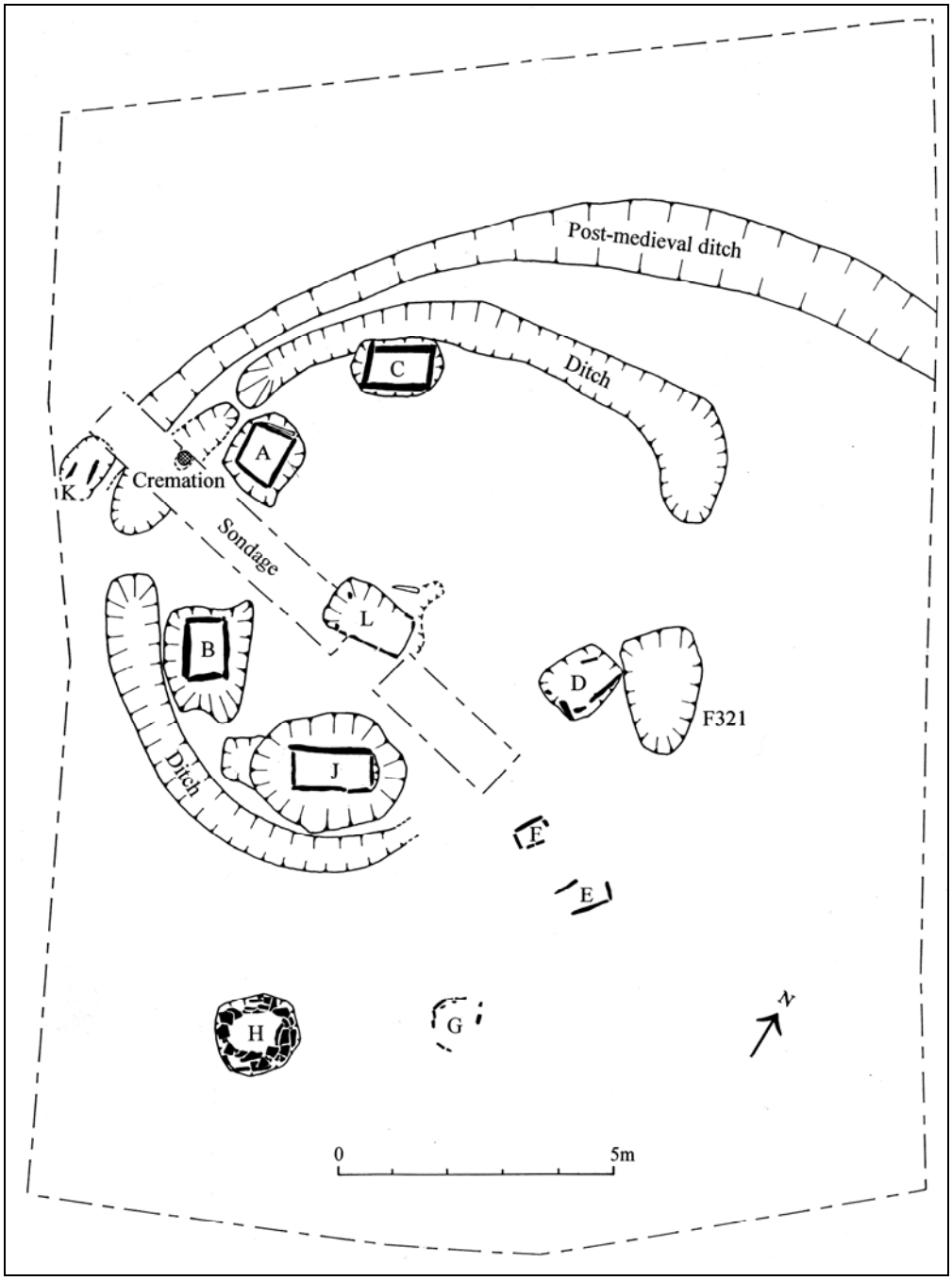


Figure 5.4
Plan of the enclosed Early Bronze Age cemetery at Holly Road, Leven, Fife
(after Lewis & Terry 2004, illus 3)

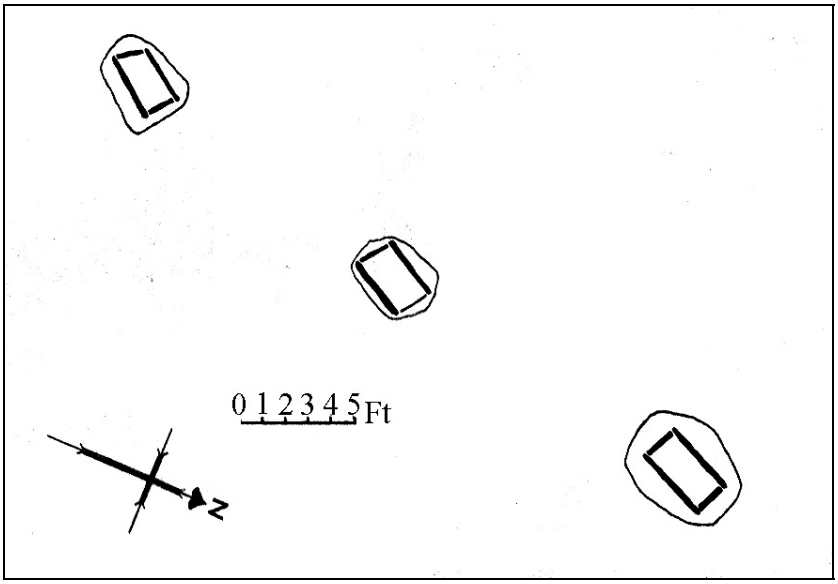


Figure 5.5
Linear arrangement of three cists from Little Kilmory, Buteshire
(after Marshall & Bryce 1934)

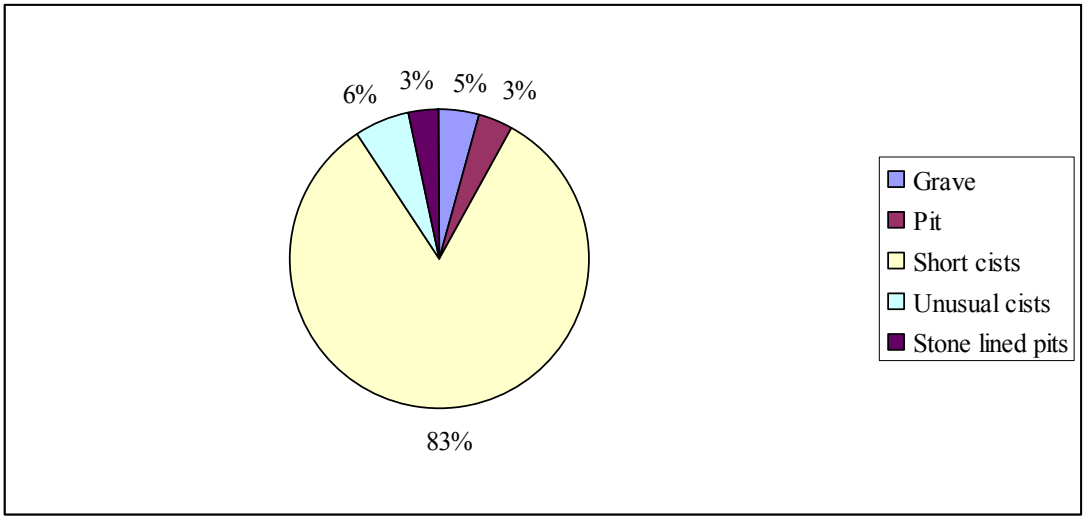


Figure 5.6
Range of grave settings associated with children's inhumation burials in Scotland



Figure 5.7
Short cist containing the crouched inhumation of a child from Holly Road, Leven, Fife
(Lewis & Terry 2004, illus 5)

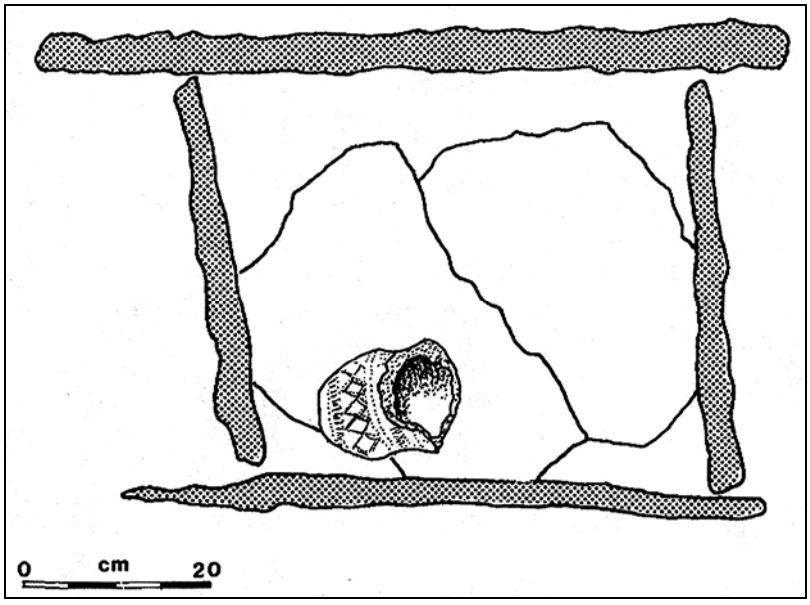


Figure 5.8
The short cist from Catterline, Kincardineshire with stone paving
(Small 1982, illus 2)



Figure 5.9
Stone-lined pit (grave 303) containing a crouched child inhumation and later cremation deposit from Allasdale Dunes, Barra
(copyright Wessex Archaeology Ltd)

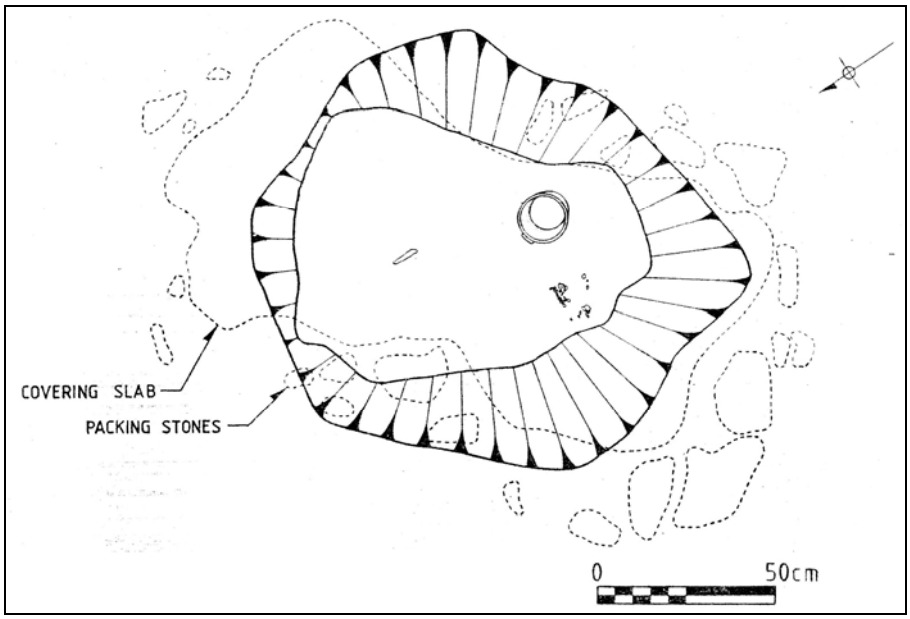


Figure 5.10
Grave containing crouched inhumation of an adolescent at Balfarg, Fife
(after Mercer 1981, fig 15)

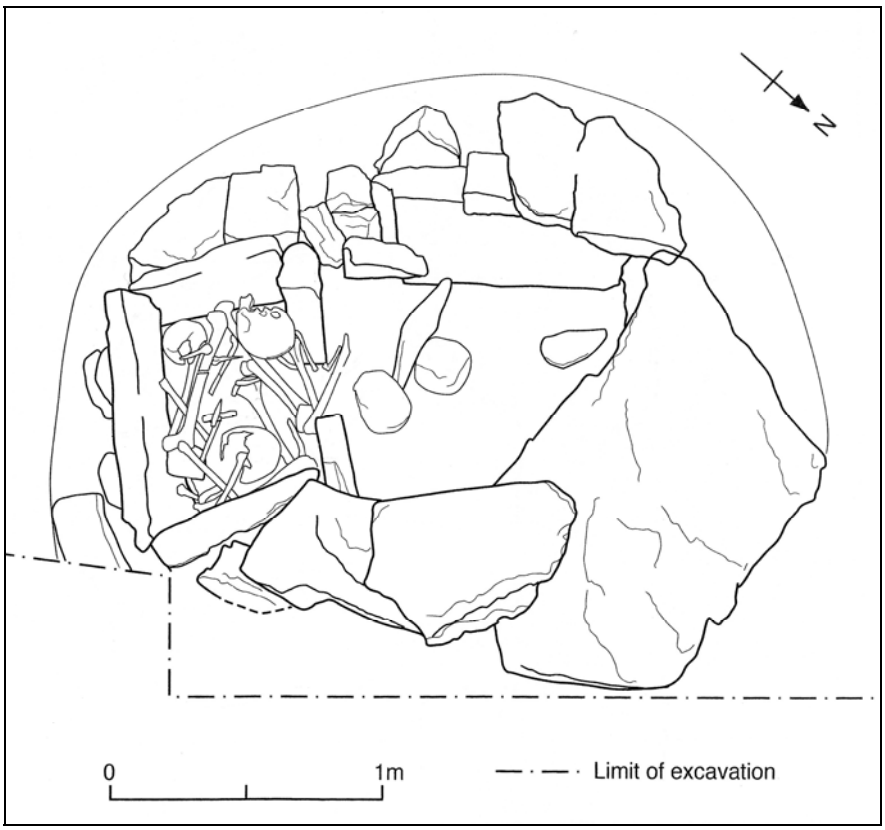


Figure 5.11
Segmented cist containing disarticulated human bones from Gyre Farm, Orkney
(after Simpson *et* al 2007, illus 3)

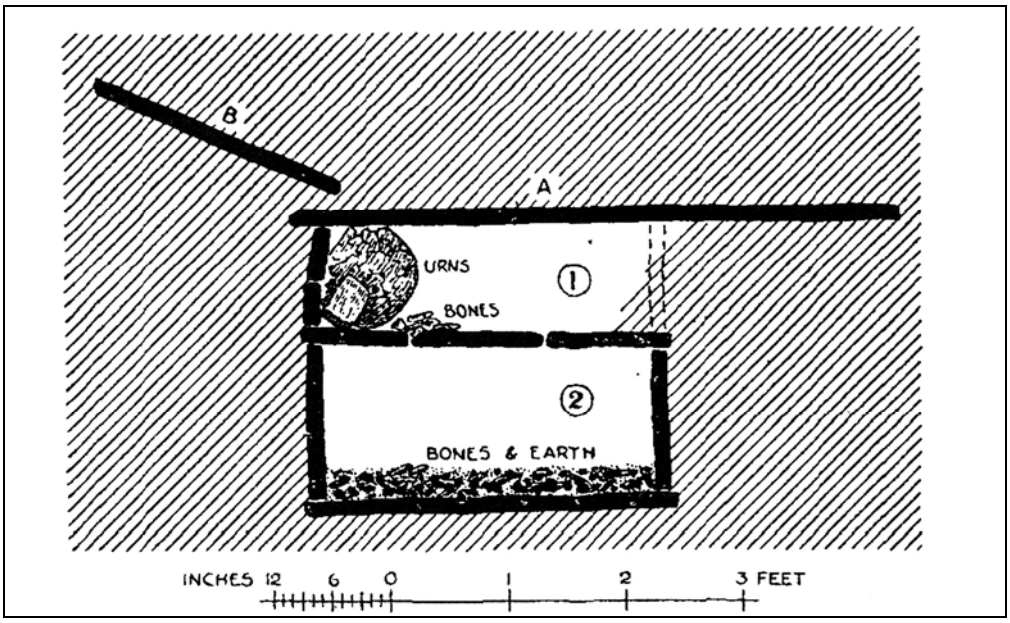


Figure 5.12
Two-tiered cist from Little Asta, Shetland
(Corrie 1932, figure 1)

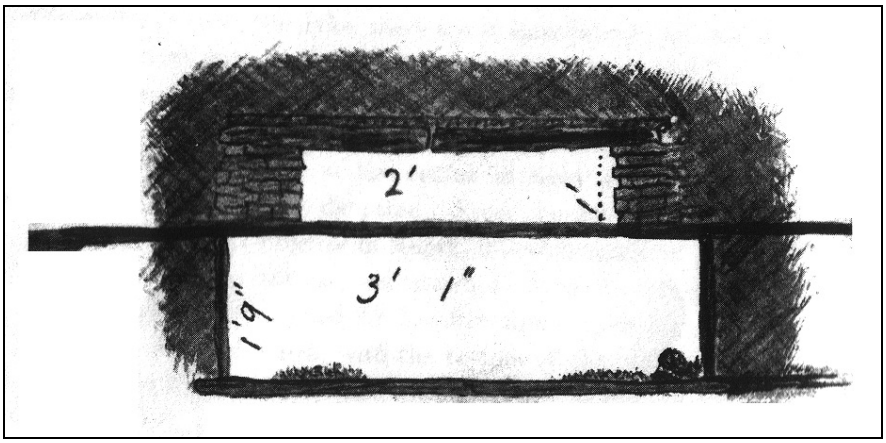


Figure 5.13
Unusual two-storeyed cist from Crantit, Orkney
(Marwick 1924, fig 1)

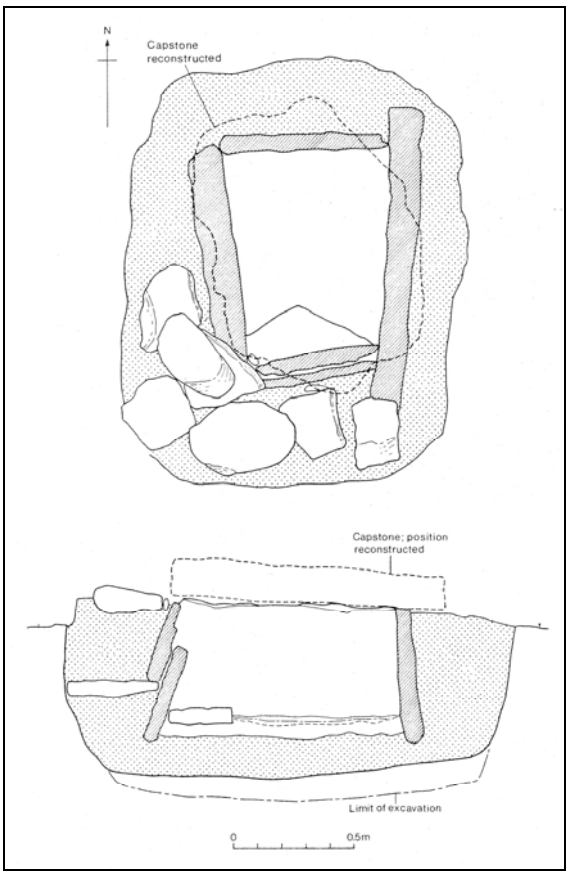


Figure 5.14
Short cist with removable south-end slab for continued access
(Cook 2000, illus 2)

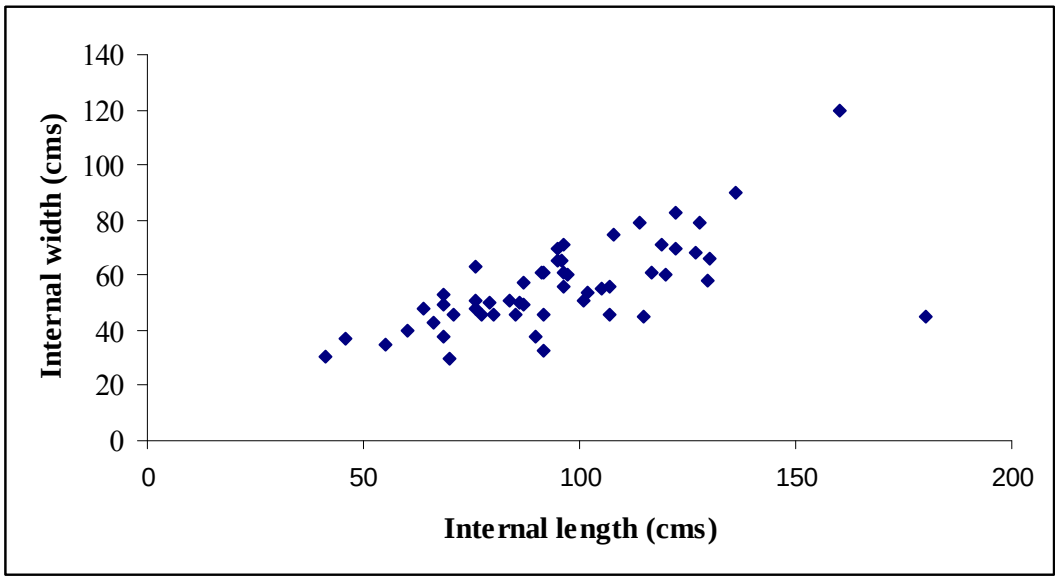


Figure 5.15
Scatter diagram showing range of internal cist dimensions associated with child burials[1]

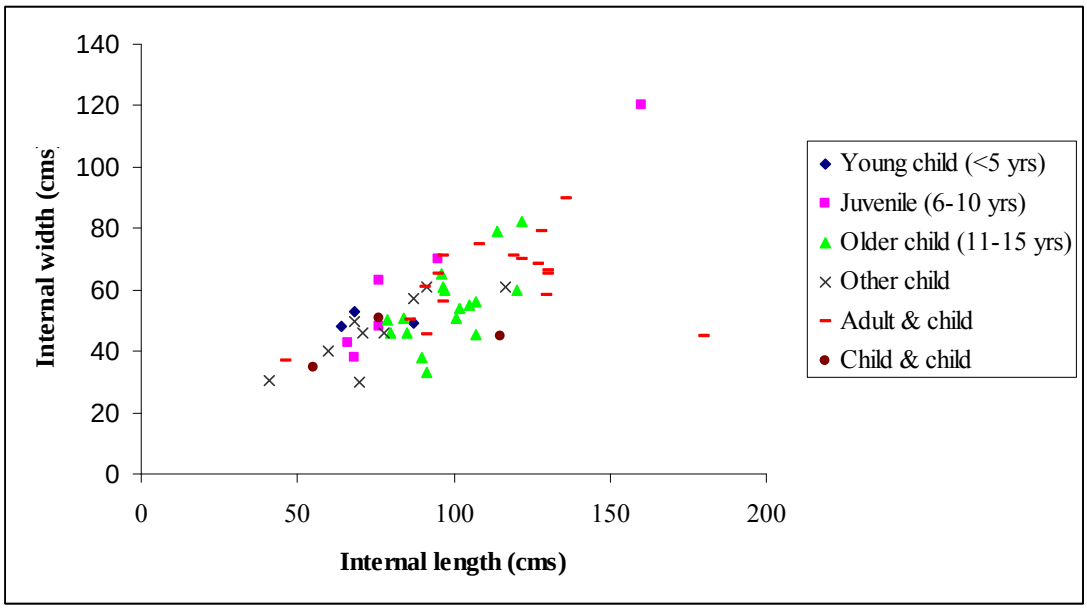


Figure 5.16
Scatter diagram of internal cist dimensions of child burials by age group

[1] All dimensions quoted in the original publications have been converted and displayed here in centimetres for the sake of consistency and clarity.

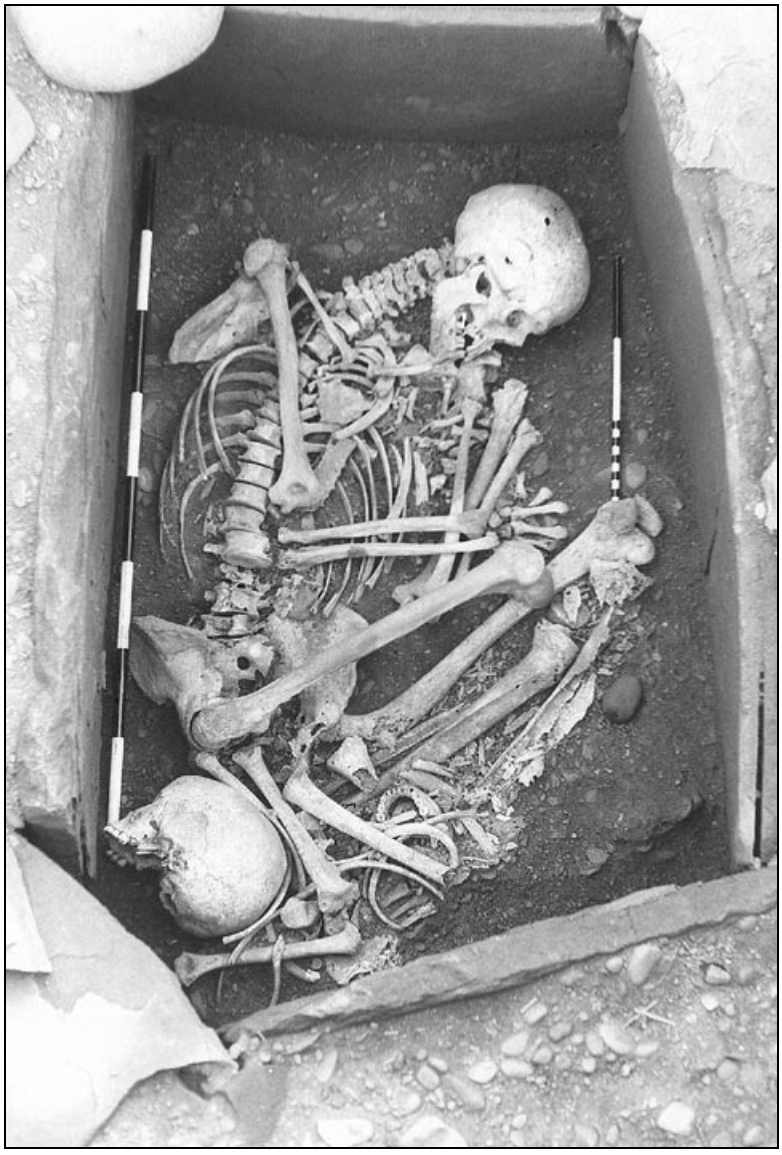


Figure 5.17
Cist 2 at Dryburn Bridge, East Lothian.
(Dunwell 2007, illus 8)

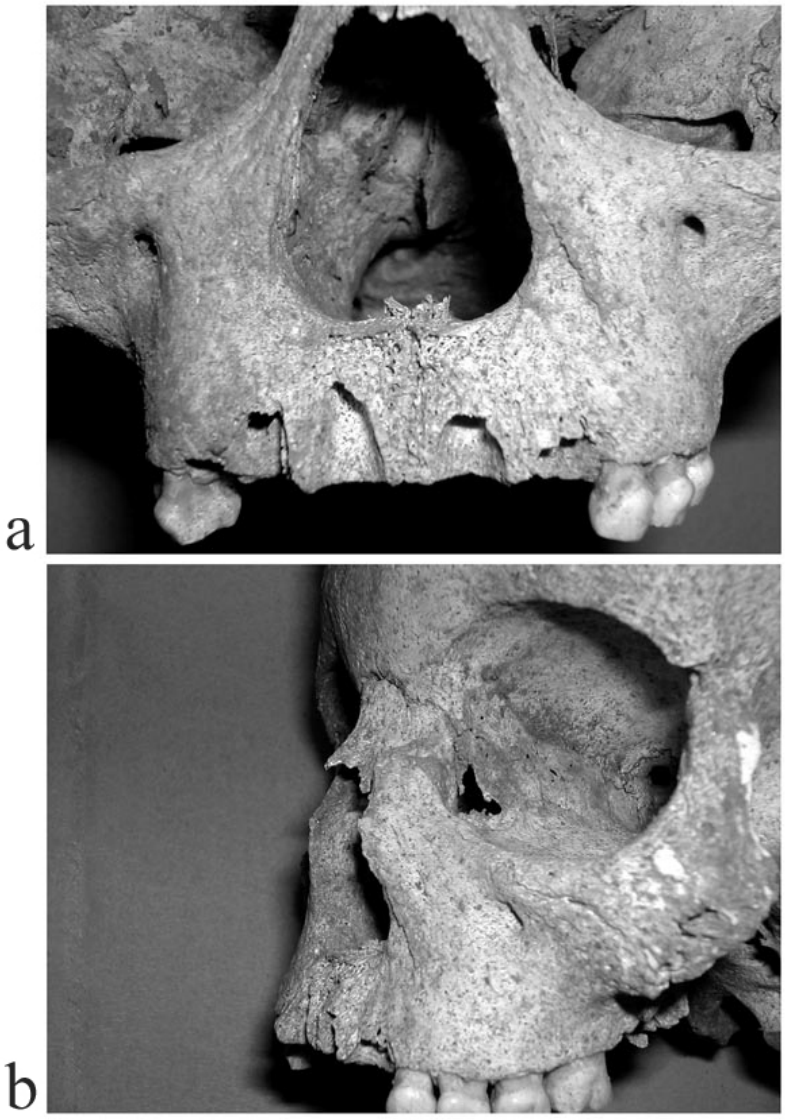


Figure 5.18
Remodelling of the nasal aperture (a) and maxilla (b) of a child at Dryburn Bridge, East Lothian caused by secondary infection from Tuberculosis (after Dunwell 2007, illus 15 & 16)

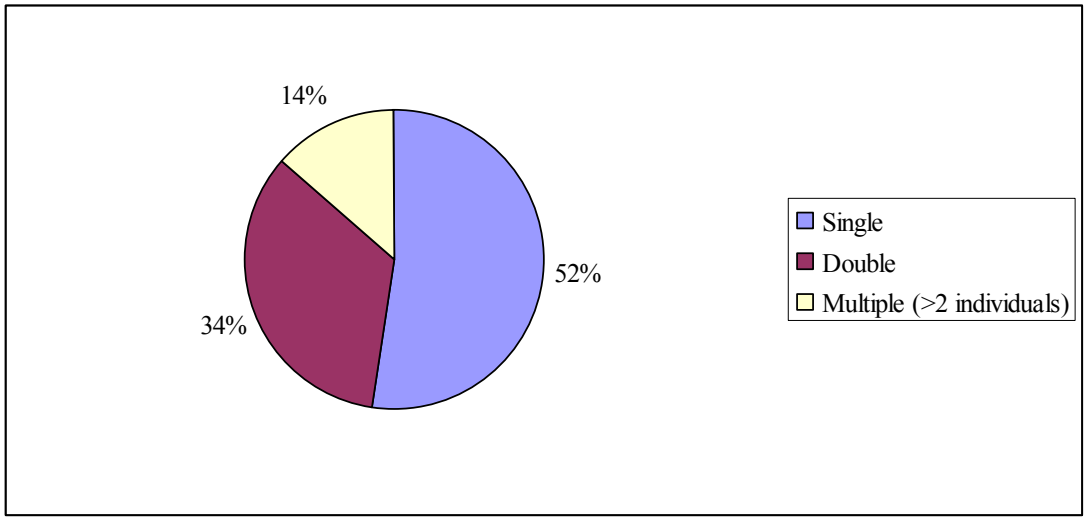


Figure 5.19
Number of individuals within inhumed children's graves in Scotland

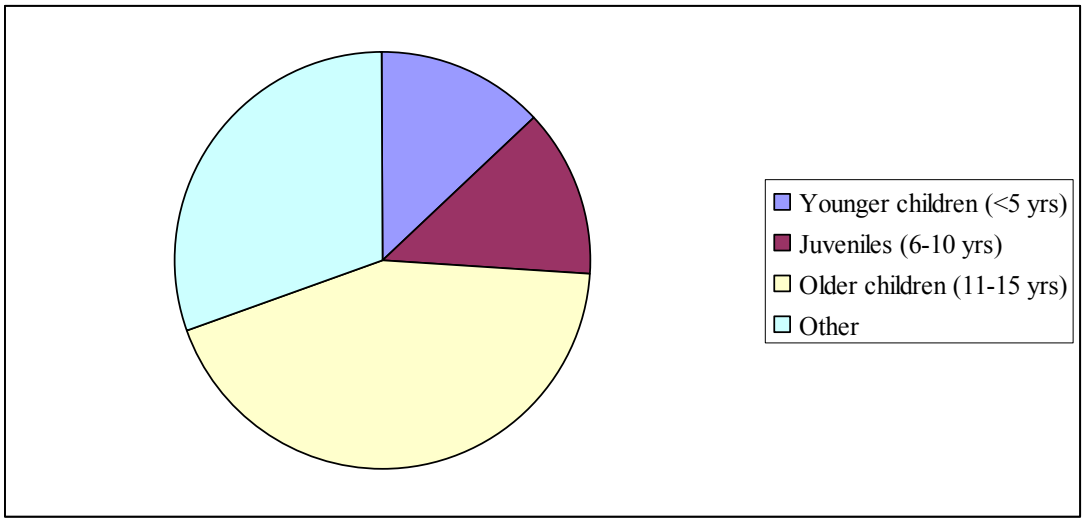


Figure 5.20
Ages of children within single inhumation burials in Scotland

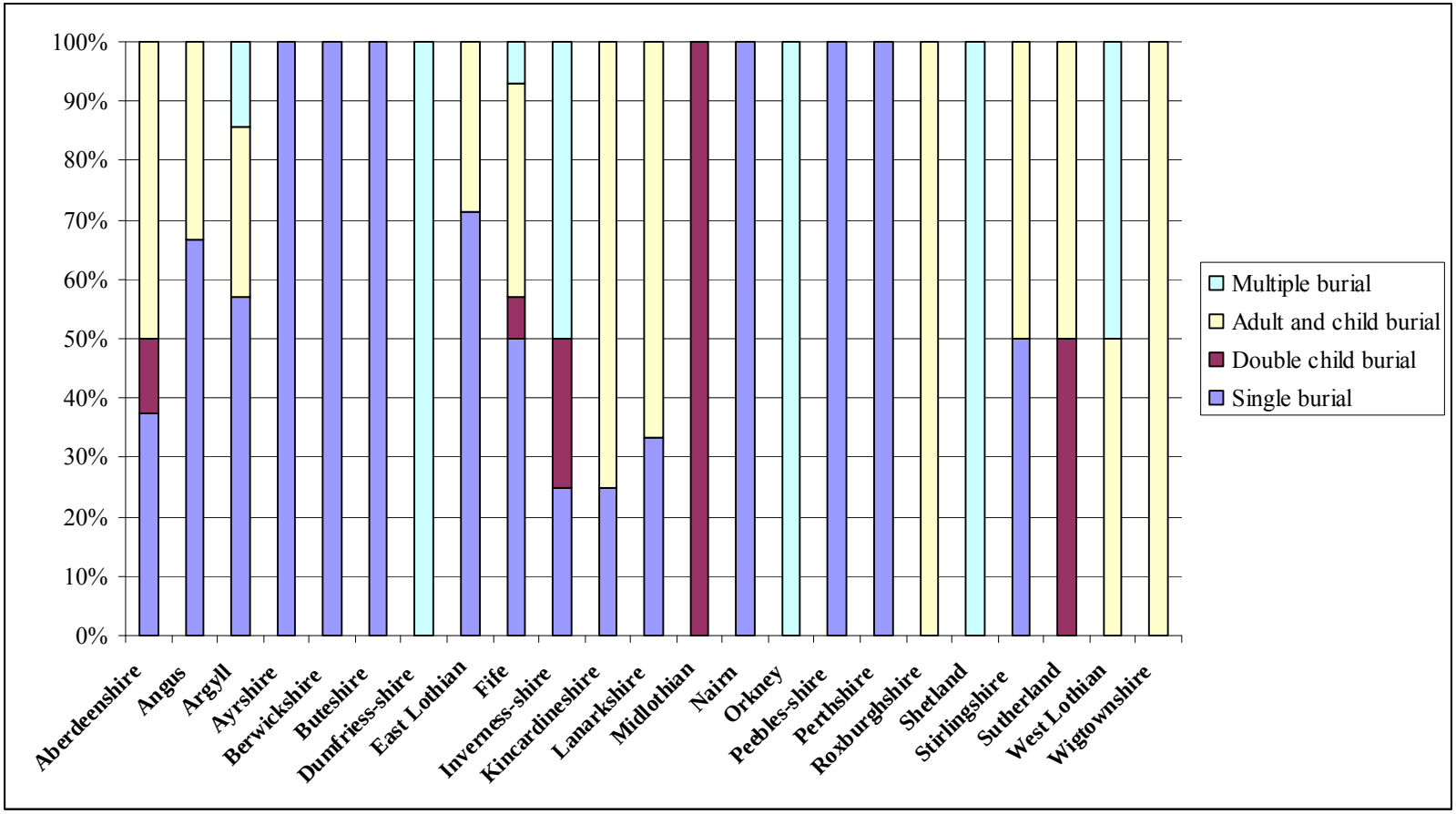


Figure 5.21
Proportion of the number of individuals accompanying child inhumations by county in Scotland

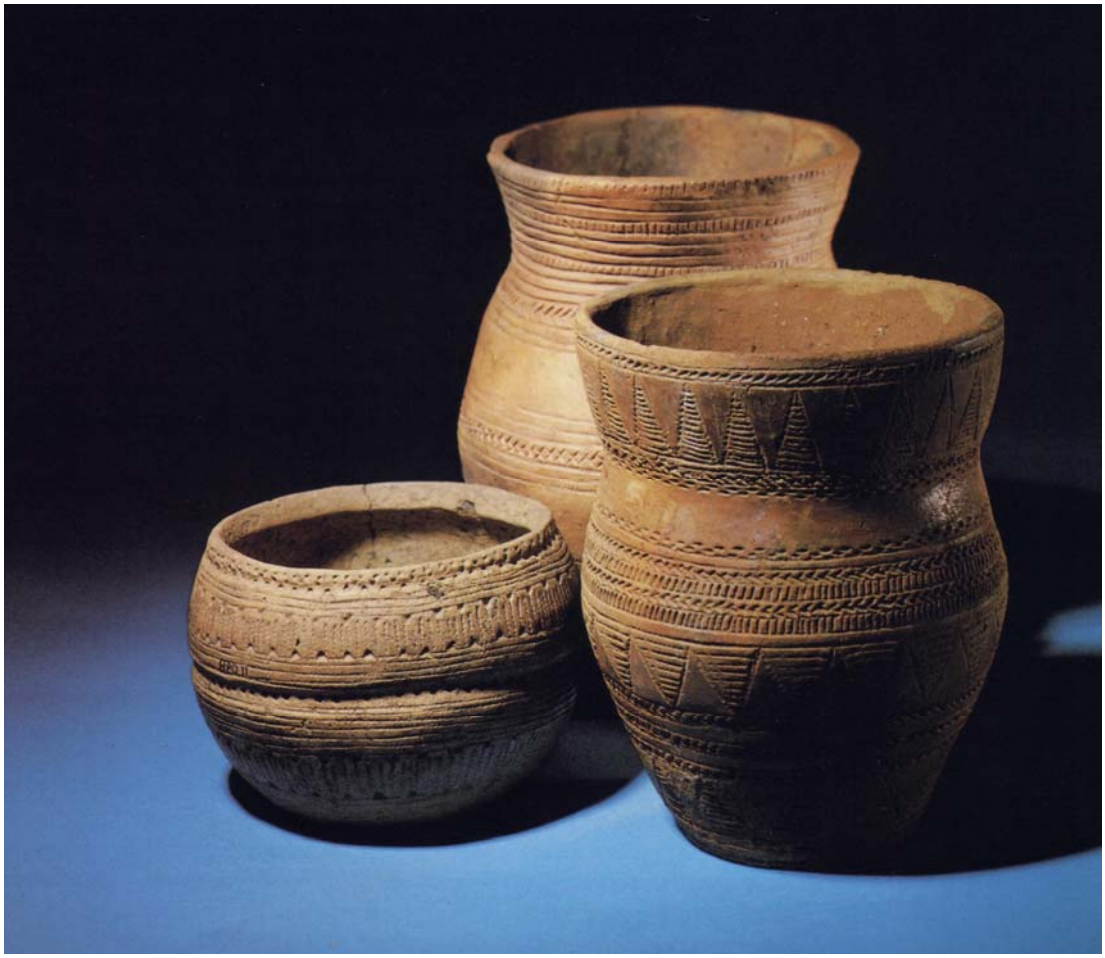


Figure 5.22
Typical pottery forms associated with Earlier Bronze Age burials (Clarke *et al* 1985, illus 5.41).

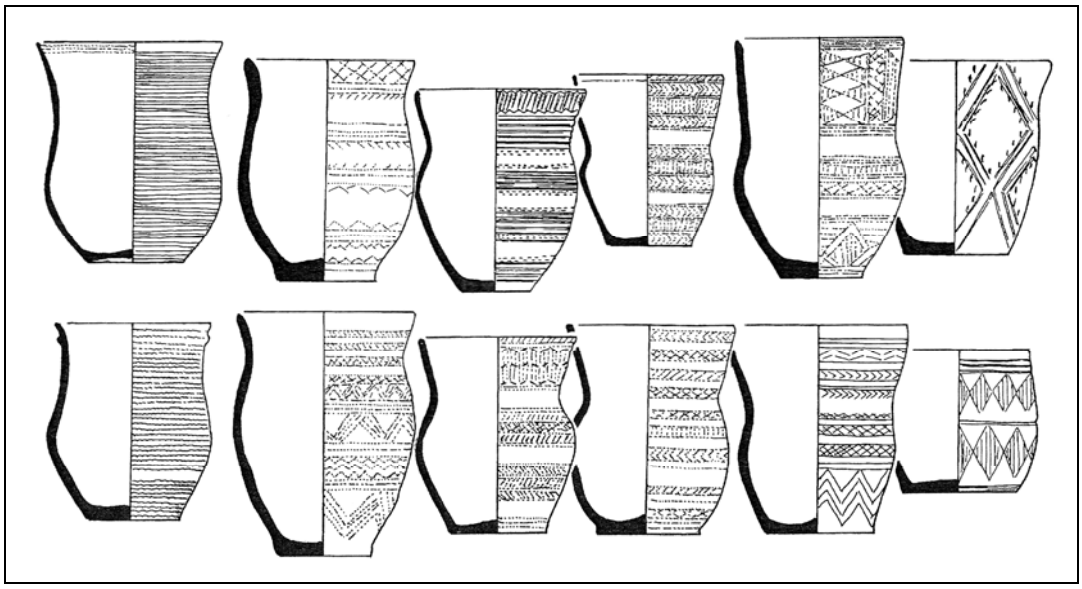


Figure 5.23
Scottish Beaker sequences from Northern and Southern Scotland (not to scale)
(after Gibson 2002, fig 42)

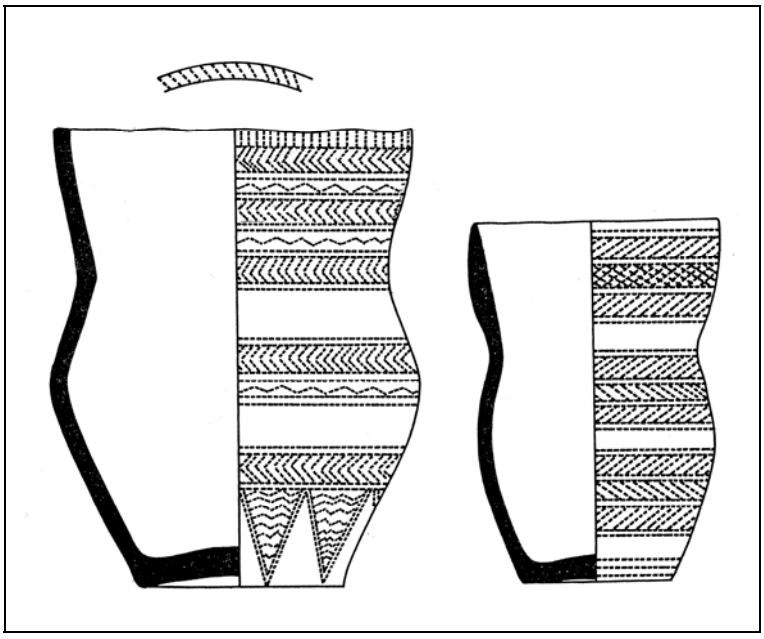


Figure 5.24
Beakers accompanying an adult and infant inhumation at Broomend of Crichie
(after Clarke 1970, fig 542 & fig 544. Scale 1:3)

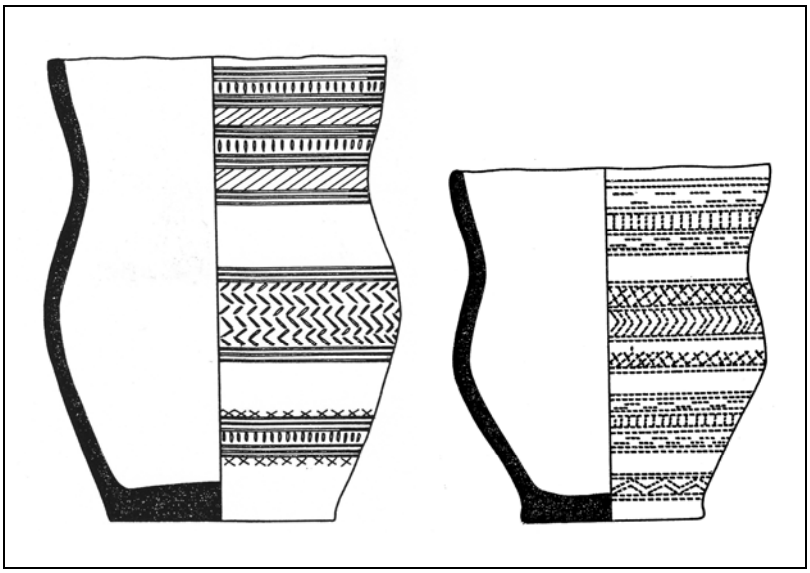


Figure 5.25
Beakers accompanying an adult and child inhumation at Uppermills
(after Clarke 1970, fig 551 & fig 552. Scale 1:3)

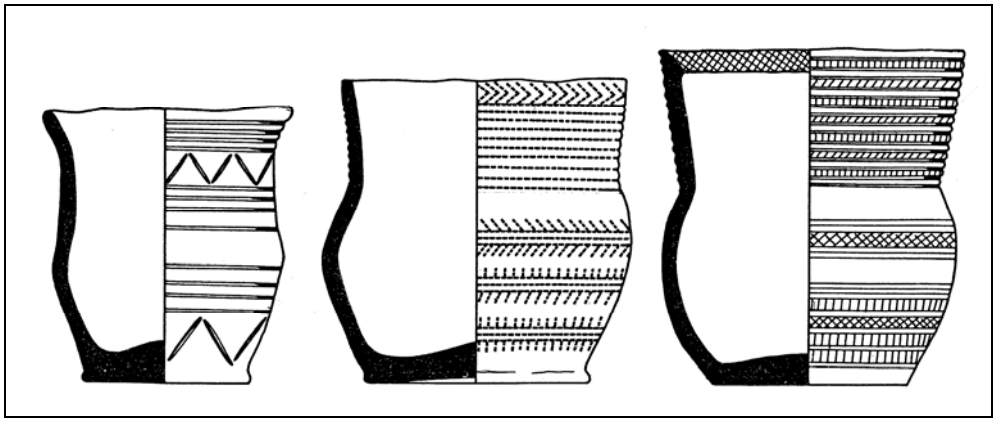


Figure 5.26
Beakers accompanying an adult and child inhumation at Nether Criggie
(after Clarke 1970, fig 322, 323 & 324. Scale 1:3)

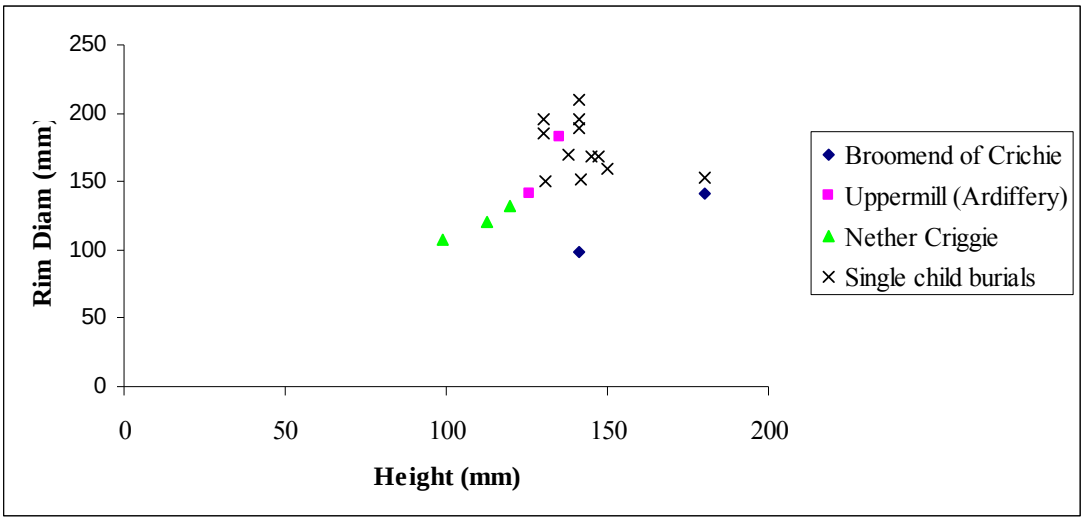


Figure 5.27
Dimensions of Beaker pots associated with child inhumations in Scotland[2]



Figure 5.28
The short cist at Nether Criggie, Aberdeenshire with contents *in situ*
(Kirk & McKenzie 1956, pl I:1)

[2] All recorded dimensions have been converted into millimetres for the sake of consistency and to aid comparison. Where possible, dimensions used have followed that quoted in the published record but measurements have been taken from supporting illustrations where no information is provided.



Figure 5.29
Full and small-sized Beakers from Balblair, Inverness-shire
(copyright Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland)

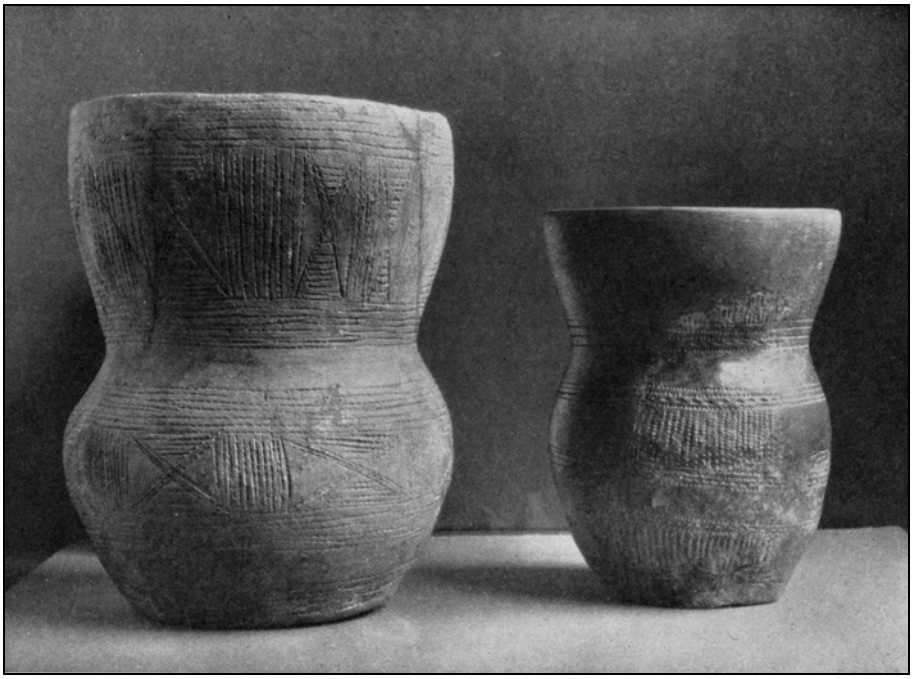


Figure 5.30
Full and small sized Beakers accompanying a double inhumation of an adult and child at Church Hill, Kent (Curwen & Curwen 1935)

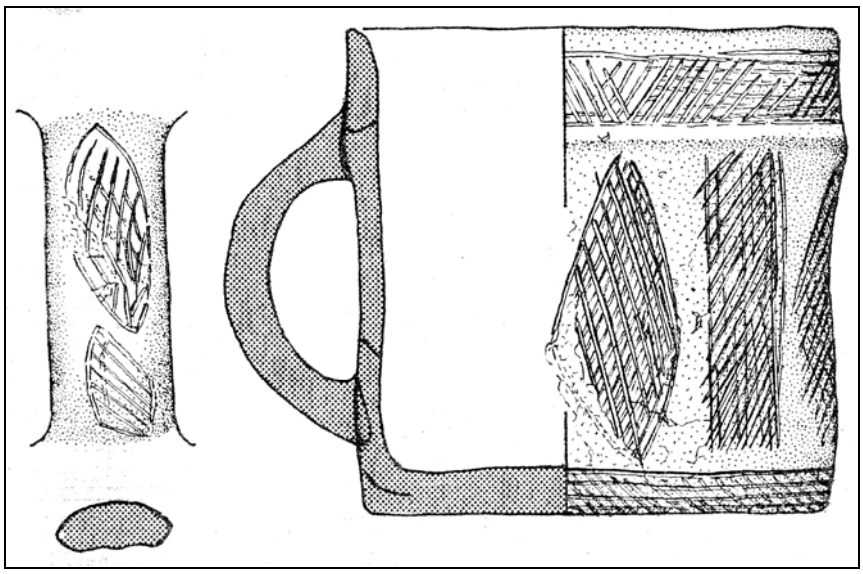


Figure 5.31
Handled Beaker from Balfarg, Fife
(Mercer 1981, fig 45)



Figure 5.32
Capstones of cist 2 at Dryburn Bridge, East Lothian. Note the Beaker to the top right of the photo possibly placed on top of the capstones as a closing deposit
(Dunwell 2007, illus 7)



Figure 5.33
Scottish Food Vessels from Ratho (left) and Pitmilly (Right), and accessory vessel in the form of a miniature Food Vessel from Craigdhu
(copyright Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland)

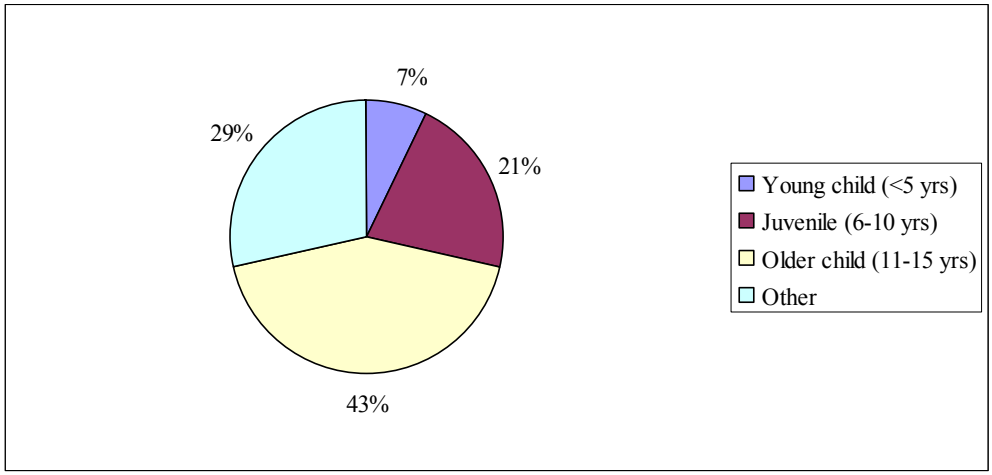


Figure 5.34
Age of children associated with Food Vessel pottery in Scotland

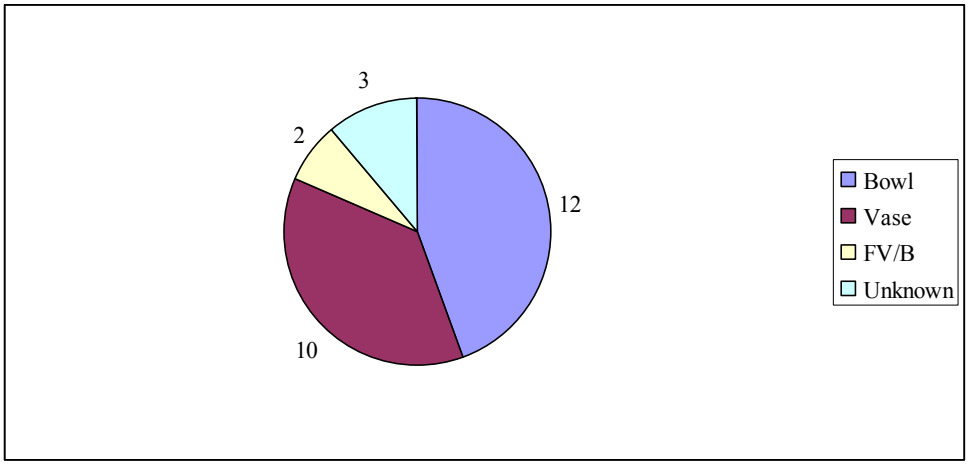


Figure 5.35
Form of Food Vessels associated with child inhumations in Scotland

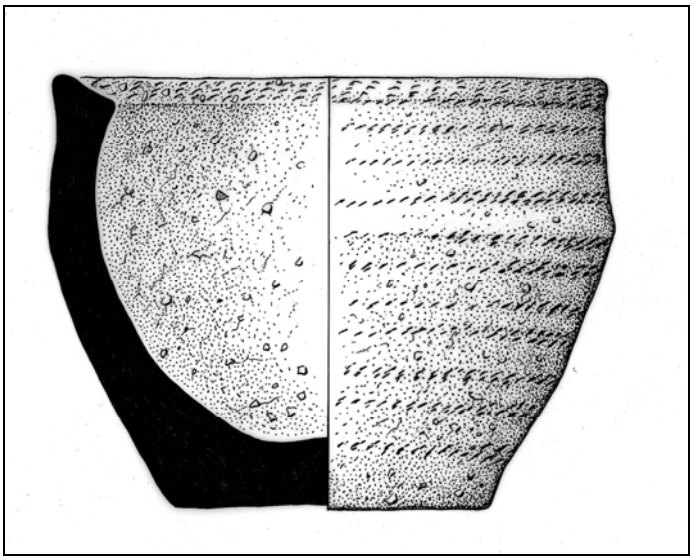


Figure 5.36
Small sized Food Vessel accompanying the burial of a child at Doune, Perthshire
(Illustration by Marion O'Neil)

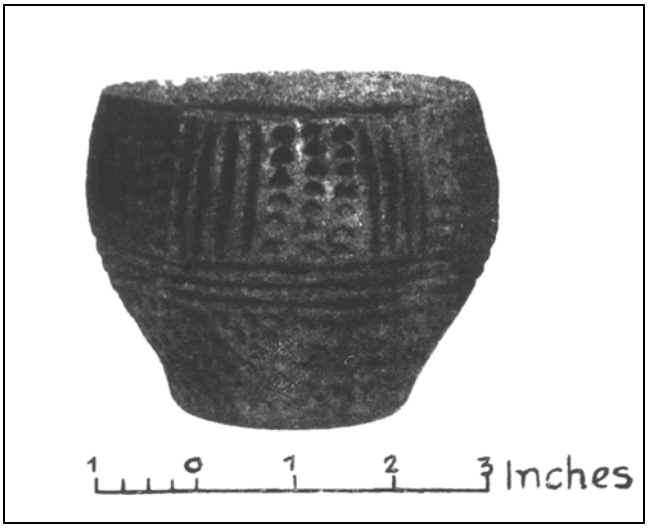


Figure 5.37
Miniture Food Vessel from Bridgeness, West Lothian
(Callander 1924, fig 6)

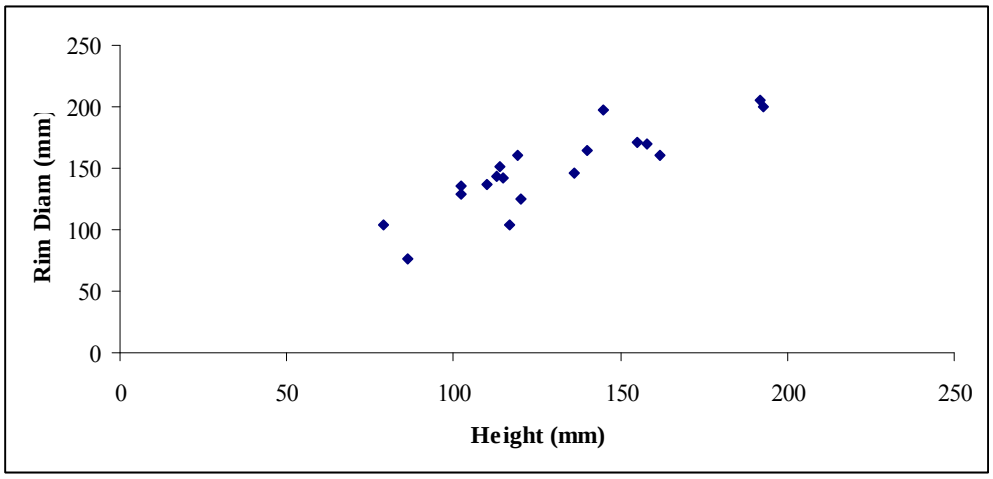


Figure 5.38
Range of sizes of Food Vessels associated with child inhumation burials in Scotland

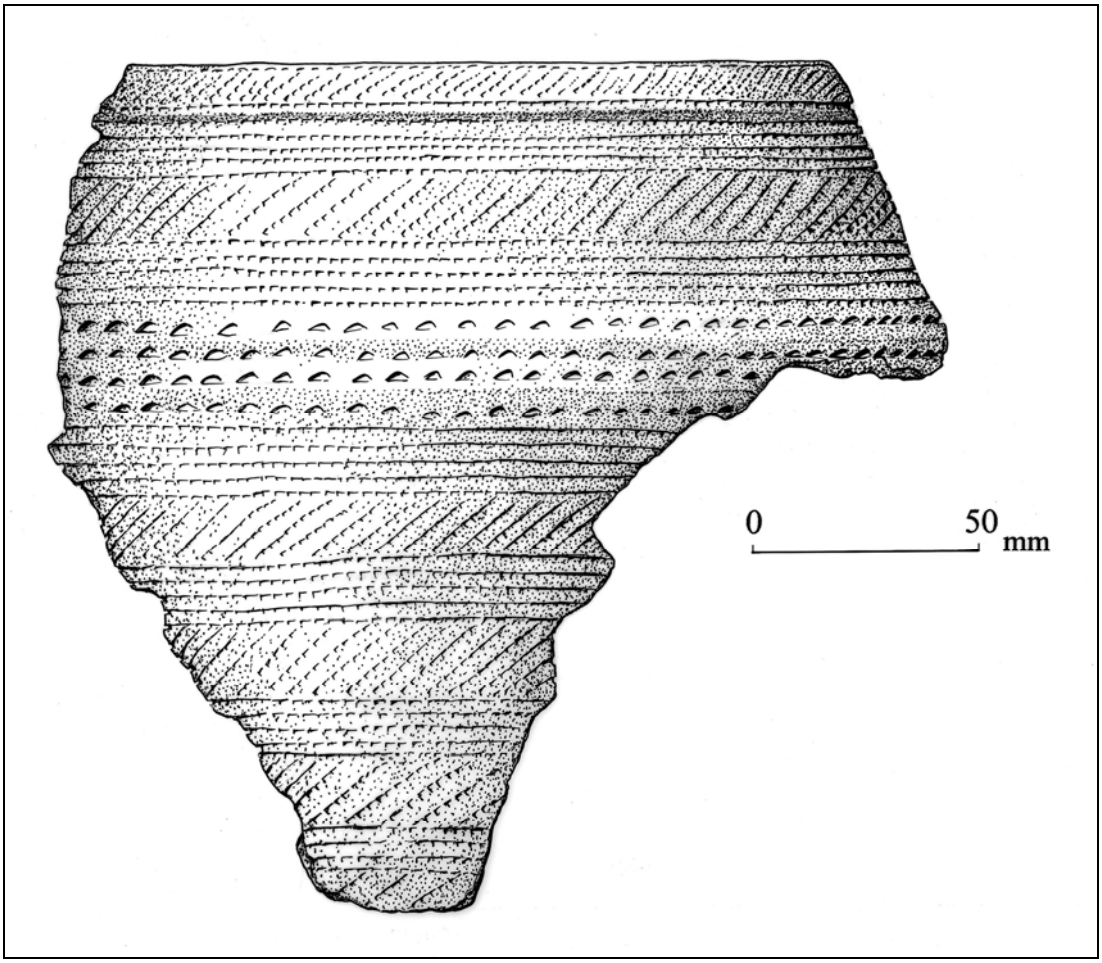


Figure 5.39
A fragmentary Food Vessel from the burial of a child at Doune, Perthshire
(illustration by Marion O'Neil

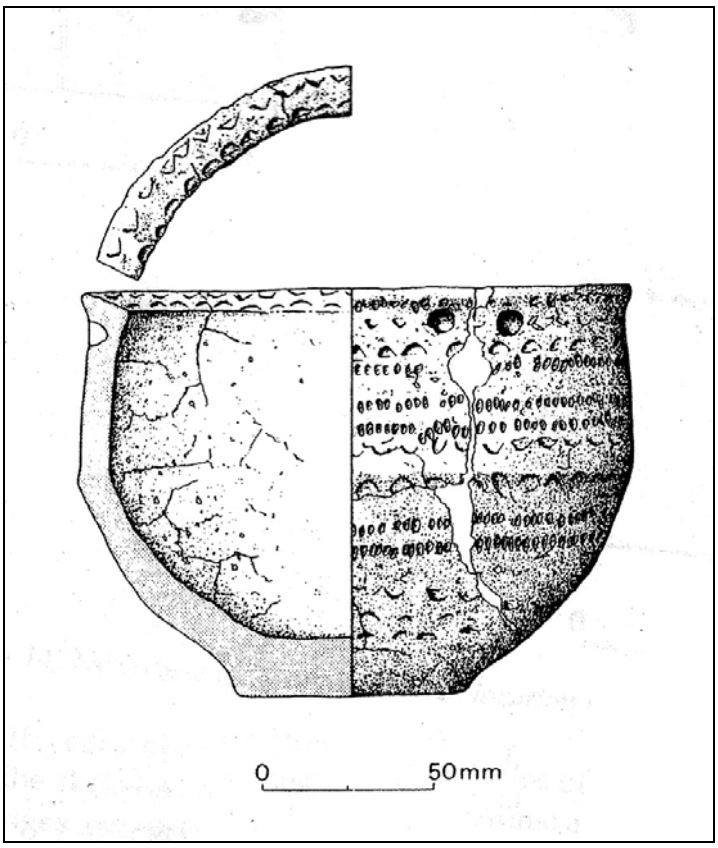


Figure 5.40
Repaired Food Vessel from Barnyards, Angus
(Taylor *et al* 1998, illus 13b)

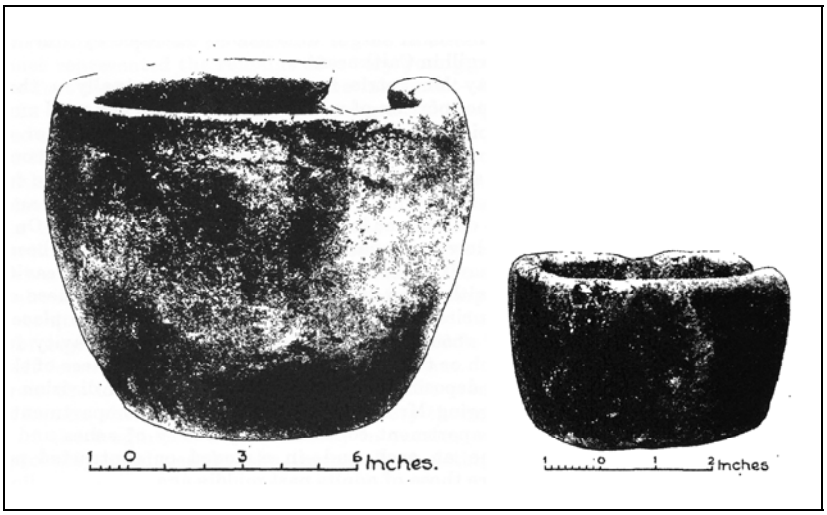


Figure 5.41
Steatite urns from Little Asta, Shetland
(After Marwick 1932, fig 4 & 5)

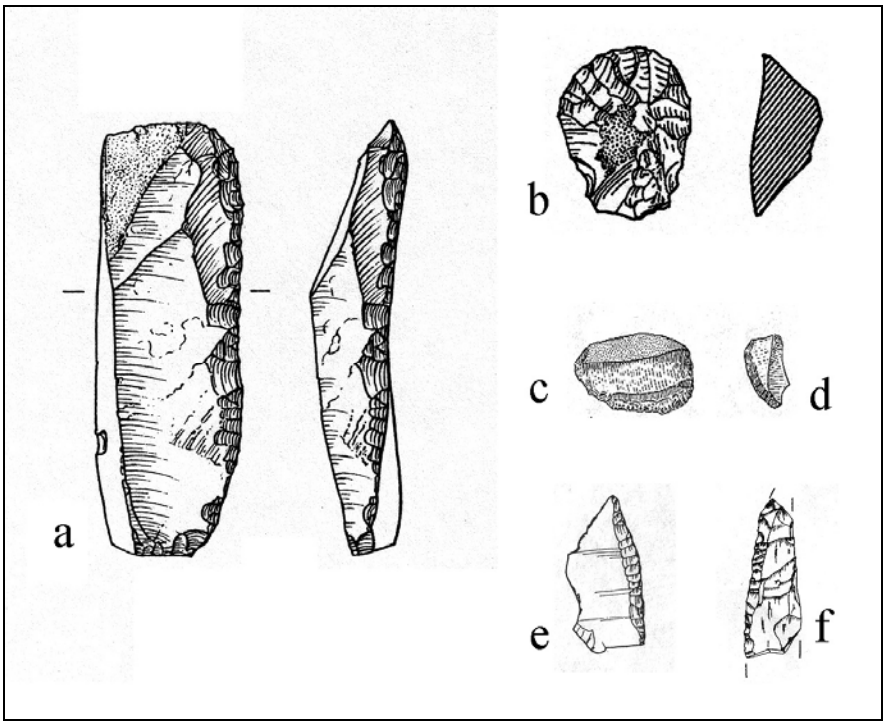


Figure 5.42
Selection of flints associated with child inhumation burials in Scotland
(a: Holly Road, cist *, b: Northmains, c & d: Nether Criggie,
e: Embo, cist II, f: East Campsie: Not to scale)

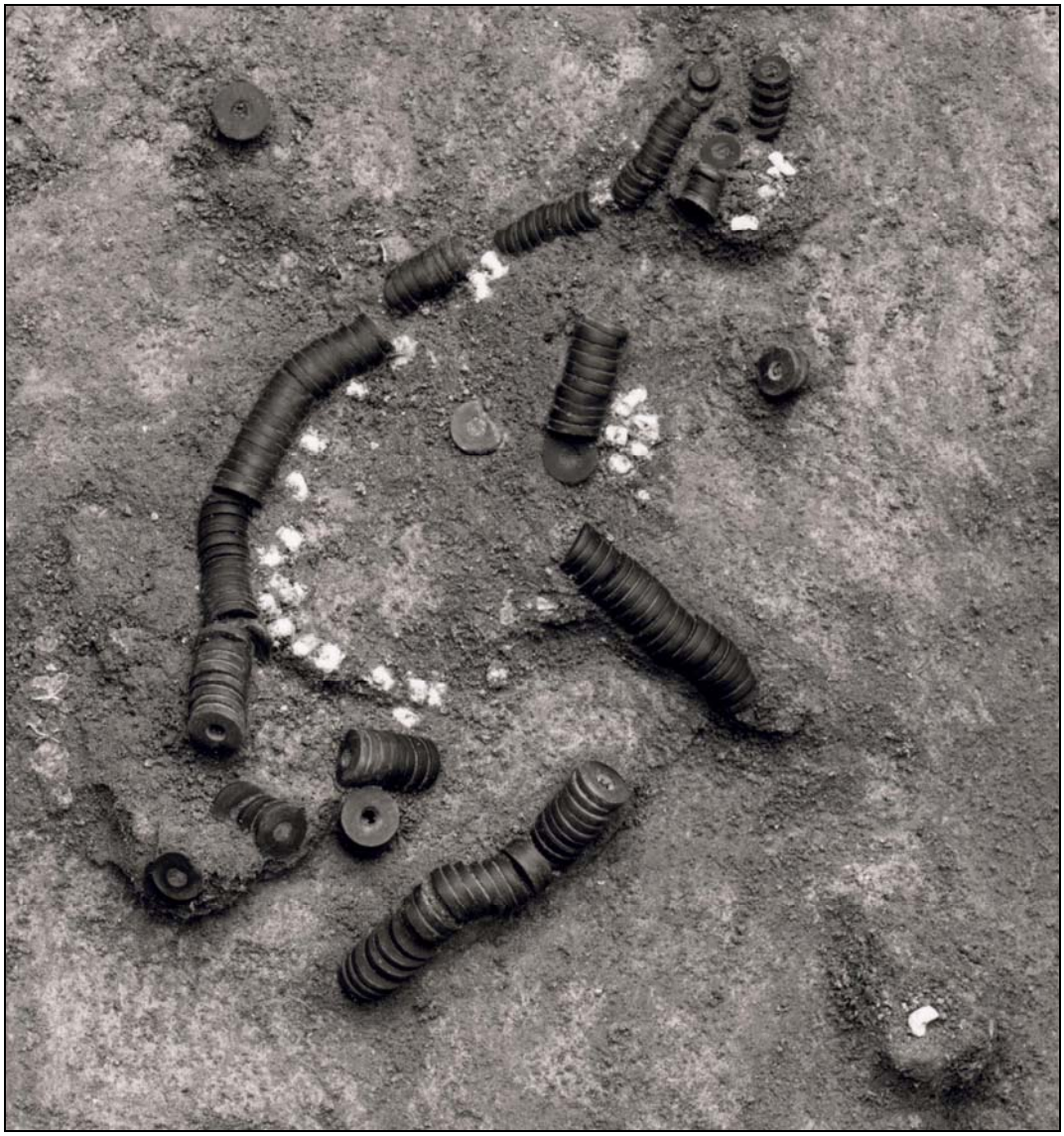


Figure 5.43
Complete disc-bead necklace with a child at West Water Reservoir, Peebleshire
(Copyright Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland)



Figure 5.44
The West Water Reservoir jet and lead necklace
(Copyright Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland)

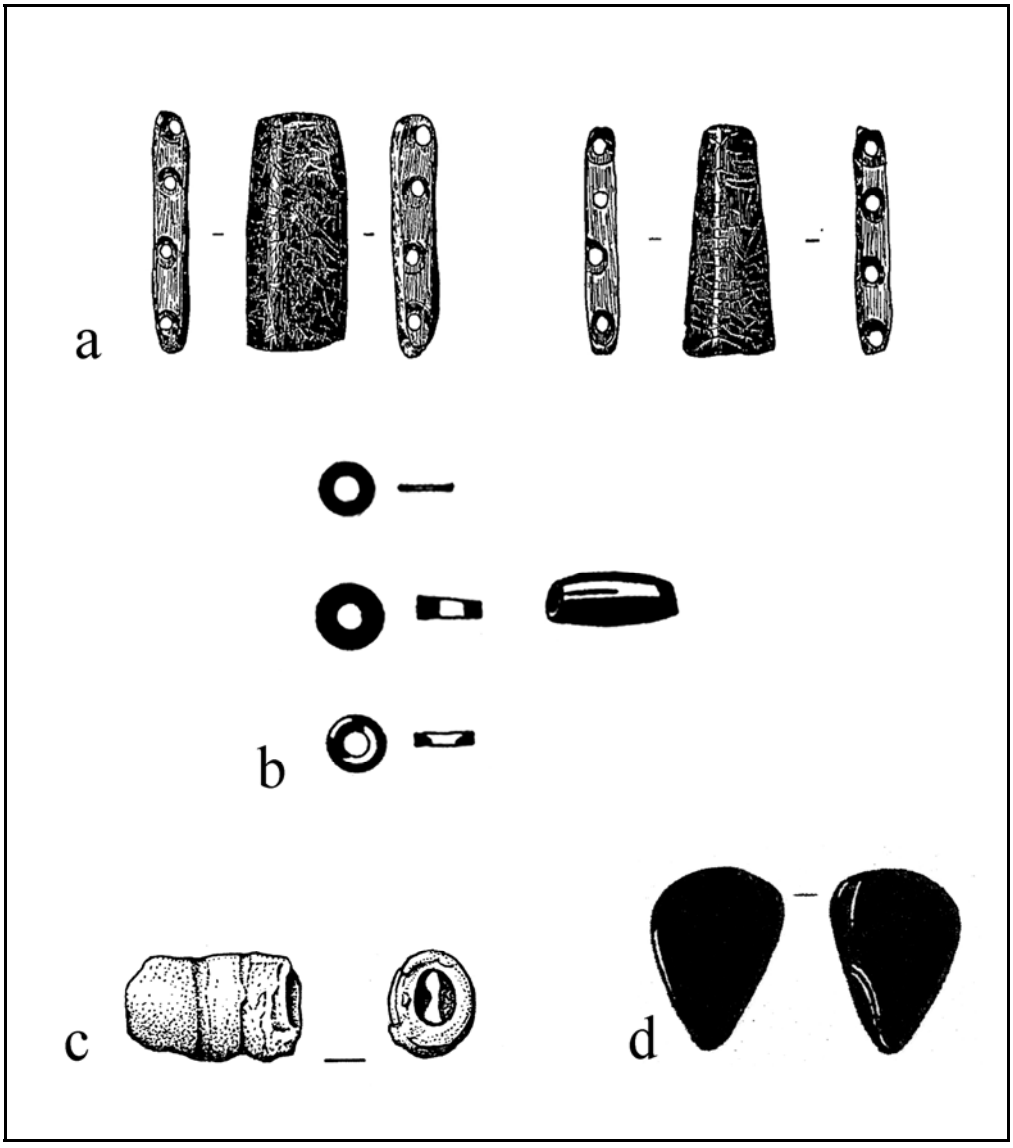


Figure 5.45
A selection of ornaments with child inhumation burials in Scotland
(a: Barns Farm, Fife (SI 43); b) Embo, Sutherland (SI 95);
c) Holly Road, Leven (SI 51); d) Auchenharvie, Ayrshire (SI 23): not to scale)

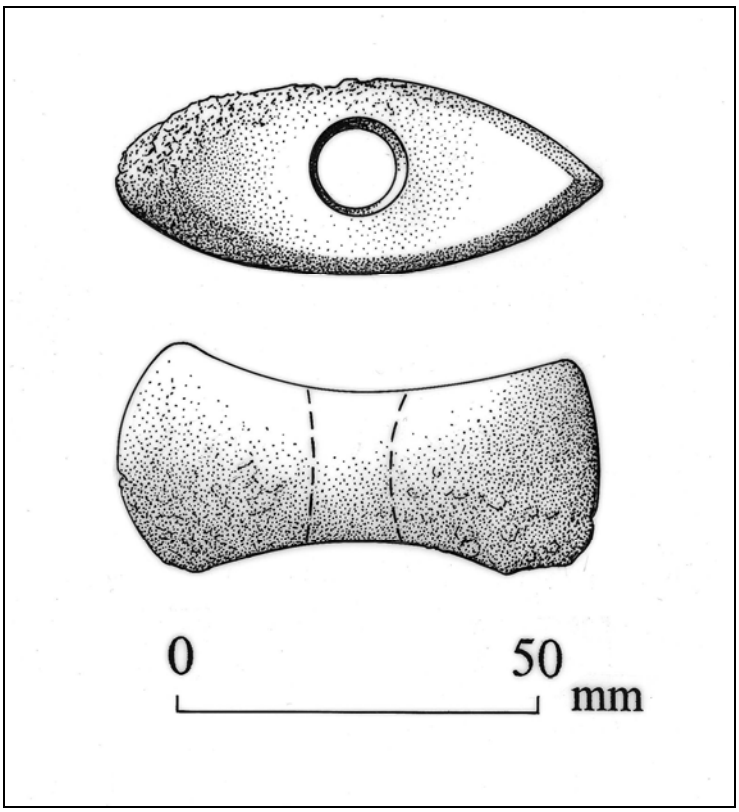


Figure 5.46
The miniature battle-axe from the burial of a 5-7 year old child at Doune, Perthshire
(illustration by Marion O'Neil)



Figure 5.47
A selection of miniature battle-axes from Scotland
(copyright Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland)

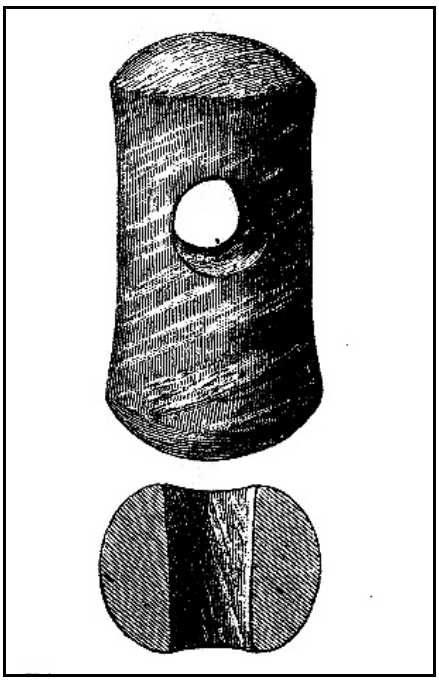


Figure 5.48
Miniature perforated macehead associated with child at Glenhead, Perthshire (Anderson 1883b, fig 11)

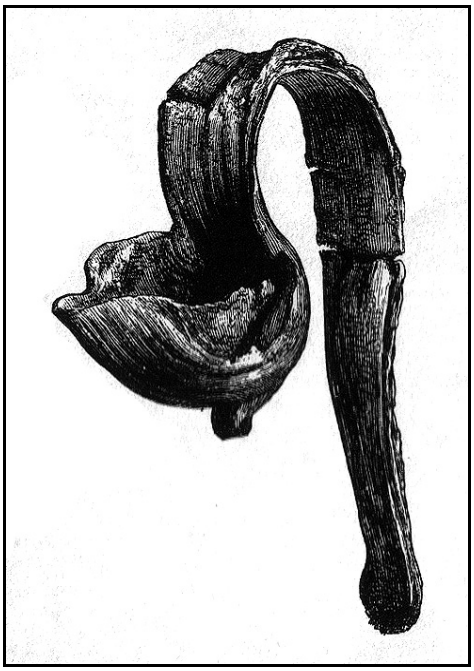


Figure 5.49
Horn spoon or ladle from the inhumation burial of an adult and child at Broomend of Crichie (after Davidson 1868, fig 2)



Figure 5.50
Interpretative reconstruction of the funerary rites afforded to the child at West Water Reservoir, Peebleshire (Illustration by Alan Braby)

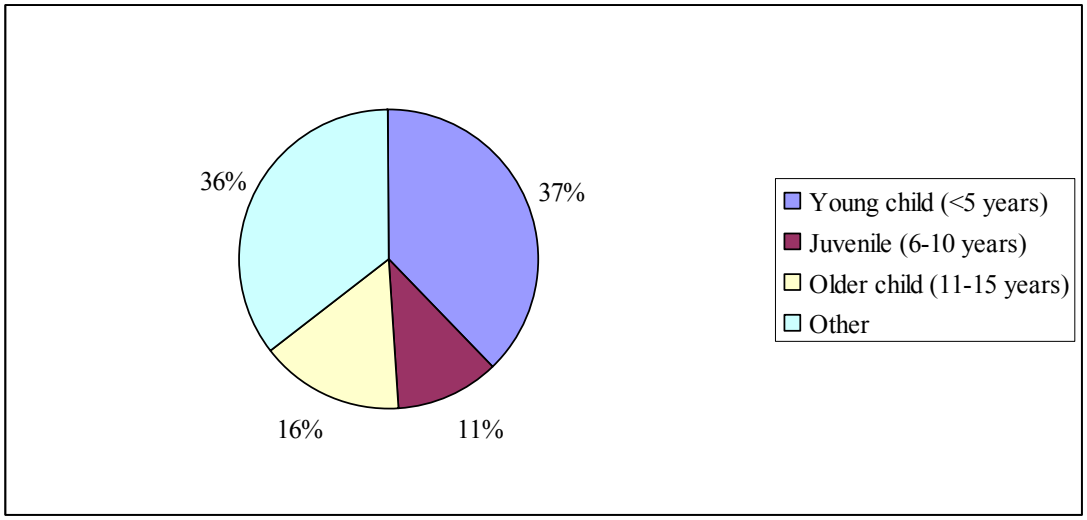


Figure 5.51
Age groups of children within cremation deposits in Scotland

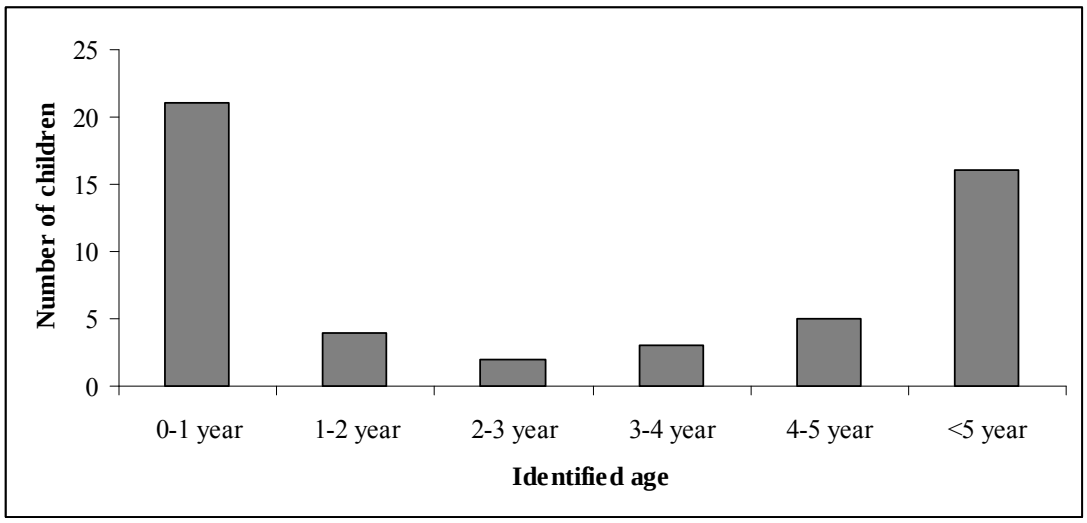


Figure 5.52
Age distribution of young children in cremation deposits in Scotland

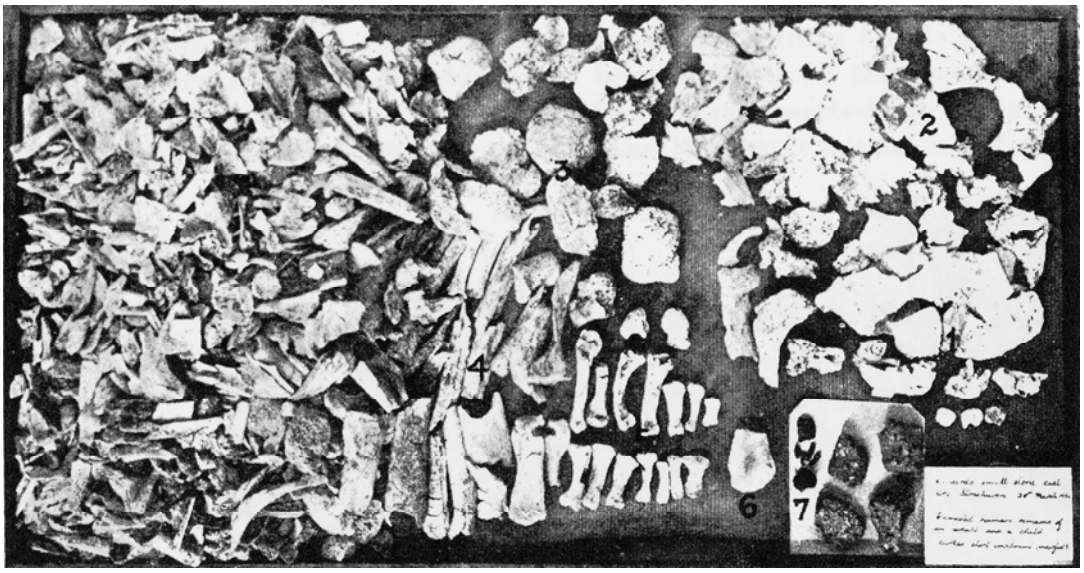


Figure 5.53
The cremated remains of an adult and child from Ury, Kincardineshire (SC70)
(Low 1935, fig 3)

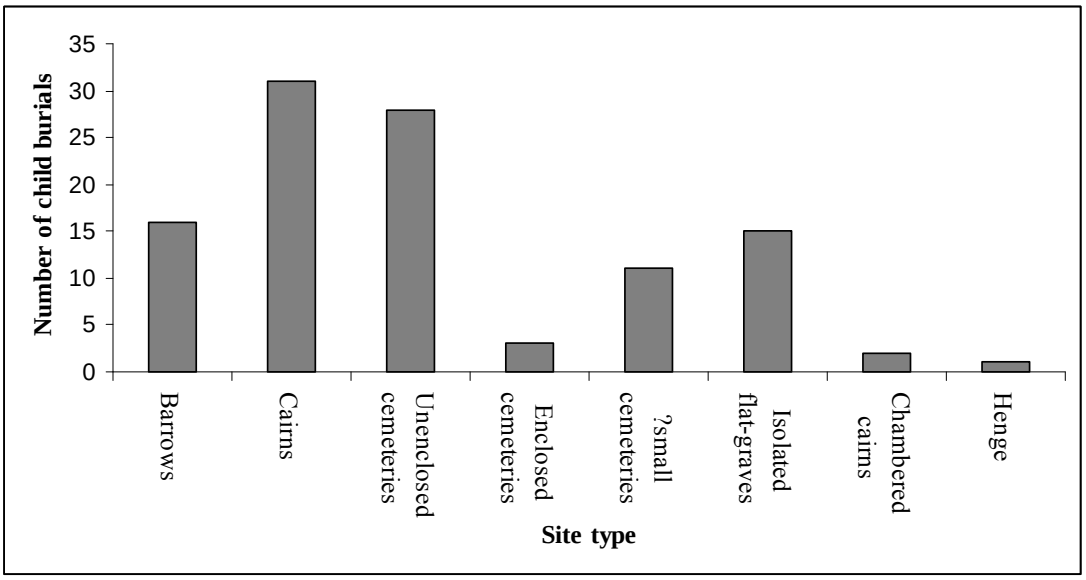


Figure 5.54
Site types associated with child cremation burials in Scotland

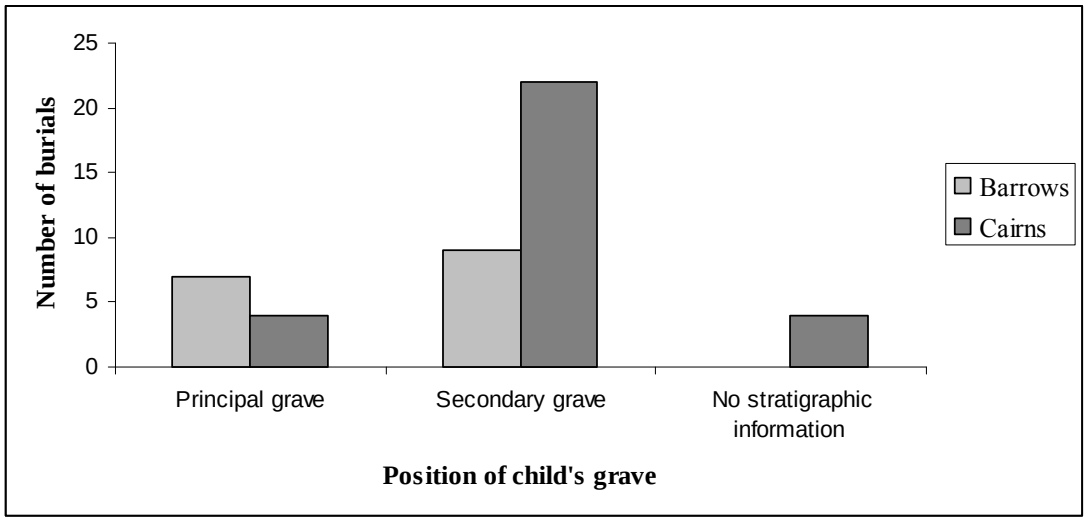


Figure 5.55
Position of child cremation burials within mounds in Scotland

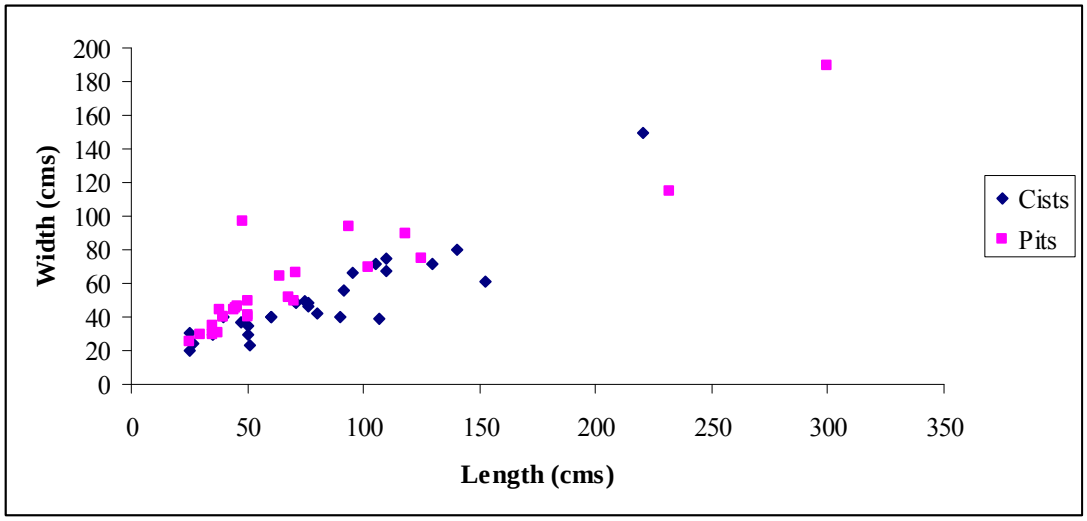


Figure 5.56
Scatter diagram of cist and pit dimensions associated with child cremation burials in Scotland

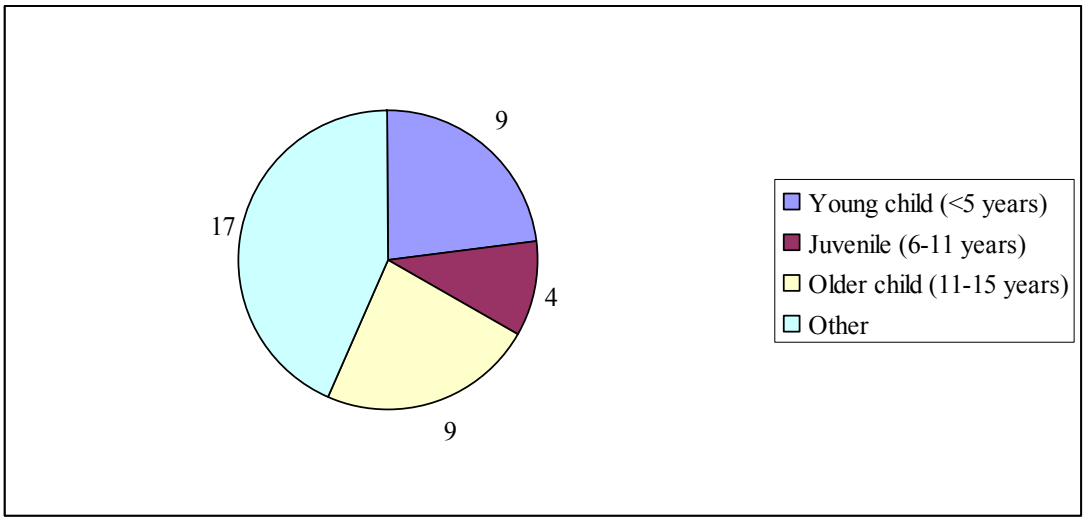


Figure 5.57
Ages of children within single cremation deposits in Scotland

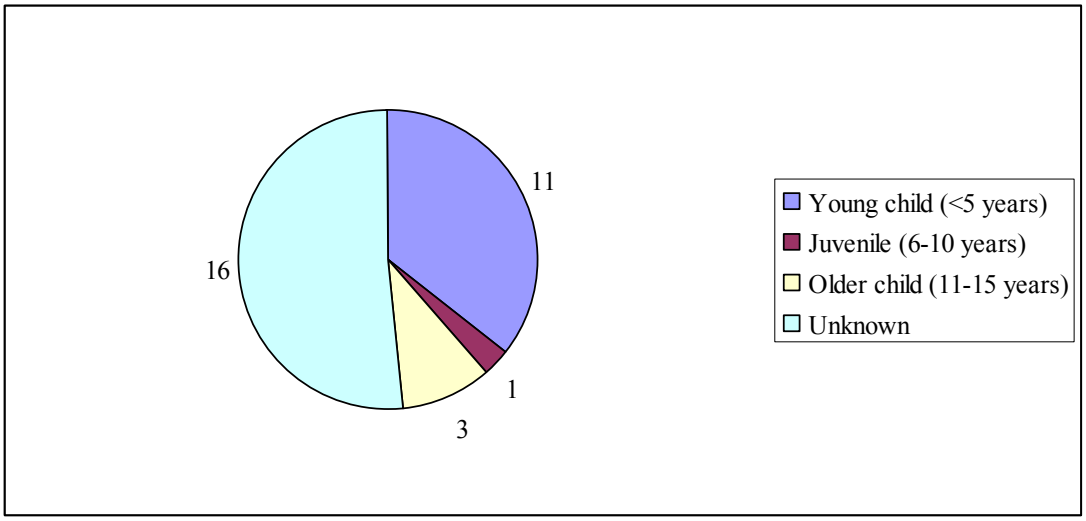


Figure 5.58
Ages of children within double inhumation (adult & child) cremation deposits in Scotland

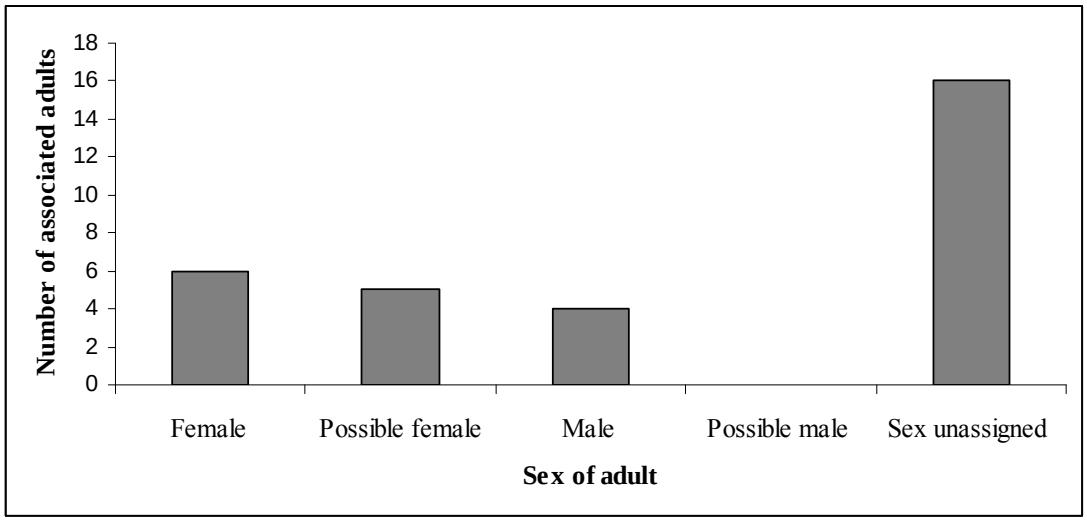


Figure 5.59
Sex of adults associated with children in double cremation deposits in Scotland

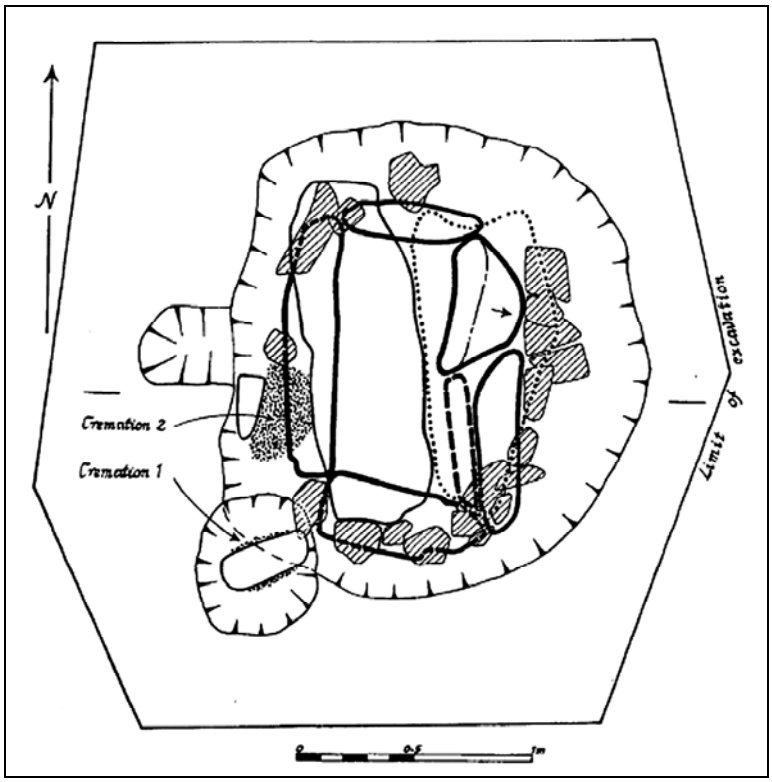


Figure 5.60
Short cist at Horsbrugh Castle Farm with associated cremations
(after Petersen *et al* 1973, fig 2)

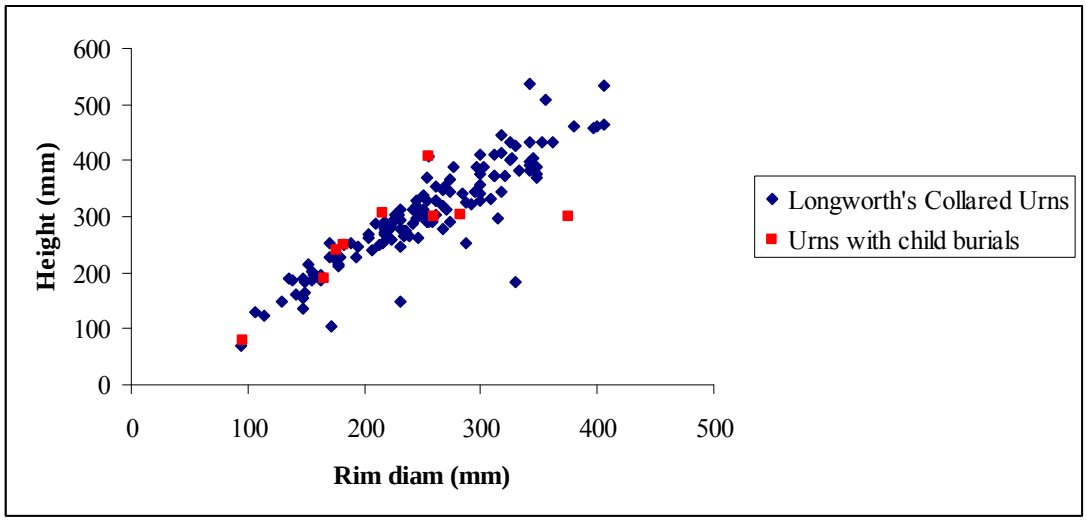


Figure 5.61
Range of dimensions of Scottish Collared Urns
(after Longworth 1984)

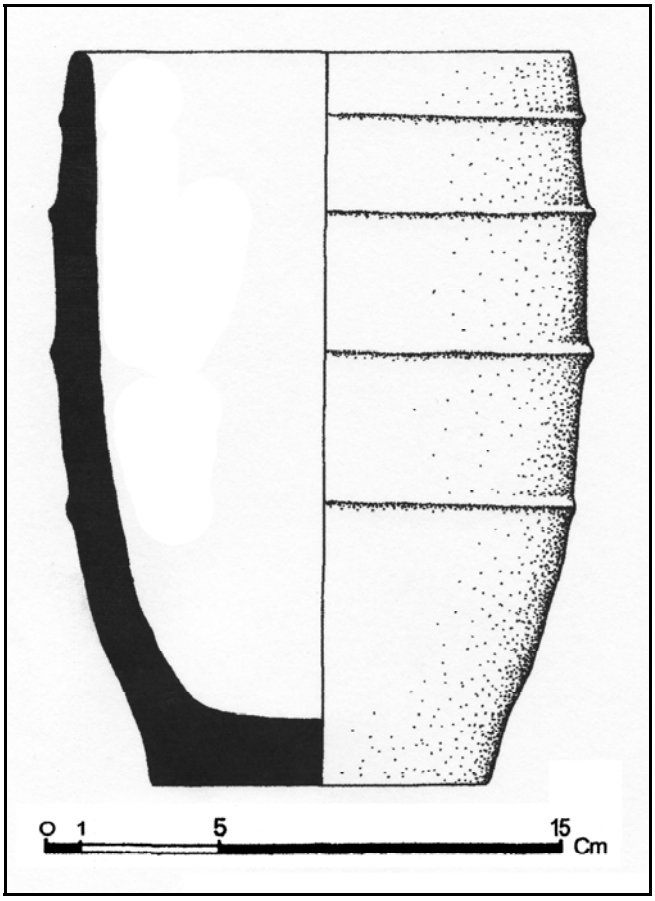


Figure 5.62
Cordoned Urn (example from Stoneyfield, Inverness-shire)
(Simpson 1966, illus 19)



Figure 5.63
The steatite vessel from Loth Road with lid in cist
(Sharman 2007, illus 5)

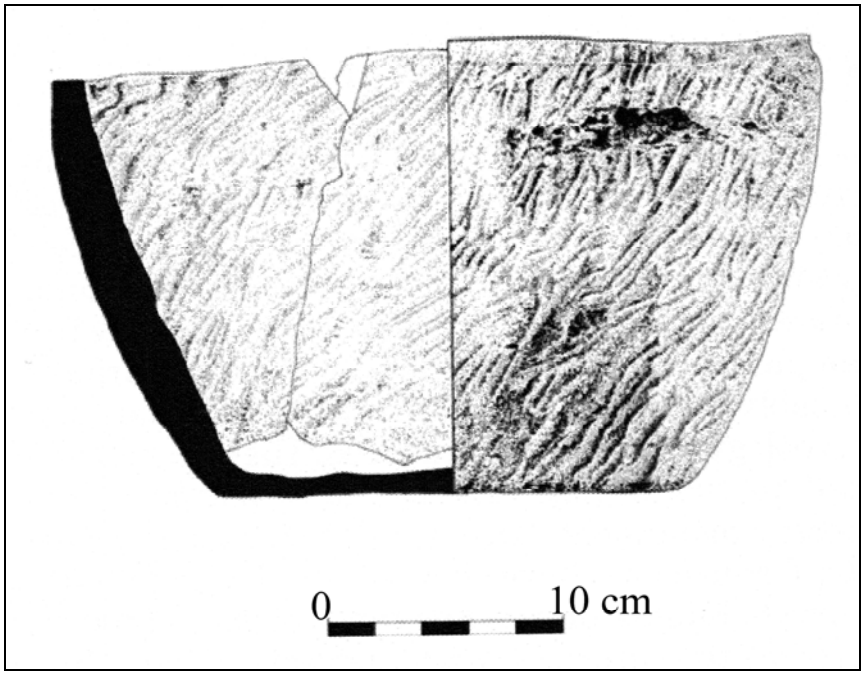


Figure 5.64
The steatite vessel from Loth road, Orkney
(after Sharman 2007, illus 10)

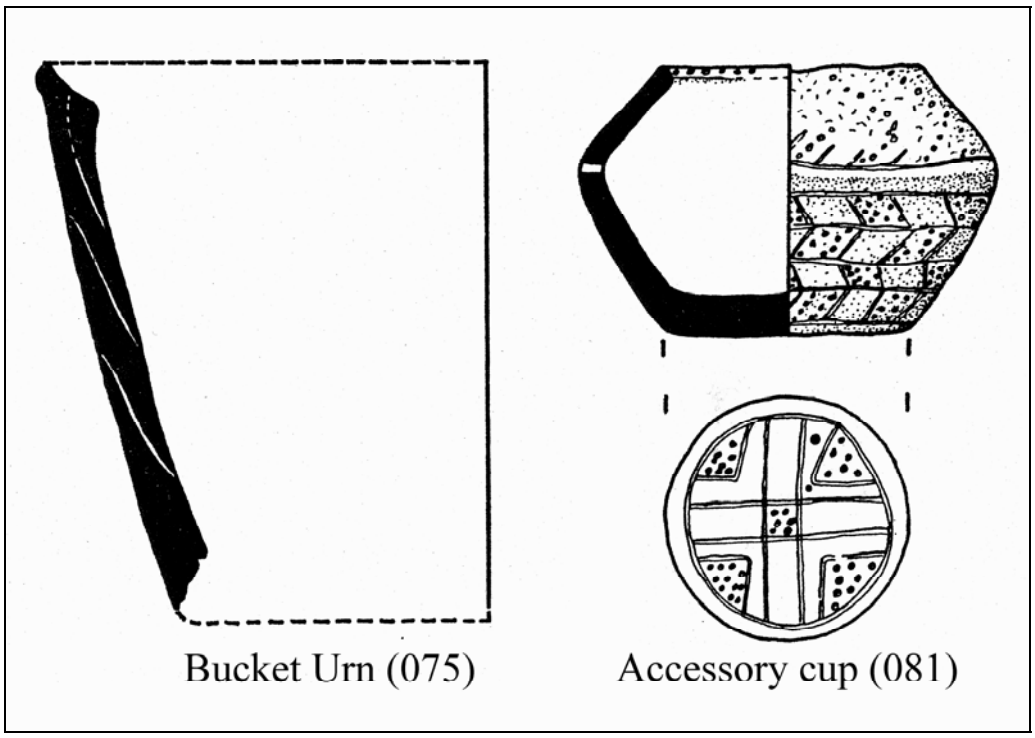


Figure 5.65
Bucket urn (075) and Accessory vessel (081) from Balloch Hill, Peeble-shire (after Peltenberg 1982, fig 13)

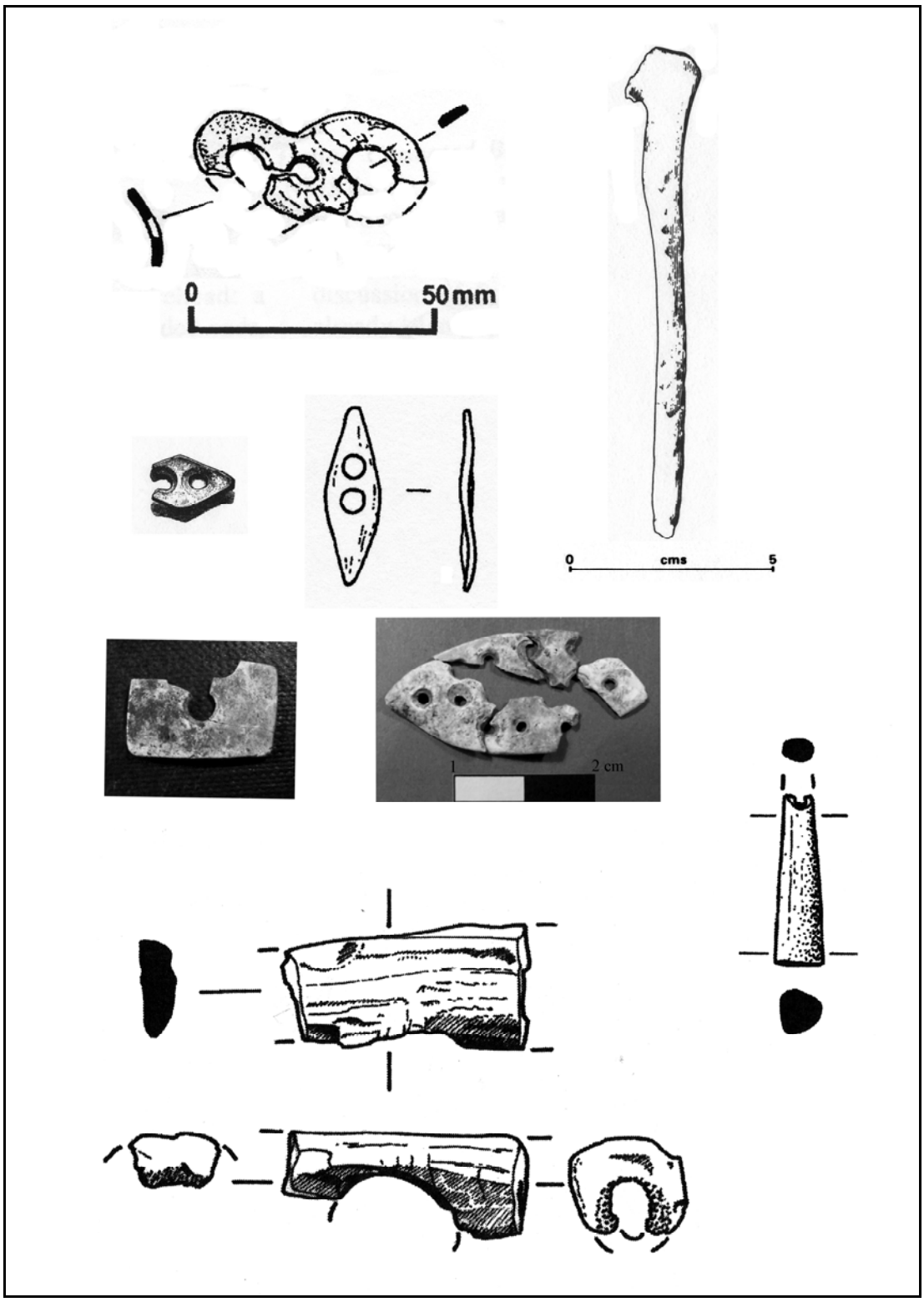


Figure 5.66
Worked bone ornaments associated with child cremations

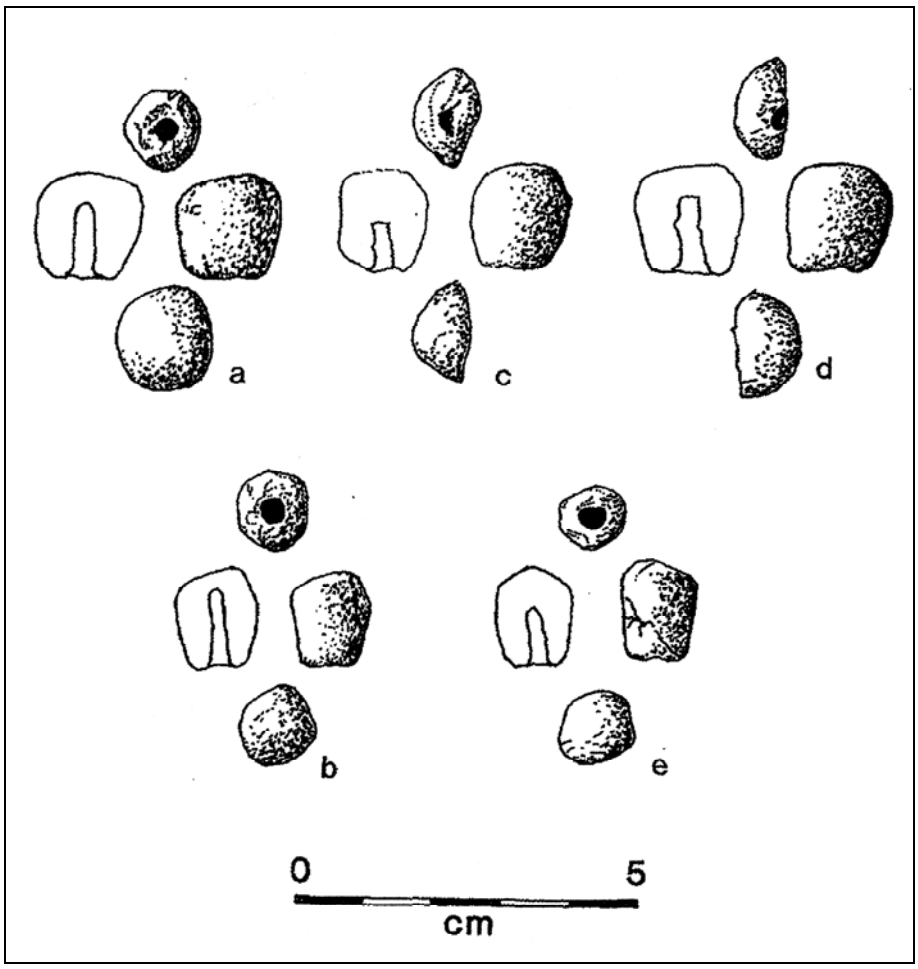


Figure 5.67
Clay toggle terminals from Howford, Aberdeenshire
(copyright M Grieg)

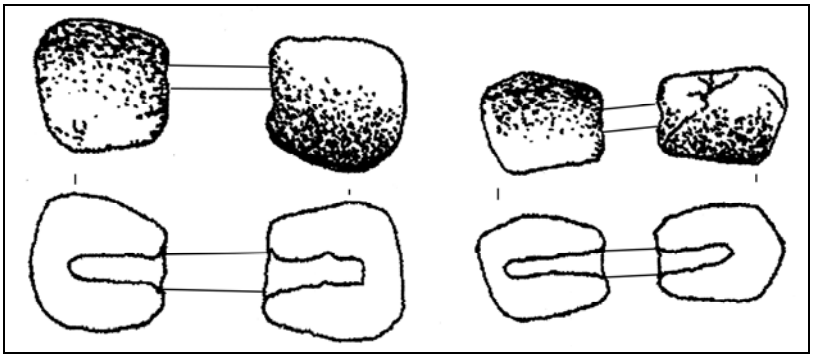


Figure 5.68
Interpretation of original form of the Howford toggle

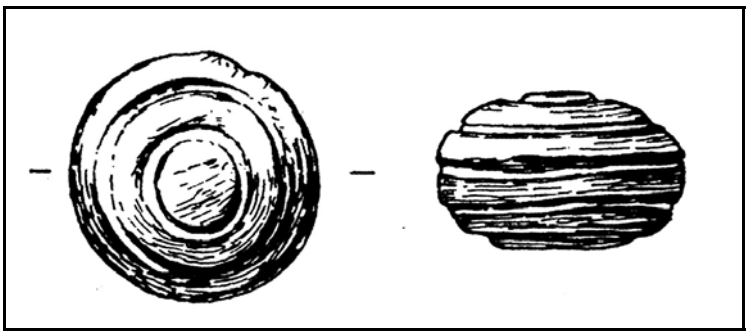


Figure 5.69
The decorated pottery ball from Kiltry Knock
(Shepherd & Cowie 1977, figure 3.2)



Figure 5.70
The golden eagle talons from Skilmafilly, Aberdeenshire
(copyright M. Johnson)

TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 6.1
Records of children's inhumation burials in Yorkshire

County	Total quantity of possible EBA child inhumations recorded	Number of inhumations included in current study	Percentage of records under consideration
Yorkshire East Riding	333	233	94%
Yorkshire North Riding	22	16	6%
Yorkshire West Riding	1	0	0%

Table 6.2
Age categories of children in inhumation burials in Yorkshire
'*' denotes those children who have been referred inconsistently (e.g. Infant/child in cairn near Pickering, YI 243; Bateman 1861, 210, 217) or where the exact age specified is too broad to accurately be applied to any of the three categories outlined (e.g. 1-12-year-old children at Garrowby Wold, YI 04-10; Mortimer 1905, 139).

Form of Age Estimate	Age description	Quantity
Identified age estimation	Young Child (0-5 years)	55
	Juvenile (6-10 years)	30
	Older child (11-15 years)	36
No identified age estimation	"infant"	30
	"small child" or "young child"	14
	"Juvenile"	2
	"child"	47
	"adolescent"	6
	"young person"	10
	"youth"	5
	"young person"/"adolescent"/""youth"	2
	Other*	12

Table 6.3
Summary of child inhumation burials in Yorkshire by site type

Area	Barrow (unspecified form)	Ditched barrow (?bowl)	Barrow with external ditch and bank (?bell)	Double-ditched round barrow	Barrow (encompassing cairn)	Cairn (incl. ring cairn and banked cairn)	Modification to earlier pre-existing monument	Flat grave cemetery	Isolated grave
East Riding	146	28	4	9	6	1	1	2	1
North Riding	7	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	1
West Riding	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 6.4
Child inhumation burials in Yorkshire summarised by site type

Area	Barrow (unspecified form)	Ditched barrow (?bowl)	Barrow with external ditch and bank (?bell)	Double-ditched round barrow	Barrow (encompassing cairn)	Cairn (incl. ring cairn and banked cairn)	Modification to earlier pre-existing monument	Flat grave cemetery	Isolated grave
East Riding	YI 1, YI 2, YI 3, YI 4, YI 5, YI 6, YI 7, YI 8, YI 9, YI 10, YI 11, YI 12, YI 13 & 14, YI 15, YI 20, YI 21 & 22, YI 23, YI 24, YI 25, YI 27, YI 28, YI 30, YI 31, YI 32 & 33, YI 34, YI 35, YI 36, YI 42, YI 43, YI 44, YI 45 & 46, YI 47, YI 48, YI 49, YI 50, YI 51, YI 52, YI 53 & 54, YI 55, YI 56, YI 57, YI 58, YI 59, YI 60, YI 61, YI 62 & 63, YI 64, YI 67, YI 70 & 71, YI 72, YI 73, YI 74, YI, 75, YI 76, YI 77, YI 78, YI 79, YI 80, YI 81, YI 82, YI 83, YI 84 & 85, YI 87, YI 88, YI 89, YI 90, YI 91, YI 92, YI 93 & 93, YI 101, YI 102, YI 103, YI 104 & 105, YI 106, YI 107, YI 108, YI 109, YI 111, YI 112, YI 113, YI 114*, YI 115*, YI 116 & 117, YI 30, YI 131, YI 132, YI 134, YI 135, YI 136, YI 144, YI 145, YI 146, YI 147, YI 148, YI 149, YI 150, YI 151, YI 152, YI 153, YI 154, YI 155 & 156, YI 157, YI 158, YI 159, YI 160 & 161, YI 162, YI 163, YI 164 -6, YI 167, YI 168, YI 169, YI 170, YI 182, YI 183, YI 184 & 185, YI 186 & 187, YI 188, YI 189, YI 190, YI 191, YI 192 & 193, YI 194, YI 195 & 196, YI 197 & 198, YI 199, YI 204, YI 205, YI 206, YI 207, YI 208, YI 209, YI 210, YI 211, YI 212, YI 213, YI 214, YI 215, YI 216, YI 217, YI 218*, YI 219, YI 220, YI 221, YI 222 & 223, YI 224 -8, YI 229 & 230	YI 16, YI 17, YI 18, YI 19, YI 29, YI 37, YI 39, YI 40, YI 65 & 66, YI 86, YI 95-7, YI 91, YI 99, YI 100, YI 110, YI 121 & 122, YI 123, YI 124, YI 125 & 126, YI 127, YI 128, YI 129, YI 135, YI 138, YI 139, YI 140, YI 140, YI 141, YI 142 & 143	YI 118, YI 119, YI 120, YI 137	YI 171, YI 172-4, YI 175, YI 176, YI 177, YI 178, YI 179, YI 180, YI 181	YI 68, YI 69, YI 200, YI 201, YI 202, YI 203	YI 237	YI 26	YI 231, YI 232 & 233	YI 41
North Riding	YI 234, YI 235, YI 236, YI 238, YI 239, YI 244	n/a	n/a	n/a	YI 243, YI 245 & 246, YI 247, YI 248, YI 249	YI 241 & 242	n/a	n/a	YI 240
West Riding	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Table 6.5
Placement of child inhumation burials within barrow and cairn sites in Yorkshire.

Placement within barrow	Quantity of children	Percentage of dataset
Principal burial	34	14%
Possible principal burial	16	6%
Primary phase but not principal burial	66	26.5%
Secondary	115	46%
Disturbed (earlier burial?)	12	5%
Position unclear	1	0.5%
n/a	5	2%

Table 6.6
Child inhumations in or associated with wooden grave furniture

Cat. No.	Site	Burial details	Grave information	References
YI 01	Greenwell's barrow CCLIII, Bempton (Metlow Hill), E.R.	Principal burial (burial 2) of a 5-6-year-old.	Burial within oval grave at centre of mound. Grave wood-lined and covered. Possible grave marker	Greenwell 1890, 28-9; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 120.
YI 16	Caythorpe Barrow, E.R.	Principal burial (grave 528) of a 14-16-year-old	Burial within central oval grave; stains suggest timber lining or plank coffin	Abramson 1996, 11, fig 6
YI 38	Wetwang Slack Barrow B, E.R.	Secondary burial (burial 2) of a child less than 1 year	Body placed within oval grave. Presence of carbon suggests wooden coffin or frame	Dent 1979, 26
YI 39	Wetwang Slack Barrow B, E.R.	Secondary burial (burial 5) of a 4-6-year-old child	Burial within a possible wooden coffin within oval/sub-rectangular grave	Dent 1979, 28
YI 47	Greenwell's barrow XCII, Goodmanham, E.R.	Principal burial (burial 3) of a child	Body placed in central wood-lined hollow	Greenwell 1877, 301-2; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 83.
YI 93 & 94	Mortimer's Barrow 265, Blanch group, E.R.	Possible principal interment of two children (13 and 15 years of age respectively) at base of large grave. Disturbed by later interment?	Bodies placed in upright seated position? Possibly within a wooden container.	Mortimer 1905, 330, 438

Cat. No.	Site	Burial details	Grave information	References
YI 106	Greenwell's barrow LXVII, Rudston E.R.	Possible principal interment (burial 14) of an infant and partially-articulated adult female	Interments within wood lined hollow, charred towards the east end	Greenwell 1877, 260-1; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 74.
YI 176	Barrow 1R, Heslerton, E.R.	Secondary burial (burial IR 270) of a 12-14-year-old, inserted into earlier grave disturbing body of adult male	Secondary interment within principal grave, covered by timber planks.	Powlesland 1986, 98, fig 30
YI 181	Barrow 1R, Heslerton, E.R.	Secondary burial (burial IR 157) of a 7-9-year-old. Disarticulated (?disturbed) remains of adult female in grave fill	Body interred in oval grave within hollowed-out tree trunk coffin (L 99cm, W 45cm)	Powlesland 1986, 110
YI 191	Mortimer's barrow 273, Howe Hill, Duggleby, E.R.	Secondary burial (burial L) of a young person	Body placed within mound material or at base of mound. Mortimer suggests head protected by wooden receptical	Mortimer 1905, 29
YI 224	Greenwell's barrow XXXIII, Willerby, E. R	Secondary burial (burial 1) of a 7-8 year-old, latest in a sequence of interments within central, principal grave	Inserted into principal grave fill on layer of wood at base of earth fill, the possible remains of a plank, coffin or byre.	Greenwell 1877, 181-3; Kinnes & Longworth 1984, 43-4.
YI 244	Hutton Buscel Barrow 2, N.R.	Principal burial (burial 1) of a 8-9-year-old child	Body placed in central oval grave within a wooden coffin	Brewster & Finney 1995, 7

Table 6.7
Summary of graves with flint or stone coverings

Cat. No.	Site	Burial details	Grave information	References
YI 25	Greenwell's barrow LXXXII, Etton, E.R.	Primary (but not principal) interment (burial 2) of child less than 3 years of age	In oval grave aligned SSE.-NNW. Covered by flint blocks	Greenwell 1877, 285-6; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 81
YI 52	Greenwell's barrow CXI, Goodmanham, E.R.	Secondary burial (burial 8) of a child	Body placed on OGS beneath a flint block	Greenwell 1877, 320; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 87
YI 152	Greenwell's barrow CCXLII, Folkton, E.R.	Secondary burial (burial 4) of a very young child and adult male	Bodies in hollow N. of centre; covered by flint blocks	Greenwell 1890, 11; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 114
YI 158	Brough III, Ganton (Greenwell's barrow XXI), E.R.	Secondary burial (burial 1) of a >6-year-old child	Body placed on OGS. Flint blocks placed over the head and over the ceramic vessel 'to a certain extent protecting them'	Greenwell 1877, 161; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 37
YI 162	Southwell, Ganton (Greenwell's barrow XXIII), E.R.	Secondary burial (burial 2) of a ?female young person	Body placed on OGS. Flint blocks arranged on top of the body	Greenwell 1877, 168; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 40
YI 241 & 242	Limestone cairn, 7 miles E of pickering, N.R.	Secondary burial (burial 2) of an adult male. At the male's head and at his feet were the crouched bodies of infants	Bodies placed in hollow just below the OGS, under a large limestone slab	Bateman 1861, 221-22, Howarth 1899, 17-18; Smith 1994, 133
YI 249	Green Howe barrow, N.R.	Secondary burial (burial 9) of a child c.5 years of age.	Body placed within mound material (during construction?); covered by a small separate turf mound	Wood 1972, 8

Table 6.8
Placement of children's bodies within the grave in Yorkshire

Placement of body	Quantity of individuals
Crouched/flexed/contracted/semi-flexed/semi-crouched	131
On back (with legs bent to side)	9
Prone	0
Extended	4
Seated	2
Disarticulated	4
Disturbed	23
Degraded	20
Partially articulated	2
Selected remains only	9
Position not recorded	45

Table 6.9
Orientation of child skeletons in Yorkshire graves

Side position	?	N/S	NE/SW	E/W	SE/NW	S/N	SW/NE	W/E	NW/SE
Crouched (Left)	0	7	11	12	5	3	8	6	6
Crouched (Right)	3	5	4	12	6	7	7	12	7

Table 6.10
Summary of selected deposition of children's bones

Site	Child skeletal remains present	Summary burial information	References
YI 15: Mortimer's Barrow 275, Calais Wold Group (alternative name: Callis Wold), E.R.	Cranium only	Crouched adult inhumation at base of the mound. Close to and partly under the right hip were the crushed remains of the skull of an infant	Mortimer 1905, 162
YI 24: barrow LIX, Cowlam, E.R.	Cranium only	Skull of a child with a stone implement in front of the face, situated close to but not directly associated with an adult inhumation.	Greenwell 1877, 225-6; Manby 1974, 121; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 58-59
YI 42: Greenwell's barrow LXXXIX, Goodmanham, E.R.	Cranial fragment	Cranial fragment of a child associated with a Collared Urn within mound material	Greenwell 1877, 297; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 82.
YI 53: Greenwell's barrow CXII, Goodmanham, E.R.	Mandible fragment	Secondary crouched inhumation of adult female accompanied by a mandible fragment of a child	Greenwell 1877, 321; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 87.
YI 57: Moneyhill, Greenwell's Barrow CXXI, Goodmanham, E.R.	Cranial fragments	Adult female inhumation on OGS; child cranial fragments at back of adult	Greenwell 1877, 329-31; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 89.
YI 99: Greenwell's barrow LXIII, Rudston, E.R.	Mandible fragment	Secondary crouched inhumation of adult female. Infant mandible found close to the adult's body	Greenwell 1877, 245-51, Tyndal 1870; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 69-71
YI 156: Greenwell's barrow CCXLV, Folkton, E.R.	Cranial and post-cranial fragments	Crouched child inhumation with separate infant skull	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 116
YI 166: Greenwell's barrow XXVI, Ganton, E.R.	Mandible fragment	Multiple burial deposit on OGS. Mandible of an adolescent found at the back of a crouched adult female	Greenwell 1877, 171-3; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 41
YI 194: Greenwell's barrow XII, Sherburn,E.R.	Cranium only	Secondary triple burial involving the unburnt bones of an infant, a cremation and a young adult. Only the skull of the infant was present.	Greenwell 1877, 148-9; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 35
YI 236: Ampleforth barrow 4, N.R.	Deciduous teeth	Secondary grave containing an intrusive cremation. On the floor of the grave was a small food vessel inverted over 3 milk teeth.	Smith, M J B 1994, 101-2

Table 6.11
Quantity of interments within graves associated with children in Yorkshire

Interments	Relationship	Quantity of burials	Catalogue numbers
Single	Single child	127	YI 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 16, 20, 25, 26, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 56, 58, 59, 60, 68, 69, 60, 68, 69, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 98, 101, 102, 103, 107, 108, 109, 111, 113, 114, 115, 118, 119, 120, 123, 124, 128, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 136, 137, 139, 140, 141, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 151, 153, 154, 158, 162, 163, 169, 170, 171, 177, 179, 180, 182, 183, 188, 189, 200, 203, 204, 205, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 213, 216, 218, 219, 220, 221, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 244, 249
Double	Single child and cremated bone	5	YI, 135, 191, 207, 217, 235
	Adult with relic bone of child	3	YI 24, 57, 99
	Contemporary adult & child	18	YI 11, 12, 15, 28, 43, 55, 67, 72, 91, 106, 112, 127, 129, 152, 157, 167, 168, 243
	Contemporary child & child	6	YI 04 & 05, 21 & 22, 45 & 46, 121 & 122, 155 & 156, 195 & 196
	Sequential adult and child	12	YI 27, 29, 30, 61, 64, 79, 125 & 126, 178, 181, 190, 199, 231
	Sequential children	2	YI 84 & 85, 186 & 187
Multiple	Multiple contemporary	12	YI 13 & 14, 95, 96, 97, 116 & 117, 138, 160 & 161, 164-166, 192 & 193, 194, 201, 214, 229 & 230, 241 & 242
	Multiple contemporary	27	YI 17, 18, 19, 31, 32 & 33, 48, 53 & 54, 62 & 63, 65 & 66, 70 & 71, 76, 81, 93 & 94, 100, 142 & 143, 150, 159, 172, 173 & 174, 176, 184 & 185, 197 & 198, 202, 222 & 223, 324-8, 232 & 233, 234, 245 & 246

Table 6.12
Multiple inhumations involving children in Yorkshire

Catalogue No.	Site Name	Relationship	Quantity of interments	Burial summary
YI 13 & 14	Mortimer's Barrow 275, Calais Wold Group. E.R.	Contemporary	4	Disturbed triple interment of adult and two young people. Displaced by insertion of cremated bones of adult
YI 95, 96 & 97	Greenwell's barrow LXII, Rudston, E.R.	Contemporary	3	Triple burial of an adult male, crouched on L with head to S. and at the legs were two infant inhumations.
YI 116 & 117	Mortimer's barrow 284, near Wold Newton, E.R.	Contemporary	5	Contemporary interments of three adults, a youth (YI 116) and a child (YI 117)
YI 138	Mortimer's barrow 88, Aldro Group, East Yorkshire, E.R.	Contemporary	4	On OGS were four inhumations occupying a space 6' x 3', comprising the skeletons of a 18-25 year-old, a mature/elderly adult, a child 10-14-years-old and the disarticulated remains of a young adult c.18 years.
YI 160 & 161	Greenwell's barrow XXI, Ganton, E.R.	Contemporary	3	Three interments within the fill of an irregular trench comprising of the remains of a 3 year old child (YI 160), an infant (YI 161) and an adult
YI 164, 165 & 166	Greenwell's barrow XXVI, Ganton, E.R.	Contemporary	5	Group of 5 bodies on OGS below barrow mound. Consisting of the remains of a child inhumation (YI 164), an adult cremation deposit, an adult female inhumation, a child's skull and longbones (YI 165) and an adolescent mandible (YI 166)
YI 192 & 193	Mortimer's barrow 280, near Marton Hall, E.R.	Contemporary	3	Grave containing two decayed child inhumations and a child cremation
YI 194	Lamplough I, Sherburn (Greenwell's barrow XII), E.R.	Contemporary	3	Triple burial situated on OGS. Cremation of a child (YC 206) immediately under the unburnt remains of a young child. Touching the child's head were the feet of a third body, an adult laid on the right side, head to the W.

Catalogue No.	Site Name	Relationship	Quantity of interments	Burial summary
YI 201	Mortimer's Barrow 55, Hanging Grimston Group, E.R.	Contemporary	3	Immediately behind the pelvis of an adult inhumation were the remains of an infant (relative positions not recorded). Close to the side of the grave were 4 large human leg bones (relic remains or disturbed earlier burial?)
YI 214	Mortimer's Barrow 111, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Contemporary	3	Crouched inhumation of adult female, on R side, head to E. In the corner formed by the crouched body of the adult was the remains of a child. Behind the adult was a hollow containing an adult vertebrae (relic?)
YI 229 & 230	Greenwell's barrow XXXIV, Willerby, E.R.	Contemporary	4	Bodies of a child under 12-years (YI 229) and a 20-year-old, the younger laid just at the rear of the elder; the face of the one being close to the back of the head of the other. In front of the young adult was a third body, that of a child c.4 years (YI 230). Facing the child was the body of an elder adult female, crouched on R side.
YI 241 & 242	Limestone cairn, 7 miles E of pickering, N.R.	Contemporary	3	Just below OGS were cluster of three interments: a crouched adult with head to S. At the head and feet were small ?child skeletons
YI 17	Greenwell's barrow LV, Cowlam, E.R.	Sequential	4	Adult inhumation at base of grave. Scattered cremated bones in fill. Also within fill are disarticulated (disturbed earlier burial) of adult and child.
YI 18	Greenwell's barrow LVI, Cowlam, E.R.	Sequential	4	Disturbed double interment of adult male and child. Displaced by subsequent interments of two adult males
YI 19	Greenwell's barrow LVI, Cowlam, E.R.	Sequential	6	Disarticulated bones of three adults and a child within grave fill (disturbed earlier burial?). At base of grave as the body of an adult female and inserted above was a further adult inhumation

Catalogue No.	Site Name	Relationship	Quantity of interments	Burial summary
YI 31	Mortimer's Barrow 62, Garton Slack Group, E.R.	Sequential	6	Large oval central grave with a sequence of 5 inhumations and a cremation. The cremation was the latest interment, inserted above the remains of a child 5-7 years of age. The 4 earlier inhumations were those of adults
YI 32 & 33	Mortimer Barrow 71, Garton Slack Group, E.R.	Sequential	5	central grave containing 5 interments: 3 adults and 2 children. Sequence of burial is unclear
YI 48	Greenwell's barrow XCIX, Goodmanham, E.R.	Sequential	5	Secondary child inhumation inserted into central grave displacing the skeleton of a adult female. Within the grave fill were the bones of two adults and an adolescent
YI 53 & 54	Greenwell's barrow CXII, Goodmanham, E.R.	Sequential	4	Principal interment within grave was adult female inhumation. Later, a crouched inhumation of an adolescent was inserted (YI 54). This burial was later disturbed by the insertion of an adult female associated with a child's mandible fragment (YI 54)
YI 62 & 63	Mortimer's Barrow 225, Huggate Wold Group, E.R.	Sequential	4	Series of interments within grave, the latest being an inverted cinerary urn containing an adult cremation. At various depths of grave A were fractured portions of an adult skull, fragments of the skull of an infant (YI 62), leg bone of an ox. On the floor of the grave was the flexed skeleton of a young person (YI 63)
YI 65 & 66	Mortimer's Barrow 228, Huggate Wold Group, E.R.	Sequential	4	Sequential burials of an adult, an adult female, a young person (yi 65). At the base of the grave was a double inhumation of an adult female and child (YI 66)
YI 70 & 71	Mortimers Barrow 4, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Sequential	5	Double inhumation of an aged adult and a 8-12-year-old child, facing each other . A third individual, an adult was at opposite end of grave. A further elderly male and a child (YI 70) were also present but their relationship to the in situ burials is unclear

Catalogue No.	Site Name	Relationship	Quantity of interments	Burial summary
YI 76	Mortimer's Barrow 83, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Sequential	3	Inhumation of an adult and a 12-14-year-old, positioned side by side, heads to NE. Immediately under the knees of the adult was a heap of cremated bones and a crushed food vessel, likely to be the primary burial within grave
YI 81	Mortimer's barrow 104, Garrowby Wold Group, E.R.	Sequential	4	Double inhumation of adult and child? Disturbed by subsequent insertions of two adult males
YI 100	Greenwell's barrow LXIII, Rudston, E.R.	Sequential	7	Series of interments made within central grave cut into bedrock. Includes adult male inhumation, a cremation, two adult female inhumations, an earlier adult inhumation and the disturbed bones of an adult and infant within the grave fill, perhaps the remains of a primary double interment
YI 93 & 94	Mortimer's Barrow 265, Blanch group, E.R.	Sequential	3	At base of grave, perhaps in wooden container were ?seated burials of two children. A subsequent insertion to the grave was the crouched body of an adult
YI 142 & 143	Mortimer's barrow 116, Aldro Group, E.R.	Sequential	4	Shallow grave at base of the mound containing four individuals: two adults and two youths. Principal interment was that of an adult male but spatial relationship between the bodies is not clear.
YI 150	Greenwell's barrow LXXI, Folkton (Flixton 3)	Sequential	4	Disturbed double interment of adult and child? Displaced by crouched adult male and later insertion of adult female
YI 159	Greenwell XXI, Ganton, E.R.	Sequential	3	Sequence of burials within grave comprising the inhumation of an adult male followed by the crouched inhumation of of a child. Finally, an adult female cremation was inserted

Catalogue No.	Site Name	Relationship	Quantity of interments	Burial summary
YI 172 & 173	Barrow 1M, Heslerton, E.R.	Sequential	2	Interment of a 2-3 year old child (YI 172) covered with chalk. Resting on this chalk was a heap of cremated bone of a 25-30-year-old female. It in turn was covered by a layer of chalk on which lay a third burial, an extended skeleton of a 2-5-6-year-old child (YI 173)
YI 176	Barrow 1R, Heslerton, E.R.	Sequential	3	Principal central grave with sequential burials. The primary burial was that of an adult male which had been carefully pushed to one side for the later insertion of the corpse of a 12-14 year old. Within the grave fill were disarticulated bones of an adult female
YI 184 & 185	Mortimer's Barrow 21, Towthorpe group, E.R.	Sequential	4	At the base of the grave were the crouched inhumations of an adult female and an infant (YI 185); the infant at the back of the adult. Inserted into the grave at a later date were the crouched inhumations of an adult and infant (YI 184)
YI 197 & 198	Mortimer's Barrow 211 1/2, Towthorpe Group, E.R.	Sequential	3	Infant found on a ledge of rock about half way down the depth of the grave (YI 197). On the floor of the grave were two contemporary bodies: a young adult female and a young person 12-15 years (YI 198).
YI 202	Mortimer's Barrow 55, Hanging Grimston Group, E.R.	Sequential	6	Principal central grave containing a complex sequence of interments. At the base of the grave was the skeleton of a youth only a few inches below a crouched adult.
YI 222 & 223	Mortimer's Barrow 106, Towthorpe group, E.R.	Sequential	3	Double inhumation of an adult female, on back, head to SE with remains of a newborn infant behind the pelvis. Within the upper grave fill were disarticulated bones of a 12-15-month-old
YI 224, 225, 226, 227, 228	Greenwell's barrow XXXIII, Willerby, E.R.	Sequential	7	At the base of the grave were sequential interments of an adult female, adult male and four children. Inserted into the grave was a child inhumation.
YI 232 & 233	Staxton, E.R.	Sequential	3	Disturbed or disarticulated remains of two children inserted into grave of 60-year-old female

Catalogue No.	Site Name	Relationship	Quantity of interments	Burial summary
YI 234	Ampleforth Barrow 3, Oswaldkirk, N.R.	Sequential	3	Crouched child at base of grave with cranium from another individual before the face. In the fill were many fragments of cremated bone.
YI 245 & 246	Green Howe Barrow, N.R.	Sequential	4	Principal interment was an adult male disturbed by later insertion of crouched adult female. Further subsequent burials of a 3-year-old (YI 245) and a foetus (YI 246) were inserted at later dates

Table 6.13
Double inhumations involving children in Yorkshire

Catalogue No.	Site	Relationship	Individuals	Relative positions
YI 11	Mortimer's barrow 99, 'Kitty Hill', E.R.	Contemporary	Adult female and child	Side-by-side. Child's skeleton found close to the back of the adult who was placed on R side, head to ESE.
YI 12	Mortimer's barrow 120, Garrowby Wold Group, E.R	Contemporary	Young adult (sex unknown) and 8-year-old	Child placed beside and facing the lower body of the adult, close to the pelvis, legs touching the feet of the adult. Adult was placed on its back, head N., legs pressed over to the E.
YI 15	Mortimer's Barrow 275, Calais Wold Group, E.R.	Contemporary	Adult (sex unknown)and infant	Crouched adult on L side, head to W. Close to and partly under the right hip were the crushed remains of the skull of infant
YI 21 & 22	Greenwell's barrow LVII, Cowlam, E.R.	Contemporary	Double child inhumation	Both children crouched on L with head to SSE and SE respectively
YI 28	Mortimer's Barrow 40, Garton Slack Group, E.R.	Contemporary	Mature adult (sex unknown) and child	Adult on R side, head to E. The child on L side, head to W. The feet of both skeletons touched (N.B. This record is incorrect; this position would be impossible)
YI 43	Greenwell's barrow LXXXIX, Goodmanham, E.R.	Contemporary	Adult male and adolescent	Adolescent crouched on R with head ESE at back of adult crouched on L, orientated SSE-NNW
YI 45 & 46	Greenwell's barrow LXXXIX, Goodmanham (Enthorpe IX)	Contemporary	Double child inhumation	Extended adolescent with head WSW, to N. of and partly overlying extended child with head ENE.
YI 55	Greenwell's barrow CXIV, Goodmanham, E.R.	Contemporary	Adult female and child	Relative positions not recorded
YI 67	Mortimer's Barrow 244, Huggate and Warter wold group, E.R.	Contemporary	Adult (sex unknown) and young child	Crouched adult skeleton on R side, head to S. At the feet were the remains of a child with head to NW.
YI 72	Mortimers Barrow 4, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Contemporary	Adult female (25-30 years) and 12-18-month-old child	Crouched adult female (placement not noted). Child placed at her feet

Catalogue No.	Site	Relationship	Individuals	Relative positions
YI 91	Greenwell's barrow XLVIII, Langtoft (lamplough), E.R.	Contemporary	Adult male and adolescent	Relative positions not recorded
YI 104 & 105	Greenwell's barrow LXVII, Rudston, E.R.	Contemporary	Double child inhumation	Both children crouched on L side with heads NE by E.
YI 106	Greenwell's barrow LXVII, Rudston, E.R.	Contemporary	Partially-articulated adult female and infant	Infant crouched on L side with head N by E. Position of adult remains appear directly associated but exact relationship is not noted
YI 112	Mortimer's barrow 237, Blanch group, E.R	Contemporary	Adult (sex unknown) and child approx. 3 years of age	Child placed at feet of adult, on L side, head to N. Adult positioned on R side.
YI 121 & 122	Mortimer's Barrow 51, Aldro group, E.R.	Contemporary	Double child inhumation	Both children crouched, one at each end of the grave
YI 127	Mortimer Barrow 54, Aldro Group E.R.	Contemporary	Adult (sex unknown) and child	Positions disturbed
YI 129	Mortimer Barrow 54, Aldro Group, E.R.	Contemporary	Adult c.45 years and 8-10-year-old child	Reburial of disarticulated bones.
YI 152	Greenwell's barrow CCXLII, Folkton, E.R.	Contemporary	Adult (sex unknown) and infant	Adult crouched on R with head WNW facing infant
YI 155 & 156	Greenwell's barrow CCXLV, Folkton, E.R.	Contemporary	Double child inhumation	Child crouched on R with head to W. Separate infant skull and post-cranial fragments (position not noted)
YI 157	Brough V, Ganton (Greenwell's barrow XVI)	Contemporary	Adult (unknown) and infant	Adult crouched on L side, head to SSW. Behind head, also on L side, with head to SW was an infant
YI 167	Southwell I, Ganton (Greenwell's barrow XXVII), E.R.	Contemporary	Adult male and 6-year-old child	Disturbed child body (cranial fragments only) at back of crouched adult male
YI 168	Greenwell's barrow XLI, Helperthorpe, E.R.	Contemporary	Adult (sex unknown) and c.12-year-old child	Both adult and child were crouched on R side with heads to S.

Catalogue No.	Site	Relationship	Individuals	Relative positions
YI 195 & 196	Sherburn (Greenwell's barrow XII), E.R.	Contemporary	Double child inhumation	Adolescent crouched on R with head N by W. Younger child at a different orientation: crouched on L with head WSW
YI 243	1 mile N of pickering	Contemporary	Adult (sex unclear) and child	Adult crouched on L side, head to N. Behind the adult was the child's body (position not noted)
YI 27	Mortimer's Barrow 40, Garton Slack Group, E.R.	Sequential	Adult (sex unknown) and a 3-year-old	Both lay with heads to W.
YI 29	Mortimer's Barrow 51, Garton Slack Group, E.R.	Sequential	Adult and child	Double sequential interment of adult and child. The adult was crouched on R side, head to NE, overlying the disturbed, rearranged body of a child less than 15 years of age.
YI 30	Mortimer's Barrow 53, Garton Slack group, E.R.	Sequential	Adult male and 8-12-year-old child	Sequential interments? Adult crouched on R side with head to W. Close beneath the legs were the flexed legs of a child lying at opposing angles to the adult: on L side, head to E.
YI 61	Mortimer's Barrow 225, Huggate Wold Group, E.R.	Sequential	Adult and infant	Subsequent interments. Adult inhumation at base of grave (position not recorded). At a later date, the body of an infant was inserted into the grave
YI 64	Mortimer's Barrow 226, Huggate Wold Group	Sequential	Young adult male and child	Subsequent interments. Young adult male inhumation on base of grave (position not recorded). Inserted into the grave was youth, crouched on L side
YI 79	Mortimer's Barrow 98 Painsthorpe wold group, E.R.	Sequential	Adult male and very young child	Sequential interments of adult male (position not recorded) and inserted body of child, placed with head to W
YI 84 & 85	Mortimer's barrow 67, Garton Slack Group, E.R.	Sequential	Double child inhumation	Sequential interments of two children. 5-year-old was earlier interment in crouched position. Later, a child of 2-years was added, on R side, head to SSE.

Catalogue No.	Site	Relationship	Individuals	Relative positions
YI 125 & 126	Mortimer Barrow 54, Aldro Group, E.R.	Sequential	Adult c.40 years (sex unknown) and child	Sequential interments? Adult crouched on R side with head to W. Below R humerus was a long bone of a child (YI 125), probably displaced from the child inhumation located 12" below (YI 126).
YI 178	Barrow 1R, Heslerton, E.R.	Sequential	Adult and infant	Grave containing a crouched adult male c.35-45 years, possibly disturbing the remains of an infant whose bones were found in grave fill
YI 181	Barrow 1R, Heslerton	Sequential	Single child disturbing earlier adult burial	Flexed burial of a child with head to W. Within the backfill were disarticulated bones of an adult ?female, possibly a disturbed earlier burial
YI 186 & 187	Mortimer's barrow 273, Howe Hill, Duggleby, E.R.	Sequential	Double child inhumation	Sequential interment? Burial of a child. Directly above was the body of an infant (positions not recorded)
YI 190	Mortimer's barrow 273, Howe Hill, Duggleby, E.R.	Sequential	Adult (sex unknown) and 2-3-year-old child	Possible sequential interments of adult and child. Exact relationship is not noted
YI 199	Mortimer's Barrow 61, Hanging Grimston Group	Sequential	Adult (sex unknown) and child	Sequential interments? Of adult crouched on R side. Above was the remains of a child
YI 231	Staxton, E.R.	Sequential	Adult and child	Crouched body of a child, orientated NE.-SW., head to NE; inserted into the grave of a crouched adult male c.40-50 years

Table 6.14
Spatial relationship of adult and child contemporary interments within graves

Spatial relationship	Number of burials
Sharing orientation	5
Opposite orientations	4
Back to back	1
Facing	1
Child at feet	2
Child behind head	1
Child beside lower body	2
Disturbed	1
Disarticulated	1

Table 6.15
Summary of unaccompanied and accompanied children's graves

Grave goods	Quantity of graves	Catalogue Numbers
Unaccompanied	67	YI 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13 & 14, 18, 21 & 22, 23, 32 & 33, 37, 40, 43, 44, 51, 52, 55, 60, 67, 74, 75, 78, 90, 101, 102, 103, 106, 109, 111, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121 & 122, 123, 127, 128, 129, 133, 139, 140, 148, 152, 164 & 165, 167, 170, 175, 180, 188, 189, 190, 191, 199, 200, 203, 213, 214, 217, 220, 222 & 223, 224-228, 231, 232 & 233, 247
Multiple burial: grave goods with adult	19	YI 11, 15, 28, 29, 53, 57, 65 & 66, 81, 99, 112, 125 & 126, 138, 159, 168, 178, 184 & 185, 195 & 196, 241 & 242, 243
Accompanied	122	YI 1, 3, 12, 16, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 45 & 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 54, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62 & 63, 64, 68, 69, 70 & 71, 73, 76, 77, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84 & 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93 & 94, 98, 100, 104 & 105, 107, 108, 110, 113, 116 & 117, 118, 124, 130, 131, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 141, 142 & 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150, 151, 153, 155 & 156, 157, 158, 160 & 161, 162, 163, 169, 171, 172, 176, 177, 179, 181, 182, 183, 186 & 187, 192 & 193, 195 & 196, 197 & 198, 201, 202, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 215, 218, 219, 221, 229 & 230, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 244, 245 & 246, 248, 249
Relationship between child and material culture unclear	4	YI 17, 72, 194, 216

Table 6.16
Summary of pottery associations with child inhumation burials

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 01: Greenwell's barrow CCLIII, Bempton, E.R.	Crouched child inhumation (5-6 yrs) in wood-lined central grave	1	Food Vessel: Tripartite bowl (Abercromby 1912, no 35; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 120, no. 2)	95	111	60	At face
YI 03: Mortimer's Barrow 42, Garrowby Wold Group, E.R.	Crouched remains of a child 10-15 years of age; close to knees was an elegantly formed food vessel containing black residue.	1	Food Vessel: Tripartite vase (Mortimer 1905, 44, fig 384)	146	140	Not known	At knees
YI 17: Greenwell's barrow LV, Cowlam, E.R.	Scattered bones of adult and child, in grave fill; disturbed earlier burial?	Sherds	Beaker sherds	Not known	Not known	Not known	Disturbed. Original position not known
			Form unknown: described by Greenwell as 'cinerary urn'	Not known	Not known	Not known	Disturbed. Original position not known
YI 19: Greenwell's barrow LVI, Cowlam, E.R.	Scattered bones of three adults and one child in the grave fill associated with 19 Beaker sherds; disturbed earlier burial?	Sherds	Beaker: form unknown (Greenwell 1877, 214). Not catalogued by Clarke (1970)	Not known	Not known	N	Disturbed. Original position not known

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 25: Greenwell's barrow LXXXII, Etton, E.R.	Crouched inhumation of child less than 3-years; unidentified pottery fragment amongst flints covering grave	Sherd	Unidentified sherd	Sherds only	Sherds only	Sherds only	Within flint blocks covering grave
YI 27: Mortimer's Barrow 40, Garton Slack Group, E.R.	Double inhumation of adult and child (approx. 3 years); a small crushed Food Vessel stood close to the skulls	1	Food Vessel: Bipartite bowl (Mortimer 1905, 244, fig 615)	127	146	72	Close to both skulls
YI 30: Mortimer's Barrow 53, Garton Slack group, E.R.	Double inhumation of adult male and child c.8-12 years; Food Vessel at face of child	1	Food Vessel: Yorkshire Vase; four perforated lugs (Mortimer 218, fig 562)	127	140	63	At face
YI 31: Mortimer's Barrow 62, Garton Slack Group, E.R.	Central grave with multiple sequential interments including secondary inserted burial of child 5-7 years of age; close behind the head was an upright Food Vessel. In the bottom of the vase was an accessory vessel	2	Food Vessel: Yorkshire Vase; 6 perforated lugs in lower groove (Mortimer 1905, 213, fig 529)	114	171.5	69	Behind head (upright) contained incense cup
			Accessory Cup: plain bowl-shaped cup; undecorated (Mortimer 1905, 213, fig 530)	44.5	82.5	26	At base of Food Vessel at head
YI 34: Mortimers Barrow 74, Garton Slack Group, E.R.	Crouched inhumation of a c.14 year old child. Close to the legs, midway between the knees and feet, stood a large Food Vessel which contained the greater portion of two ribs of a small animal.	1	Food Vessel: Tripartite bowl (Mortimer 1905, 221, fig 568)	140	165	92	In front of shins

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 38: Wetwang Slack Barrow B, E.R.	Poorly preserved inhumation of an infant within wooden coffin or frame; Food Vessel at feet.	1	Food Vessel: Tripartite bowl (Manby 1979, 34, fig 7:8)	147	173	80	At feet
YI 39: Wetwang Slack Barrow B, E.R.	Secondary grave containing flexed remains of a 4-6-year-old child. In front of the chest was an inverted accessory vessel	1	Miniature Food Vessel: Abercromby type 5 (Manby 1979, 34, fig 7:9)	76	86	50	in front of face
YI 42: Greenwell's barrow LXXXIX, Goodmanham, E.R.	Burial 7: child cranial fragment associated with Collared Urn	1	Collared Urn: Secondary Series, North Western Style, Form II/III (Longworth 1984, 208, No. 698, pl 83e)	107	103	64	Not noted
YI 48: Greenwell's barrow XCIX, Goodmanham, E.R.	Crouched inhumation of a child 2-2 1/2 years of age within central grave.	1	Beaker: N3 (Abercromby 1912, no 132; Clarke 1970, 507, no 1309, fig 675)	205	152	93	at face
YI 49: Greenwell's barrow CXI, Goodmanham (Paulinus II)	Crouched child inhumation; accessory cup behind head	1	Accessory cup: mimics a Beaker in form	53	94	50	Behind head
YI 56: Greenwell's barrow CXIV, Goodmanham, E.R.	Principal child inhumation with Food Vessel at face	1	Food Vessel (not preserved): Bipartite Yorkshire Vase with 6 perforated lugs at the shoulder (Greenwell 1877, 324)	114	127	76	At face

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 58: Moneyhill, Greenwell's Barrow CXXI, Goodmanham, E.R.	Burial 4: child inhumation (approx. 8 years), vessel below head	1	Collared Urn sherds: 29, mainly rim and collar. Unclassified form (Longworth 1984, 209, no 703; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, Goodmanham 121, illus 4).	Not known	157 mm approx	Not known	Below head
YI 59: Mortimer's Barrow 216, Huggate Wold Group, E.R.	Decayed remains of a small and probably young person; crouched; crushed Food Vessel in front of face	1	Food Vessel: Form unknown, not preserved (Mortimer 1905, 310)	Not known	Not known	Not known	At face
YI 61: Mortimer's Barrow 225, Huggate Wold Group, E.R.	Inhumation of an infant accompanied by a crushed Food Vessel	1	Food Vessel: ?Yorkshire Vase; Not preserved (Mortimer 1905, 302)	Not known	Not known	Not known	Positon not known
YI 68: Mortimer's Barrow 264, Huggate and Warter Wold Group, E.R.	Crouched inhumation of an infant; Beaker associated	1	Handled Beaker: H (FV) form (Mortimer 317, fig 944; Abercromby 1912, no 296a; Clarke 1970, 508, no 1337)	144	114	100	position in relation to body not noted
YI 69: Mortimer's Barrow 264, Huggate and Warter Wold Group, E.R.	Inhumation of a child; accompanied by Food Vessel	1	Food Vessel: Bipartite Bowl (Mortimer 1905, 317-8, fig 945)	133	171.5	Not known	Position not known
YI 70: Mortimers Barrow 4, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	At the base of the mound was the crouched skeleton of a child aged about 15 months (YI 70); near the chest was a food vase	1	Food Vessel: Tripartite Bowl (Mortimer 1905, 114, fig 267)	102	140	72	Near chest

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 71: Mortimers Barrow 4, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Central grave containing a series of burials; including double inhumation of adult and child (YI 71). Behind the skull of each stood a Beaker.	2	Beaker: S2(W) form (Mortimer 1905, 115, 270; Abercromby 1912, no. 112; Clarke 1970, 508, no 1351, fig 810)	147	119	63	One behind skull of child (unclear which)
			Beaker : S1 form (Mortimer 1905, 115, fig 271; Abercromby 1912, no 113; Clarke 1970, 508, no 1352, fig 789)	149	114	22	One behind skull of adult (unclear which)
YI 73: Mortimers Barrow 4, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Crouched inhumation of child 3-4 years of age. Beaker placed behind shoulders	1	Beaker: FP form (Mortimer 1905, 117, fig 282; Abercromby 1912, no 114; Clarke 1970, 508, no 1353, fig 790)	141	99	54	behind shoulders
YI 76: Mortimer's Barrow 83, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Adult and child (12-14 years) inhumations. Beaker between heads (described by Mortimer as a Food Vessel)	1	Beaker: S3(W) form (Mortimer 1905, 119; Clarke 1970, 508, no 1355)	Not known	Not known	Not known	behind skull of adult = in front of face of youth.
YI 77: Mortimer's Barrow 97, Garrowby Wold Group, E.R.	Crouched inhumation of a child 8-10 years; Food Vessel found close to the face	1	Food Vessel: Yorkshire Vase; two encircling grooves, the upper with regularly spaced perforated stops (Mortimer 1905, 143, fig 380)	108	166	61	At face

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 79: Mortimer's Barrow 98 Painsthorpe wold group	Crouched skeleton of a very young child, placed with head to W., associated with fragments of a Food vessel and a flint knife.	Sherds	Food Vase: Fragments only; not preserved (Mortimer 1905, 131)	Sherds only	Sherds only	Sherds only	Position not known
YI 80: Mortimer's barrow 102, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Burial 1: inhumation of a young person with a small Collared Urn	1	Collared Urn: Secondary Series (Longworth 1984, 212, No. 739, pl 238c)	96.5	112	76	Not noted
YI 82: Mortimer's barrow 104, Garrowby Wold Group	Burial of child at base of mound; at the feet were leg bones of a pig and a Food Vessel	1	Handled Food Vessel: Bipartite Vase (Mortimer 1905, 136, fig 353)	140	152	76	At feet
YI 84 & 85: Mortimer's barrow 67, Garton Slack Group, E.R.	Oval grave containing two sequential interments of children. The upper (later) burial was a child c.2 years in crouched position (YI 84). The lower (earlier) burial was a 5-year-old child (YI 85). Near them was a small Food Vessel	1	Food Vessel: Bipartite Bowl (Mortimer 1905, 244, fig. 612)	114	129	54	Not noted
YI 86: Mortimer's Barrow 79, Garton Slack Group, E.R.	Crouched inhumation of a child; close to its feet was a small crushed Food Vessel	1	Food Vessel: Form unknown; crushed (Mortimer 1905, 242)	Not known	Not known	Not known	At feet

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 91: Greenwell's barrow XLVIII, Langtoft, E.R.	Disturbed double inhumation of an adult male and an adolescent c.16-years-old; associated with some fragments of Beaker	Sherds	Beaker: form unknown. Sherds only (Greenwell 1877, 204-5)	Sherds only	Sherds only	Sherds only	Disturbed. Original position not known
YI 92: Greenwell's CXXII, Londesborough, E.R.	Crouched skeleton of a child 12-14-years of age; Food Vessel at face.	1	Food Vessel: Bipartite vase (Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 89, burial 2, no.1)	162	136-143	87	At face
YI 93 & 94: Mortimer's Barrow 265, Blanch group, E.R.	Central grave containing multiple sequential interments. At base of grave were two ?seated burials or dismembered bones of two youths 13 and 15 years of age (YI 93 & 94); accompanied by portions of a Food Vase placed in two heaps apart. A fragment needed to complete the vessel could not be found anywhere.	Fragmentary	Food Vessel: Form Unknown; fragmentary on deposition (Mortimer 1905, 330)	Not known	Not known	Not known	Portions of food vase placed in two heaps apart. Fragment missing
YI 98: Greenwell's barrow LXIII, Rudston, E.R.	Crouched infant inhumation; Beaker at face	1	Beaker: S4 Form (Abercromby 1912, no 110; Clarke 1970, 509, No 1373, fig 1011)	145	100	65	at face

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 100: Greenwell's barrow LXIII, Rudston, E.R.	Disturbed, disarticulated bones of an adult and infant within the grave fill associated with sherds of Beaker (not preserved); disturbed earlier burial?	Sherds	Beaker sherds noted by Greenwell (1877, 248). Not preserved.	Sherds only	Sherds only	Sherds only	sherds found amongst disturbed bones in grave fill
YI 107: Greenwell's barrow LXVII, Rudston, E.R.	Secondary child inhumation; 2 m above old surface, 4.5m NE of centre; Food Vessel at head	1	Food Vessel: Undecorated bipartite bowl (Abercromby 1912, no.107; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 74, burial 15, no.11)	86	95	62	At head
YI 108: Greenwell's barrow LXVII, Rudston, E.R.	Secondary child inhumation; Beaker at face	1	Beaker: N/NR form (Abercromby 1912, no 142; Clarke 1970, 509, no.1377, fig 331)	125	98	64	at face
YI 110: Mortimer's Barrow 28, Liff Hill Group, E.R.	Crouched burial of a youth; at the E side and resting on the chest awas a small Food Vessel.	1	Food Vessel: Bipartite bowl (Mortimer 1905, 200, fig. 495)	140	140	63.5	In front of chest
YI 113: Mortimer's barrow 237, Blanch group, E.R.	Secondary burial of a child about 4 years of age; in front of chest was a crushed Food Vessel.	1	Food Vessel: Yorkshire Vase with three or four perforated lugs (Mortimer 1905, 325, fig 972)	108	120	72	In front of chest
YI 116 & 117: Mortimer's barrow 284, near Wold Newton, E.R.	Multiple interment comprising 3 adults, 1 youth and 1 child (YI 116 & 117); 2 small fragments of Food Vessel were associated	Sherds	Food Vessel fragments: Form unknown (Mortimer 1905, 350)	Sherds only	Sherds only	Sherds only	Position not known

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 118: Mortimers Barrow 204, Acklam Wold Group, E.R.	Inhumation of child 5-7 years; crushed Beaker found near its feet and under the skull were some small pieces of another vase.	1 & sherds	Beaker: S4 form (Mortimer 1905, 86, fig 196; Abercromby 1912, no.110; Clarke 1970, 505, 1211, 988)	153	126	78	Crushed: at feet
			Form unknown: sherds only	Sherds only	Sherds only	Sherds only	Under skull
YI 124: Mortimer Barrow 54, Aldro Group, E.R.	Crouched infant inhumation; Beaker had been placed at the knees.	1	Beaker: N/N2 form (Mortimer 1905, 64, fig 131; Abercromby 1912, no 141; Clarke 1970, 505, no 1213, fig 284)	141	114	73.5	at knees
YI 130: Mortimer Barrow 59, Aldro Group, E.R.	Flexed remains of a child c.12-months-old; Food Vessel in front of face.	1	Food Vessel: Irregular-shaped bipartite bowl (Mortimer 1905, 69, fig 145)	129	144	60	At face
YI 131: Mortimer Barrow 59, Aldro Group, E.R.	Decayed remains of an infant not more than 6 months old; a small Food Vase stood near its head.	1	Food Vessel: Bipartite bowl (Mortimer 1905, 70, fig 146)	102	144	48	Near head
YI 132: Mortimer Barrow 59, Aldro Group	6-month-old child in crouched position; accompanied by a small Food Vessel behind the hips but inverted	1	Food Vessel: Yorkshire Vase with at least four imperforated lugs (Mortimer 1905, 70, fig 147)	112.5	120	57	Behind hips (inverted)
YI 134: Mortimer's barrow 66, Wharram Percy Group	Inhumation of a youth, on R side, head to NNW; behind the head was part of a crushed Food Vessel	1	Food Vessel: type unknown. Not preserved (Mortimer 1905, 49)	Not known	Not known	Not known	Behind head

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 135: Mortimer's barrow 67, Wharram Percy, E.R.	Un-ornamented Beaker, close to the S. side of the crushed skull of an infant inhumation	1	Beaker: unornamented. Not catalogued by Clarke (1970). Mortimer 1905, 49, fig 84	165	133	Not known	close to S side of skull
YI 137: Mortimer's barrow C76, Aldro Group, E.R.	Inhumation of a youth c.12 years of age; close to face was a large Food Vessel and animal bones	1	Food Vessel: Bipartite bowl (Mortimer 1905, 72, fig 153)	152	165	78	At face
YI 141: Mortimer's barrow 116, Aldro Group, E.R.	Inhumation of a youth of 10-14 years of age in a crouched position; behind the shoulders was a crushed Beaker.	1	Beaker: S2 (W) form (Mortimer 1905, 54, fig 95; Abercromby 1912, no 121; Clarke 1970, 505, no 1217, fig 807	180	102	51	behind shoulders
YI 142 & YI 143: Mortimer's barrow 116, Aldro Group, E.R.	Shallow grave containing the remains of four individuals; two adults and two children; miniature Beaker near head of adult, handled beaker near hips of 10-14-year-old (YI 142); Beaker in front of face of child less than 12-years-old.	2	Handled Beaker: SH3(c) form (Mortimer 1905, 55, fig 101; Abercromby 1912, no 295; Clarke 1970, 505, no 1219, fig 1065)	111	136.5	129	near hips
			Beaker: S1 form (Mortimer 1905, 55, fig 104; Abercromby 1912, No. 119; Clarke 1970, 505, no 1216, fig 755)	117	108	51	at face
YI 144: Mortimer's barrow 281, Hedon Howe, E.R.	Decayed bones of a small child, accompanied by a Beaker	1	Beaker: S3(W) form (Mortimer 1905, 349, fig 1014; Abercromby 1912, no. 99; Clarke 1970, 508, no 1326, fig 964)	143	117	73	Body too decayed to determine position

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 145: Greenwell's barrow LXX, Folkton, E.R.	Child inhumation on old ground surface possibly associated with a Food Vessel.	1	Food Vessel: plain bipartite bowl; twisted cord impressions on rim (Abercromby 1912, no.122; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 78, burial 1, no.1)	102	123	60	Position unknown
YI 146: Greenwell's barrow LXX, Folkton, E.R.	Burial 2: burial of infant, less than 1 year of age on OGS associated with pottery sherds	3	Incomplete Collared Urn: Primary Series, South Eastern Style, Form 1 (Longworth 1984, 243, no. 1138, pl 21f)	33mm surviving	c.127	Not known	Not noted
			Rim and collar sherds of Collared Urn. Unclassified form (Longworth 1984, 243, no.1137a, not illustrated)	Sherds only	Sherds only	Sherds only	Not noted
			Type unknown	Sherds only	Sherds only	Sherds only	Not noted
YI 147: Greenwell's barrow LXX, Folkton, E.R.	Infant inhumation traces; accompanied by Food Vessel	1	Food Vessel: irregularly-shaped bipartite bowl (Abercromby 1912, no 120; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 78, burial 3, no. 5)	95	115 - 124	70	Position unknown
YI 149: Greenwell's barrow LXX, Folkton, E.R.	Crouched child inhumation; Food Vessel at face	1	Food Vessel: Bipartite bowl (Abercromby 1912, no. 121; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, burial 9, no.7)	115	150	73	At face

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 151: Greenwell's barrow CCXLII, Folkton, E.R.	Crouched child inhumation; beaker at feet	1	Beaker: S4 form (Greenwell 1890, fig 3; Abercromby 1912, no 108; Clarke 1970, 507, no 1280, fig 979)	186	147	84	at feet
YI 155 & 156: Greenwell's barrow CCXLV, Folkton, E.R.	child/adolescent inhumation (YI 155) crouched on R with head W., and seperate infant skull and post-cranial fragments (YI 156); 2 Beakers at shoulder of adolescent	2	Beaker: AOC decorated (Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 116 , no 6)	90	95	55	both beakers behind shoulder of adolescent
			Beaker: AOC decorated (Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 116 , no 7)	80	85	56	
YI 158: Brough III, Ganton (Greenwell's barrow XXI)	Crouched child inhumation; Food Vessel at head beneath two large blocks.	1	Food Vessel: Bipartite bowl with distinct collar (Greenwell 1877, fig 69; Abercromby 1912, no. 29; Kinnes & Longowrth 1985, 37, burial 1, no. 1)	99	123	55	At head (beneath 2 flint blocks)
YI 160 & 161: Greenwell's barrow XXI, Ganton, E.R.	Double child inhumation of 3-year-old child (YI 160) and infant (YI 161) ; Beaker behind head of older child	1	Beaker: S2 (W) form (Greenwell 1877, 166, fig 83; Abercromby 1912, no 130; Clarke 1970, 507, no 1284, fig 927)	200	135	88	Behind head

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 162: Ganton (Greenwell's barrow XXIII), E.R.	Crouched adolescent inhumation; Food Vessel at face.	1	Food Vessel: Bipartite bowl with irregular twisted cord impressions (Abercromby 1912, no. 211; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 40, burial 2, no.1)	115	140	70	At face
YI 176: Barrow 1R, Heslerton, E.R.	Principal grave in centre containing primary burial of adult male inhumation later disturbed by insertion of a 12-14-year-old; Beaker placed in the angle between the upper and lower legs.	1	Beaker: N/NR type (Manby 1986, 117)	174	125	78	Placed in the angle between upper and lower legs
YI 179: Barrow 1R, Heslerton, E.R.	Unburnt remains of 3-6 year old child accompanied by an upright Food Vessel.	1	Food Vessel: bipartite bowl with single side lug, ?as handle (Manby 1986, IR224, 123, fig 39)	113	122	65	Above skull
YI 181: Barrow 1R, Heslerton, E.R.	Flexed burial of a child aged 7-9 years; small undecorated Food Vessel lying on its side in the angle between the left shoulder and the cranium	1	Food Vessel: Undecorated bowl (Manby 1986, IR104, fig.34)	106	110	63	At face (on its side)
YI 182: Greenwell's barrow CCL, Hunmanby, E.R.	Crouched child inhumation; Food vessel and other objects at face	1	Food Vessel: Yorkshire Vase with three of four projecting lugs surviving (Abercromby 1912, no.136; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 119, burial 1, no.1)	121	123	54	At face

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 183: Greenwell's barrow CCLI, Hunmanby, E.R.	Disturbed child inhumation; on old ground surface at centre; Beaker sherds associated	Sherds	Beaker: form unknown; not preserved (Greenwell 1890, 21-22; Clarke 1970, 508, no 1339)	Not known	Not known	Not known	Disturbed. Original position not known
YI 192 & 193: Mortimer's barrow 280, near Marton Hall	Central oval grave containing multiple child interments; W. side of grave was Food Vessel and flint knife with possible child burial (YI 192). Beside this pot was a second vase and worked flint near to the decayed bones of a child (YI 193). A third Food Vessel (accompanied by a bone pin and burnt flint knife) was associated with the cremation of a child (YC 12).	3	Food Vessel: Yorkshire Vase, tripartite with four large perforated stops (Mortimer 1905, 345, fig 1007)	152	178	76	Body too decayed to determine position
			Food Vessel: tripartite bowl (Mortimer 1905, 346, fig 1008)	127	152	100	Body too decayed to determine position
			Food Vessel: Bipartite Vase (Mortimer 1905, 345, fig 1006)	180	172	88	Associated with cremation of child (YC 12)
YI 195 & 196: Sherburn (Greenwell's barrow XII), E.R.	Double inhumation of an adolescent (YI 195) and child (YI 196); Food vessel at knees and knife at chest of adolescent.	1	Food Vessel: Bipartite bowl (Abercromby 1912, no. 118a; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, burial 3, no.6)	145	154	72	At knees (of adolescent)

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 197 & 198: Mortimer's Barrow 211 1/2, Towthorpe Group, E.R.	Young adult female and a 12-15-year old (YI 198) at base of grave. Close to the head of the child was a Beaker. Also within the grave was an infant (YI 197) but no pottery was directly associated.	1	Beaker: N2 form (Mortimer 1905, 19, fig 41; Abercomby 1912, no 145;Clarke 1970, 509, no. 1402, fig 533)	183	110	67	Behind head of youth (YI 198)
YI 201: Mortimer's Barrow 55, Hanging Grimston Group, E.R.	Multiple sequential inhumations in grave including double interment of adult and infant; near to child was fragments of a Beaker	1	Beaker: S2(E) form (Mortimer 1905, 101, fig 243; Abercromby 1912, no 126; Clarke 1970, 508, no.1323, fig 873)	127.5	109.5	75	Near infant; broken due to disturbance?
YI 202: Mortimer's Barrow 55, Hanging Grimston Group, E.R.	At the base of the grave was Interment no 11, the skeleton of a youth; in front of the face was a Beaker vessel so crushed that it had to be removed in no fewer than 91 pieces but was later restored.	1	Beaker: N2 form (Mortimer 1905, 101, fig 246; Abercromby 1912, no 125; Clarke 1970, 508, no 1322, fig 507)	219	141	67.5	in front of face
YI 204: Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Unburnt remains of an infant accompanied by a small plain Food Vessel (not illustrated)	1	Food Vessel?: Form unknown (Mortimer 1905, 414)	Not known	Not known	Not known	Position not known

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 205: Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Food Vessel; close to which was the inhumed remains of a child	1	Food Vessel: Tripartite bowl (Mortimer 1905, 126, fig 313)	141	156	81	Position not known
YI 206: Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Burial Ea: unburnt bones of a child associated with ceramic vessel; described by Mortimer as a Food Vessel but is a Collared Urn	1	Collared Urn: Primary Series, Form IB (Longworth 1984, 212, No. 741, pl. 57b))	140	112	Not known	Not noted
YI 207: Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Flexed skeleton of a child c.2 years of age; accompanied by Food Vessel	1	Food Vessel: Yorkshire Vase with four imperforate stops (Mortimer 1905, 126, fig 316)	108	133	78	Position not known
YI 208: Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Inhumation of a newborn, only a few weeks old together with an undecorated Miniature Food Vesel	1	Miniature Food Vessel: Undecorated (Mortimer 1905, 126, fig 317)	89	152	93	Position not known
YI 209: Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Inhumation of an infant; near to it were portions of a Collared Urn.	1	Mortimer refers to this vessel as a Food Vessel but compares it to the form of fig 315 which is a Collared Urn (Mortimer 1905, 126). Not classified by Longworth (1984)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Position not known

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 210: Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Secondary crouched inhumation burial of a child, not more than 8-10 months of age, accompanied by a Food Vessel.	1	Food Vessel: Tripartite Bowl (Mortimer 1905, 127, fig 321)	127	152	60	Position not known
YI 215: Mortimer's Barrow 111, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Inhumation of a child; accompanied by a small plain Food Vessel (not illustrated)	1	Food Vessel: Form unknown (Mortimer 1905, 129)	Not known	Not known	Not known	Position not known
YI 218: Mortimer's Barrow 41, Rigg Group, E.R.	Central principal grave containing the unburnt skeleton of a youth; on the right side of the skull was a large Yorkshire Vase Food Vessel	1	Food Vessel: Yorkshire Vase; two encircling grooves each with 5 stops: the upper imperforate, the lower perforated (Mortimer 1905, 181, fig 456	165	194	80	At head
YI 219: Mortimer's Barrow 49, Rubbing Horse Hill, Riggs Group, E.R.	Inhumation of a youth; Food Vessel placed close to the face	1	Food Vessel: Bipartite Vase (Mortimer 1905, 172, fig 432)	159	165	75	At face
YI 221: Greenwell's barrow XLV, Weaverthorpe, E.R.	Infant inhumation, in oval hollow; Food Vessel on side 0.3m to NW.	1	Food Vessel: Bipartite Yorkshire Vase, three of four imperforate lugs surviving (Abercromby 1912, no.38; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 47, burial 2, no.1)	103	128	58	Not known (on its side)

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 229 & 230: Greenwell's barrow XXXIV, Willerby, E.R.	Multiple inhumation: young adult and child under 12 years (YI 228), the child behind the back of the adult, sharing orientation. In front of the young adult was a child approx 4 years of age (YI 230) at same orientation. Facing these three bodies was a mature adult female. In front of the face of the 20-year-old was one half of the bottom of a food vessel.	Sherds	Food Vessel: basal sherds only (Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 44, burial 1, no 1)	Sherds only	Sherds only	Sherds only	In front of face of young adult in multiple interment
YI 234: Ampleforth Barrow 3, Oswaldkirk, N.R.	Inhumation of child of 8-10 years, ?contracted; behind the head was a Food Vessel	1	Food Vessel: Tripartite Bowl (Smith 1994, 100-1, no.6, fig 60:4)	110	144	65.4	Behind head
YI 235: Ampleforth Barrow 3, Oswaldkirk, N.R.	Inhumation of infant of not more than 30 months and probably 18 months old, crouched; at the feet was a food vessel, with yet another 6" above the head, inverted over a flat stone and covering a cremation.	2	Food Vessel: Yorkshire Vase with four imperforate stops (Smith 1994, 100-101, no.7, fig 60:5)	153	190	80	At head (on stone covering cremation)
			Food Vessel: ?Yorkshire Vase with encircling groove but no stops (Smith 1994, 100-101, no. 8, fig: 61.1	153	171	63	At feet (upright)

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Location in grave
YI 236: Ampleforth barrow 4, Oswaldkirk, N.R.	Secondary grave; a small Food Vessel was inverted over 3 milk teeth, molars, of which only the enamel survived, and traces of charcoal.	1	Food Vessel: Bipartite Bowl (Smith 1994, 101-2; Fig 63.4)	77	Not known	Not known	Inverted over disarticulated bone
YI 238: Lord Barrow, N.R.	Crouched inhumation of 12-15-year-old accompanied by an inverted Beaker & a small rim sherd, possibly from an accessory cup	1	Beaker: S1 form (Smith 1994, 105, fig 70.1)	149	126	82	Inverted. Position in relation to body not recorded
YI 238: Lord Barrow, N.R.	Crouched skeleton of a 14-15 year old ?female; accompanied by an inverted Beaker and a small rim sherd from an accessory cup	Sherd	Accessory cup sherd: Form unknown (Smith 1994, 105, no 2	Sherds only	Sherds only	Sherds only	Position in relation to body not noted
YI 248: Green Howe Barrow, N.R.	Inhumation of child 12-13 years of age; in front of the knees was a Food Vessel in a crushed and broken state.	1	Food Vessel: Tripartite Bowl (Wood 1972, 17, (a), fig 10:1)	140	155	94	At knees
YI 249: Green Howe Barrow, N.R.	Secondary burial of a child c.5 years; near the skull was a crushed Food Vessel.	1	Food Vessel: Bipartite Bowl (Wood 1972, 17, (b), fig 10.2)	127	140	89	Near head

Table 6.17
Multiple vessels accompanying child inhumations in Yorkshire

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description
YI 17: Greenwell's barrow LV, Cowlam, E.R.	Scattered bones of adult and child, in grave fill; disturbed earlier burial?	2	Beaker sherds Form unknown: described by Greenwell as 'cinerary urn'
YI 31: Mortimer's Barrow 62, Garton Slack Group, E.R.	Central grave with multiple sequential interments including secondary inserted burial of child 5-7 years of age; close beihind the head was an upright Food Vessel. In the bottom of the vase was an accessory vessel	2	Food Vessel: Yorkshire Vase; 6 perforated lugs in lower groove (Mortimer 1905, 213, fig 529) Accessory Cup: plain bowl-shaped cup; undecorated (Mortimer 1905, 213, fig 530)
YI 71: Mortimer's Barrow 4, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Central grave containing a series of burials; including double inhumation of adult and child (YI 71). Behind the skull of each stood a Beaker.	2	Beaker: S2(W) form (Mortimer 1905, 115, 270; Abercromby 1912, no. 112; Clarke 1970, 508, no 1351, fig 810) Beaker : S1 form (Mortimer 1905, 115, fig 271; Abercromby 1912, no 113; Clarke 1970, 508, no 1352, fig 789)
YI 118: Mortimer's Barrow 204, Acklam Wold Group, E.R.	Inhumation of child 5-7 years; crushed Beaker found near its feet and under the skull were some small pieces of another vase.	1 & sherds	Beaker: S4 form (Mortimer 1905, 86, fig 196; Abercromby 1912, no.110; Clarke 1970, 505, 1211, 988) Form unknown: sherds only

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description
YI 142 & YI 143: Mortimer's barrow 116, Aldro Group, E.R.	Shallow grave containing the remains of four individuals; two adults and two children; miniature Beaker near head of adult, handled beaker near hips of 10-14-year-old (YI 142); Beaker in front of face of child less than 12-years-old.	2	Handled Beaker: SH3(c) form (Mortimer 1905, 55, fig 101; Abercromby 1912, no 295; Clarke 1970, 505, no 1219, fig 1065)
			Beaker: S1 form (Mortimer 1905, 55, fig 104; Abercromby 1912, No. 119; Clarke 1970, 505, no 1216, fig 755)
YI 146: Greenwell's barrow LXX, Folkton, E.R.	Burial 2: burial of infant, less than 1 year of age on OGS associated with pottery sherds	3	Incomplete Collared Urn: Primary Series, South Eastern Style, Form 1 (Longworth 1984, 243, no. 1138, pl 21f)
			Rim and collar sherds of Collared Urn. Unclassified form (Longworth 1984, 243, no.1137a, not illustrated)
			Type unknown
YI 155 & 156: Greenwell's barrow CCXLV, Folkton, E.R.	Child/adolescent inhumation (YI 155) crouched on R with head W., and seperate infant skull and post-cranial fragments (YI 156); 2 Beakers at shoulder of adolescent	2	Beaker: AOC decorated (Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 116 , no 6)
			Beaker: AOC decorated (Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 116 , no 7)

Site	Burial summary	Quantity of vessels	Vessel description
YI 192 & 193: Mortimer's barrow 280, near Marton Hall	Central oval grave containing multiple child interments; W. side of grave was Food Vessel and flint knife with possible child burial (YI 192). Beside this pot was a second vase and worked flint near to the decayed bones of a child (YI 193). A third Food Vessel (accompanied by a bone pin and burnt flint knife) was associated with the cremation of a child (YC 12).	3	Food Vessel: Yorkshire Vase, tripartite with four large perforated stops (Mortimer 1905, 345, fig 1007)
			Food Vessel: tripartite bowl (Mortimer 1905, 346, fig 1008)
			Food Vessel: Bipartite Vase (Mortimer 1905, 345, fig 1006)
YI 235: Ampleforth Barrow 3, Oswaldkirk, N.R.	Inhumation of infant of not more than 30 months and probably 18 months old, crouched; at the feet was a food vessel, with yet another 6" above the head, inverted over a flat stone and covering a cremation.	2	Food Vessel: Yorkshire Vase with four imperforate stops (Smith 1994, 100-101, no.7, fig 60:5)
			Food Vessel: ?Yorkshire Vase with encircling groove but no stops (Smith 1994, 100-101, no. 8, fig: 61.1
YI 238: Lord Barrow, N.R.	Crouched inhumation of 12-15-year-old accompanied by an inverted Beaker & a small rim sherd, possibly from an accessory cup	1 & sherds	Beaker: S1 form (Smith 1994, 105)
			Accessory cup sherd: Form unknown (Smith 1994, 105, no 2

Table 6.18
Range of Beaker pottery forms present

Beaker form	Quantity of associated burials	Quantity of pots	Catalogue Numbers
AOC	1	2	YI 155
S1	3	3	YI 70, YI 143, YI 238
S2	2	2	YI 141, YI 160 & 161
S2 (E)	1	1	YI 201
S2 (W)	2	2	YI 76, YI 70
S3 (W)	1	1	YI 144
S4	3	3	YI 98, YI 118, YI 151
N/NR	3	3	YI 108, YI 128, YI 176
N2	2	2	YI 197 & YI 198; YI 202
N3	1	1	YI 48
FP	1	1	YI 73
Handled	2	2	YI 68, YI 142
Form Unknown	5	5	YI 17, YI 19, YI 91, YI 100, YI 135

Table 6.19
Range of Food Vessel forms present

Form	Shape	Quantity
Bipartite	Bowl	18
	Vase	2
Tripartite	Bowl	9
	Vase	1
Yorkshire Vase	Bowl	13
	Vase	1
Handled		1
Single-lugged		1
Miniature bowl		2
Unknown		9

Table 6.20
Collared Urns associated with child inhumations in Yorkshire

Burial & Site	Vessel	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)	Base Diam (mm)	Position in relation to body
YI 42: Greenwell's barrow LXXXIX, Goodmanham, E.R.	Collared Urn: Secondary Series, North Western Style, Form II/III (Longworth 1984, 208, No. 698, pl 83e)	107	103	64	Not noted
YI 58: Moneyhill, Greenwell's Barrow CXXI, Goodmanham, E.R.	Collared Urn sherds: 29, mainly rim and collar. Unclassified form (Longworth 1984, 209, no 703; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, Goodmanham 121, illus 4).	Not known	157 mm approx	Not known	Below head
YI 80: Mortimer's barrow 102, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Collared Urn: Secondary Series (Longworth 1984, 212, No. 739, pl 238c)	96.5	112	76	Not noted
YI 146: Greenwell's barrow LXX, Folkton, E.R.	Incomplete Collared Urn: Primary Series, South Eastern Style, Form 1 (Longworth 1984, 243, no. 1138, pl 21f)	33mm surviving	c.127	Not known	Not noted
	Rim and collar sherds of Collared Urn. Unclassified form (Longworth 1984, 243, no.1137a, not illustrated)	Sherds only	Sherds only	Sherds only	Not noted
	Type unknown	Sherds only	Sherds only	Sherds only	Not noted
YI 206: Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Collared Urn: Primary Series, Form IB (Longworth 1984, 212, No. 741, pl. 57b))	140	112	Not known	Not noted
YI 209: Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Mortimer refers to this vessel as a Food Vessel but compares it to the form of fig 315 which is a Collared Urn (Mortimer 1905, 126). Not classified by Longworth (1984)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Position not known

Table 6.21
Summary of worked bone ornaments associated with child inhumations in Yorkshire

Form	Cat. No./Site	Ornament Description	Condition	Dimensions	Position in grave	Reference
PINS	YI 12: Mortimer's barrow 120, Garrowby Wold Group, E.R.	Bone point: crudely produced from flat longbone fragment, only point extensively modified (Longworth type 4; 1984, 64)	Complete	L 61 mm, W 12 mm, T ?.	At skull	Mortimer 1905, 147, fig 393
	YI 25: Greenwell's barrow LXXXII, Etton (Riley)	Bone pin: caprovine longbone splinter, cut to point. (?Longworth type 4: 1984, 64)	Broken at one end and very eroded	L 59 mm, W 9 mm, T 3 mm.	At neck	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 81, no.2.
	YI 46: Goodmanham LXXXIX, E.R.	Bone pin fragment: split caprovine longbone (Longworth type 4; 1984, 64)	Broken and eroded	L 53 mm, W 10 mm, T 2 mm	At head	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 83, no.10.
	YI 50: Goodmanham CXI, E.R.	Bone pin: cut and all over polished on splinter of ?roe-deer metacarpal (Longworth type 1; 1984, 63)	Eroded; point broken	L 195 mm, W 14 mm, T 11 mm.	Behind shoulders	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 86, no.2.
	YI 87: Mortimer's Barrow 112, Garton Slack Group, E.R.	Bone pin: cut and all over polished on mammal longbone (Longworth type 1; 1984, 63)	Complete	L 124 mm, Diam 9 mm	Position not noted	Mortimer 1905, 245, fig 617a
	YI 88: Mortimer's Barrow 112, Garton Slack Group, E.R.	Bone pin: cut and all over polished on mammal longbone (Longworth type 1; 1984, 63)	Complete	L 101 mm, Diam 8.5 mm	Position not noted	Mortimer 1905, 245, fig 617b
	YI 89: Mortimer's Barrow 112, Garton Slack Group, E.R.	Bone pin: cut and all over polished on mammal longbone (Longworth type 1; 1984, 63)	Damaged at one end	L 104 mm, W 7 mm	Position not noted	Mortimer 1905, 245, fig 617c

	YI 153: Greenwell's barrow CCXLV, Folkton, E.R.	Bone pin: cut and polished from longbone sliver to circular section with rounded butt (?Longworth type 1; 1984, 63)	Eroded; broken and point lacking	L 78 mm, Diam 5 mm	Behind hips beside two chalk drums: bag fastener?	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 115-116, no.4.
	YI 157: Greenwell's barrow XVI, Ganton	Bone pin: cut longbone sliver (?Longworth type 4; 1984, 64)	Broken and eroded	L 64 mm, Diam 1 mm.	Behind head	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 36, no.1.
	YI 182: Greenwell's barrow CCL, Hunmanby, E.R.	Bone ring-headed pin: on caprovine humerus splinter, cut to oval section (Longworth type 3; 1984, 63)	Head broken; eroded	L 77 mm, W 8 mm, T 4 mm	At face	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 119, no.2.
	YI 212: Mortimer's Barrow 121, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	Bone pin: short tapering shank cut from sliver of long bone; retains articular bone surface at squared head (Longworth type 4; 1984, 64)	Complete	Not known	Near skull	Mortimer 1905, 128, fig 327
TOGGLES	YI 155 & 156: Greenwell's barrow CCXLV, Folkton, E.R.	Bone toggle or belt ring: cut and polished from longbone segment; ring or oval section tang.	Broken	L (restored) 58 mm, Tang W 14 mm, T 5 mm; Ring Diam (ext) 29 mm, (internal) 18 mm.	In grave fill	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 116, no.12.
	YI 31: Mortimer's Barrow 62, Garton Slack Group, E.R.	Bone toggle: short bar shaped toggle broken across a centrally perforated narrow rounded expansion on one side.	Broken across perforation	L 47 mm; max W 12 mm; W at ends 8-9 mm; Diam of perforation 5 mm.	Near skull	Mortimer 1905, 212, fig 531 & 532
		Bone toggle?: short bone cylinder, rounded at one end, contracting in width at the opposite end which is pierced with a short longitudinal hollow.	Broken across hollow	L 32 mm; Diam 11 mm; Diam of hollow 4mm	Near skull	

Table 6.22
Location of bone pins in relation to the position of the body

Location in grave	Quantity
At skull/head	4
At face	1
At neck	1
Behind shoulders	1
Beside hips	1
Unknown	3

Table 6.23
Summary listing of jet ornaments (and related decorative items) associated with children in Yorkshire

Cat. No./Site	Number	Material	Description	Position in relation to body	Reference
YI 41: Wetwang Slack grave 1 (isolated burial), E.R.	1	Jet	V-perforated button	In front of stomach	Dent 1979, 32, fig 7:3
YI 30: Mortimer's Barrow 53, Garton Slack group, E.R.	2	Bronze	Bronze rings (ear- or hair-rings?) produced from a curved strips of decorated bronze and curved around on itself to form a ring; each approx. 38mm diam; one, slightly broken	At either side of the skull	Mortimer 1905, 218, fig 558-561
	1	Jet	Segmented imperforate cylinder	L side of the forehead	
	1	Fossil	Fossil ammonite	L side of the forehead	
	1	Ochre	Ochre nodule	Partly under the knees	
YI 136: Mortimer's Barrow 70, Wharram Percy group, E.R.	2	Jet	Studs	Close to the neck	Mortimer 1904, 47, figs 74 & 75
YI 155: Greenwell's barrow CCXLV, Folkton, E.R.	1	Jet	Disc-bead necklace; composed of 160 disc beads cut and polished with drilled	*In situ* at neck	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 116, no.8

Cat. No./Site	Number	Material	Description	Position in relation to body	Reference
			perforations; Diam 0.6-0.7 cm; T 0.1-0.5 cm		
YI 201: Mortimer's Barrow 55, Hanging Grimston group, E.R.	1	Jet	V-perforated button	On breast bone	Mortimer 1905, 101, 245
YI 211: Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold group, E.R.	1	Jet	Flat, triangular, centrally perforated jet toggle from spacer plate necklace	Behind head	Mortimer 1905, 125-6, fig 312
YI 237: Pinderdale Wood Barrow, N.R.	2	Jet	Jet studs (different sizes)	Position not noted	Hayes 1963, appendix A (III), fig 2: 1-6; Smith 1994, 110, pl 23.
	5	Jet	Biconical jet beads		
	1	Jet	Large jet disc bead/pendant		
	1	Jet	Fusiform jet bead		
YI 239: Seamer Moor barrow, N.R.	1	Fossil	Fossil encrinite bead	Position not noted	Smith 1994, 153, fig 123:8

Table 6.24
Flints associated with child inhumations in Yorkshire[1].

Catalogue Number	Quantity	Form	Size	Position in grave	Reference
		Sub-circular scraper	L 38 mm, W 38 mm, T unknown	Near the arm	
YI 03	2	Flint knife/Projectile	L 56 mm, W 25 mm, T unknown	Near the arm	Mortimer 1905, 144, fig 385 & 386
YI 16	"several"	Worked flints'	Dimensions unknown	Position not noted	Abramson 1996, 11
YI 17	1	Barbed-and-tanged arrowhead; all over bifacial retouch; one barb broken	L 27 mm, W 16 mm, T 5mm	In fill of grave: direct relationship with immature individual not confirmed	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 55
YI 20	1	Round flint scraper	Dimensions unknown	Behind head	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 56
		Small flake of black flint	Dimensions unknown	Close to R shoulder	
YI 26	2	Black flint scraper	Dimensions unknown	Under left arm	Mortimer 1905, 262, fig 729
YI 30	1	Small black flint flake	L 31 mm, W 27 mm, T unknown	At head	Mortimer 1905, 218, fig 557a
	1	Elongated oval flint knife: tip missing	Remaining L 71 mm, W 22 mm, T unknown	Under R side of skull	
YI 34	5	Splinters	Dimensions unknown	In gravel above skeleton	Mortimer 1905, 221-222, fig 567
	7	Splinters	Dimensions unknown	Surrounding interment	
YI 35	3	Lumps of unworked flint		Surrounding interment	Mortimer 1905, 222
YI 47	1	Plano-convex knife: all over invasive retouch.	L 4.5 cm, W 1.6 cm, T 0.6 cm. Clark 1932, no 5.6	At hips	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 83, Goodmanham 92, no. 2
YI 53 & 54	1	Round flint scraper	Not preserved	Disturbed; original position	Kinnes & Longworth 1985,

[1] It should be noted that neither Greenwell (1877; 1890) nor Mortimer regularly or consistently provided dimensions for flint objects they encountered. Dimensions quoted here regarding flint objects found by Greenwell have used dimensions, where possible, given by Kinnes & Longworth (1985). Mortimer (1905) did not consistently give dimensions but he did provide illustrations of many. Where possible, measurements and identification of form, used here have been taken directly from Mortimer's illustrations; their accuracy cannot be verified by the writer.

Catalogue Number	Quantity	Form	Size	Position in grave	Reference
				unknown	87
YI 59	1	Large flint cutting tool	L 71mm, W 46 mm, T unknown	At feet	Mortimer 1905, 310, fig 926
YI 64	1	Large oval flake	L 63 mm, W 53 mm, T unknown	On the abdomen	Mortimer 1905, 303, fig 910
YI 72	?1	Flint flake/knife; retouch along one edge towards point	L 43 mm, W 20 mm, T unknown	Unclear if grave contained two flint knives or only one (associated with adult female)	Mortimer 1905, 115, fig. 272
YI 73	1	Oval plano-convex knife	L 80 mm, W 30 mm, T unknown	Behind shoulders	Mortimer 1905, 117, fig 284
YI 76	1	Oval plano-convex knife with serrated edges	L 54 mm, W 17mm, T unknown	Near the face	Mortimer 1905, 119, fig 285
YI 77	1	Flint point (?piercer)	L 53 mm, W 14 mm, T unknown	Near right elbow	Mortimer 1905, 143, fig 381
YI 79	1	Oval flint knife	L 65 mm, W 48 mm, T unknown	A little above the body	Mortimer 1905, 131, fig 336
YI 82	1	Knife	Dimensions unknown	Under face	Mortimer 1905, 136, fig 351 & 352
	1	Blade	Dimensions unknown	Between chin and knees	
	several'	Splinters	Dimensions unknown	Around head	
YI 83	3	Oval flint knives or projectiles	Dimensions unknown	Found close together (?in bag), partly upon the bones of the hands near the chin	Mortimer 1905, 243, fig 610a-c
YI 104&105	2	Two flint flakes; not preserved		Between the heads of two children	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 74
YI 130	1	Flake of black flint	Not preserved	Near head	Mortimer 1905, 69
YI 134	1	Flint knife; tip missing	Remaining L 50 mm, W at butt end 32 mm	Within grave fill	Mortimer 1905, 47, fig 83

Catalogue Number	Quantity	Form	Size	Position in grave	Reference
YI 141	1	Black flint flake: bulb of percussion at one end but no retouch	L 42 mm, W 34 mm, T unknown.	Behind pelvis	Mortimer 1905, 54, fig 96
YI 150	2	Flint end-scraper: edge retouch on distal and some bilateral at 65 degrees	L 20 mm, W 22 mm, T 7 mm.	In grave fill	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 78-9
		Flint plano-convex knife fragment: converging bilateral invasive retouch, cortex remanant; snapped.	L 33 mm, W 29 mm, T 7 mm	In grave fill	
YI 155&156	3	Scraper fragment: edge retouch	L 27 mm, W 49 mm, T 12mm	In grave fill	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 116, Folkton 245, no 9, 10 & 11
		Broken flint flake: burnt and broken	L 47 mm, W 24 mm, T 11 mm	In grave fill	
		Flint flake	L 23 mm, W 10 mm, T 3 mm.	In grave fill	
YI 163	1	Barbed-and-tanged arrowhead; bifacial invasive retouch	L 33 mm, W 24 mm, T 3 mm	At face	Green 1980, no. 324
YI 172&173	1	Edge retouched flint knife	L 40 mm, W 19 mm, T 5.7 mm	Within grave fill (not associated with specific indivdidual)	Powlesland 1986, 91, fig 34
YI 177	1	Flint flake	Dimensions unknown	Position not noted	Powlesland 1986, 98
YI 181	1	Worked flint	L 32 mm, W 18mm, T 3 mm.	Placed near to pot behind head	Powlesland 1986, 110, fig 34
YI 182	2	Flint end- and side-scraper: edge retouch on distal and R at 75 degrees; some edge retouch	L 33 mm, W 35 mm, T 7 mm.	At face	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 119, Hunmanby 250, no's 3 & 4.

Catalogue Number	Quantity	Form	Size	Position in grave	Reference
		Flint flake: platform butt.	L 19 mm, W 18 mm, T 4 mm	Beneath hips	
YI 192&193	2	Plano-convex flint knife; invasive retouch along one edge	L 48 mm, W 28 mm, T unknown.	Near to Food Vessel	Mortimer 1905, 345-6, fig 1008
		Worked flint'	Dimensions unknown	Near to Food Vessel	
YI 195&196	1	Plano-convex flint knife. Invasive re-touch on distal and bilateral; platform butt; grey.	L 60 mm, W 18 mm, T 8 mm	At chest of adolescent	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 35, Sherburn XXII, no.7
YI 201	1	Worked flint point (?piercer): retouch on one edge towards point	L 60mm, W 25 mm, T unknown	In front of face (unclear if face of adult or child)	Mortimer 1905, 101, fig 244
YI 211	1	Flint flake/knife; retouch along one edge	L 55mm, W 21 mm, T unknown	Behind head; closely associated with jet pendant	Mortimer 1905, 128, fig 324
YI 212	1	Flint knife	L 49 mm, W 22 mm, T unknown	Behind head	Mortimer 1905, 128, fig 325
YI 218	1	Oval plano-convex flint knife	L 58 mm, W 28 mm, T unknown	Under left arm, a little below the shoulder	Mortimer 1905, 181, fig 455
YI 202	25	Flint flakes: debitage	Dimensions unknown	Behind head and shoulders	Mortimer 1905, 102, fig 247 a-e
	1	Leaf-shaped arrowhead	L 32 mm	Position not noted	
	1	Scraper?	L 20 mm	Position not noted	
	1	Blade end; broken	L 12 mm	Position not noted	
YI 238	10	Waste flakes	Dimensions unknown	Position not noted	Smith 1994, 105-6, fig 70 5-8
YI 240	2	'flint flakes'	Dimensions unknown	Under head	Denison 2001
YI 245&246	1	Plano-convex oval flint knife	L 37 mm, W 22 mm, T 4 mm	Behind back	Wood 1972, 8, 13, fig 6, no 10.

Table 6.25
Summary of flint object types present

Type	Quantity
Blade	2
Knife	17
Knife/projectile	2
Knife/flake	2
Piercer	2
Projectile	3
Flakes & splinters	58
Unworked	3
Worked	2+
Total	**>91**

Table 6.26
Summary of graves associated with possible food offerings

Catalogue Number/Site	Burial summary	Food offering	Position in grave
YI 03: Mortimer's Barrow 42, Garrowby Wold Group	Crouched remains of a young person in their teens	Close to the knees was an elegantly formed Food Vessel containing a black powder, probably food residue.	Within vessel: at knees
YI 30: Mortimer's Barrow 53, Garton Slack group	Sequential? Interment of an adult and child 8-12 years.	Mass of decayed matter of a porous texture from which Mortimer (1905) picked the tooth of a young ox	In front of the face of the child, between the face and a Food Vessel.
YI 34: Mortimers Barrow 74, Garton Slack Group	Skeleton of a youth c.14 years of age	Large Food Vessel containing the greater portion of two ribs of a small animal	Within Food Vessel situated at legs
YI 62 & 63: Mortimer's Barrow 225, Huggate Wold Group	Disturbed remains of an adult and child within grave containing multiple sequential interments	Portion of leg bone of ox	Within grave fill; relationship with adult and child not confirmed

Catalogue Number/Site	Burial summary	Food offering	Position in grave
YI 76: Mortimer's Barrow 83, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Double inhumation of 12-14-year-old and adult	Liquid held within cavity	A cavity in the base of the grave was noted to the north of the skeletons. Mortimer believed that it had contained a food offering, possibly a liquid
YI 80: Mortimer's barrow 102, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Inhumation of a young person	Portion of the lower jaw of an ox	Situated near the Miniature Collared Urn
YI 82: Mortimer's barrow 104, Garrowby Wold Group	Crouched skeleton of a child	Leg bones of a pig	At feet
YI 116 & 117: Mortimer's barrow 284, near Wold Newton	Multiple burial of 3 adults, 1 youth and a child.	A few bones of a young pig	Position not noted: not necessarily directly related to child
YI 136: Mortimer's Barrow 70, Wharram Percy group	Inhumation of a c.14-year-old	Hole in the floor of the grave which may have served as a container for a food deposit; appeared to contain decayed or partly burnt bone mixed with dark matter	Close to the right side of the head
YI 137: Mortimer's barrow C76, Aldro Group, East Yorkshire	Inhumation of a youth c.12 years of age	Ribs of an animal (sheep or goat)	Near face; beside Food Vessel
YI 162: Southwell, Ganton (Greensell's barrow XXIII)	Crouched inhumation of a young person/adolescent	Charred animal bones	Near the body: position not noted
YI 169: Heslerton (Greenwell's barrow IV)	Crouched inhumation of 2 ½-year-old child	Fruit or berry seeds	Beside knees
YI 195 & 196: Sherburn (Greenwell's barrow XII)	Double child inhumation: c.15 years and c.10 years	Broken bones of an ox	Position not noted
YI 197 & 198: Mortimer's Barrow 211 1/2, Towthorpe Group	Double inhumation of a 12-15-year-old and a young adult female	Leg bones of a pig	Within grave fill

Table 6.27

Age estimates for children within cremation burials in Yorkshire.

'*' includes one individual identified as 6-12 years of age and therefore technically spans both juvenile and older child classifications based on the current definition (YC59). '**' denotes three individuals were described as being a 'child in the first period of dentition' (YC 37, 38, 75).

Form of Age Estimate	Age description	Quantity
Identified age estimation	Young Child (0-5 years)	3
	Juvenile (6-10 years)*	8
	Older child (11-15 years)	6
No identified age estimation	"infant"	3
	"small child" or "young child"	2
	"Juvenile"	2
	"child"	29
	"adolescent"	3
	"young person"	6
	"youth"	5
	"young person"/"adolescent"	7
	Other**	3

Table 6.28

Summary of the osteological examination of the cremated bone

Site	Summary of cremated material
YC 44: Wetwang Slack, E.R.	951g of cremated bone representing the remains of a pregnant adult female (with foetus in utero) and a small child. 570g of further burnt material was identified as soil and ash, possibly pyre debris (Dawes 1979, 38)
YC 48: Wilton Moor, N.R.	2041g of cremated material of which 802g was identified as burnt human bone representing the remains of a child between <1-5-years and a young adult 15-20-years-old. Most parts of the skeletons were present amongst the burnt bone which was consistently well-burnt. The bone was mixed with soil, small stones and charcoal, possibly representing pyre debris. Animal bone was also identified (Parker 1991, 33)
YC 56: Sawdon Moor, N.R. (burial 1)	260g of cremated material consisting of 250g of cremated bone and 10g of dense clinker. The burnt bones represent a 6-12-year-old child. Not all skeletal elements are present but fragments of the cranium, temporal bones, teeth, limb shaft fragments and femur were identified. Level of calcification suggests that the body had been placed on rather than under the pyre. Unspecified quantities of burnt red soil and charcoal were also present (Dawes 1995, 57).

Site	Summary of cremated material
YC 57: Sawdon Moor, N.R. (burial 2)	3645g of cremated material consisting of 2460g of burnt bone representing the remains of three individuals; a 6-7-year-old child, a 30-year-old male and an adult female under 30 years of age. 80g was charcoal and carbonised wood. The burnt bones displayed a low degree of calcification with a slight tendency for right-sided survival suggesting the bodies were all burnt contemporaneously, placed on their right side with the pyre built on top of the bodies. Some evidence of post-cremation mechanical breaking of the larger bones. (Dawes 1995, 57-8).
YC 62 & 63: Gnipe Howe, N.R. (Cist)	1380g of cremated bone representing the remains of a 12-16-year-old, an adult female and a possible second adolescent. The first two bodies are well represented. In contrast, the second adolescent is represented by a few bones only. All of the bones are moderately calcined suggesting that all three individuals were burnt on top of the same pyre (Dawes 1995, 53-4)
YC 64: Gnipe Howe, N.R. (Pot 3)	65g of cremated bone representing the remains of a 10-16-year-old child, moderately calcined. Animal bone was also present (Dawes 1995, 53-4)
YC 65: Holt Howe, Hutton Buscel, N.R. (cremation pit 1)	140g of cremated bone representing the remains of a juvenile. Charcoal was also present (Dawes 1995, 54-5)
YC 66: Holt Howe, Hutton Buscel, N.R. (cremation pit 2)	160g of cremated bone representing the remains of a 12-14-year-old child, variably burnt (Dawes 1995, 54-5)
YC 67: Hutton Buscel Barrow 2, N.R.	1000g of cremated material, consisting of 350g of burnt bone representing an 8-9-year-old child. The bone was consistently well-burnt and may have been crushed prior to deposition. Animal bone was present (Dawes 1995, 56)

Table 6.29
Summary list of child cremations *in situ* in Yorkshire

Catalogue Number	Site	Summary of cremation
YC 22	Bradeham barrow 93, Painsthorpe Wold, E.R.	Principal burial consisting of the bones of a youth at the centre of the barrow within a bowl-shaped scoop, reddened as if by the action of fire (Mortimer 1905, 130)
YC 42	Barrow 92, Blanch Group, E.R.	Primary phase cremation burial of adult and child, west of centre in a basin-shaped scoop with burnt interior (Mortimer 1905, 323)
YC 34	Etton (Greenwell's barrow LXXXI), E.R.	Principal burial of a child less than 3-years-old. The cremated bone rested on a layer of charcoal-rich, black coloured sand and was covered by a similar thick layer of burnt material. Greenwell suggests that the body had been burnt on the spot (Greenwell 1877, 284)
YC 36	Goodmanham (Greenwell's barrow LXXXIV), E.R.	Secondary burial (burial 6) of an adolescent, burnt on the spot (Greenwell 1877, 288-90)
YC 37 & YC 38	Goodmanham (Greenwell's barrow LXXXV), E.R.	Principal burial on old ground surface at centre of barrow; consisted of the remains of two children cremated *in situ* (Greenwell 1877, 290)
YC 39	Goodmanham (Greenwell's barrow CIX), E.R.	Principal burial on old ground surface at centre of the barrow consisting of the cremated remains of an 8-year-old child in a heap 0.3m diam, apparently burnt in situ (Greenwell 1877, 318)
YC 68	Slingsby (Greenwell's barrow CXLIV), N.R.	Principal central burial of a young person/adolescent, in central hollow, filled with burnt earth and charcoal. Suggestion that the body had been burnt on the spot (Greenwell 1877, 351)
YC 70	Slingsby (Greenwell's barrow CXLVI), N.R.	Principal cremation deposit of a child, covered over with flat pieces of charcoal. Greenwell suggests that the body had been burnt on the spot, a hollow having first being made (Greenwell 1877, 353)
YC 72	Slingsby (Greenwell's barrow CXLIX), N.R.	Child cremation in a hollow, below much charcoal. Greenwell suggests the body had been burnt on the spot (Greenwell 1877, 354-5)

Table 6.30
Summary listing of children's cremations in Yorkshire by site type/form

Area	Barrow (unspecified form)	Barrow (encompassing cairn)	Cairn (incl. ring cairn and banked cairn)	Double-ditched round barrow	Kerbed barrow	Modification to earlier pre-existing monument	Unknown
East Riding	YC 3, YC 4, YC, 5, YC 6, YC 7, YC 8, YC 9, YC 10, YC 12, YC 13, YC 14, YC 15, YC 18, YC 19, YC 20, YC 21, YC 22, YC 23, YC 24, YC 25, YC 27, YC 28, YC 29, YC 30, YC 31, YC 32, YC 33, YC 34, YC 35, YC 36, YC 37, YC 38, YC 39, YC 40, YC 41, YC 42, YC 43, YC, 44	YC 1, YC 2, YC 16, YC 17		YC 11, YC 45, YC 46			YC 47
North Riding	YC 48, YC 49, YC 59, YC 65, YC 66, YC 67, YC 68, YC 69, YC 70, YC 71, YC 72, YC 73	YC 50, YC 51, YC 52, YC 56, YC 57, YC 62, YC 63, YC 64	YC 58, YC 60, YC 61		YC 53	YC 54, YC 55	
West Riding	YC 74, YC 76 (or cairn)		YC 77	YC 75			

Table 6.31
Quantity of children's cremation burials in Yorkshire by site type

Area	Barrow (unspecified form)	Barrow (encompassing cairn)	Cairn (incl. ring cairn and banked cairn)	Double-ditched round barrow	Kerbed barrow	Modification to earlier pre-existing monument	Unknown
East Riding	39	4	0	3	0	0	1
North Riding	12	8	3	0	1	2	0
West Riding	2	0	1	1	0	0	0

Table 6.32
Position of the child cremation burials within barrow and cairns in Yorkshire by region

Position	Region			Total
	E.R.	N.R.	W.R.	
Principal	10	9	1	20 (27%)
Primary phase (not principal)	13	6	0	19 (26%)
Secondary	17	11	2	31 (42%)
Secondary (within principal grave)	3	0	0	3 (4%)

Table 6.33
Quantity of cremations involving multiple individuals

Number of individuals	E.R.	N.R.	W.R.
Child only	30	15	2
Adult & child	8	3	2
2 children	1	0	0
Multiple individuals	1	4	0
Associated with inhumations	5	0	0
Other	3	0	0

Table 6.34
Summary of the multiple cremation deposits involving children in Yorkshire

Region	Child associated with a single adult cremation	Double child cremation	Multiple cremation deposit (+2 individuals)	Other
Yorkshire East Riding	Quernhow (YC 02): child and adult			
	Barrow 97, Aldro Group (YC 04): child and young adult female			
	Barrow 109, Aldro Group (YC 06): child associated with a young adult			
	Hanging Grimston Barrow 56 (YC 15): child and adult			
	Barrow 98, Painsthorpe Wold Group (YC 23): child and mature adult			
	Etton (Greenwell's barrow LXXXII (YC 33): child under 7 years of age and adult female			
	Barrow 92, Blanch Group (YC 42): child and adult			
	Barrow 94, Blanch Group (YC 43): child and adult female			
		Goodmanham (Greenwell's barrow LXXXV) (YC 37 & YC 38): Cremation of two children, both in period of first dention		
			Wetwang Slack Barrow B (YC 45 & 46): Pregnant adult female (with foetus in utero) and a small child	

Region	Child associated with a single adult cremation	Double child cremation	Multiple cremation deposit (+2 individuals)	Other
				Greenwell's barrow LXX, Folkton (YC 07): cremation of a child less than 12 years of age inserted into the principal grave containing crouched inhumation of an adult male
Yorkshire East Riding				Barrow 36, N of Gill's Farm, Riggs Group (YC 24): cremation of a child inserted into the principal grave containing crouched adult inhumation. Cremated remains placed above the knees of the skeleton
				Barrow 251, Huggate and Warter wold group (YC 40): cremation of a child located near the chest of a middle-aged male crouched inhumation. The interments appear contemporary.
				Lamplough 1, Sherburn (YC 13): cremation of a child placed at the feet of an adult inhumation burial on OGS. An infant skull was found directly above the child cremation
				Barrow 280, near Marton Hall (YC 12): child cremation interred in primary grave contemporaneously with two child inhumations. These three interments overlay the principal interment of a crouched adult male

Region	Child associated with a single adult cremation	Double child cremation	Multiple cremation deposit (+2 individuals)	Other
				Great Ayton Moor (YC 60): three separate cremation deposits in a single pit. One was urned child cremation; the other two cremations were unidentified
				Herd Howe (YC 50 & YC 51): Three separate urned cremation deposits in close proximity suggesting deliberate placement. Two side by side urns contained cremations of children. An earlier, lower, urn contained bones of adult female
Yorkshire North Riding	Wilton Moor, Kirleatham (YC 48): 1-5 year old child and young adult (15-20 years)			
	Boulby Barrow 7, Easington (YC 53): young child and adult female			
	Greenwell's barrow CXLVII, Slingsby (YC 71): adolescent and adult			
			Gnipe Howe (YC 62 & 63): cremated remains of a 12-16-yr-old, a c.20 year old adult female and a possible second adolescent	
			Sawdon Moor Barrow 1 (YC 57): 6-7-year-old child and two adults; an adult male c.30 years and an adult female less than 30 years of age	

Region	Child associated with a single adult cremation	Double child cremation	Multiple cremation deposit (+2 individuals)	Other
			Ord Tumulus II (YC 49): multiple cremation deposit representing several people including both adutls and children. MNI = 2 (adult and child)	
			Street House Cairn (YC 54): multiple cremation deposit involving an infant or young child and at least 1 adult aged c.20 years	
Yorkshire West Riding	Saddleworth Barrow (YC 76): child and adult			
	Thornton in Craven (YC 77): child and adult			

Table 6.35
Form of Collared Urns present by orientation and by area.

Area	Collared Urn Series	Urn containing cremation	Urn accompanying cremation
East Riding	Primary Series	3	1
	Secondary Series	1	7
	Unknown	0	2
North Riding	Primary Series	0	0
	Secondary Series	10	0
	Unknown	3	0
West Riding	Primary Series	0	0
	Secondary Series	2	0
	Unknown	1	0

Table 6.36
Summary of worked bone objects within child cremation burials

Burial	Description	Dimensions (mm)	Condition	References
Barrow 109, Aldro Group, E.R.: cremation of child and young adult (YC 06)	Perforated bone pin: carefully shaped rounded head with oval perforation; most of the shank and point have been lost. Original length is unknown.	Remaining L 17mm; head W 9mm; Shank diam 4mm; Perf diam 5mm x 4mm.	Broken and point lacking; burnt?	Mortimer 1905, 58, fig 109
Folkton barrow CCXLI, E.R.: burial 2, cremation of young person (YC 08)	Perforated bone pin: cut and polished from caprovine metapodial splinter; articular surface of bone remaining at butt end which has off-centre perforation	L 73mm; W 14mm; T 4mm; Perf diam 2 mm.	Broken and point lacking.	Greenwell 1890, 9-10; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 113, fig 241:3
Barrow 280, S of Marton Hall, E.R.: cremation of child (YC 12) inserted into principal grave containing inhumation of adult male. Contemporary with insertion of 2 child inhumations.	Bone pin: 'portions of'	Dimensions not recorded	Fragmentary; burnt?	Mortimer 1905, 345
Barrow 118, SW of Bradeham Farm, E.R.: cremation of a young person (YC 20)	Lozenge-shaped flat jet pendant with circular perforation at the apex of one rounded end	L 41mm; Max W 23mm; T ?mm; Perf diam 3.5mm. (N.B. dimensions are approximate only: measurements taken from illustration)	Unburnt	Mortimer 1905, 126, fig 312
Goodmanham barrow CIX, E.R.: cremation of an 8-year-old child (YC 39)	Bone pin: cut and polished point on splinter of long bone of large bird	L 68mm; W 7mm; T 2mm	Burnt; point damaged, butt broken	Greenwell 1877, 318; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 86, fig 109: 1
Broxa Cairn 4, N.R.: cremation of 5-6-year-old child (YC 58)	Perforated bone pin	Dimensions not recorded	Condition not recorded	Strickland 1950, 85; Smith 1994, 148

Burial	Description	Dimensions (mm)	Condition	References
Slingsby Barrow CXLV, N.R.: cremation of an adolescent (YC 69)	Bone 'belt hook': cut and polished from bos-size long-bone fragment; incised grooves on hook	L 260mm; W 140mm; Hook T 40mm	Burnt and distorted	Greenwell 1877, 352-3, fig 7; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 254, fig 145:4
	Perforated bone pin: cut and polished long-bone sliver; cut perforation in exanded head	L 410mm; head W 10mm; shank T 2mm.	Burnt and point snapped	Greenwell 1877, 352-3, fig 141; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 254, fig 145:5
Thornton-in-Craven, W.R.: cremation of a child and adult (YC 77)	Perforated bone pin (described originally as bone needle)	Dimensions not recorded	Unknown	Longworth 1984, 256, no.1292

Table 6.37
Summary of flints associated with child cremation burials in Yorkshire

Cat No.	Site Name	No. of flints	Types	References
YC 08	Greenwell's barrow CCXLI, Folkton, E.R.	1	Flint knife: bilaterial invasive retouch converging on distal; platform butt; patinated. L 4.8 cm, W 2.9 cm, T 0.7 cm.	Greenwell 1890, 9-10; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 113.
YC 10	Greenwell's No XXV, Ganton, E.R.	1	'Piece of calcined flint': not preserved	Greenwell & Rolleston 1877, 170-1; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 41
YC 12	Barrow 280, 200 yards S of Marton Hall, E.R	1	Knife blade	Mortimer 1905, 345-6, 440, Fig 1004-9
YC 15	Hanging Grimston Barrow 56, E.R.	1	Plano-convex flint knife	Mortimer 1905, 98
YC 20	Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	1	Plano-convex knife fragment	Mortimer 1905, 125-127, 414, fig 311, 312.
YC 23	Barrow 98, Painsthorpe Wold Group, E.R.	2	Two knives; side by side at southern margin of the bones	Mortimer 1905, 130, 415
YC 33	Greenwell's barrow LXXXII, Etton E.R.	1	Plano-convex knife: damaged but not burnt. All over invasive retouch. L 6.6 cm, W 2.0 cm, T 0.6cm. Greenwell 1877, fig 129	Greenwell & Rolleston 1877, 285; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 81.
YC 34	Greenwell's barrow LXXXIII, Goodmanham, E.R.	1	'Piece of calcined flint, not preserved'	Greenwell & Rolleston 1877, 287-8; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 81.
YC 39	Greenwell's barrow CIX, Goodmanham E.R	1	'Worked piece of burnt flint': not preserved	Greenwell & Rolleston 1877, 318; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 86.
YC 53	Boulby Barrow 7, Easington, N.R.	>2	'Several burnt flints'	Hornsby & Laverick 1920; Smith 1994, 77.
YC 57	Sawdon Moor, Barrow 1, N.R.	3	'Calcined flints'	Brewster & Finney 1995, 13

Cat No.	Site Name	No. of flints	Types	References
YC 58	Broxa cairn No.4, Broxa, N.R.	5	3 Barbed-and-tanged arrowheads (?hafted - all lying in same direction), 2 slug knives	Strickland 1950, 89; Smith 1994
YC 61	Long Hill Cairn (north), Hackness, N.R.	>2	Barbed-and-Tanged arrowhead and 'other flints'. 1 broken flint matched fragment found in pyre material from adjacent pit	Stickland 1950; Smith 1994, 148
YC 62	Gnipe Howe cairn, N.R.	1	Plano-convex knife	Brewster 1973; Smith 1994, 92; Brewster & Finney 1995, 1-3, fig 31.3
YC 69	Greenwell's barrow CXLV, Slingsby, N.R.	2	B&T arrowhead : all over bifacial invasive retouch; burnt, point snapped. L 3.8 cm, W 2.2 cm, T 0.5 cm. Green 1980, no 72. BB fig 140. Flint utilised flake: bilateral wear; mottled grey. L 3.8 cm, W 2.2 cm, T 0.4 cm	Greenwell & Rolleston 1877, 352-3; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 92; Green 1980, no 72.
YC 74	Green Howe Barrow, W.R	>2	Leaf-shaped flint knife & 'several burnt' flakes	Strickland 1939, 110; Wood 1972, 2-32.
YC 77	Thornton in Craven, W.R.	2	Plano-convex flint knife & scraper	Longworth 1984, 256, no. 1292

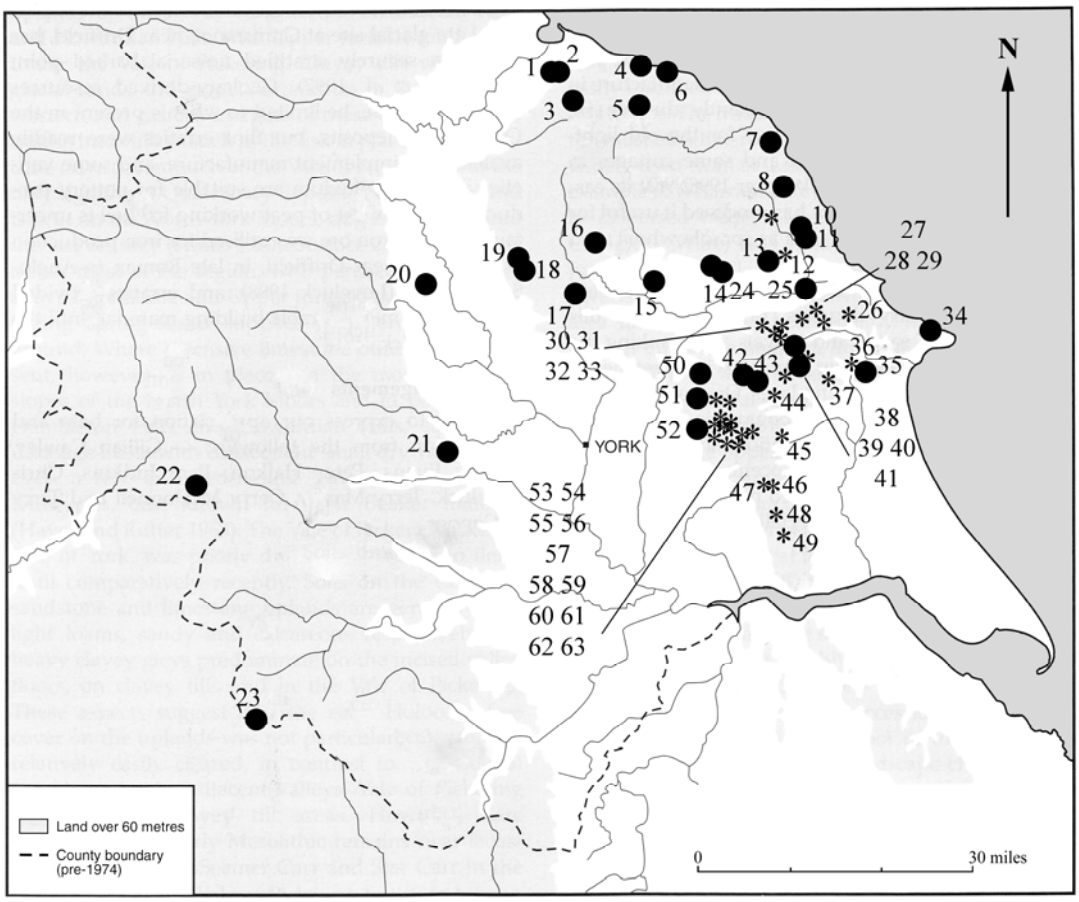


Figure 6.1
Distribution map of sites in Yorkshire referred to in the text
('●' denotes a single site, '*' denotes a barrow group)
A full concordance of sites is provided on the following page

1. Ord Tumulus
2. Wilton Moor
3. Great Ayton
4. Street House Cairn, Loftus
5. Herd Howe
6. Boulby Barrow
7. Gnipe Howe
8. Long Hill Cairn
9. Broxa
10. Barrow near Seamer
11. Seamer Barrow
12. Hutton Buscel
13. Sawdon Moor
14. Pickering
15. Barrow near Marton Hall
16. Pinderdale Wood
17. Ampleforth
18. Cold Kirby
19. Lord Down Barrow
20. Green Howe
21. Quern Howe
22. Thornton-in-Craven
23. Saddleworth Barrow
24. Limestone Cairn
25. Staxton
26. Hunmanby
27. Willerby Barrow Group
28. Ganton Barrow Group
29. Folkton Barrow Group
30. Heslerton Barrow Group
31. Sherburn Barrow Group
32. Liff Hill Barrow Group
33. Helperthorpe Barrow Group
34. Bempton CCLIII
35. Caythorpe Barrow
36. Rudston Barrow Group
37. Wold Newton Barrow Group
38. Hutton Barrow 2
39. Langtoft Barrow
40. Weaverthorpe Barrow Group
41. Cowlam Barrow Group
42. Howe Hill Barrow
43. Londesborough CXXII
44. Wetwang Slack Barrow Group
45. Garton Slack Barrow Group
46. Etton Barrow Group
47. Goodmanham Barrow Group
48. Cherry Burton Barrow Group
49. Bishop Burton Barrow Group
50. Heddon Howe Barrow
51. Acklam Wold Barrow
52. Kitty Hill Barrow
53. Towthorpe Barrow Group
54. Wharram Percy Barrow Group
55. Slingsby Barrow Group
56. Huggate and Warter Wold Barrow Group
57. Painsthorpe Wold Barrow Group
58. Callis (Calais) Wold Barrow Group
59. Aldro Barrow Group
60. Riggs Barrow Group
61. Blanch Barrow Group
62. Hanging Grimston Barrow Group
63. Huggate Wold Barrow Group



Figure 6.2
Quantity of young children's burials (foetus to five years of age) by age.

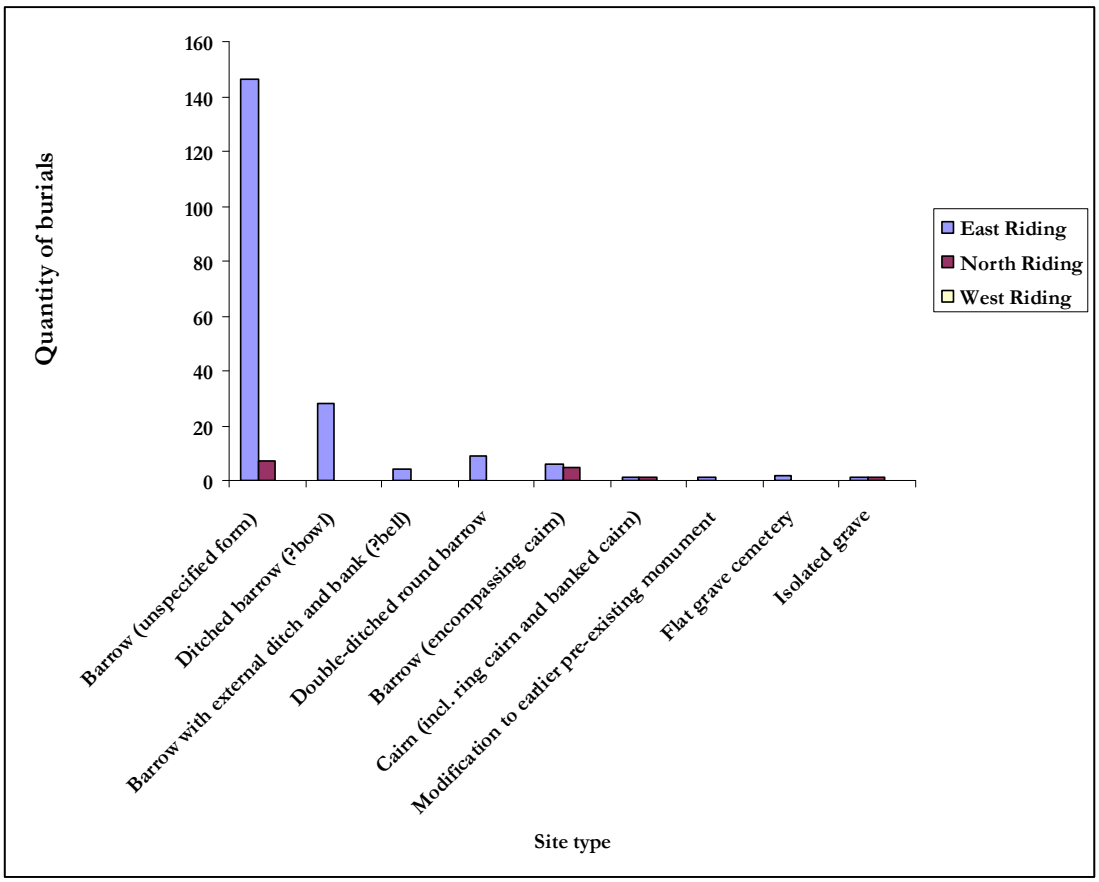


Figure 6.3
Quantity of child inhumation burials in Yorkshire by site type

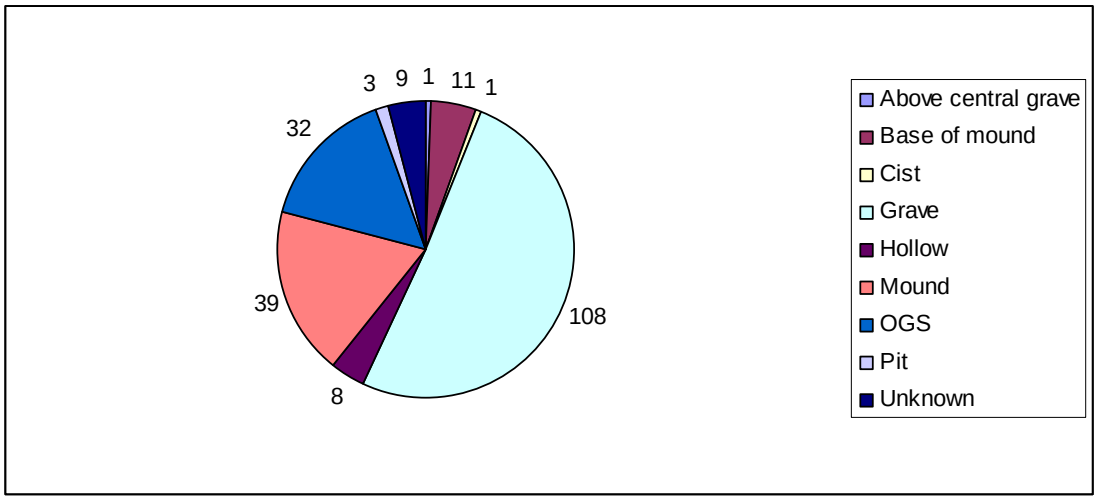


Figure 6.4
Position of children's burials within barrow mounds and cairns.

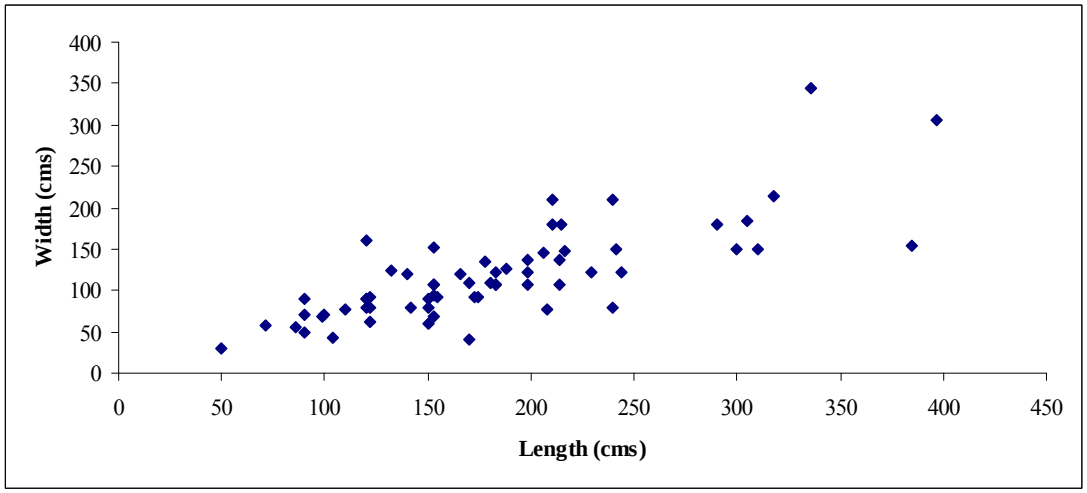


Figure 6.5
Scatter diagram illustrating the dimensions of graves, hollows and pits associated with child inhumations in Yorkshire

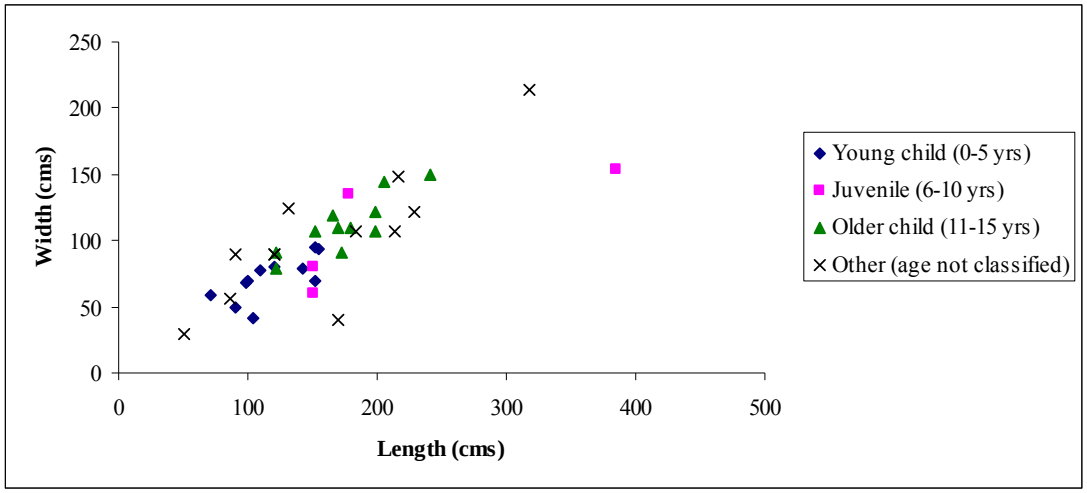


Figure 6.6
Distribution of grave, pit and hollow dimensions associated with single child inhumations in Yorkshire. All dimensions have been converted here to centimetres to allow comparison.

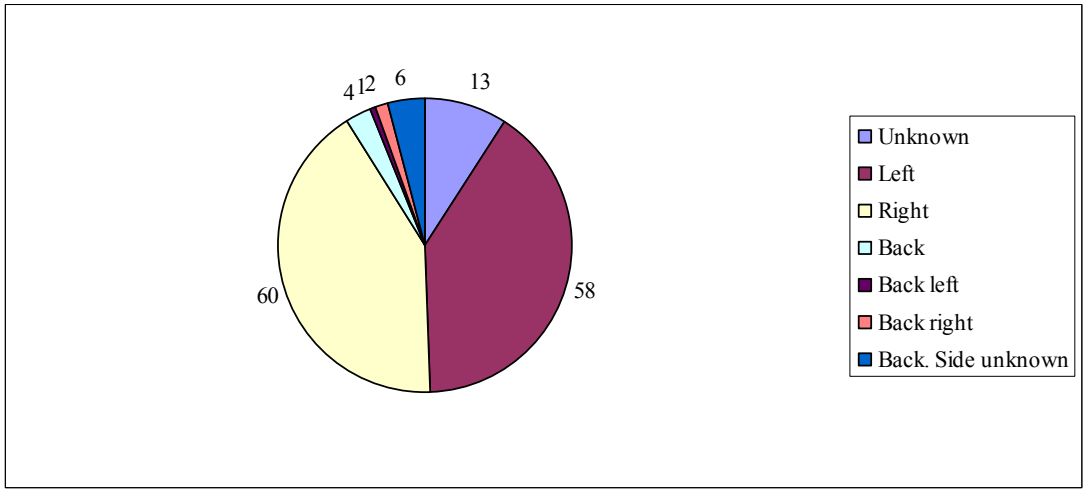


Figure 6.7
Chart of the side positions of crouched, supine (with legs to the side) and extended child burials in Yorkshire

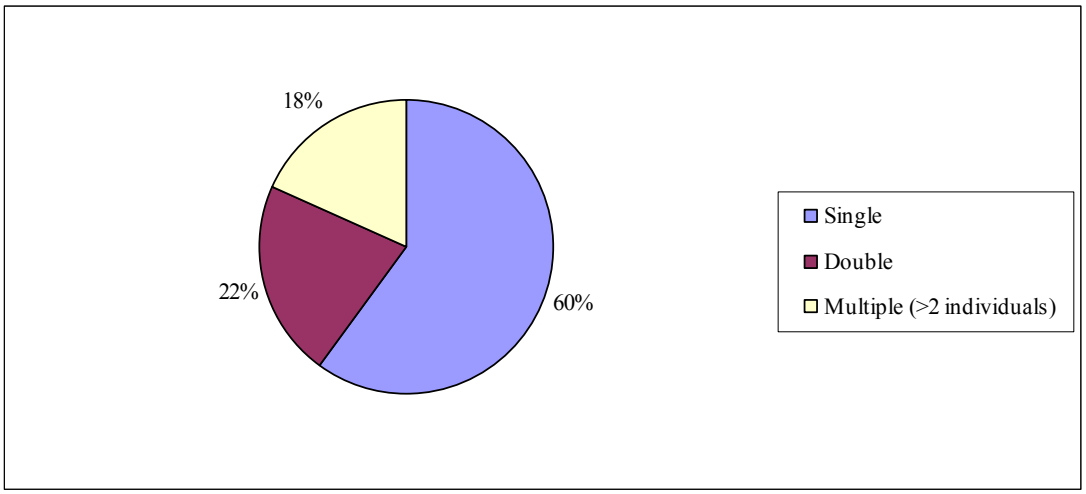


Figure 6.8
Quantity of interments within graves involving child inhumations in Yorkshire

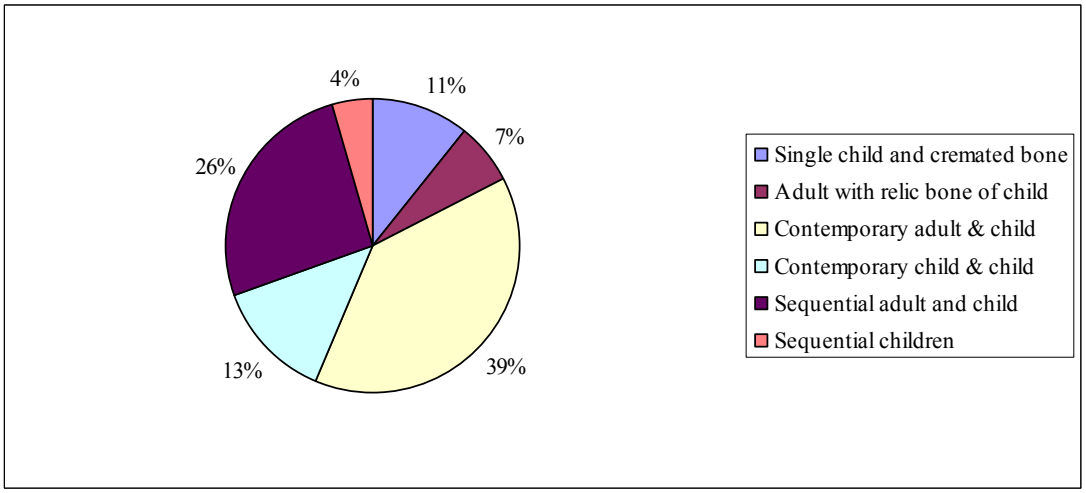


Figure 6.9
Summary of the relationship between individuals in double inhumations

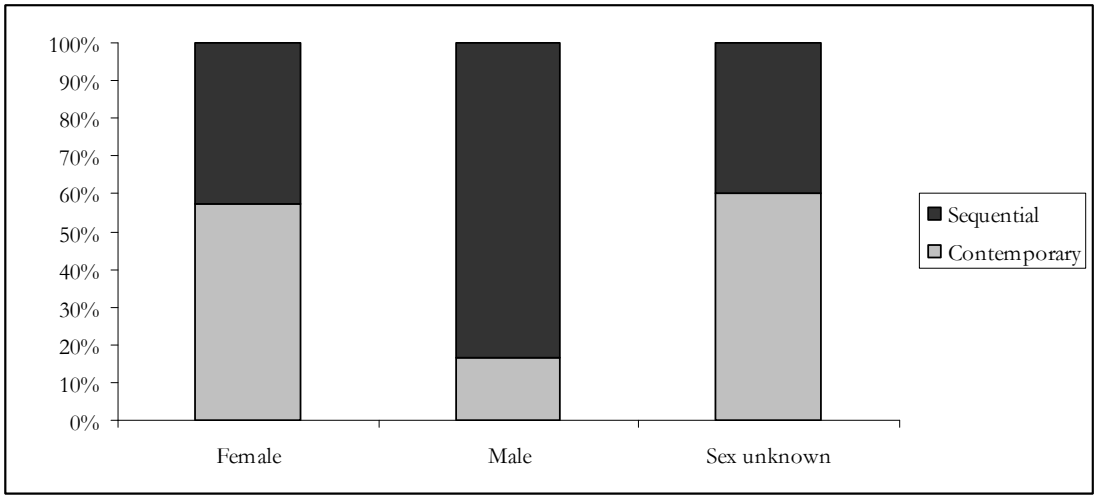


Figure 6.10
Identified sex of adults associated with children in graves

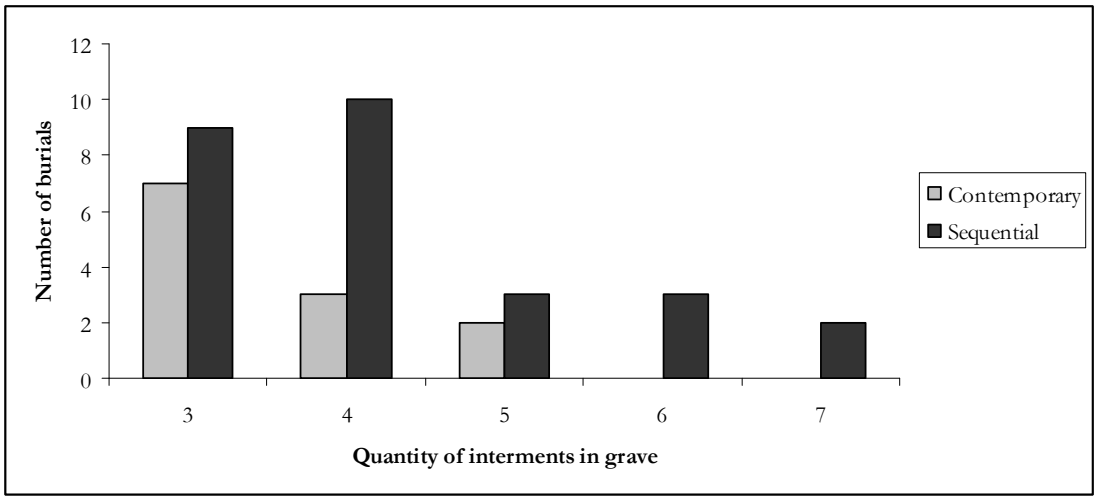


Figure 6.11
Quantity of interments within graves including child inhumations

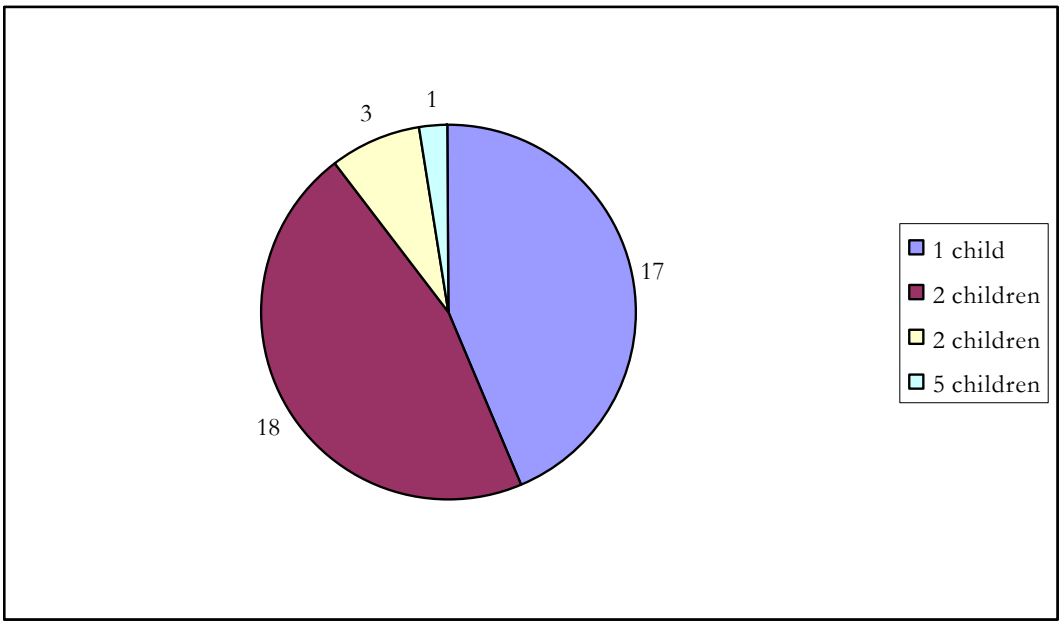


Figure 6.12
Quantity of child inhumations present within multiple interments

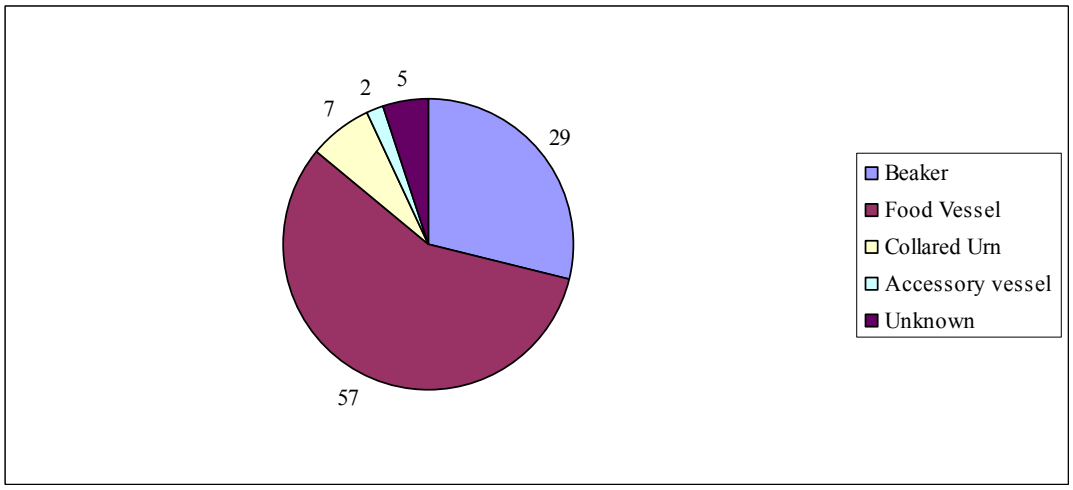


Figure 6.13
Frequency and range of pottery vessels associated with child inhumations

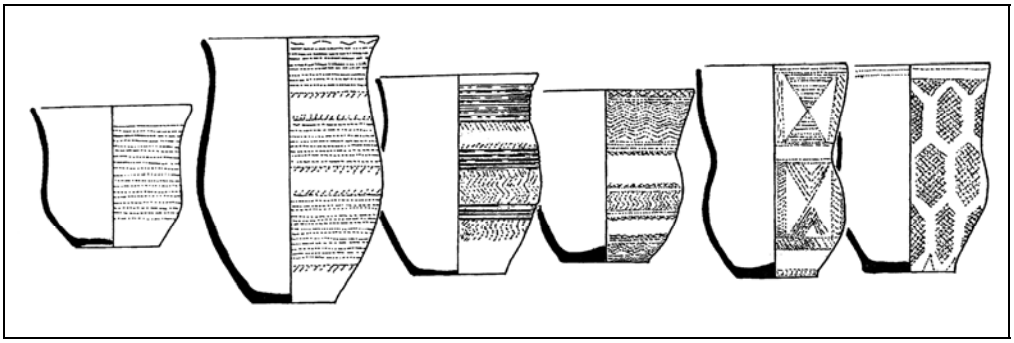


Figure 6.14
Range of Beaker forms typical in Yorkshire
(after Gibson 2002, figure 42: not to scale)

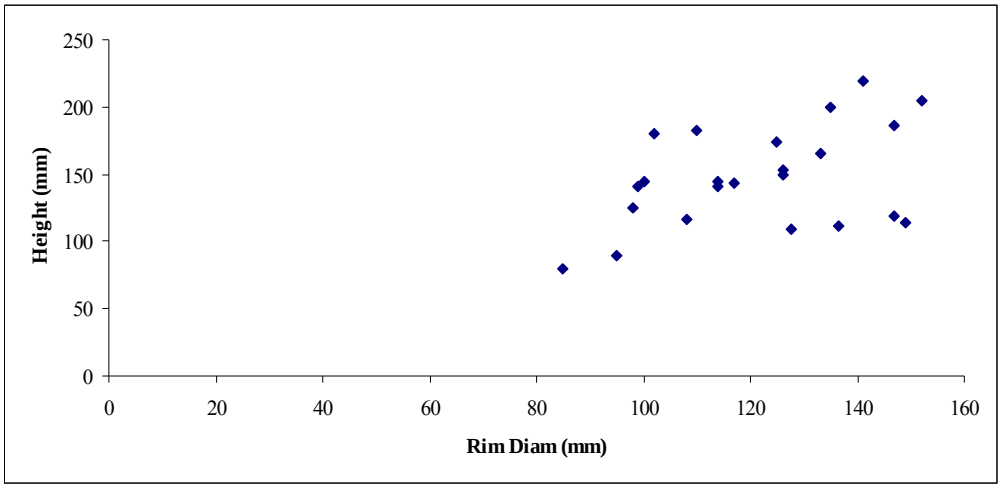


Figure 6.15
Dimensions of Beakers associated with child inhumations in Yorkshire.

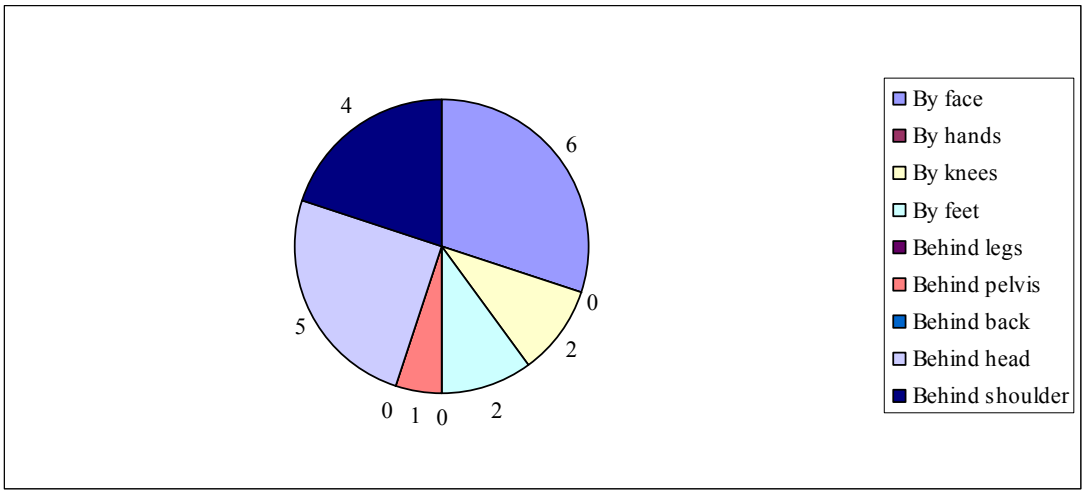


Figure 6.16
Position of Beakers in relation to the body of the deceased

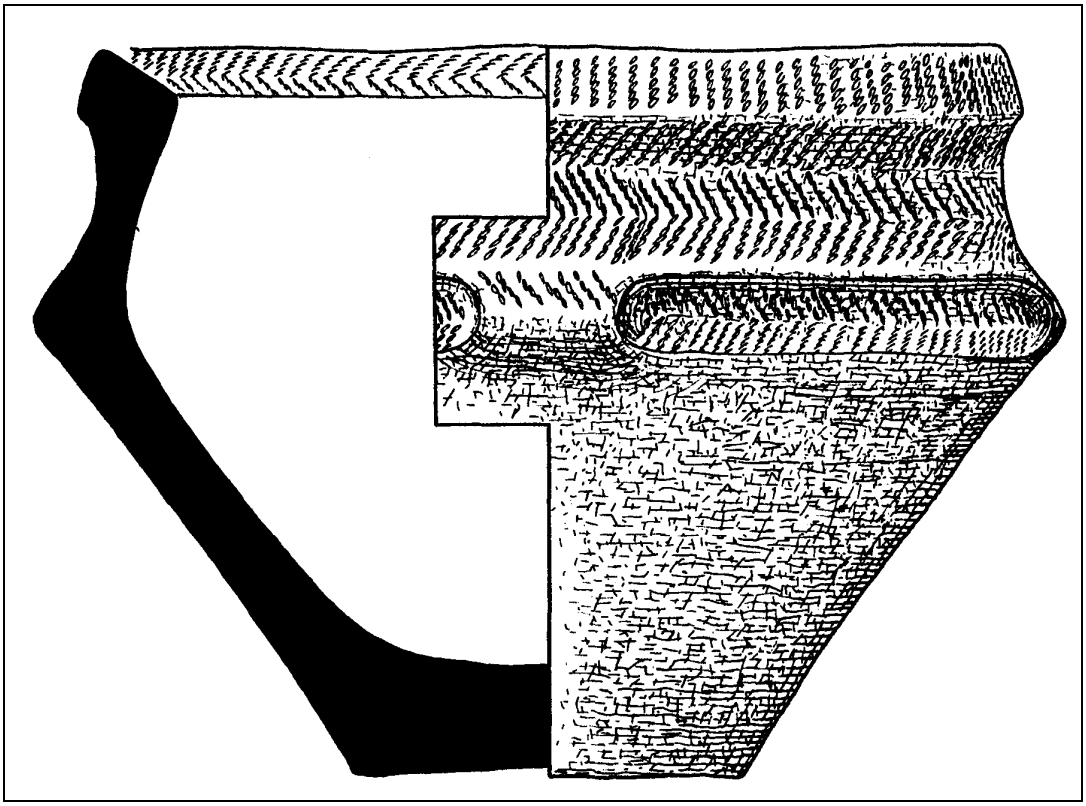


Figure 6.17
A Yorkshire Food Vessel (not to scale)
(after Kinnes & Longworth 1985, Weaverthorpe 45, no.2)

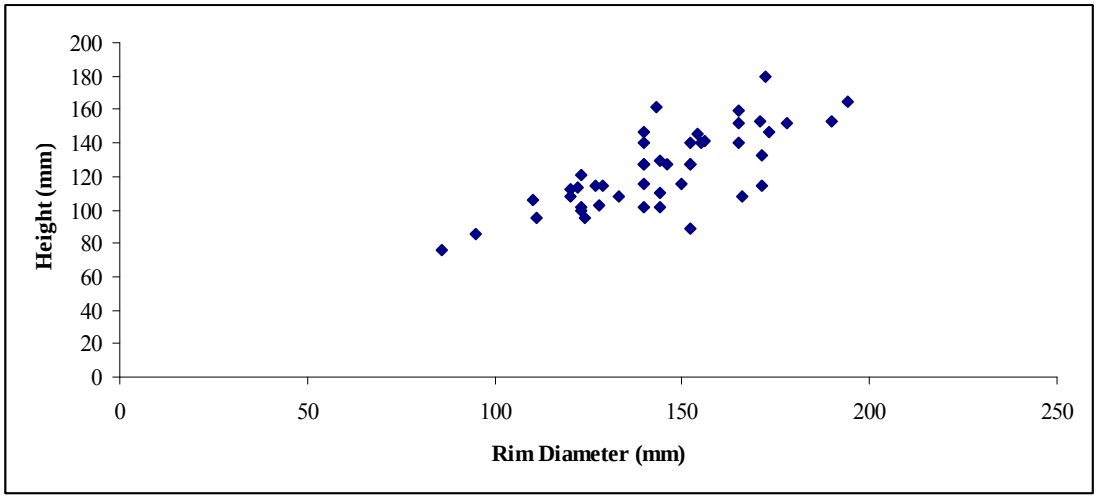


Figure 6.18
Dimensions of Food Vessels accompanying children's graves.

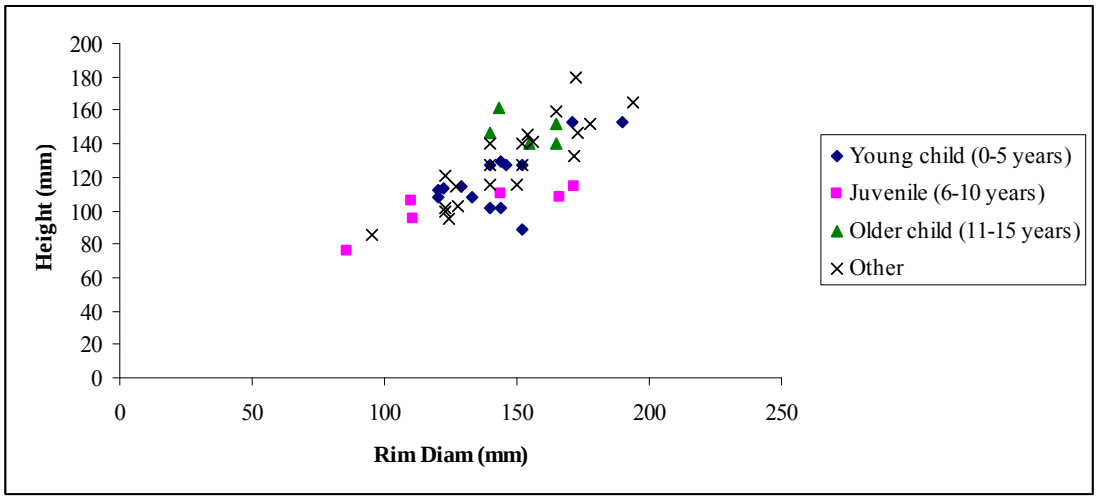


Figure 6.19
Dimensions of Food Vessels by age of accompanying child

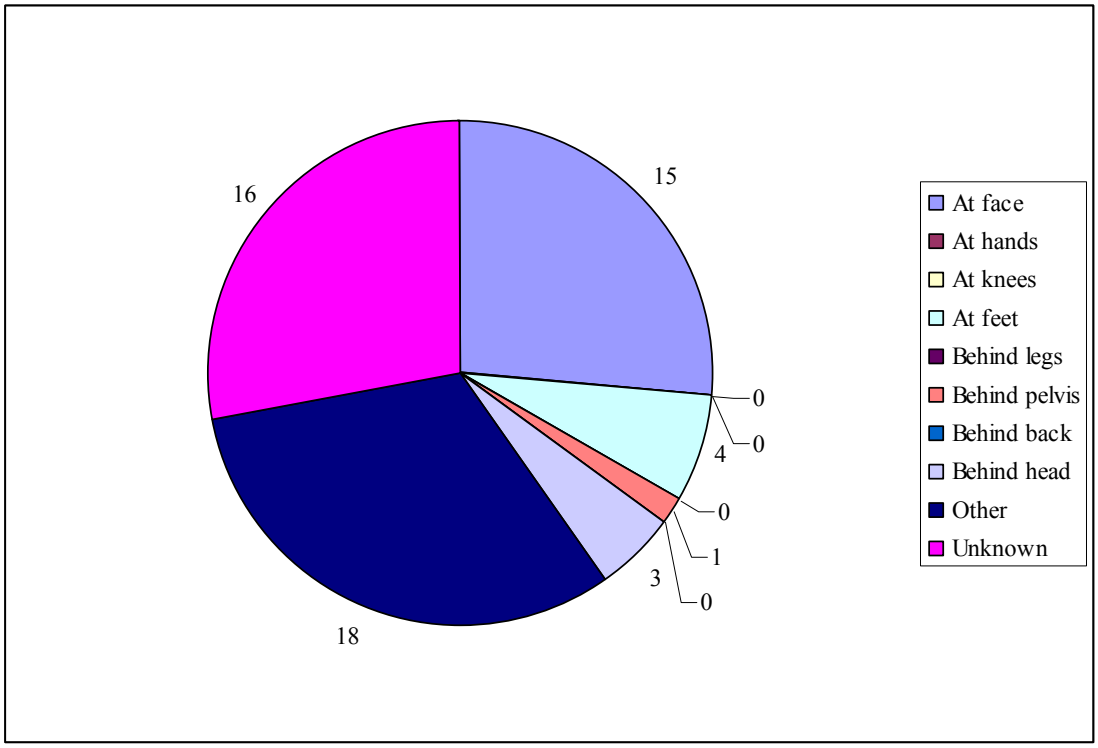


Figure 6.20
Position of Food Vessel in grave in relation to the body

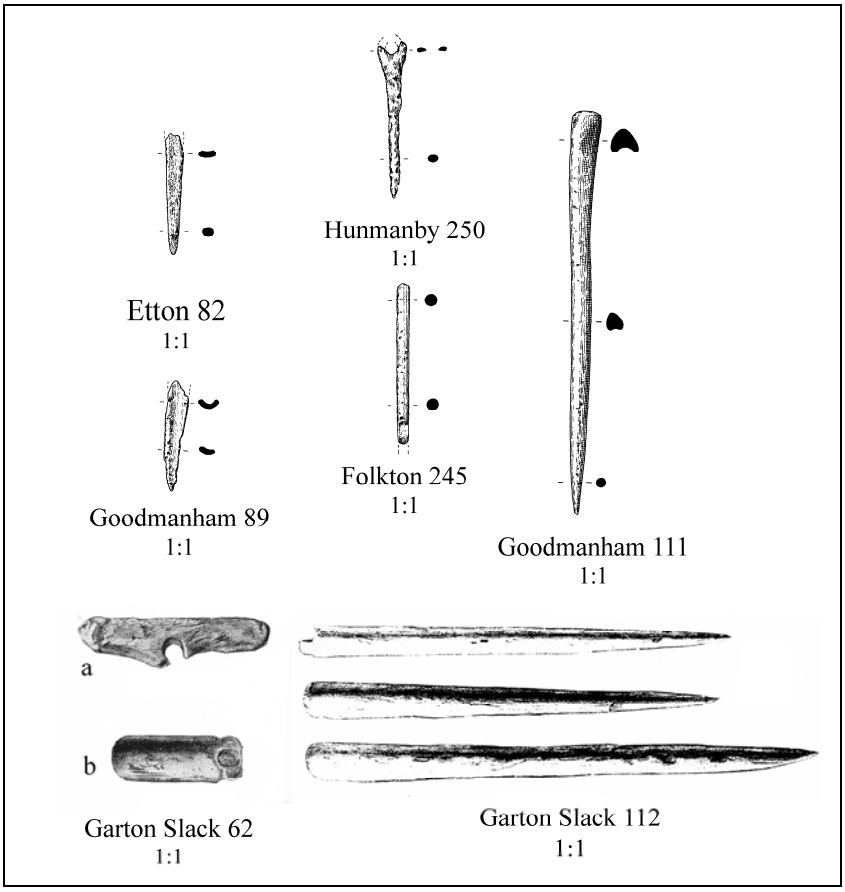


Figure 6.21
Selection of worked bone ornaments with Yorkshire graves

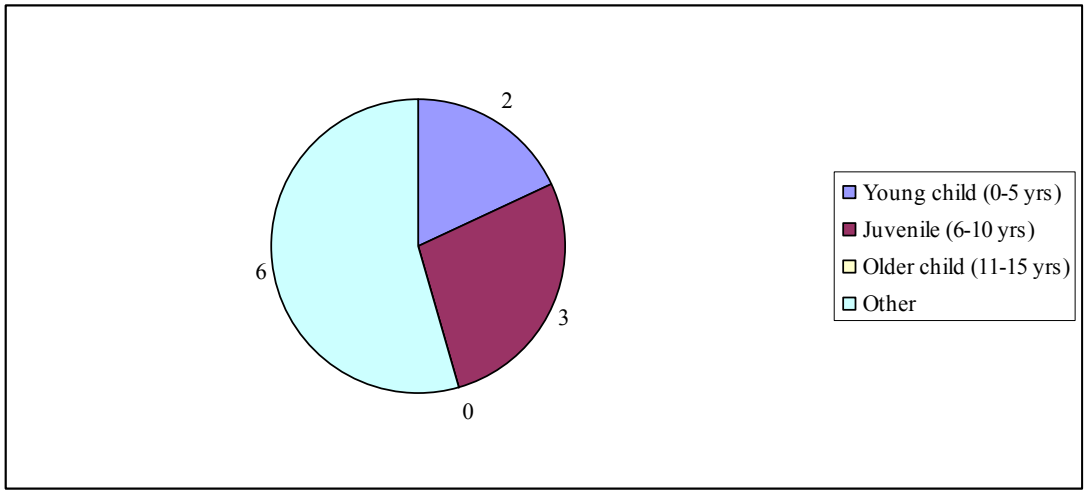


Figure 6.22
Ages of children accompanied by bone pins in Yorkshire

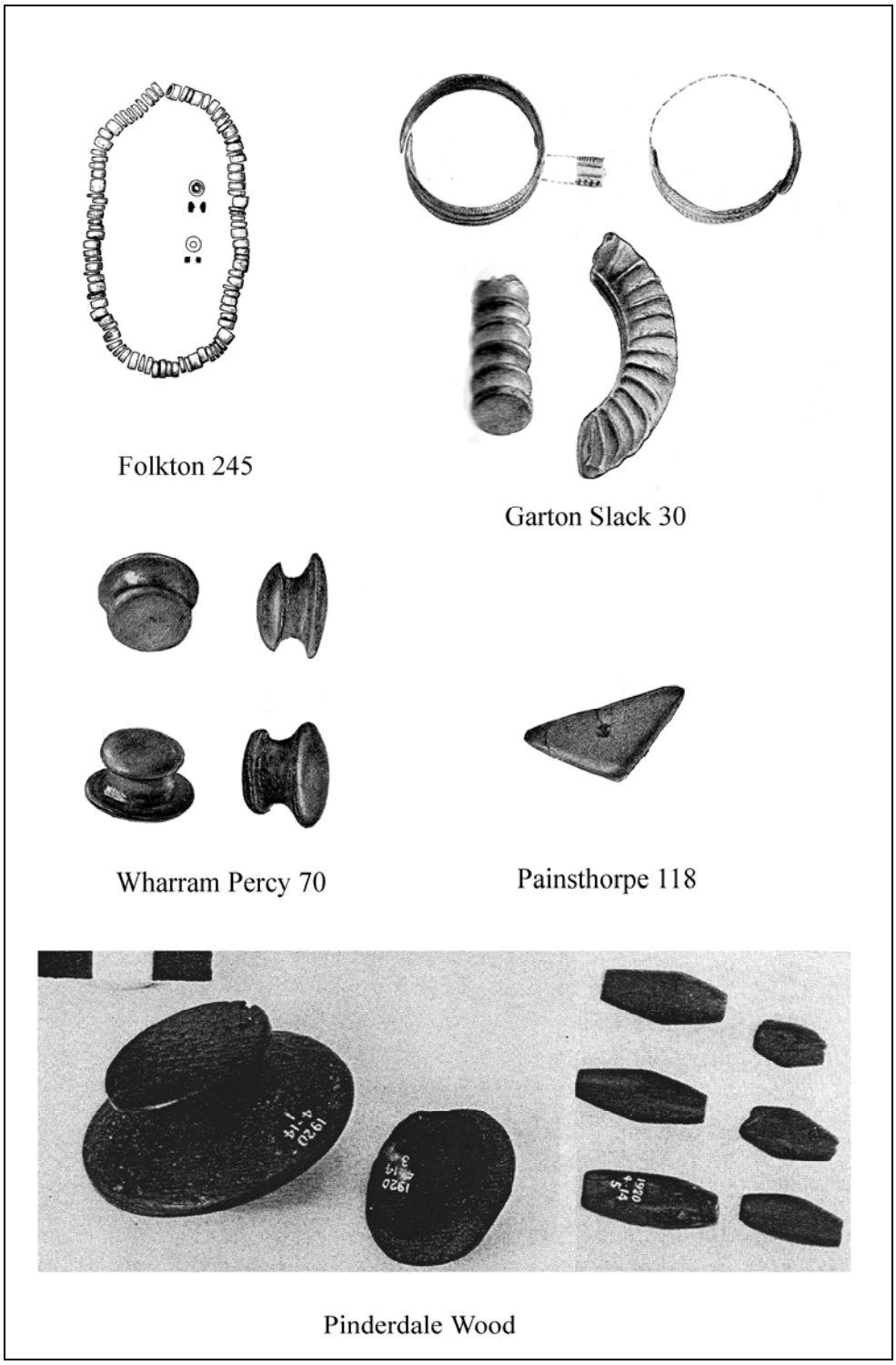


Figure 6.23
Selection of bronze, jet and fossil ornaments associated with graves in Yorkshire (not to scale)

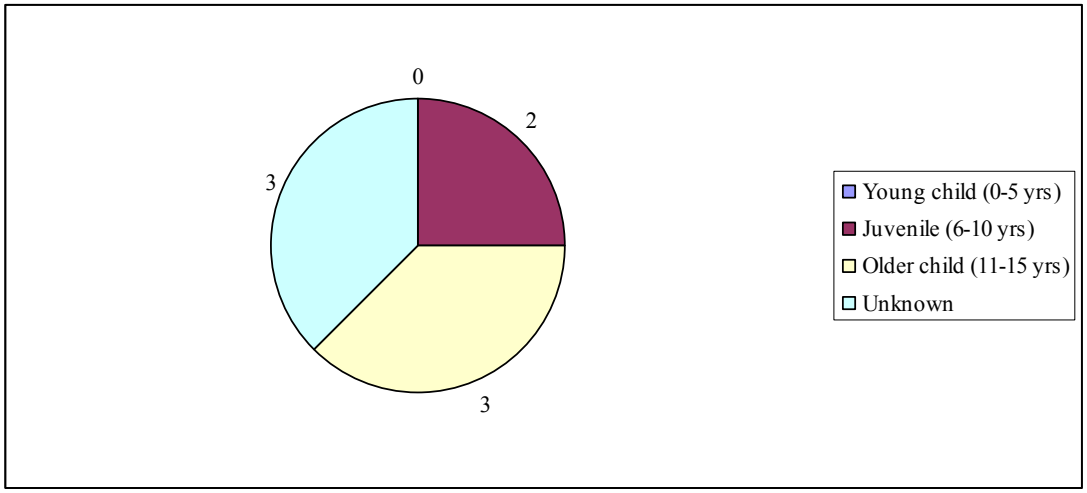


Figure 6.24
Ages of children associated with jet and fossil ornaments in Yorkshire

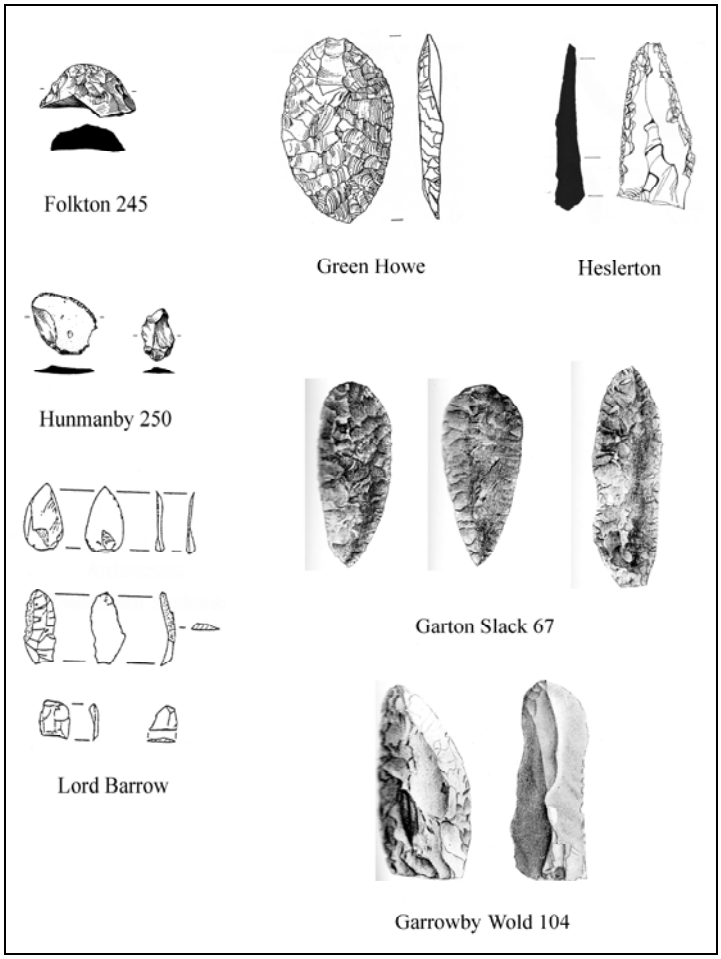


Figure 6.25
Selection of flint tools associated with child graves in Yorkshire
(not to scale)

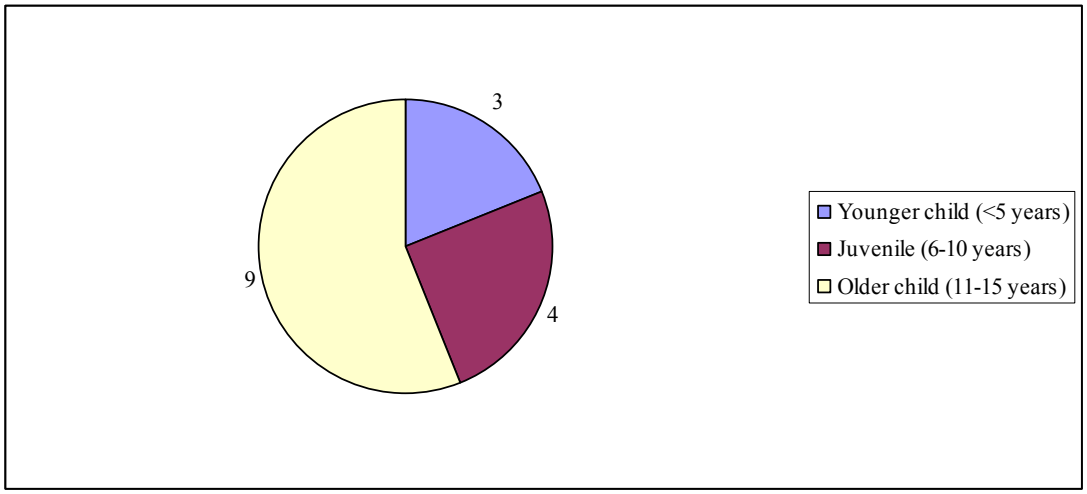


Figure 6.26
Ages of children associated with flint tools in graves



Figure 6.27
The Folkton Drums
(Clarke *et al* 1985, fig 3.37)

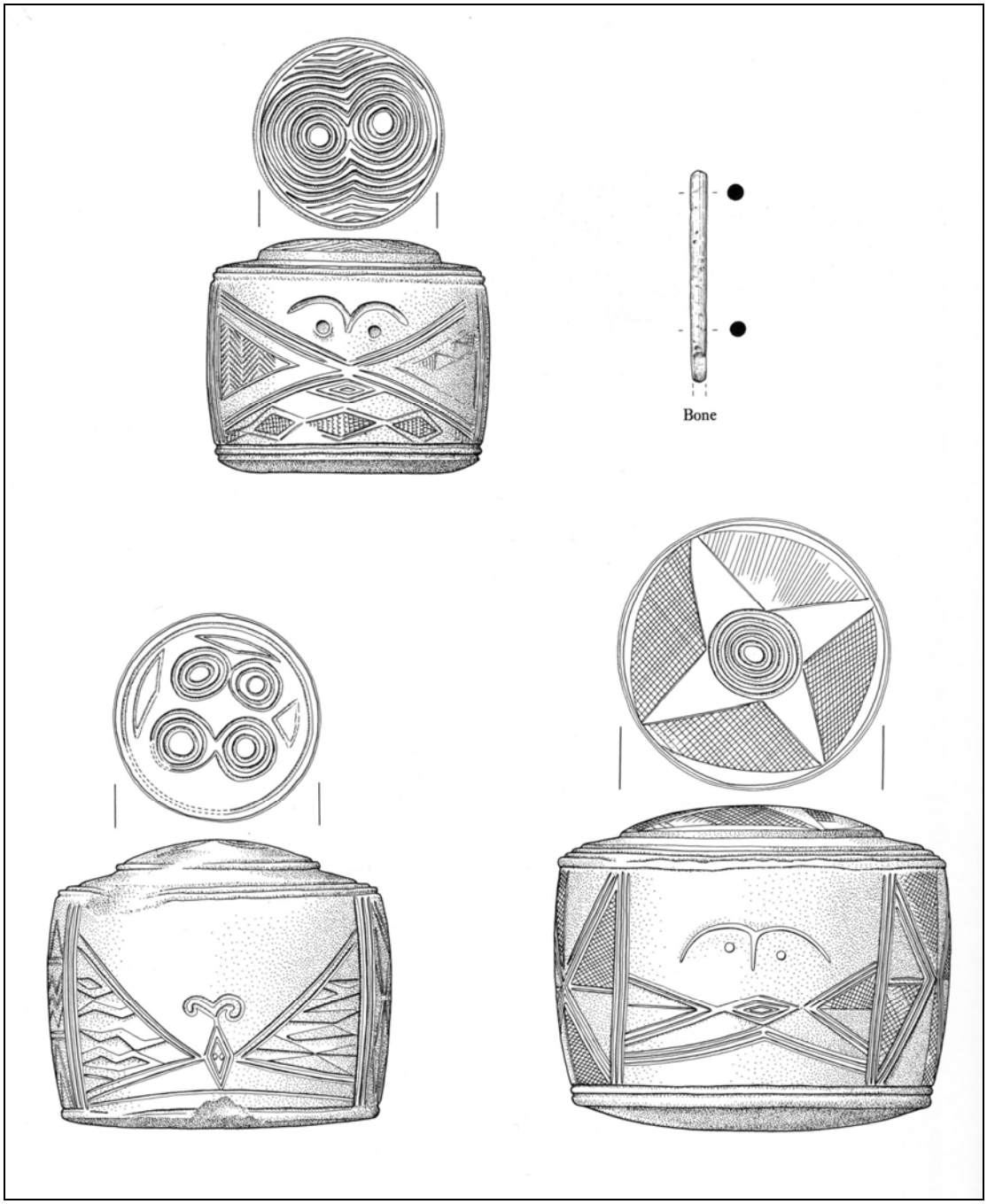


Figure 6.28
Decorative details of the Folkton Drums
(Kinnes & Longworth 1985, Folkton CCLX, no 1-3).

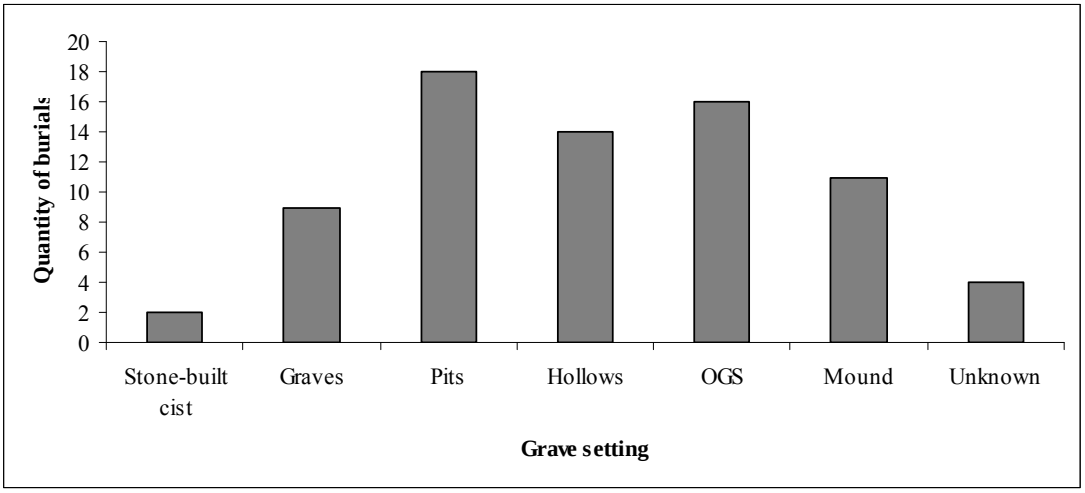


Figure 6.29
Range of grave setting types associated with child cremations in Yorkshire

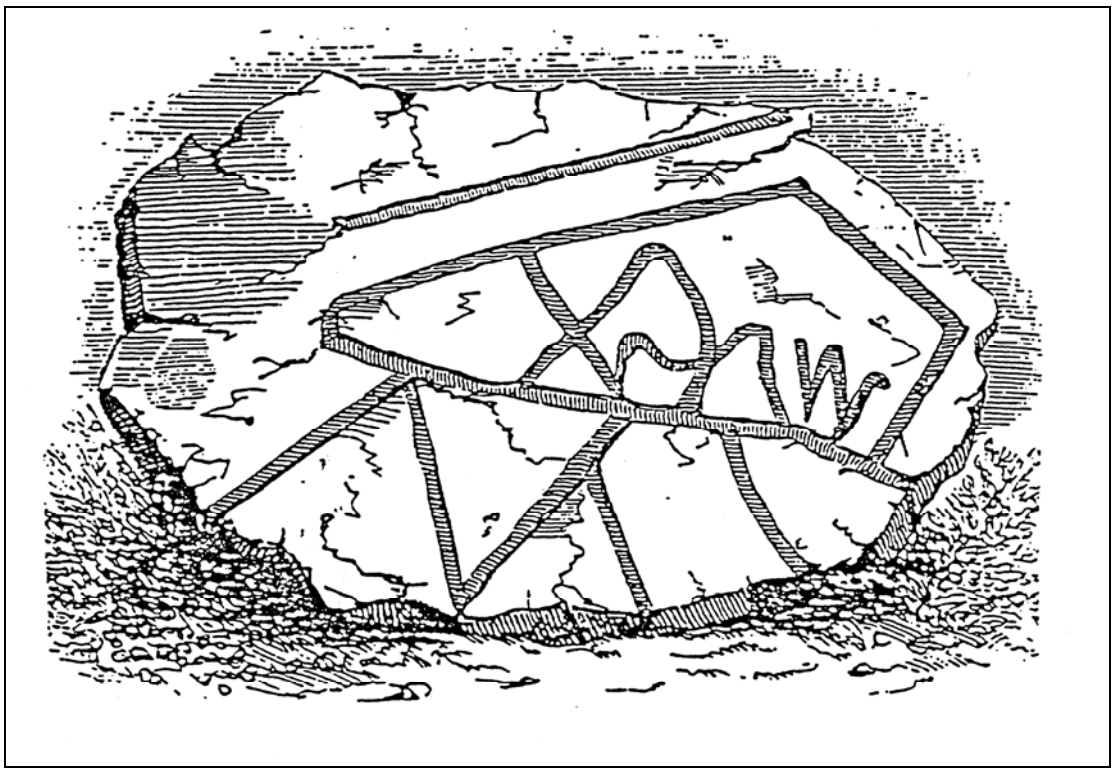


Figure 6.30
Decorated covering slab from Ord Tumulus
(Smith 1994, fig 7.2)

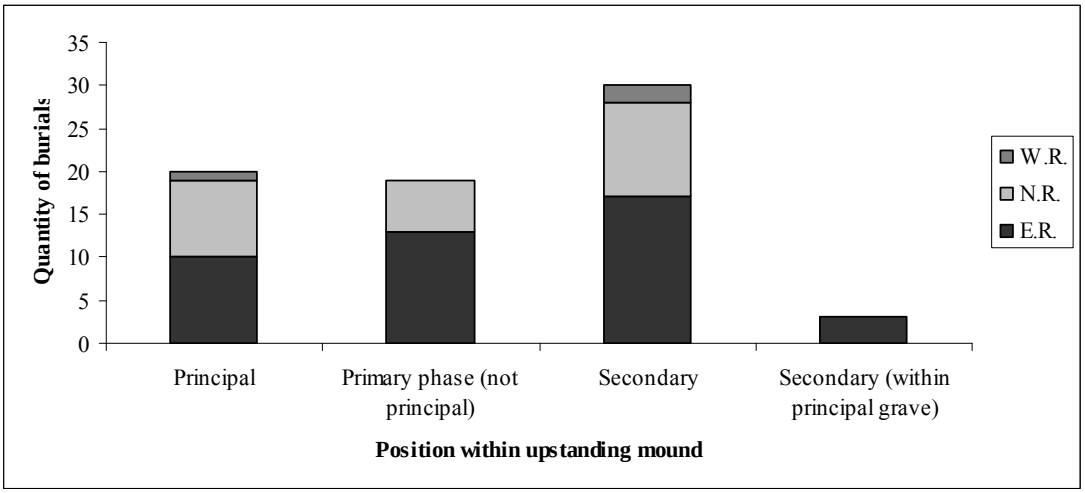


Figure 6.31
The position of children's cremations within barrows and cairns

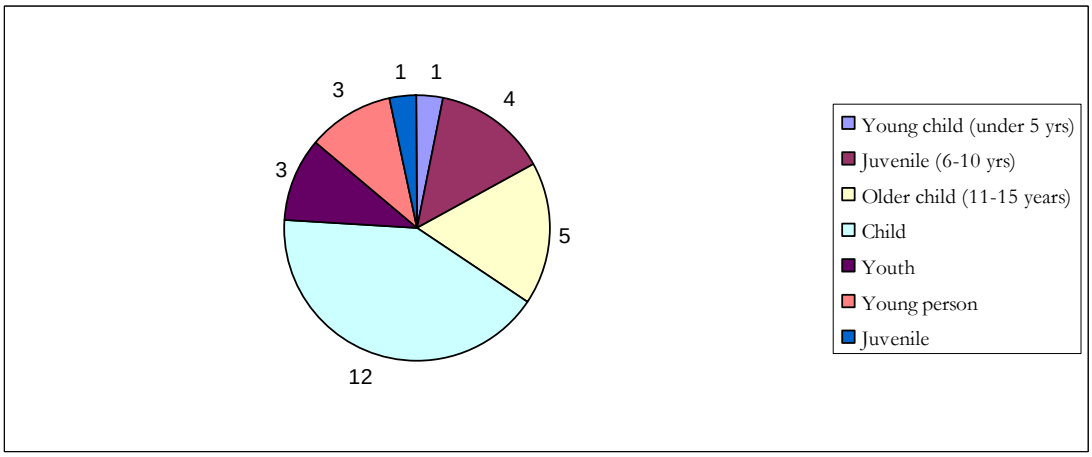


Figure 6.32
Identified ages of children's burials lacking any pottery association

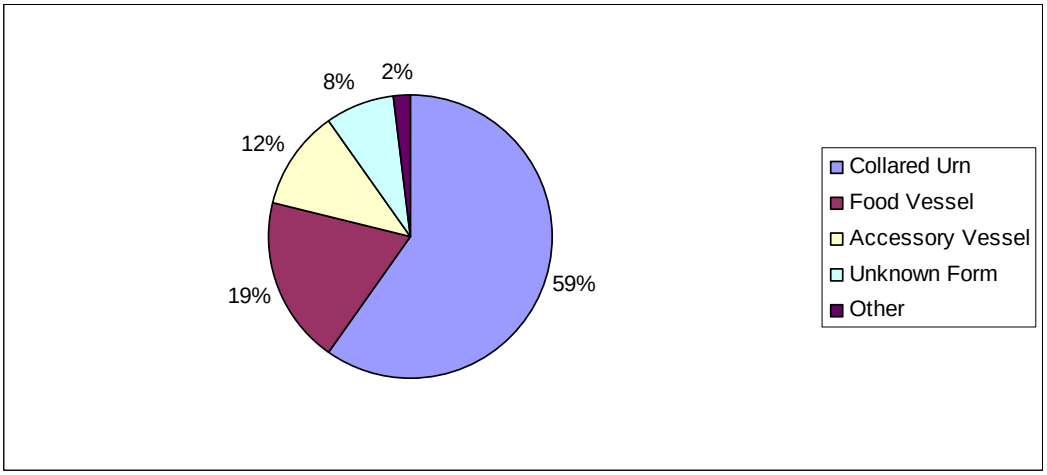


Figure 6.33
Range of ceramic vessel types associated with child cremation burials in Yorkshire

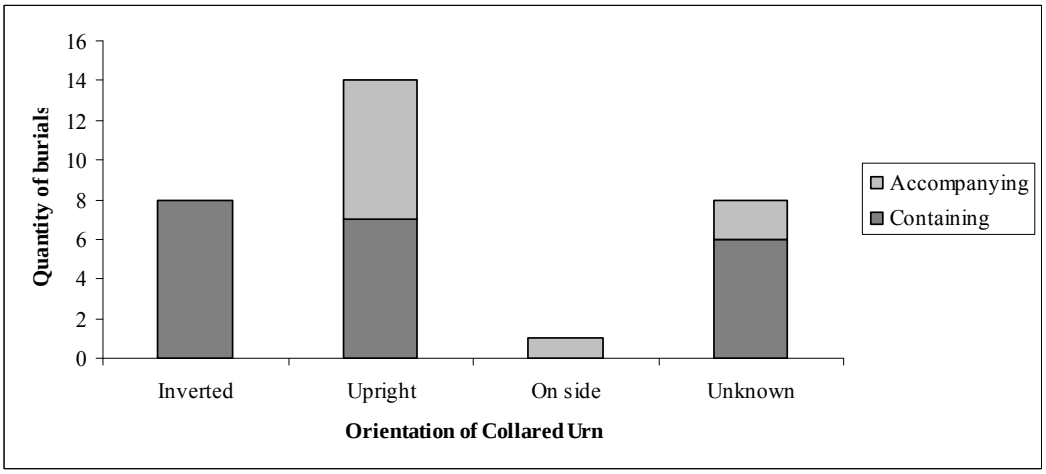


Figure 5:34
Orientation of Collared Urns containing and accompanying children's cremations

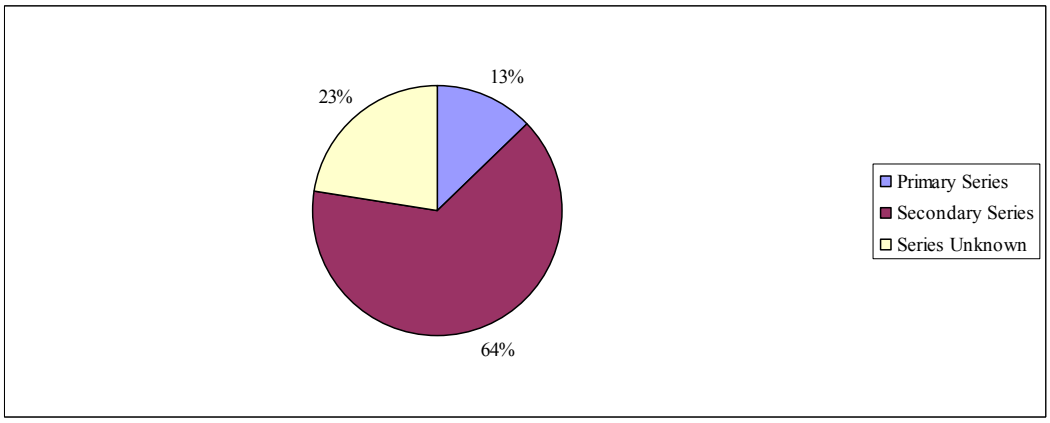


Figure 6.35
Summary of Collared Urn Series associated with children's cremation burials in Yorkshire

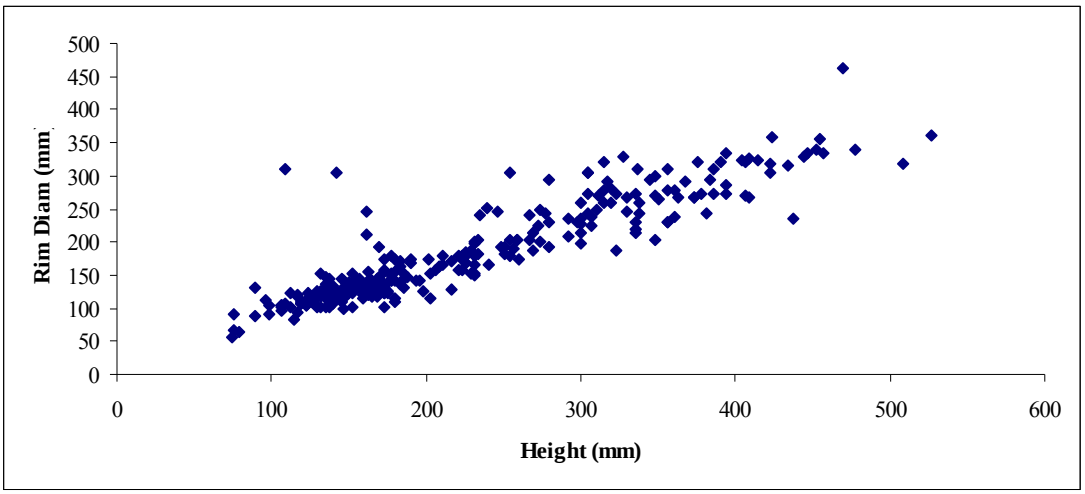


Figure 6.36
Scatter diagram of Collared Urn vessel size in Yorkshire (after Longworth 1984).

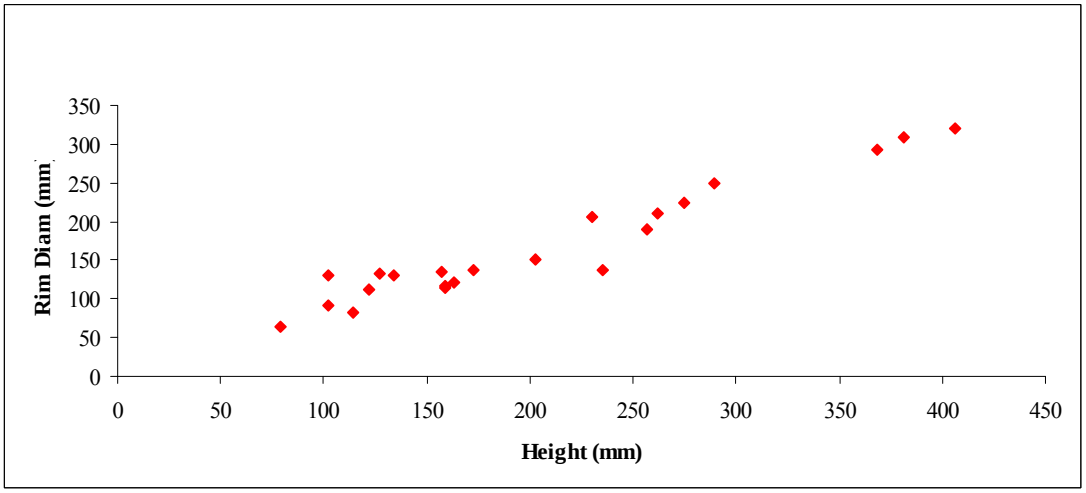


Figure 6.37
Scatter diagram of Collared Urn dimensions associated with children's cremations in Yorkshire[2]

[2] The urn dimensions quoted in the published records vary from measurements in feet, inches, metres and centimetres. For the sake of clarity and to aid comparison, all urn sizes quoted here will be in millimetres.

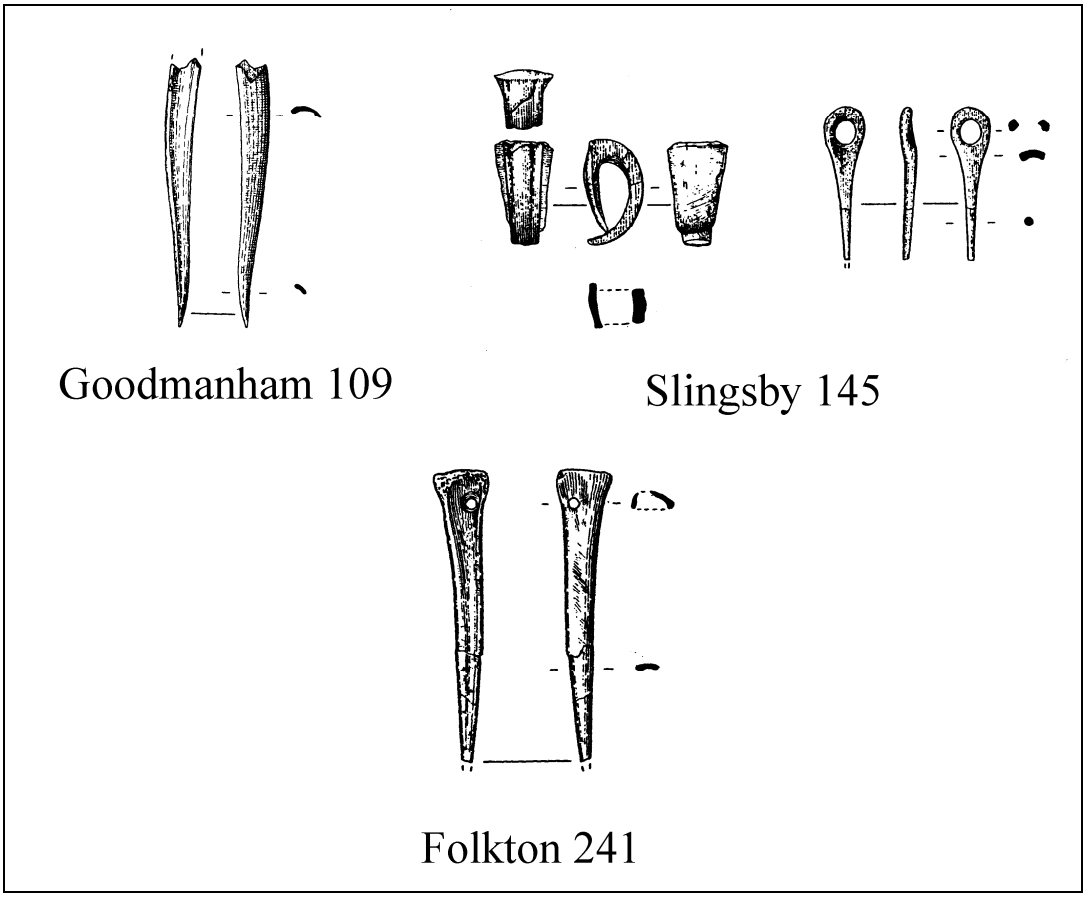


Figure 6.38
Selection of ornaments associated with child cremations in Yorkshire

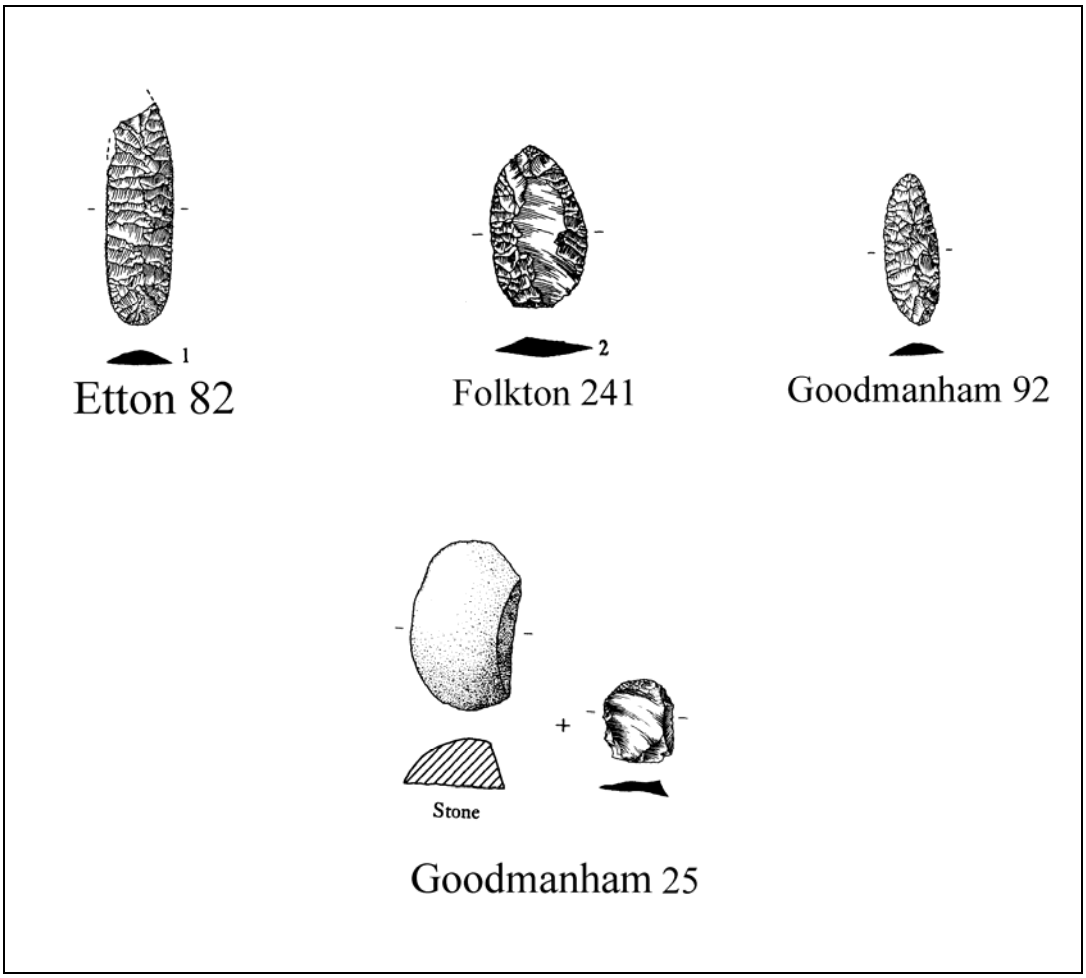


Figure 6.39
Selection of flint tools associated with child cremations in Yorkshire

CHAPTER SEVEN

CASE STUDY THREE: WESSEX

TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 7.1
Summary of the inhumation dataset for Wessex by county

County	Total number of children's burials recorded	Number of children's burials considered suitable for current study	Percentage included in study
Wiltshire	125	87	70%
Hampshire	29	10	34%
Dorset	89	51	58%
Total	*243*	*148*	*61%*

Table 7.2
Age categories of inhumed children in Wessex by county

Form of Age Estimate	Age description	Number by county		
		Wiltshire	Hampshire	Dorset
Identified age estimation	Young Child (0-5 years)	30	1	12
	Juvenile (6-10 years)	9	0	7
	Older child (11-15 years)	11	3	3
No identified age estimation	"baby"	0	1	0
	"infant"	12	1	7
	"small child"	2	1	2
	"very young person"	1	0	1
	"child"	13	2	5
	"adolescent"	3	1	0
	"young person"	4	0	5
	"youth"	1	0	0
	Other	1	0	9

Table 7.3
Summary of foetus, perinate and newborn child burials in Wessex

County	Cat. No.	Site	Reference
Wiltshire	WI 25	Bulford bowl barrow G.27	Hawley 1910, 616
	WI 35	Snail Down saucer barrow, G.6	Thomas 2005, 24
	WI 43	Net Down Barrow G.5j	Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 273
Dorset	WI 108	Fordingham Farm East Barrow	Bellamy 1992, 109

Table 7.4
Summary of sexed children's burials in Wiltshire

Sex	Cat. No	Site	Reference
Female	WI 33	Cow Down	Lukis 1867, 92-4
	WI 39	Porton	W. Turner in Rawlence 1904, 413
	WI 44	Net Down bowl barrow G.5k	C. Wells in Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 278
Male	WI 23	Boscombe Bowmen Burial	McKinley 2011, 18-19
	WI 40	Netheravon Air Field	Cunnington 1927, 490-1
	WI 75	Lake group barrow G.6f	I. Cornwell in Grimes 1964, 95, 97

Table 7.5
Summary of children's inhumation by funerary site type in Wessex

County	Funerary site type										
	Bell	**Bowl**	**Disc (inc. twin)**	**Pond**	**Saucer**	**Undefined barrow type**	**Satellite burial to barrow**	**Cairn**	**Insertion into Neolithic monument**	**Flat grave: cemetery**	**Flat grave: isolated**
Wiltshire	WI 83	WI 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82	WI 9, 10, 58		WI 19, 35	WI 36	WI 1		WI 16, 17, 18, 84, 85, 86, 87	WI 46, 47, 48	WI 15, 21, 22, 23, 40, 76
Hampshire						WI 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96					WI 94, 97
Dorset	WI 102, 103	WI 98, 99, 100, 101, 104, 105, 106, 109, 110, 111, 112, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145	WI 119, 120, 121, 122	WI 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 146, 147, 148		WI 107, 108			WI 118		

Table 7.6
Placement of child inhumation burials within barrow sites

Placement within barrow	Number of burials	Number of children
Principal burial	12	12
Possible principal burial	4	6
Primary phase but not principal burial	14	16
Secondary	81	88
Position unclear	7	10

Table 7.7
Summary of stone built cists associated with child inhumations in Wessex

Cat No.	Site	Description	Reference
WI 53	West Overton barrow G.6b, Wilts.	A single small polygonal cist (**Figure 6.5**) constructed from sarsen slabs within a shallow pit housed the remains of a four-year-old child. Despite the number of interments from this mound, only two graves comprised stone-built cists: that of the child just described and the principal adult inhumation implying that this was a particular rite reserved for selected individuals.	Smith & Simpson 1966, 129, fig.2
WI 99	Bincombe barrow 11, Dorset	Only 2 of the 8 Earlier Bronze Age burials associated with the mound were interred within stone cists. One was an infant, 5-6 months of age, buried within a small square cist (**Figure 6.6**) constructed from upright slabs with a five sided capstone	Payne 1944; Bristow 1998, 164
WI 132	Portesham barrow 14, Dorset	A simple stone setting protected the crouched burials of an adult and child	Acland 1915, 45; Grinsell 1959, 127
WI 134	Badbury bowl barrow G.6b, Dorset	The crouched burial of a young child or infant was surrounded by a series of upright slabs, interpreted as the a disturbed cist	Austen 1864; Warne 1866, 54

Table 7.8
Summary of child inhumation burials associated with covering slabs in Wessex

Cat No.	Site	Description	Reference
WI 13	Earls Farm Down barrow G.71, Wilts.	A large flint had been placed over the head of an eighteen-month-old child	Christie 1967, 33
WI 15	Beckhampton, Wilts	Grave containing skeleton of a five-year-old child was covered by a large sarsen slab	Young 1950
WI 43	Net Down barrow G.5j, Wilts	A newborn child had been buried within a small pit dug into the ditch of the barrow and covered by a lozenge-shaped flint which sealed the pit. The grave was then covered by a small cairn of flints	Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 273
WI 134	Badbury Barrow G.6a, Dorset	Grave (described by excavator as 'cist') sealed by flat slab; contained skeleton of a young child or infant	Austen 1864; Warne 1866, 54
WI 136	Badbury Barrow G.6a, Dorset	Grave (described by excavator as 'cist') sealed by flat slab; contained skeleton of a young child or infant	Austen 1864; Warne 1866, 54

Table 7.9
Summary of children's burials inserted into existing Neolithic monuments

Site	Summary Description	References
Longbarrow Crossroads, Wiltshire	Series of crouched inhumations inserted into the mound of a Neolithic Long Barrow; includes four children's burials (WI 84-7)	Grinsell 1957, 146, 231; Arch xliii, 379 & 420
The Sanctuary, Wiltshire	Crouched inhumation burial of a 14-year-old adolescent (WI 16), discovered during Maud Cunnington's excavations of the Neolithic timber and stone circle. The grave was associated with stone hole C12, the body placed to face the position of the stone, implying that the stone was upright at the time the grave was inserted (Figure 6.8)	Cunnington 1931; Pitts 2001, 4-5, figs 3 & 4
West Kennet Avenue, Wiltshire	Graves were discovered at the foot of 4 stones within the northern third of the avenue. In each case the burial was inserted on the N.E. side of the stones. Three graves contained adult skeletons, but one, by stone hole 25b, was a mixed deposit of unburnt bones comprising two adolescents (one partially articulated, the other disarticulated: WI 17 & WI 18) and the disarticulated remains of an adult.	Smith 1965, 209-10; Pitts and Whittle 1992
Thickthorn Down, Dorset	Double inhumation burial of an 18-month-old child and a 20-year-old adult female were inserted into the mound material of this Neolithic Long Barrow	Drew & Piggott 1938; Bradley & Entwhistle 1985

Table 7.10
Summary of content of child inhumations graves by grave length.
'' denotes Minimum Number of Immature Individuals (MNII).*
*'**' denotes Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI)*

	Grave length (cm)				
	less 50 cm	**51-100 cm**	**101-150 cm**	**151-200 cm**	**201-250 cm**
Immature age range					
Young child (0-5 years)	2	12	5	2	1
Juvenile (6-10 years)		2	5	2	2
Older child (11-15 years)		1	2	4	
Other	1	2	3	7	
Total quantity of burials	3	16	10	12	3
MNII*	3	18	15	15	3
MNI**	3	20	22	23	7

Table 7.11
Position of the child's body within the grave

Description of position	**Number of individuals**		
	Wiltshire	**Hampshire**	**Dorset**
Crouched/flexed/contracted/semi-flexed	35	6	21
Extended	1		2
Supine	1		
Seated	1		
Disarticulated	9		7
Disturbed	5	1	4
Degraded	1		
Partially articulated	1		
Selective remains only	2	1	
Position not recorded	31	2	17

Table 7.12
Side placement of crouched child inhumations in Wessex

Position	Placement of body	Number of individuals		
		Wiltshire	Hampshire	Dorset
Crouched/Flexed	Left side?	8	2	9
	Right side	16	4	9
	Side not recorded	11	0	3

Table 7.13
Summary descriptions of disarticulated child burials in Wessex

Site	Burial summary	References
Fordingham Farm, Dorset	Grave 1: Large sub-rectangular grave with wooden coffin containing two distinct heaps of disarticulated human bone. The remains were of an adult male and a child (WI 107); the bones of each clearly separated within the grave. Lack of evidence of weathering, animal damage or deliberate dismemberment suggests that these bones represent a reburial from another grave.	Bellamy 1992, 108
Fordingham Farm, Dorset	Grave 2: Large sub-rectangular grave with wooden coffin containing two distinct heaps of disarticulated human bone: one representing the remains of an adult male and the other heap consisting of the bones of an adult female and neonate (WI 108). A lack of evidence of weathering etc. suggests that these bones represent a reburial from another grave.	Bellamy 1992, 109
Sheep Down pond barrow, Dorset	Pit in SW. quadrant of the barrow contained the disarticulated bones of two infants, possibly newborns (WI 147 & WI 148).	Atkinson *et al* 1952, 7
Amesbury disc barrow G.61a, Wiltshire	Compact deposit of human bone, dominated by the partially articulated body of a 13-16-year-old adolescent (WI 10). The existence of incomplete, disarticulated bones from a 3-5-year-old child (WI 9) and a young adult were only appreciated during skeletal analysis. The bones were weathered and the smaller bones of the adolescent (carpal and tarsal bones) were largely absent suggesting reburial from another grave.	Ashbee 1985, 49-50
Long Ash Lane barrow 1, Dorset	Large chalk cut grave containing the skeletal remains of multiple individuals. These included the articulated skeleton of an adult female on the base of the grave and the disarticulated bones of two adult females and two children (WI 109 & 110). It is unclear whether the disarticulated bones represent earlier burials that had been disturbed by the insertion of the adult female burial or whether they were added to the grave after the interment of the articulated body.	Forde-Johnson 1959, 112

Site	Burial summary	References
Long Ash lane barrow 2, Dorset	A heap of disarticulated bones placed at the centre of an artificial platform of heavy chalk lumps on the old ground surface (WI 111).	Forde-Johnson 1959, 112
Lake House bowl barrow G.87b, Wiltshire	The central chalk-cut grave contained the remains of a minimum of 5 individuals including 3 children (WI 72-4). They were described by Goddard as being in 'so imperfect a state and so confusedly lain that it was impossible to discover the number and direction of the bodies accurately'	Goddard 1908, 585
Boscombe Bowmen flat grave, Wiltshire	Chalk-cut grave containing multiple interments including the disarticulated remains of several adult males and an adolescent (WI 23). It is unclear if these bones were interred within the grave in a disarticulated state or whether complete skeletons had been re-ordered due to the insertion of successive bodies.	McKinley 2011; Fitzpatrick *in prep*
Okus Quarry, Wiltshire	A heap of disarticulated bone was found in a grave. Lying by the bones were the crushed remains of a large Beaker (WI 47)	Passmore 1914
Long Bredy, Dorset	Several deposits of disarticulated human bone and partically-articulated skeletons, including those of three children (WI 123-5) were recovered from this barrow. The site appeared to have been previously explored. It is unclear whether the remains were interred like this or whether their condition on excavation was the result of previous disturbance.	Eogan 1980. 44, 52

Table 7.14
Summary of multiple inhumation burials in Wessex

Site	MNI	Children	Adults	Individuals	Spatial relationship
W of New Kings Barrows	2	1	1	Adult and child (WI 4)	Disturbed primary burial
Cursus Barrow Group, Bowl Barrow (G.51)	4	1	3	Sequential crouched inhumations of 3 adults (2 females and 1 adult). Remains of child were associated (WI 5)	Child's remains were identified during post-excavation skeletal analysis. Unclear whether the child was a separate burial or was directly related to one or all of the adults
Bowl Barrow (G61)	2	1	1	4-6 year old child (WI 8) and young adult (with healed fracture)	Child by the knees of the adult
Disc barrow 61a, Amesbury	3	2	1	Partially articulated 13-16 year old (WI 10) and fragmentary remains of 3-5 year old child (WI 09)and adult	Possible reburial. Remains mixed
Stone hole 25b, West Kennet Avenue	3	2	1	Partially articulated adolescent (WI 17) and fragmentary remains of a further adolescent (WI 18)and adult	Remains mixed and fragmentary
Boscombe Bowman Flat Grave	9	4 (incl. crem)	5	Two children, 5-6 years and 6-7 years (WI 21, WI 22), an adolescent 15-18 years (WI 23) and ?five adult males, one articulated. Only one cremation: that of a child	Flat grave containing mixed and rearranged remains.
Netheravon Air Field	2	1	1	crouched skeleton of an adult female (30-40 years) and a child approx. 15 months of age (WI 40)	Position in grave not recorded
Net Down Group, Bowl barrow (G.5e)	2	1	1	Adolescent and adult (age and sex not determined)	Adult skeleton is crouched with Beaker (protected by 3 flints) placed behind buttocks. Orientation of body is parallel to long axis of the grave. The adolescent's body has been placed at an angle to the adult. Head at the chest of the adult.
Buxbury Hill (G.1)	2	1	1	Child (WI 45) and adult female	Disturbed. Positions not recognised

Site	MNI	Children	Adults	Individuals	Spatial relationship
Cop Heap Bowl Barrow (G10)	2	1	1	Child (WI 49) and adult female	Position in grave not recorded
Wilsford Cum Lake (G.1)	2	1	1	Child less than 16 years of age inserted into primary grave which contained remains of adult 18-20 years	Position in grave not recorded
Lake Group Bowl Barrow (G.36f)	2	1	1	1-2 year old child (WI 61) and 20-30 year old female	The woman was in a contorted position, front downwards with the head twisted over right side, looking east and forearms partly beneath the body. The child was 12 inches away from the skull of the adult to the south-east.
Lake House Bowl Barrow (G.87b)	5	3	2	A minimum of three children (WI 72, 73, 74) with at least 2 adults	"in so imperfect a state and so confusedly lain, that it was impossible to discover the number of direction of the bodies accurately"
Flat grave, West of Shelving Stones	4	1	3	Remains of 4-5 skeletons. Only one noted as child (WI 76)	Jumbled multiple deposit. Excavator suggests burials deposited in sitting posture
Winterbourne Stoke Bowl Barrow (G.10)	5	2	3	Two 'young people (WI 79 & 80) and three adults	5 skeletons side by side, two of them of young persons
Bell Barrow (G.37), West of small cursus	2	1	1	12 year old child and adult (WI 83)	Two primary skeletons, one adult and one about 12 years old, heads to the North.
Longbarrow (G.1), Longbarrow Crossroads	6	4	2	Four children and two adults: one male and one female	Inserted into top of Neolithic long barrow. Unclear whether these burials were directly associated with each other or were separate interments
Rockbourne Down Round Barrow	2	1	1	Single infant bone (WI 95) associated with young adult	Not formal burial; single bone of infant in pot directly associated with crouched adult burial
Bincombe Bowl Barrow (G.60d)	2	1	1	Infant (WI 104) and adult	Infant by the side of an extended adult skeleton
Fordingham Farm, 'Two Barrows' (east),	2	1	1	10-14 year old child and adult male, 19-23 years	Distinct bundles of disarticulated bones. Adult and child's remains kept separate

Site	MNI	Children	Adults	Individuals	Spatial relationship
Dorchester G.10					
Fordingham Farm, 'Two Barrows' (east), Dorchester G.10	3	1	2	Perinate directly associated with Female (25-35 years). Also present was Male (25 - 35 years)	Two distinct bundles of disarticulated bones, female and perinate as one bundle, the male's bones as another
Long Ash Lane Bowl Barrow (G.4)	5	2	3	2 children (WI 109-110) and 3 adult females	disarticulated bones of 2 adult females & 2 children in fill of grave with articulated adult female at base. Reburial?
Thickthorn Down Long Barrow	2	1	1	18 month old child associated with 20 year old adult female	Child directly below disturbed/disarticulated incomplete remains of adult female
Black Down Disc Barrow (G.3a)	3	1	2	‘child' (W119) associated with 2 adult females	Primary crouched inhumation of adult female. Child burial inserted on top, orientation at right angles to primary. Subsequent adult female burial inserted over the child's body, sharing orientation with previous adult.
Long Crichel Bowl Barrow (G.7)	2	1	1	3-6 year old child and adult female	Child buried directly above a tightly bound adult female within central grave
Bowl Barrow (G.46), Eweleaze Barn Barrow Group	4	3	1	Three infants (WI 141, 142, 143) and adult male	Three infants interred on 'shelf' on side of grave containing crouched adult male
Bowl Barrow (G.44), Eweleaze Barn Barrow Group	3	2	1	‘young children' (WI 144 & 145) and adult male	bones of 'young children' found with fillof grave cut cont. adult male inhumation
Hemp Knoll Bowl Barrow (G.81), Wiltshire	2	1	1	3 year old child and adult male	Not directly associated: body of 3 year old child interred just outside the edge of the principal grave containing inhumation of adult male
Barrow Clump (G.25), Wiltshire	3	1	2	Infant and 2 adults	Not directly associated: three crouched skeletons almost touching each other, with skeleton of infant just over two of them

Site	MNI	Children	Adults	Individuals	Spatial relationship
Porton (Idminston G.25e), Wiltshire	2	1	1	6-7 year old (WI 39) and adult female	Not directly associated: inhumation of adult female above that of 6-7 year old child (WC 39). Possible family link. Position of burials considered deliberate
Winterbourne Stoke Down Bowl Barrow (G.54), Wiltshire	3	2	1	Infant and adult	Not directly associated: body of infant of only a few months of age (WI 82) inserted into the fill of principal burial containing crouched inhumation of adult

Table 7.15
Wessex child inhumations associated with ceramic vessels

Cat No.	Site	County	Burial description	Pottery type	Form	Height (mm)	Diam (mm)	Position of pot	Reference
W1	Butterfield Down	Wilts	Satellite burial of a crouched inhumation of child c.12 years of age. In the fill below the skeleton was a sherd of an incense cup. Excavator has interpreted this as a possible deliberate inclusion within the grave	Accessory Vessel	Incense cup fragment	?	?	In fill of grave, below skeleton	Rawlings & Fitzpatrick 1996
W9 & W10	Disc barrow 61a, Amesbury	Wilts	Disarticulated weathered bones representing three individuals: an infant (WI 9), an adolescent (WI 10) and a young adult within a large irregular pit. The pit contained numerous fragments of pottery including Neolithic and Earlier Bronze Age sherds.	Beaker	Unclassified, sherds only	?	?	Sherds only, intermixed with disarticulated bones	Ashbee 1985
		Wilts		Mortlake and grooved ware	Sherds only	?	?	Sherds only, intermixed with disarticulated bones	Ashbee 1985
W12	Earl's Farm Down, Bowl Barrow (G.71)	Wilts	Secondary flexed inhumation of child. Crushed Food Vessel was placed 11 inches south of the chest, the rim facing the skeleton.	Food Vessel	Bowl Food Vessel	109.5	141	In front of chest	Christie 1967, 351, fig 6:3

Cat No.	Site	County	Burial description	Pottery type	Form	Height (mm)	Diam (mm)	Position of pot	Reference
W14		Wilts		Accessory Vessel	Undecorated conical cup	101.6	114.3	Position is unknown	Merewether 1849, 94
	Bowl Barrow (G16a), Fox Covert Group	Wilts	Possible primary inhumation of a young person with a small plain urn near the skull. Another unornamented urn was near	Collared Urn	Undecorated	177.8	114.3	Position is unknown	Merewether 1849; Longworth 1984, 283 (no. 1638)
W15		Wilts		Beaker	N2	132	111	Beside head	Young 1948; Clarke 1970, 501 (no 1073)
	The Grange, Beckhampton	Wilts	Flat grave, no trace of barrow. Circular grave contained tightly flexed burial of 5 year old child	Beaker	Unclassified, sherd only	?	?	Position is unknown	Young 1948; Clarke 1970, 501 (no 1074)
W16	the sanctuary', Overton Hill	Wilts	Crouched skeleton of a 14 year old found beside stone hole C.12	Beaker	BW group	108	96.6	In front of lower legs	Clarke 1970, 501, (No. 1063).
W17 & W18		Wilts	Skeleton of an adolescent found in situ at bottom of pit where stone 25b had been buried. Partially articulated. Disarticulated/disturbed remains of a second adolescent and an adult were also represented amongst skeletal material						
	Stone hole 25b, West Kennet Avenue	Wilts		Beaker	N2	183.6	159	Beaker in fragmentary condition within fill	Smith 1965; Clarke 1970, 53 (no. 1071)

Cat No.	Site	County	Burial description	Pottery type	Form	Height (mm)	Diam (mm)	Position of pot	Reference
W19	Saucer barrow (G.46 or 46a), E slope of Windmill Hill	Wilts	Fragments of a small urn found to contain the unburnt remains of a child, within mound material of barrrow	Collared Urn	Undecorated	?	?	Contained unburnt human bones	Merewether 1849, 94; Longworth 1984, 283 (no. 1641)
W21, W22, W23	Boscombe Bowman Flat Grave	Wilts Wilts Wilts	Flat grave containing the remains of seven individuals (six inhumations, one cremation) which include the unburnt remains of three children: disturbed remains of a juvenile, disarticualted remains of an adolescent and a later insertion of a further juvenile. Associated with the grave were eight Beakers. It is unclear whether it will be possible to suggest whether the Beakers were associated with particular individuals. Two Beakers, one inside the other, were found behind the head of the articulated adult male, near to two inhumed children and may be associated with them.	Beakers x 7	AOC bell-beakers	Information not available at time of writing	Information not available at time of writing	Associated with multiple inhumation deposit	Fitzpatrick in prep
W24	Corton Down Bowl Barrow (G.4)	Wilts	Primary burial within mound of young person associated with a large drinking cup and a small drinking cup	Beaker	W/MR	87	66	Position is unknown	Hoare 1912, 102; Clarke 1970, 502 (no 1081)
		Wilts		Beaker	W/MR	228	159	Position is unknown. Grinsell (1957, 228) notes that this urn was at the feet of the skeleton	Hoare 1912, 102; Grinsell 1957, 228; Clarke 1970, 502 (no 1082)
W32	Bowl Barrow B, Lamb Down	Wilts	Primary interment of 8 year old child at barrow centre on old ground surface, disturbed by ploughing. A fragment of Beaker was associated	Beaker	Indeterminate	?	?	Disturbed	Vatcher 1963, Clarke 1970, 502 (no. 1090f)

Cat No.	Site	County	Burial description	Pottery type	Form	Height (mm)	Diam (mm)	Position of pot	Reference
W33	Bowl barrow (G11), Cow Down Group	Wilts	Secondary inhumation, south of centre of barrow, containing skeleton of a child 3-4 years of age. Accompanying the child were two Collared Urns, one containing a cremation	Collared Urn	Primary Series, South Eastern Style, Form IA	124.5	121	At feet?	Lukis 1865; Longworth 1984, 285 (no. 1671)
		Wilts		Collared Urn	Primary Series, Form I/IV	203	163	At feet?	Lukis 1865; Longworth 1984, 285 (no. 1672)
W34	Cow Down Bowl Barrow (G.16)	Wilts	Primary crouched skeleton of a child associated with an undecorated handled food vessel and a shale bead	Food Vessel (handled)	Handled Bowl Food Vessel	88	111	In front of face	Lukis 1867; Annable & Simpson 1967, 63 (no. 499)
W35	Saucer Barrow, Snail Down (G.6)	Wilts	Secondary inhumation of a perinatal infant. The fill included two small potsherds, one of unclassified Beaker.	Beaker	Unclassified, sherd only	?	?	Sherd in fill	Thomas 2005
W37	Barrow Clump, G.25)	Wilts	Secondary crouched inhumation of 2 year old child, grave pit surrounded by large flint nodules. Beaker on side below feet.	Beaker	S2 (FN)	158	120	At edge of grave, below feet	Last, pers comm

Cat No.	Site	County	Burial description	Pottery type	Form	Height (mm)	Diam (mm)	Position of pot	Reference
W38	Barrow Clump, G.25)	Wilts	Secondary or subsequent primary inhumation burials of three crouched adult skeletons and an infant. Nearby were a food vessel and appearances of burning	Food Vessel	Undecorated Bowl Food Vessel	126	126	Position not noted	Annable & Simpson 1967, 62 No. 493
W39	Porton, Winterbourne Gunner (recorded by Goddard and Grinsell as Idminston G.25e)	Wilts	Inhumation burials of child of 6-7 years and young adult female. Near both skeletons was a fine cinerary urn.	Collared Urn	Unclassifed	350		Position is not clear	Rawlence 1904; Longworth 1984, 287 (no.1688).
W40	Netheravon Air Field	Wilts	Flat grave containing crouched skeleton of a child c.15 months old and adult female 30-40 years, associated with a Beaker.	Beaker	S1	168	114	Position not noted	Cunnington 1927; Clarke 1970, **(No. 1126)
W45	Buxbury Hill (G.1)	Wilts	Subsequent primary or secondary burial of adult female and child. Grave significantly disturbed by rabbits. Several pieces of well-baked pottery ornamented by horizontal lines and a row of dependant triangles beneath each. Referred to by clay as a 'drinking cup' with a perforated lug.	Beaker?	one sherd with a vertically perforated lug'??? Interpreted by excavator as a Drinking Cup or Beaker type vessel. No record of urn in Clarke's corpus (1970)	?	?	Disturbed sherds	Clay 1924

Cat No.	Site	County	Burial description	Pottery type	Form	Height (mm)	Diam (mm)	Position of pot	Reference
W46	Okus Quarries, Swindon Hill	Wilts	Grave pit containing slightly contracted inhumation of a 15 year old. Behind the head was a drinking cup, broken on discovery	Beaker	S2 (W)	153	105	Behind the head	Passmore 1914; Clarke 1970, 503 (no. 1145)
W47	Okus Quarries, Swindon Hill	Wilts	Grave pit containing disarticulated heap of bones of a 15 month old child. Lying by the bones were the crushed remains of a large drinking cup	Beaker	S2 (E)	201.3	132	Beside disarticulated bones	Passmore 1914; Clarke 1970, 503 (no. 1146)
W48	Okus Quarries, Swindon Hill	Wilts	Grave pit containing degraded bones of a 12 year old child. Amongst them were four fragments of a large drinking cup	Beaker	S3 (E)	203		Amongst degraded bones	Passmore 1914; Clarke 1970, 503 (no. 1147f)
W50	Overton Down	Wilts	Flat grave with no trace of barrow. Flexed inhumation of a child c.7 years of age with a beaker lying at the chest	Beaker	Southern British Group. FN	dimensions not given		At the chest	Fowler 2005
W58	Disk barrow (G.70)	Wilts	Secondary inhumation of a youth with a drinking cup	Beaker	unclassified (recorded as 'lost' by Clarke 1970)	dimensions not given		Position not noted	Hoare 1812, 208; Grinsell 1974, 106; Clarke 1970, 504 (No.1178)
W59	Wilsford Cum Lake (G.1)	Wilts	South-east of centre of mound was a secondary inhumation of a child less than 16 years of age, over which was found a singular drinking cup	Beaker	Rusticated beaker of clark's late or Final Southern British Group FN	136	205	Over burial?	Smith 1991
W60	Wilsford Cum Lake (G.52)	Wilts	Secondary inhumation of a 16-20 month old child within pit 3, the body extended. A Beaker was associated.	Beaker	Rusticated beaker of clark's Developed Southern (S2) group FN	178	131	At feet	

Cat No.	Site	County	Burial description	Pottery type	Form	Height (mm)	Diam (mm)	Position of pot	Reference
W62	Normanton Down Bowl Barrow (G.1)	Wilts	Excavation not fully published at time of writing. Secondary inhumation of infant associated with a small vessel of urn type	Collared Urn	Unclassified	?	?	Position not noted	Longworth 1984, 289 (No. 1715)
W63	Normanton Down Bowl Barrow (G.1)	Wilts	Excavation not fully published at time of writing. Secondary burials 5-10 recorded as infant inhumations with Beakers (WAM v.58, 30)	Beaker	W/MR	?	?	Position not noted	Clarke 1970, 504 (No. 1161)
W64	Normanton Down Bowl Barrow (G.1)	Wilts	Excavation not fully published at time of writing. Secondary burials 5-10 recorded as infant inhumations with Beakers (WAM v.58, 30)	Beaker	Indeterminate	?	?	Position not noted	Clarke 1970, 504 (no. 1158)
W65	Normanton Down Bowl Barrow (G.1)	Wilts	Excavation not fully published at time of writing. Secondary burials 5-10 recorded as infant inhumations with Beakers (WAM v.58, 30)	Beaker	W/MR	132	111	Position not noted	Clarke 1970, 504 (no. 1159)
		Wilts		Beaker	W/MR	81	76	Position not noted	Clarke 1970, 504 (no. 1160)
W66	Normanton Down Bowl Barrow (G.1)	Wilts	Excavation not fully published at time of writing. Secondary burials 5-10 recorded as infant inhumations with Beakers (WAM v.58, 30)	Beaker	W/MR	129	120	Position not noted	Clarke 1970, 504 (no 1156)
W67	Normanton Down Bowl Barrow (G.1)	Wilts	Excavation not fully published at time of writing. Secondary burials 5-10 recorded as infant inhumations with Beakers (WAM v.58, 30)	Beaker	W/MR	126	96	Position not noted	Clarke 1970, 504 (no 1157)
W69	Lake Group Bowl Barrow (G.40)	Wilts	Primary interment of 2-3 year old child with drinking cup.	Beaker	Indeterminate	?	?	Position not noted	Hoare 1812, 210; Clarke 1970, 504 (no. 1165)

Cat No.	Site	County	Burial description	Pottery type	Form	Height (mm)	Diam (mm)	Position of pot	Reference
W 70 & 71	Lake House Bowl Barrow (G.87a)	Wilts	Secondary interments of one or two small children under which were placed a small urn or drinking cup. Approximately two inches from rim of Beaker was an 'indented' urn	Beaker?	small urn or drinking cup' (unable to match conclusively to clarke. Might be 1179-1182. no illust	305	152		Goddard 1908; Clarke 1970, 504)
		Wilts		Form unknown	indended urn'	?	?		Goddard 1908
W77	Monkton Down Bowl Barrow (G.9) [goddard no.10]	Wilts	Secondary deposit of a young person, apparently contained in a Beaker. Beaker is recorded by Clarke as 'lost'	Beaker	N2	?	?	Contained unburnt human bones	Goddard 1913, 359; Clarke 1970, 504 (no.1187?)
W84, W85, W86, W87	Longbarrow (G.1), Longbarrow Crossroads	Wilts	Long barrow excavated by J.Thurnam. Six secondary crouched skeletons (1 adult male, 1 adult female and four children) with plain urn-shaped Food Vessel, two feet from top of mound	Food Vessel	Vase Food Vessel?	?	?	Position not noted	Grinsell 1957, 231
		Wilts							
		Wilts							
		Wilts							
W88	Walworth Round Barrow	Hants	Subsquent primary or secondary inhumation of child, buried with a large fragment of Collared Urn which had been broken prior to deposition	Collared Urn	Undetermined	Sherds only		Position not known	Scott 1988
W94	Southwick Hill	Hants	Flat grave containing crouched inhumation of possible female, 15-17 years of age in semi-flexed position. Two accessory vessels accompanied burial.	Accessory Vessel	Double-ended incense cup	61	67	In front of forehead	Rudkin 1989
		Hants		Accessory Vessel	Miniature urn	50	50	In front of forehead	Rudkin 1989

Cat No.	Site	County	Burial description	Pottery type	Form	Height (mm)	Diam (mm)	Position of pot	Reference
W95	Rockbourne Down	Hants	Secondary interment of adult, in crouched position, within central shaft grave. The adult held the base of a food vessel in hands, containing infant and fish bones. Pot broken prior to burial	Food Vessel	Undetermined (fragmentary)			In hands of adult	Piggott & Piggott 1947
W97	Balksbury Camp	Hants	Crouched interment of female 15-20 years of age	Beaker	W/MR (Step 2)	134	146	At base of spine	Cleal 1995
W105	Forty Acre Plantion Bowl Barrow (G.26)	Dorset	Possible primary inhumation of young person with two small Beakers	Beaker	Undecorated	132	120	Position unknown	(no 173, clarke 1970, 479)
				Beaker	Indeterminate (sherds)	Sherds only		Position unknown	
W106	Lord's Down Bowl Barrow, Dewlish (G.6)	Dorset	Below the skeleton of a child were pieces of a small 'drinking cup'	Small Beaker. Another beaker from the mound was described as being c.5" in height and 4" in width (drinking cup). Warne describes this beaker as being of smaller dimensions. No image available. Clarke 1970, 479 notes this beaker as lost.	Unknown (lost)	?	?	Below skeleton in a fragmentary condition	Clarke 1970, 479, No. 175.
W100	Bincombe Bowl Barrow (G.11)	Dorset	Secondary crouched inhumation of a 6-10 year old, ?male, child. A handled beaker was placed at the feet.	Beaker (Handled)	SH (c)	198	141	At feet	(clarke 1970, 479, 165, fig 1022)
W109 & W110	Long Ash Lane Bowl Barrow (G.4)	Dorset	Disturbed remains of two adult females and two children within central pit sunk over primary burial of adult female. Possible reburial of remains. Central pit sealed after interment of disarticulated remains by a layer of large flints amongst which was found an undecorated Beaker	Beaker	Undecorated	106.3	110	Not directly associated with particular individual	Clarke 1970
W113	Down Farm Pond Barrow	Dorset	Pond Barrow with a cluster of inhumation and cremation burials at eastern edge of depressed area, included two infants associated with Food Vessels	Food Vessel	Vase Food Vessel	?	?	Position unknown	Green 1983; Green 1994
W114	Down Farm Pond Barrow	Dorset	Pond Barrow with a cluster of inhumation and cremation burials at eastern edge of depressed area, included two infants associated with Food Vessels	Food Vessel	Vase Food Vessel	?	?	Position unknown	Green 1983; Green 1994

Cat No.	Site	County	Burial description	Pottery type	Form	Height (mm)	Diam (mm)	Position of pot	Reference
W118	Thickthorn Down Long Barrow	Dorset	Secondary crouched inhumation of an 18 month old child and possible young adult female (represented by two femoral fragments only). Beaker on its side, overlying the legs of the child.	Beaker	E type	120	123	At feet	Clarke 1970
W119	Black Down Disc Barrow (G.3a)	Dorset	Secondary crouched inhumation of a child inserted into central burial pit, disturbing primary adult female inhumation. A further, third, inhumation of an adult female inserted at a later time, disturbing the two previous burials. Crushed and disturbed fragments of beaker present but unclear if associated with primary or secondary interment.	Beaker	Southern Beaker	178.5	133.5	Either in front of face of child or associated with disturbed earlier burial	Bailey 1982
W120	Black Down Disc Barrow (G.3a)	Dorset	Secondary crouched inhumation of a child to east of central area. Complete Food Vessel found on its side, behind the head	Food Vessel. 'a small southern food vessel. Fabric similar to the Beakers, being dark grey brown, grogged and well-fired and oxidised to a light grey brown. Surface probably smoothed befor decoration. Shoulder, rim and collar bevel are all decorated with cord impressions. SCAN!	Vase Food Vessel	135	141	Behind head	Bailey 1982
W122	Black Down Disc Barrow (G.3a)	Dorset	ESE of cairn centre was a chalk cut grave containing crouched skeleton of a 5 year old child. Small vessel in front of face.	Small biconical vessel		66	72	In front of face	Bailey 1982
W126	Long Crichel Bowl Barrow (G.5)	Dorset	Secondary interment within central grave pit was a child, 7-8 years of age, possibly male. Food Vessel in upright position in front of face	Food Vessel	Ridged Food Vessel	124	157	In front of face	Green et al 1983
W129	Long Crichel Bowl Barrow (G.5)	Dorset	Secondary crouched interment of a 12-18 year old child. Inverted Food Vessel in inverted positon over the left shoulder	Food Vessel behind head/shoulder	Vase Food Vessel	132	162	Behind head/shoulder	Green et al 1983

Cat No.	Site	County	Burial description	Pottery type	Form	Height (mm)	Diam (mm)	Position of pot	Reference
W130	Long Crichel Bowl Barrow (G.5)	Dorset	Secondary flexed interment of 8 year old child to S of central grave. Bones distubed and Beaker broken. Pot appears to have been originally placed at base of child's back.	Bell-beaker. Damaged during disturbance?	W/MR (Step 3)	137	124	Base of spine	Green et al 1983
W136	Badbury Bowl Barrow, Shapwick (G.6a)	Dorset	Chalk cut grave containing crushed inhumation of young child, close to the ribs was a small elegantly shaped urn. At the feet was a particularly small cup.	Pottery type unclear. Possibly a Food Vessel or Beaker. Described as a small elegantly shaped urn 4" in height and 4" in greatest diameter. Ornamented with a row of small circular impressions close to the lip. There is a Beaker logged by Clarke from a barrow at Badbury (1970, 479, No. 163 indeterminate type. Not illustrated) but unclear if this is the vessel being referred to here.	Unknown	101.6	101.6	At ribs	Warne 1866; (1970, 479, No. 163)
				Accessory Vessel	Bowl-shaped cup	38.1	57.2	At feet	
W139	Bridport Road Bowl Barrow, Rew Group (Warne 26)	Dorset	Inhumation of a 'very young person' associated with a small food vessel, lying on its side. The vessel was filled with burnt bones and charcoal	Food Vessel (possibly containing a cremation burial)	Bowl Food Vessel	88.9	101.6	Position not known	Calkin 1967, 143, fig 3
W140	Bridport Road Bowl Barrow, Rew Group (Warne 70)	Dorset	Extended inhumation of an infant within flint cairn. On right side was a small unornamented urn	Undecorated Food Vessel	Bowl Food Vessel	152.4	152.4	By the right side of an extended inhumation	Calkin 1967, 143, fig 3
W141, W142, W143	Bowl Barrow (G.46), Eweleaze Barn Barrow Group	Dorset	Crouched inhumation of three infants associated with a food vessel interred on a small ledge on the edge of the primary grave (crouched young adult male with handled food vessel, broken prior to interment)	Food Vessel	Undecorated	82.9	88.9	In front of infants. Food Vessel and infants behind head of adult?	St George Gray & Prideaux 1905
W146	Sheep Down Pond Barrow,	Dorset	Disturbed remains of c.8 year old child associated with a complete and fragmentary	Collared Urn	Primary Series, Form 1A	152.4	114.3	In front of face	(Longworth 1984, 193, no. 517, fig 38a)

Cat No.	Site	County	Burial description	Pottery type	Form	Height (mm)	Diam (mm)	Position of pot	Reference
	Winterbourne Steepleton G.19c		collared urn	Collared Urn	Undetermined	Sherds only		Position not known	(Longworth 1984, 193, no. 518)
W147 & 148	Sheep Down Pond Barrow, Winterbourne Steepleton G.19c	Dorset	Disarticulated (dismembered?) remains of two newborns not exceeding 2-3 months in age. Arranged in small heap at east end of grave. Collared urn on side at N wall of pit.	Collared Urn	Primary Series, Form 1A	157.5	114.3	At opposite end of grave from heap of disarticulated remains	(Longworth 1984, 193, no. 250

Table 7.16
Multiple pots in children's graves in Wessex

Burial	Number of pots	Form of pots
WI 9 & 10: Amesbury disc barrow G61a, Wilts.	3 (fragmentary)	Beaker, Mortlake & Grooved Ware sherds
WI 15: Beckhampton, Wilts.	1 & sherd	Beaker, damaged in antiquity and a sherd from second Beaker
WI 21-23: Boscombe, Wilts	7	Beakers
WI 24: Corton Down, Wilts.	2	Beakers
WI 33: Cow Down, Wilts.	2	Collared Urns
WI 65: Normanton Down, Wilts.	2	Beakers (including a particularly small example)
WI 70 & 71: Lake House barrow G87a, Wilts.	2	Possible Beaker and unidentified vessel
WI 94: Southwick Hill, Hants.	2	Accessory vessels
WI 105: Forty Acre Plantation, Dorset	2	Beakers
WI 146: Sheep Down, Dorset	2	Collared Urns

Table 7.17
Collared Urns associated with child inhumations in Wessex

Cat. No.	Site	County	Burial description	Pottery type	Form	Height (mm)	Diam (mm)	Position of pot	Reference
W14	Bowl Barrow (G16a), Fox Covert Group	Wilts	Possible primary inhumation of a young person with a small plain urn near the skull. Another unornamented urn was near	Accessory Vessel	Undecorated conical cup	101.6	114.3	Unknown	Merewether 18**
				Collared Urn	Undecorated	177.8	114.3	Unknown	Merewether 18**; Longworth 1984, 283 (no. 1638)
W19	Saucer barrow (G.46 or 46a), E slope of Windmill Hill	Wilts	Fragments of a small urn found to contain the unburnt remains of a child, within mound material of barrrow	Collared Urn	Undecorated	Unknown		Contained unburnt human bones	Merewether 1849, 94; Longworth 1984, 283 (no. 1641)
W33	Bowl barrow (G11), Cow Down Group	Wilts	Secondary inhumation, south of centre of barrow, containing skeleton of a child 3-4 years of age. Accompanying the child were two Collared Urns, one containing a cremation	Collared Urn	Primary Series, South Eastern Style, Form IA	124.5	121.92	At feet?	Lukis 1865; Longworth 1984, 285 (no. 1671)
				Collared Urn	Primary Series, Form I/IV	203.2	162.6	At feet?	Lukis 1865; Longworth 1984, 285 (no. 1672)
W39	Porton, Winterbourne Gunner (recorded by Goddard and Grinsell as Idminston G.25e)	Wilts	Inhumation burials of child of 6-7 years and young adult female. Near both skeletons was a fine cinerary urn.	Collared Urn	Unclassifed	350.5		Unknown	Rawlence 1904; Longworth 1984, 287 (no.1688).
W62	Normanton Down Bowl Barrow (G.1)	Wilts	Excavation not fully published at time of writing. Secondary inhumation of infant associated with a small vessel of urn type	Collared Urn	Unclassifed	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Longworth 1984, 289 (No. 1715)
W88	Walworth Round Barrow	Hants	Subsquent primary or secondary inhumation of child, buried with a large fragment of Collared Urn which had been broken prior to deposition	Collared Urn	Unclassifed	Sherds		Unknown	Scott 1988
W146	Sheep Down Pond Barrow,	Dorset	Disturbed remains of c.8 year old child associated with a complete and	Collared Urn	Primary Series, Form 1A	152.4	114.3	In front of face	(Longworth 1984, 193, no. 517, fig 38a)

Cat. No.	Site	County	Burial description	Pottery type	Form	Height (mm)	Diam (mm)	Position of pot	Reference
	Winterbourne Steepleton G.19c		fragmentary collared urn	Collared Urn	Undetermined	Sherds		Unknown	(Longworth 1984, 193, no. 518)
W147 & 148	Sheep Down Pond Barrow, Winterbourne Steepleton G.19c	Dorset	Disarticulated (dismembered?) remains of two newborns not exceeding 2-3 months in age. Arranged in small heap at east end of grave. Collared urn on side at N wall of pit.	Collared Urn	Primary Series, Form 1A	157.5	114.3	At opposite end of grave from heap of disarticulated remains	(Longworth 1984, 193, no. 250

Table 7.18
Summary of child inhumations with flint grave goods in Wessex

Cat. No.	Site	Description	Reference
WI 15	Beckhampton, Wilts.	A total of 6 flints came from the burial of a child around 5 years of age: 2 small flint flakes were found on the floor of the grave, one beneath the right and the other beneath the left pelvis. The position of the flakes suggests that they had been deliberately and carefully placed under the body at the time of burial. No pathological indicators were noted on the remains to suggest that their placement marked the position of an injury. A further four flints, including a small horseshoe scraper came from the grave infill material.	Young 1950, 313
WI 90	Eyebury, Hants	The crouched burial of a fourteen-year-old child was associated with two trapezoidal flakes: one was found behind the head, the other came from between the pelvis and the ribs	Evans 1915, 118, fig 2: h & i
WI 91	Eyebury, Hants	A second child burial was accompanied with a slender flint blade. The position of this flake in relation to the body was not noted.	Evans 1915, 118, fig 2: f

Table 7.19
Number of children recorded from Earlier Bronze Age cremations in Wessex

County	Total number of children recorded	Number of cremations considered suitable for current study	Percentage of total number included in study
Wiltshire	63	38	60%
Hampshire	68	14	21%
Dorset	90	17	19%
Total	*221*	*69*	*32%*

Table 7.20

Age estimates for children within cremation burials in Wessex.

'' denotes the following: WC 24 Net Down, 'child or adolescent', WC32: Lake Group, 'child or young person', WC5: Amesbury barrow 72, 'immature' individual, WC 60: Hinton Martell. Cremation of a juvenile, possibly neonatal. WC 64: Knighton Heath. Cremation of immature person.*

Form of Age Estimate	Age description	Quantity by county		
		Wiltshire	Hampshire	Dorset
Identified age estimation	Young Child (0-5 years)	9	5	1
	Juvenile (6-10 years)	6	5	3
	Older child (11-15 years)	4	3	2
No identified age estimation	"baby"			
	"infant"	5		1
	"small child" or "young child"	3		3
	"very young person"			
	"child"	5	1	4
	"adolescent"	3		
	"young person"			
	"youth"			1
	Other	3*		2*

Table 7.21
Child cremation burials in Wessex by site type

County	Funerary site type											
	Bell*	Bowl*	Bowl/Bell	Disc (inc. twin)	Pond	Saucer	Undefined barrow type	Possible barrow	Cairn	Long cairn	Flat grave: cemetery	Flat grave: isolated
Wiltshire	WC 8, 9, 10, 11, 18, 19	WC 5, 13, 15, 16, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35	WC 6 & 7	WC 22, 25, 38	WC 14	WC 17	WC 20, 21			WC 36, 37	WC 1, 2, 3,4	WC 12
Hampshire		WC 40, 50, 52					WC 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47				WC 48	WC 49, 51
Dorset	WC 39	WC 55, 60, 66, 67, 68, 69					WC 59	WC 53	WC 61, 62, 53		WC 64, 56, 57, 58	WC 54, 65

Table 7.22

Summary of multiple burials involving child cremations

*N.B.: The sex of the associated individual within cremation CB3 at Blake Fir cremation cemetery (WC 2) was not identified by the osteologist. The suggestion that the adult was female appears to have been based on the association with the remains of a child (Evans 1915).

County	Child associated with single adult (cremation)	Double child cremation	Multiple cremation deposit involving +2 individuals	Other
Wiltshire	Blake's Fir cemetery (WC 2): infant with adult, poss. female*			
	Avebury bell-barrow G.55 (WC 9): 9-12 mth old child with 20-30 yr old female			
	Milton Hill Farm G.5 (WC 23): infant with adult female, approx. 40 yrs.			
	West Overton G.6b (WC 29): 6 yr old child with adult, poss. Male. (associated with inhumation burial)			
	Winterbourne Stoke G.39 (WC 35): neonate with adult (age and sex unidentified)			
		Earl's Farm Down G.71 (WC 6 & 7): 10-12 yr old & 8-9 yr old		

County	Child associated with single adult (cremation)	Double child cremation	Multiple cremation deposit involving +2 individuals	Other
		Avebury bell-barrow G.55 (WC 10 & 11): 10-12 yr old & child less than 1 yr		
			Winterbourne Stoke G.38 (WC 34-36): minimum number of individuals = 5 (1 neonate, 1 4-5 month old, 1 adolescent and 2 adults)	
				Boscombe flat grave (WC 12): cremation of 2-4 yr old associated with multiple deposit of unburnt skeletal remains (6 individuals: 3 adult males, 1 male adolescent or young adult, 2 children)
				Cow Down Group G.11 (WC 15): cremation of young person associated with inhumation of 6yr old child
				Durrington Down ring ditch (WC 20): cremation of 5-10 yr old associated with inhumation of juvenile

County	Child associated with single adult (cremation)	Double child cremation	Multiple cremation deposit involving +2 individuals	Other
Dorset	Moordown (WC 54): 7 yr old child with 18-20 yr old adult (sex unidentified)			
		Latch Farm Urnfield (WC 56 & 57): cremation of two children within Collared Urn		
Hampshire	Hinton Ampner (WC 40): 18 mth old child with adult (age and sex unidentified)			
			Thorness (WC 51): 12 yr old child associated with 2 adults; a young adult, poss. female and another adult	
			Mockbeggar Lane (WC 42-47): 6 children, ranging in age from neonate to 11-13 yrs associated with 6 adults; four adult males and two possible adult females	

Table 7.23
Summary of number of child cremation burials in Wessex associated with other individuals

Association	Wiltshire	Dorset	Hampshire
Adult & child	5	1	1
2 children	2	1	0
Multiple individuals	1	0	2
Associated with inhumations	3	0	1
Total	11	2	4

Table 7.24
Summary of organic containers associated with Wessex child cremations

Form of organic container	Site	Burial summary
Bag	Snail Down bell barrow, G.8, Collingbourne Kingston, Wiltshire (WC 18)	Cremated bone of possible child (cremation no. 8). Compacted cylindrical deposit of burnt bones within possible bag at base of upright Collared Urn.
Bag	Net Down Group, bowl barrow G.5f, Shrewton, Wiltshire (WC 24)	Principal interment of cremation of child or adolescent within elongated grave pit. Compact conical deposit of cremated bone at east edge of pit. Well-defined edges of deposit suggest former presence of organic bag.
Bag	Overton Hill Group, bowl barrow G.6b, West Overton, Wiltshire (WC 30)	Cremated bones of a 6-year-old child and an adult ?male buried in an organic container, possibly a skin bag. This cremation had been buried within early grave filling of the principal burial: crouched inhumation of adult male c.40 yrs.
Bag	Blake's Firs cemetery & cairn, Allington, Wiltshire (WC 3)	Cleaned and smashed cremated bone of 10-12-year-old child within pit (cremation no.8). Flexible bag of woven textile or animal skin inferred from compacted bun-shaped deposit of bones. On top of bones was a bronze awl which may have been used to fasten the bag.
Bag (woven)	Bowl barrow G.44, Eweleze Barn Barrow Group, Dorset (WC 68)	Secondary cremation of a 5-year-old-child contained within a Collared Urn. The burnt bones within or wrapped by a woven bag, fragments of which were preserved.

Form of organic container	Site	Burial summary
Basketwork sling (carbonised)	Overton Hill Group, bowl barrow G.6b, West Overton, Wiltshire (WC 29)	Cleaned burnt bones of a 3-year-old child buried in an upright Collared Urn within cylindrical chalk-cut pit. Traces of a carbonised basketwork sling or basket were observed down the sides of the pit and across the floor.
Hollowed timber coffin	Cow Down Group, bowl barrow, Collingbourne Ducis, Wiltshire (WC 16)	Possible principal cremation of young person within a hollowed tree trunk. Presence of timber coffin indicated by impression of tree bark on pit sides.
Organic pit lining or container	Snail Down pond barrow, G.6c, Collingbourne Ducis, Wiltshire (WC 14)	Cremated bone of young child within pit 3. Bone was fairly scattered within pit but thin dark staining between the edge of pit and cremation suggested the former presence of an organic lining or container
Shallow wooden box?	Bell Barrow G.55, Avebury, Wiltshire (WC 10 & 11)	Secondary cremation of two children (10-12 years and less than 1 year) within an oblong pit. The bones were concentrated in an oblong mass as though they had been deposited in a shallow box
Form unknown	Durrington Downs Round Barrow, Wiltshire (WC 20)	Cremation of a 5-10-year-old child accompanying the crouched inhumation of a juvenile (WI 36). Cremation in closely defined area suggesting it may have been deposited within an organic container

Table 7.25
Ceramic vessels associated with child cremations in Wessex

Site	Burial summary	No. of pots	Position	Type	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)
Earls Farm Down G.72a, Wiltshire (WC 5)	Primary cremation of an immature individual	1	Inverted	Unknown.	?	?
Earls Farm Down G.71, Wiltshire (WC 6 & 7)	Secondary cremation of two children: 14-18 years and 8-9 years	1	Inverted	Enlarged Food Vessel	?	?
Amesbury twin bell-barrow, G.44, Wiltshire (WC 8)	Possible primary burial of 13-14 year old child, ?female	1	Unknown	Enlarged Food Vessel	No dimensions recorded (lost)	
Barrow G55, Avebury, Wiltshire (WC 9)	Primary burial of 9-12 month old child and adult	?2	Removed	Collared urn. Type not assigned (Longworth 1984, 283, no.1643).	?	?
			Beside cremation	Bipartite accessory vessel	56	
Cow Down bowl barrow G.11, Wiltshire (WC 15)	Cremation of a young person, ?child within urn at the feet of the inhumation of a 6 year old child	1	On its side	Collared urn. Primary series, form I/IV (Longworth, 285, no. 1672)	203	163
Snail Down saucer barrow G.6, Wiltshire (WC 17)	Secondary cremation of ?female adolescent, with possible trepanned skull	1	Upright	Vase Food Vessel	Fragmetnary. Dimensions unknown	
Snail Down bell barrow G.8, Wiltshire (WC 18)	Secondary cremation of a child (age and sex unidentified)	1	Upright	Collared Urn. Secondary series, Form IV (Longworth 1984, no. 1673.)	452	343

Site	Burial summary	No. of pots	Position	Type	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)
Snail Down bell barrow G.8, Wiltshire (WC 19)	Secondary cremation of a 1.5-2 year old child	3	Upright	Collared Urn. Secondary Series, South Eastern Style, Form I/II (Longworth 1984, no. 1674)	291	214
			On side: used to wedge large urn	Collared Urn. Secondary Series, South Eastern Style, Form 1A (Longworth 1984, no 1674)	89	87
			On side: used to wedge large urn	Bipartite accessory vessel	104	87
Batt's Meadow, Grafton, Wiltshire (WC 21)	Infant cremation found in 'ancient ditch'	2	on its side	Collared urn. Secondary Series, Form IV. (Longworth 1984, 286. no 1684)	150	135
				Biconical, double perforated, incense cup	38	
Milton Hill Farm G.5, Wiltshire (WC 23)	Primary cremation of infant and adult female, c.40 years.	1	Inverted	Collared Urn. Secondary series, form I/IV (Longworth 1984, 287, no 1692	425	297
Net Down disc barrow G.5g, Wiltshire (WC 26)	Secondary cremation of a child	1	Upright	Collared Urn; fragmentary (Longworth 1984, 288, no. 1703)	Damaged. Dimensions unknown	
Net down bowl barrow G.23, Wiltshire (WC 27)	Satellite burial of 5-10 year old child	1	Inverted	Vase Food Vessel	184	224
Castle Barrow, Upton Lovell G.3, Wiltshire (WC 28)	'child'	1		Unknown. 'Cinerary Urn', badly crushed	Damaged. Dimensions unknown	

Site	Burial summary	No. of pots	Position	Type	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)
West Overton G6b, Wiltshire (WC 29)	Secondary cremation of 3 year old child	1	Upright	Collared Urn. Primary series , Form IA (Longworth 1984, 289. No. 1714)	222	203
Lake group barrow G.38, Wiltshire (WC 31)	Satellite secondary cremation of infant	1	Upright	Collared Urn. Secondary series, South Eastern Style, Form BII (Longworth 1984, 289, No. 1718)	145	129.5
Lake group barrow G.38, Wiltshire (WC 32)	Secondary cremation of child or young person	1	Inverted	Collared Urn. Secondary Series, Form IA (Longworth 1984, 289, No 1719).	c178	119
Easton Down G.21, Winterslow, Wiltshire (WC 37)	Cremation of 8 year old child	1	On its side, mouth to the east	Collared Urn. Secondary series, south eastern style, form II (Longworth 1984, 291, No. 1739).	330	249
Choseley Farm, Hampshire (WC 49)	Flat grave containing cremation of 8-9 year old child	1		Enlarged Food Vessel	328	285
Stockbridge Down, Hampshire (WC 50)	Secondary cremation of child c.15 years-of-age.	1	Inverted	Collared Urn. Secondary Series, Form II (Longworth 1984, 203, no. 638, pl.209b)	396.2	292.1
Thorness, Hampshire (WC 51)	Cremation of child and young adult. Fragments of a second adult present.	1	inverted	Collared Urn. Secondary Series, Form IA	292	222
Buckham Down, Beaminster, Dorset (WC 53)	Possible secondary cremation of child	1	inverted	Collared Urn. No type assigned (Longworth 1984, 181, no 359)	228	191
Moordown, Dorset (WC 54)	Isolated burial of a 7 year old child and adult, 18-20 years.	1	inverted	Collared Urn. Primary Series, Form IA (Longworth 1984, 183, no 381, pl.43a)	368	305
St Catherine's Hill, Christchurch, Dorset (WC 55)	Secondary cremation of 'youth'	2	Inverted	Collared Urn. Primary Series, Form II (Longworth 1984, 184, Pl 178a)	235 (Surv.)	292
				Accessory vessel. Form unclear as upper portion damaged	235 (Surv.)	

Site	Burial summary	No. of pots	Position	Type	Height (mm)	Rim Diam (mm)
Latch Farm Urnfield, Christchurch, Dorset (WC 56 & 57)	Cremation of two children. Unclear if primary or secondary	1	upright	Collared Urn. Secondary Series, Form IA (Longworth 1984, 185, No 400, pl 228e)	208	157
Latch Farm, Christchurch, Dorset (WC 58)	Cremation of infant, contemporary with primary burials but not principal	1		Vase Food Vessel	96	105
Crouch Hill round barrow, Christchurch, Dorset (WC 59)	Secondary cremation of 5 year old child	1	Inverted	Collared Urn. Secondary series, South-eastern Style, Form Bi (Cunliffe 1987, 47)	182	155
High Lea Farm, Dorset (WC 60)	Secondary cremation of a possible neonate	1	Upright	Unknown. Damaged	100 (Surv)	
Knighton Heath Cemetery, Poole, Dorset (WC 64)	?Principal cremation of immature indivdual	1		Biconical Urn with two lugs	335	245
Smedmore Hill, Steeple, Dorset (WC 65)	Flat grave containing cremation of young child	1	Inverted	Collared Urn. Type not assigned (Longworth 1984, 187, no 429, pl.210c)	102 (Surv)	?
Keynston Down, Tarrent Keynston, Dorset (WC 66)	Cremation of child, unclear if primary or secondary burial.	1		Handled haematite burnished vase (Tomalin 1988)	c190.5	?
Crichel and Launceston Down G.3, Dorset (WC 67)	Possible primary cremation of 12-14 year old	1	Inverted	Collared Urn. Secondary Series, Form IA (Longworth 1984, 188, no 442, pl178f)	122 (Surv)	?
Bowl Barrow (G.44), Eweleaze Barn Barrow Group, Dorset (WC 68)	Secondry cremation of a child c.5 years of age	1	Inverted	Collared Urn. Secondary Series, Form IA (Longworth 1984, 193, no. 509, pl 193c)	363	?
Rowbarrow, Winterbourne Stickland, Dorset (WC 69)	Primary cremation of 12-14 year old child, possibly female	1	Inverted	Possible collared urn. Described as an early british urn (see Smart 1891)	381	?

Table 7.26
Orientation of Collared Urns (as containers for cremation burial)

Orientation	Wiltshire	Dorset	Hampshire
Inverted	2	7	2
Upright	5	1	
On side	3		
Unknown	1		

Table 7.27
Summary of accessory vessels accompanying child cremations in Wessex

Site Name	Burial summary	Total number of pots	Number of accompanying vessels	Position of accompanying vessel	Form of accessory vessel	Height (mm)	Diam mouth (mm)	Diam base (mm)	Max. Diam (mm)
Bell barrow G.55, Avebury, Wiltshire (WC 9)	Principal burial (cremation I): 9-12 mth child and adult. Evidence of disturbance suggests cremation had originally been within Collared Urn. Accompanying the cremation was a bipartite accessory vessel and a small suite of grave goods	?2	1	Beside cremated bones at base of pit	Bipartite vessel (damaged)	56			89
Snail Down bell barrow G.8, Wiltshire (WC 19)	Secondary cremation of 1.5-2 year old child. Cremated bones were contained within an upright collared urn. Two accessory vessels appear to have been used to prop up urn. Evidence of disturbance after burial.	3	2	On side: used to wedge large collared urn containing cremation	Miniature Collared Urn conforming to Longworth's Secondary Series, South Eastern Style, Form 1A	89	87	54	
				On side: used to wedge large collared urn containing cremation	Bipartite vessel	104	87	73	
Batt's Meadow, Grafton, Wiltshire (WC 21)	Isolated burial comprising cremation of infant contained in collared urn	2	1	Within collared urn	Biconical, double perforated, incense cup	38			58
St Catherine's Hill, Christchurch, Dorset (WC 55)	Secondary cremation of a 'youth' contained within collared urn.	2	1	Within collared urn	Form unclear. Undecorated base of small pot	19 (surv)			44 mm

Table 7.28
Beads associated with children's cremations in Wessex

Quantity	Form	Material	Colour	Condition
Easton Down long cairn, Wiltshire (Stone 1934, pl 2; Woodward et al 2005, 51; Figure 6.29A)				
1	Segmented (6 segments)	Faience	Turquoise blue	Broken in antiquity
1	Barrel-shaped, elliptical in section	Amber	Red/orange	broken in antiquity; worn
2	Barrel-shaped	Amber	Red/orange	Unknown
2	Biconical	Jet	Black	Fresh, no evidence of extensive wear
1	Biconical	Jet	Black	General wear
1	Biconical	Jet	Black	Worn around perforations
Amesbury G.55, cremation I, Wiltshire (Smith 1965, 29-30, fig.3; Figure 6.29B)				
3	Thick disc-shaped beads, centrally perforated	Fossil encrinite	Light grey/white	No information
?1	Spherical, centrally perforated	Chalk	White/creamy white	Deteriorated
1	Flat perforated toggle	Horn or bone	White/creamy white	Tip missing, cracked, with some surface damage. Unclear if burnt or unburnt.
Snail Down saucer barrow, Wiltshire (Thomas 2005, 54, K1-7; Stone 2005; Figure 6.29C)				
1	Dumbell-shaped pendant bead. V-perforation drilled through body nearer to one end.	Jet or jet-like material	Black/dark brown or grey	Unweathered; good polish remaining
3	Short biconical	Jet	Black	Slightly weathered
1	Flattened globular bead	Amber	Red/orange	Heavily weathered
1	Globular bead	Stone (originally identified as amber)	creamy white	Broken
1	Segmented (5 segments)	Faience	Turquoise blue	Complete but in fragments; surfaces glassy
Blake's Fir, Easton Down, Wiltshire (Ride 2001, 167-8, figs 7 & 8; Figure 6.29D)				
1	Barrel-shaped, biconically perforated bead	Shale	Black/dark brown or grey	Misaligned perforation. No information on wear
1	Quoit bead (small)	Sandstone or ceramic	Colour unknown: light	Complete; no information on wear
1	Quoit bead (large)	Sandstone or ceramic	Colour unknown: dark	Complete; no information on wear

Quantity	Form	Material	Colour	Condition
1	Cylindrical bead	Fossil belemnite	Light grey/white	Complete; no information on wear
Amesbury twin bell barrow G.44, Wiltshire (Stuckley Stonehenge, 44; Hoare 1812, 161; Goddard 1914, 168-9; Piggott 1938, 103)				
?	Segmented beads	Faience	Turquoise blue	Burnt (lost)
?	plates'. Spacer plates?	Amber	Red/orange	Burnt (lost)
?	Beads, form unknown	Amber	Red/orange	Burnt (lost)
1	Stud	Amber	Red/orange	Burnt (lost)
?	Perforated beads, various size and shape	earth'	White/creamy white	Burnt (lost)
?	Conical buttons	Shale	Black/dark brown or grey	Burnt (lost)
1	Conical button or disc	Shale or amber with gold-leaf cover	Lusterous yellow	Burnt (lost)?
Stockbridge Down, Hampshire (Stone and Gray Hill 1940, fig 2; Figure 6.29E)				
2	Annular	Calcite	light orange	Semi-transparent; no information on wear
1	Segmented (7 segments)	Faience	Turquoise blue	Glaze degraded (post-deposition?)
1	Segmented (6 segments)	Faience	Turquoise blue	Glaze degraded (post-deposition?)
2	Segmented (small)	Faience	Turquoise blue	1 incomplete and 1 fragment
1	Small barrel-shaped	Jet	Black	No information on wear
1	Elongated barrel-shaped bead	Lignite	Black/dark brown or grey	No information on wear
94 complete, c.31 incomplete	Disc beads	Lignite	Black/dark brown or grey	Broken during excavation?
1	Quoit bead	Shale	Black/dark brown or grey	No information on wear
1	Small annular bead	Shale	Black/dark brown or grey	No information on wear
1	Short cylindrical bead	Shale or similar material	Black/dark brown or grey	No information on wear
Keynston Down, Tarrent Keynston, Dorset (Warne 1866; Tomalin 1988)				
1	oblong piece (?segmented bead)	dark glass' (?faience)	dark (blue?)	No information. Lost.

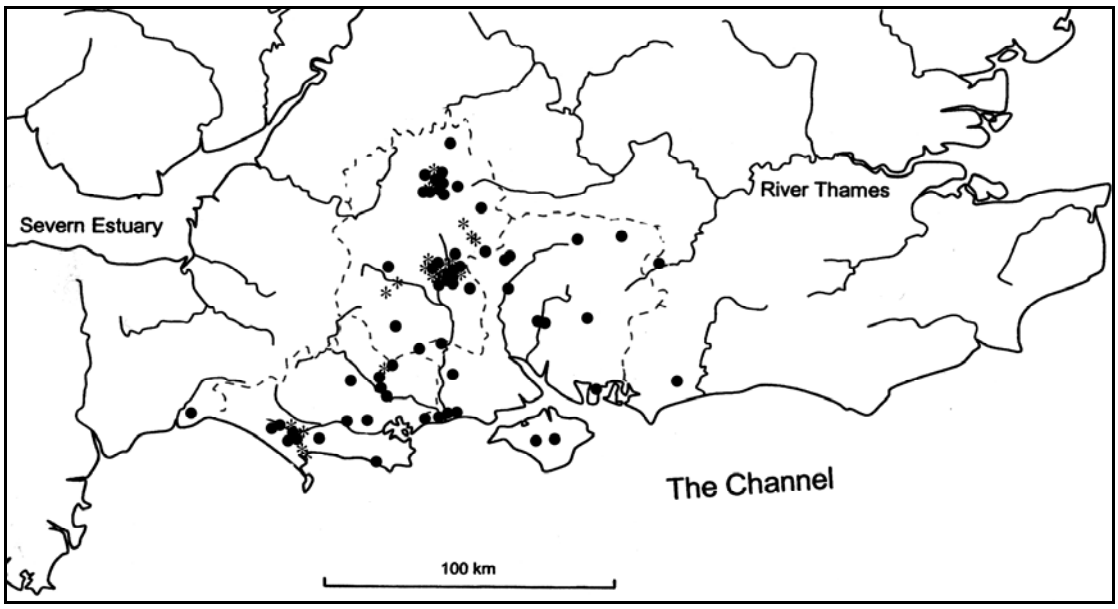


Figure 7.1
Distribution of child burials in Wessex

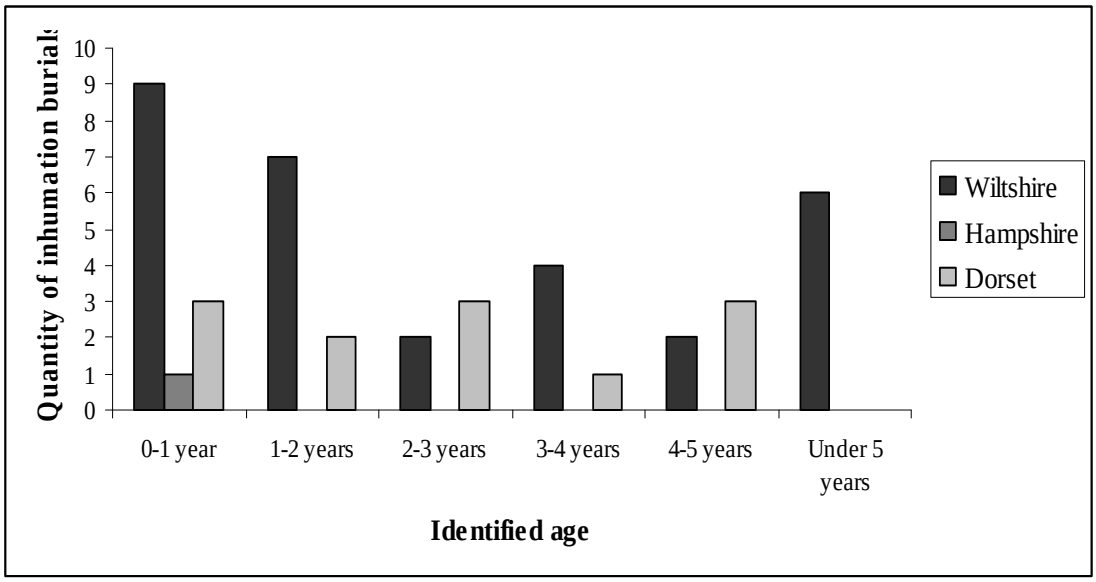


Figure 7.2
Number of young children's burials by age (foetus to five-years-of-age)

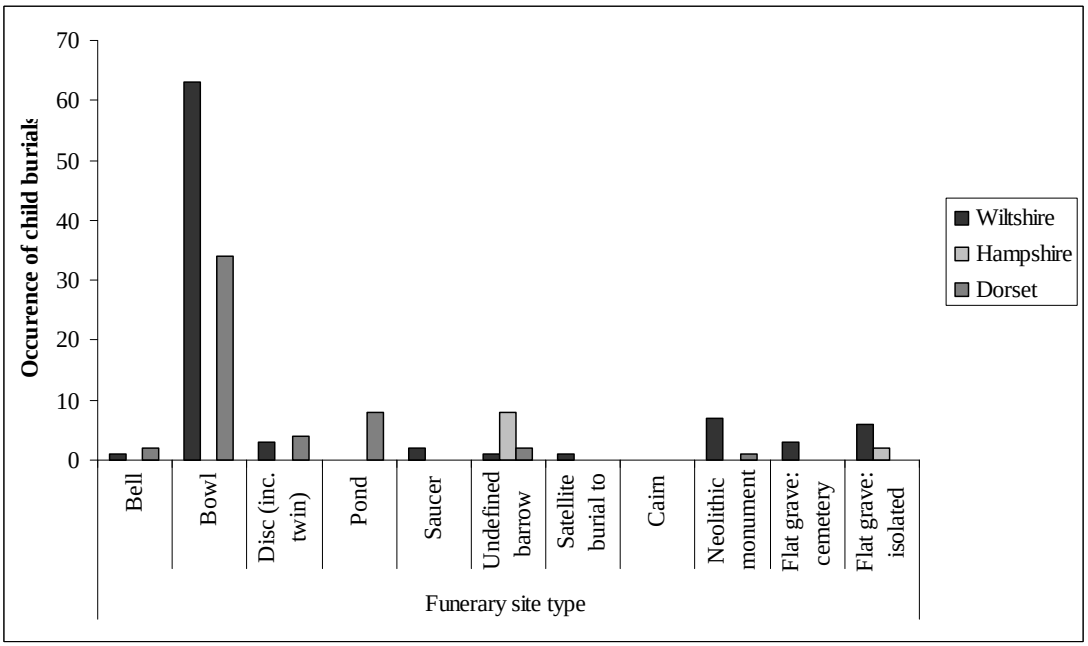


Figure 7.3
Occurrence of children's burials by funerary site type

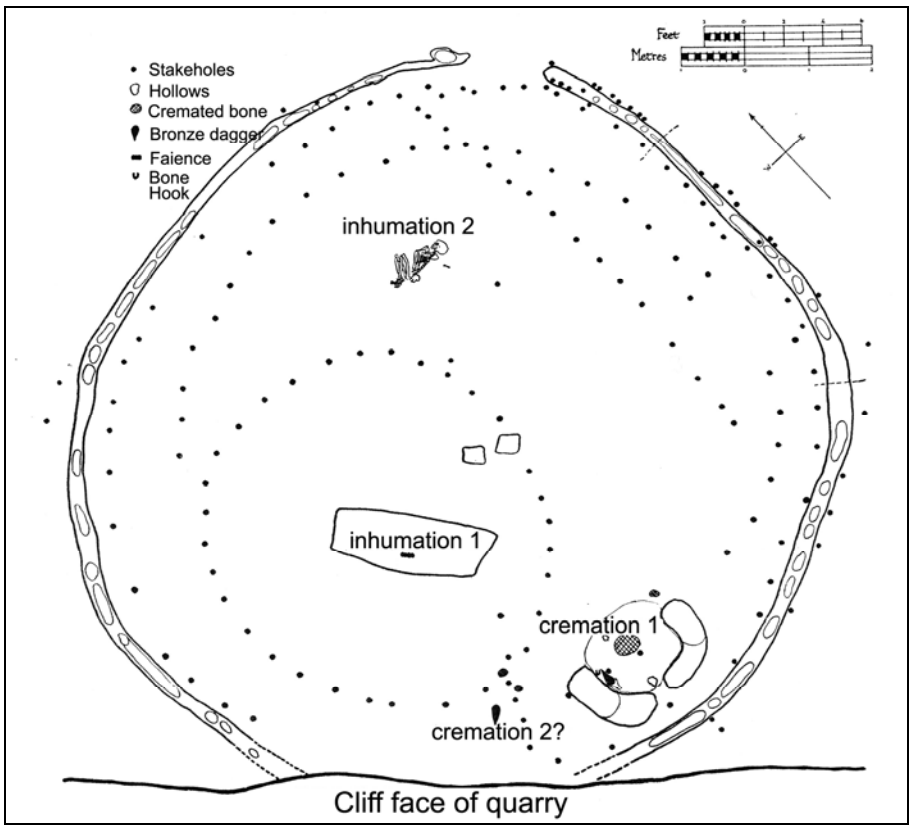


Figure 7.4
Plan of Arreton Down barrow (after Anderson *et al* 1960, fig 2)

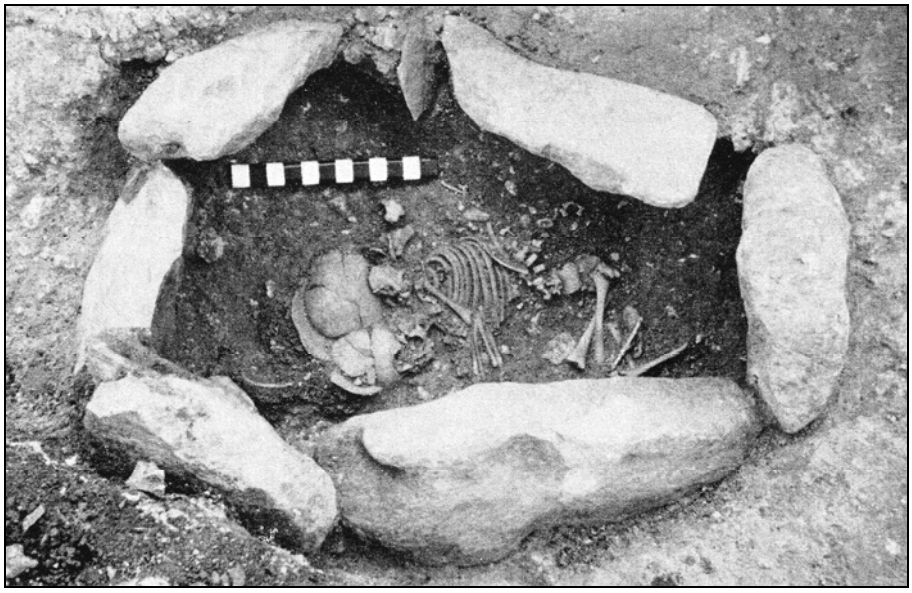


Figure 7.5
Plan of stone short cist containing child inhumation from West Overton G.6b, Wilts. (Smith & Simpson 1966, fig.2)



Figure 7.6
Plan of stone short cist containing child inhumation from Bincombe Barrow 11, Dorset (Payne 1944, pl vi, fig 1)



Figure 7.7
Grave of a 2-year-old child at Barrow Clump, Figheldean, Wilts. (Copyright Jonathan Last)

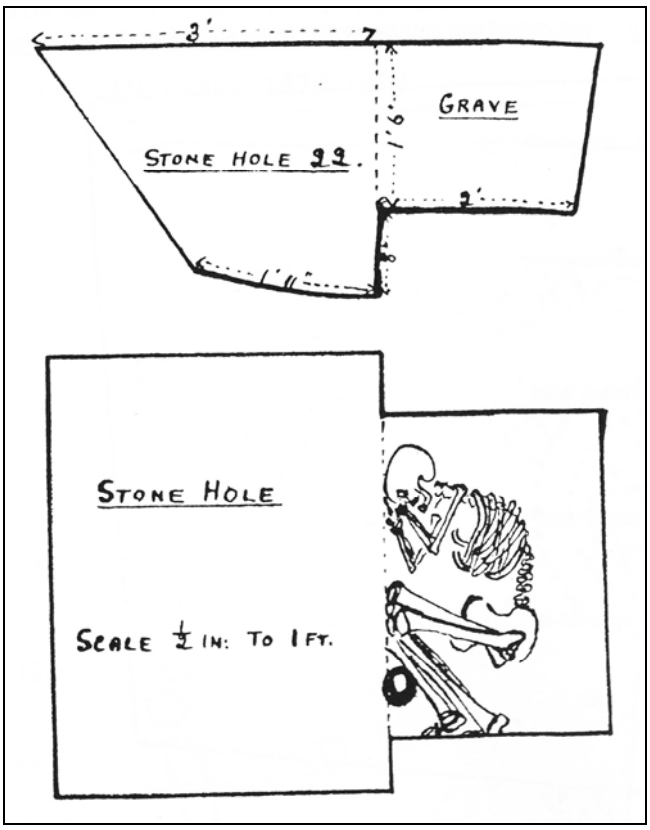


Figure 7.8
Grave of an adolescent at the Sanctuary, Wilts.
(Pitts 2001, fig 4)

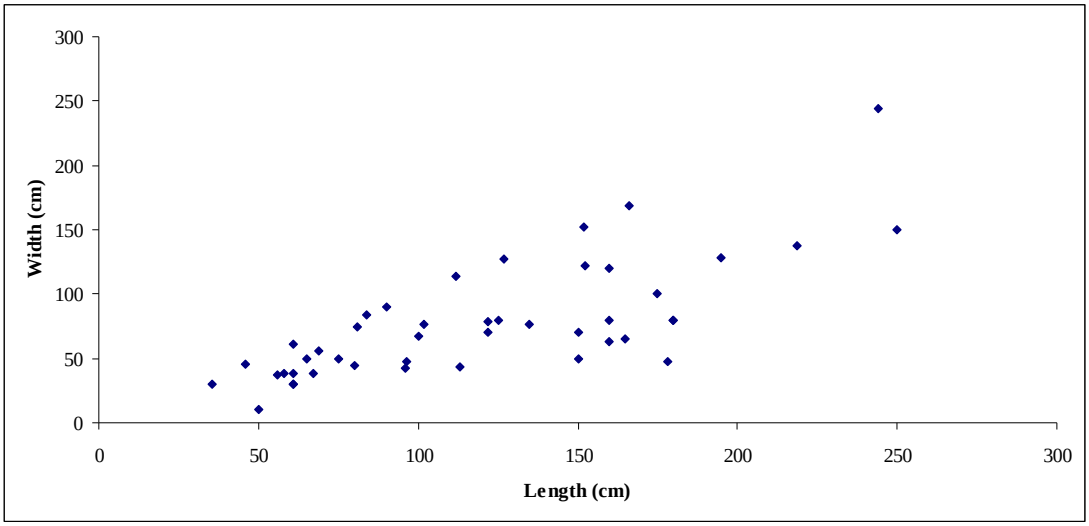


Figure 7.9
Grave dimensions of 45 child inhumations in Wessex. All dimensions quoted in original publication have been converted to centimetres for purposes of comparison.

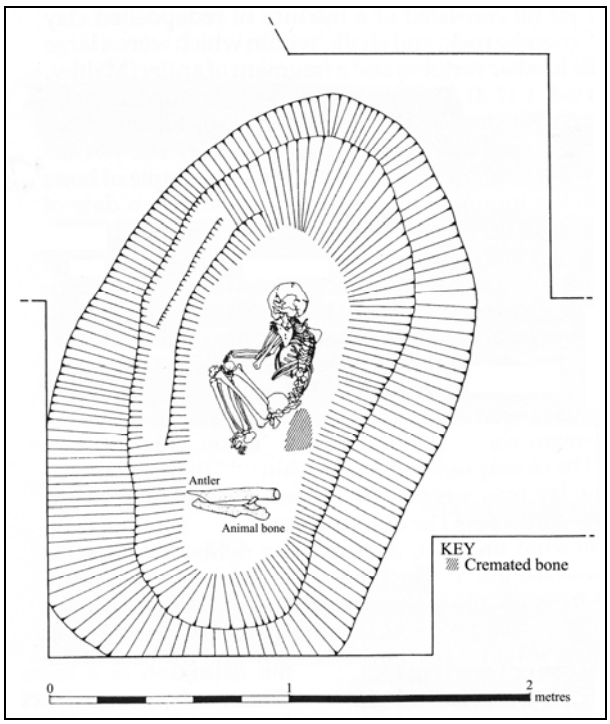


Figure 7.10
Plan of child's grave at Durrington Downs, Wilts.
(after Richards 1990, fig 125)



Figure 7.11
Boscombe Bowmen grave, Wilts.
Copyright Wessex Archaeology

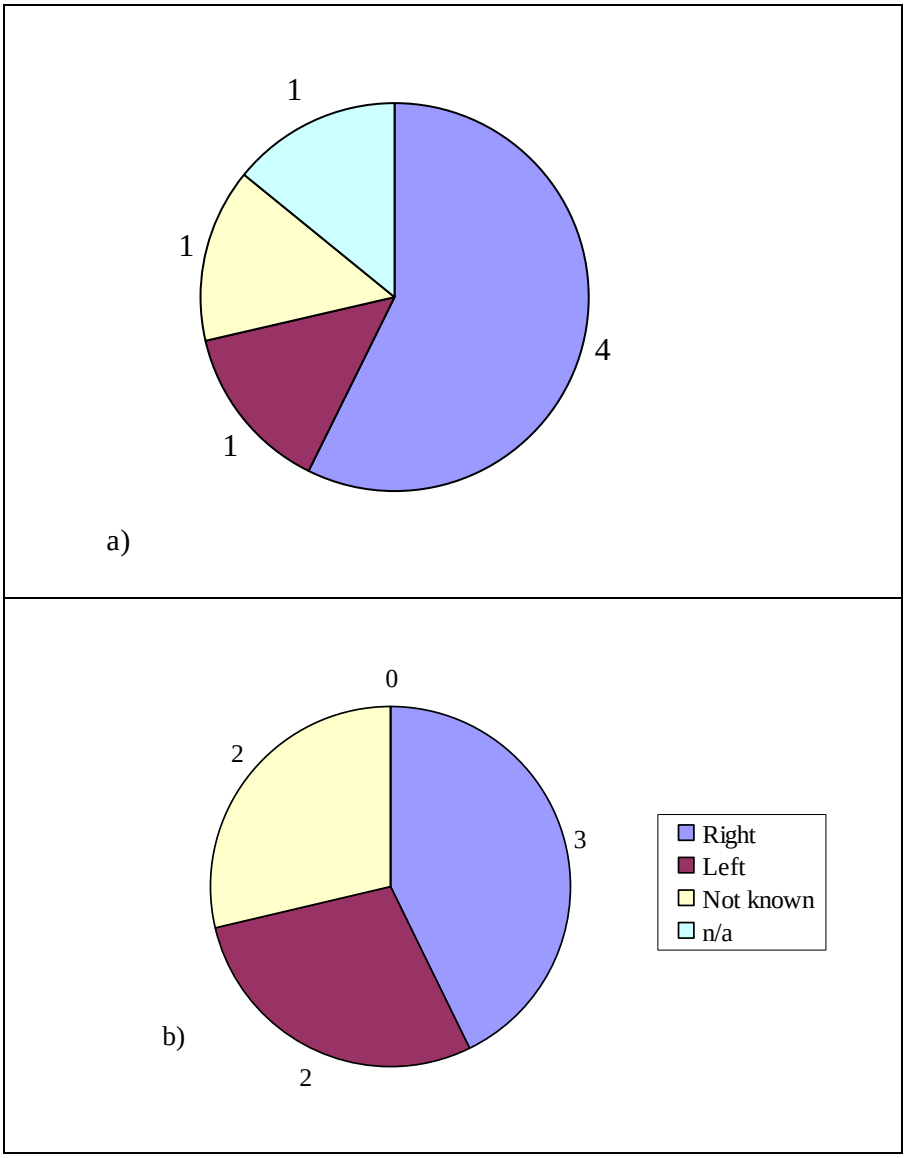


Figure 7.12
a) Placement of female children from Wessex
b) Placement of male children from Wessex

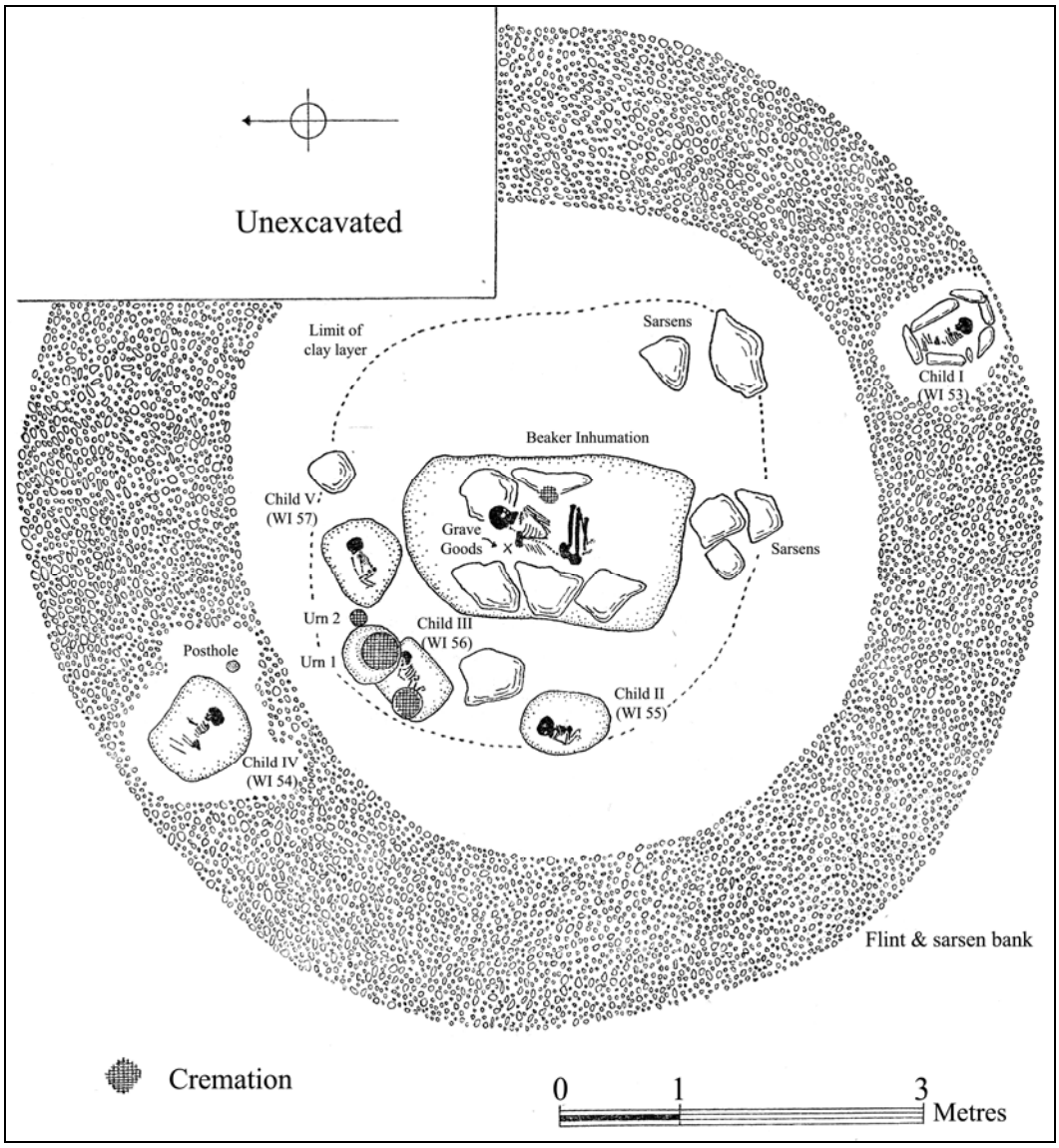


Figure 7.13
Plan of the burials at West Overton G.6b, Wilts.
(after Smith & Simpson 1966, fig 2)

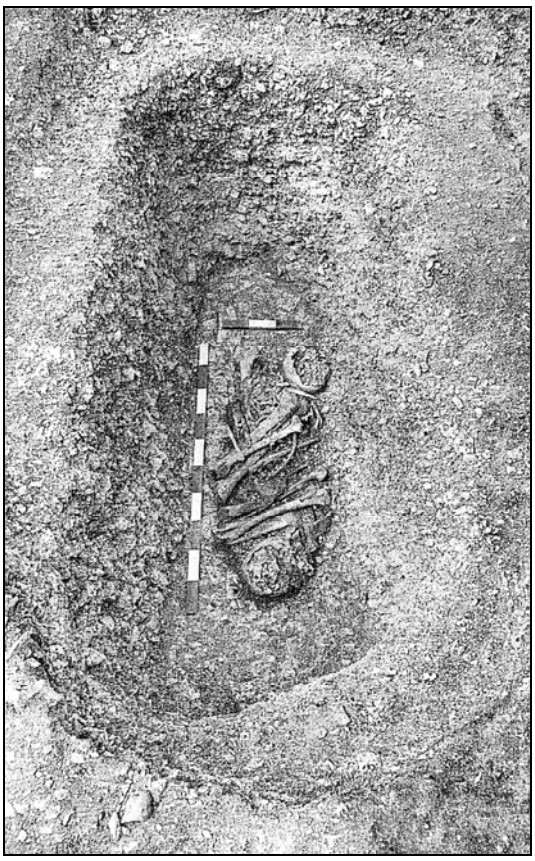


Figure 7.14
A disarticulated burial (Grave 70) from Fordingham Farm (east), Dorset
(Bellamy 1991, pl 4)

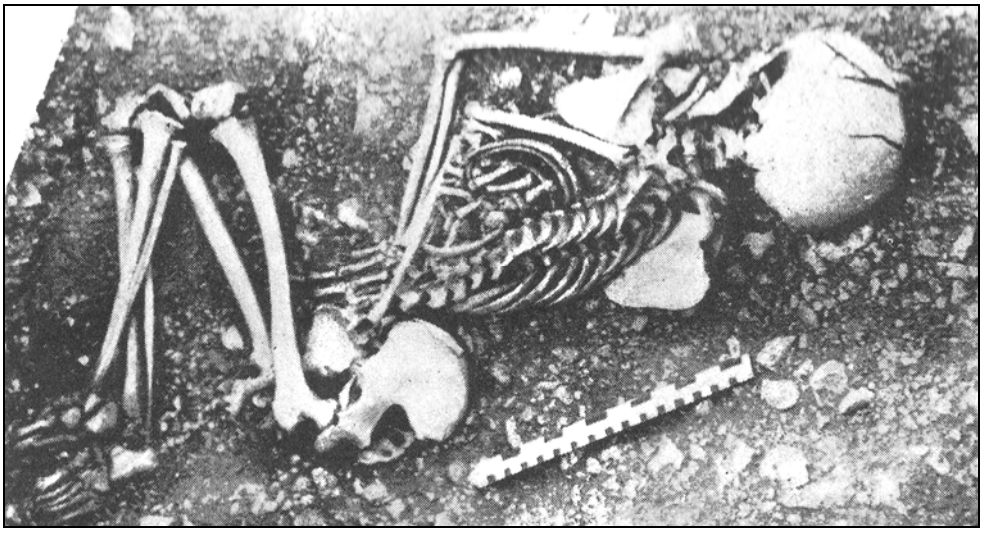


Figure 7.15
Arreton Down adolescent inhumation
(Alexander *et al* 1960, pl xxviib)

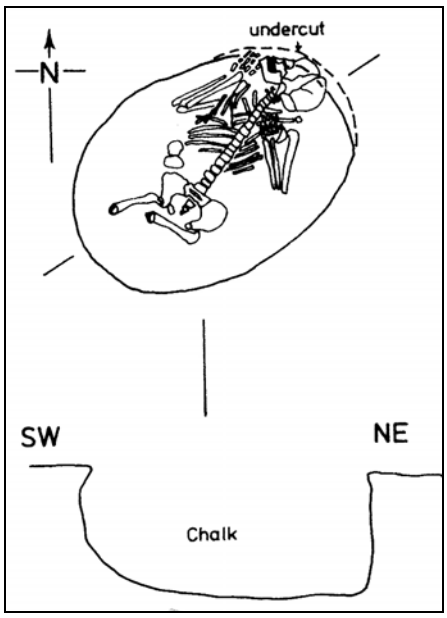


Figure 7.16
Mutilated inhumation burial of a 12-14year old girl from Net Down barrow G.5k
(after Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, fig 11)



Figure 7.17
Child inhumation with missing feet from Kingston Russell G.6n, Dorset
(Bailey 1982, pl vi)



Figure 7.18
Adult inhumation from Rockbourne Down, Hampshire (on left).
The fragmentary pot at the hands of the skeleton held bones of an infant and a pike
(Piggott & Piggott 1947, pl 1)

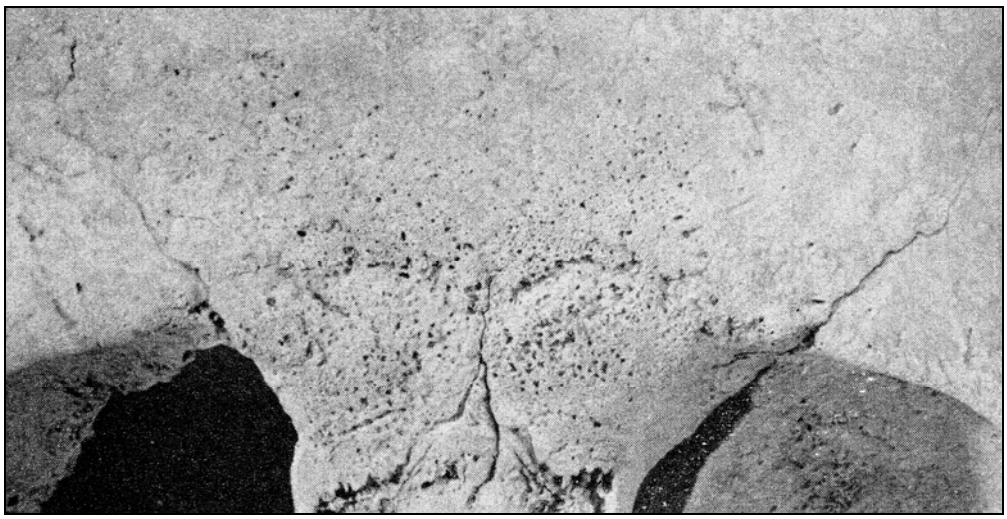


Figure 7.19
Cranial pitting observed on the skull of a 6 month old child at West Overton, Wiltshire
(Smith & Simpson 1966, pl xiv d).



Figure 7.20
Semi-crouched inhumation of a child from Butterfield Down, Amesbury, Wiltshire (Rawlings & Fitzpatrick 1996, pl 1).

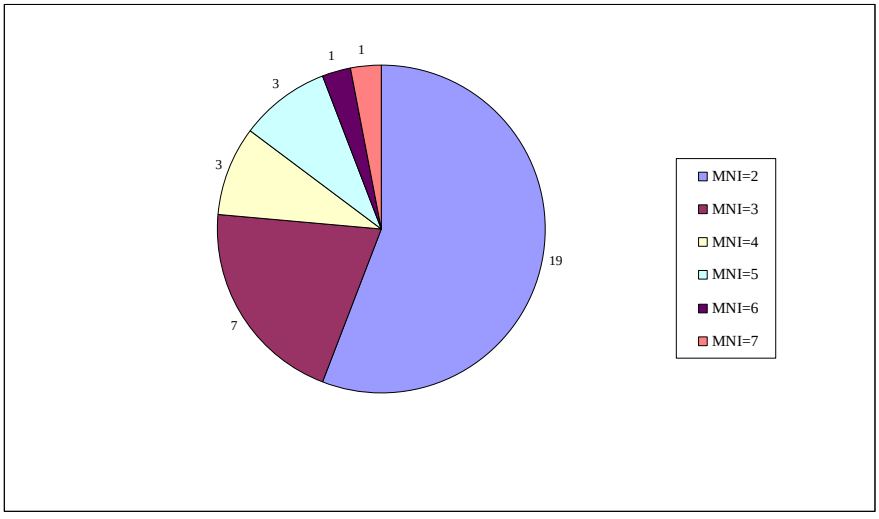


Figure 7.21
Minimum number of individuals (MNI) present within child-associated inhumation burials in Wessex.

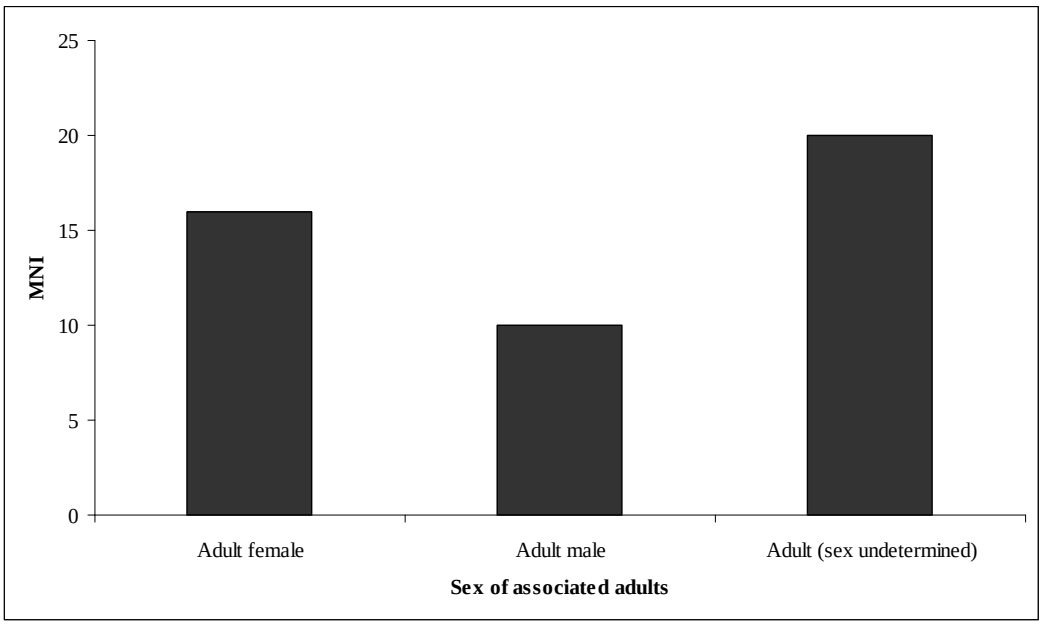


Figure 7.22
Minimum number of associated adult individuals by identified sex.

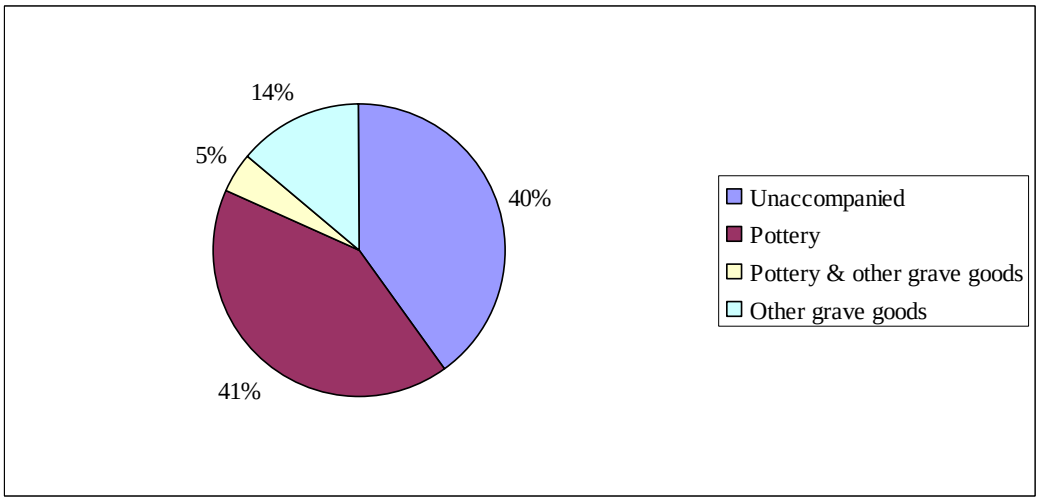


Figure 7.23
Percentage of grave goods associated with children's inhumations

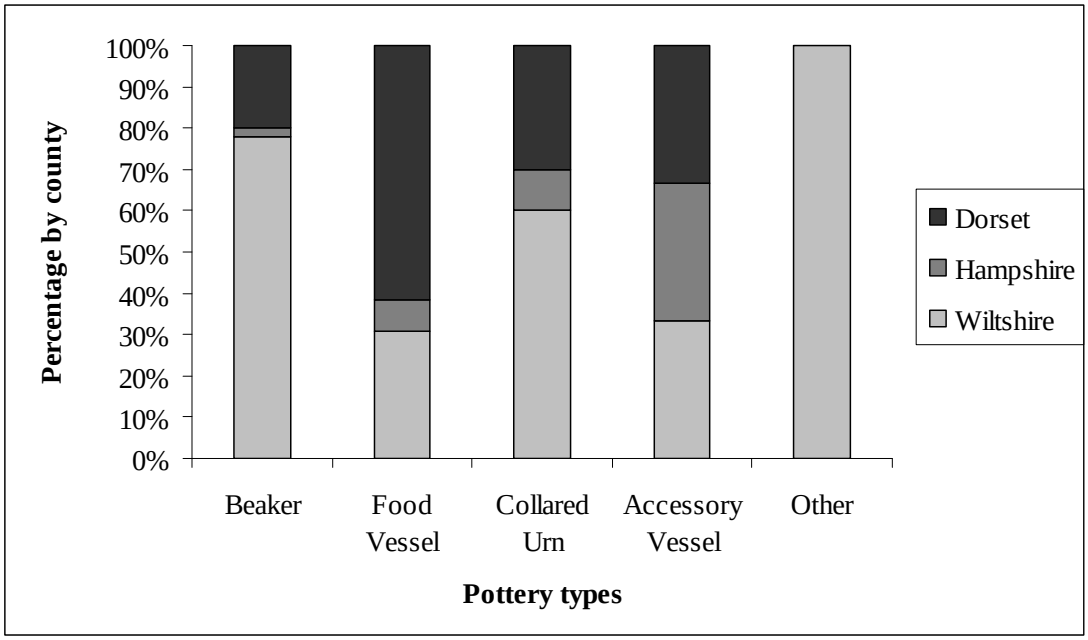


Figure 7.24
Proportion of pottery types associated with children's burials by county

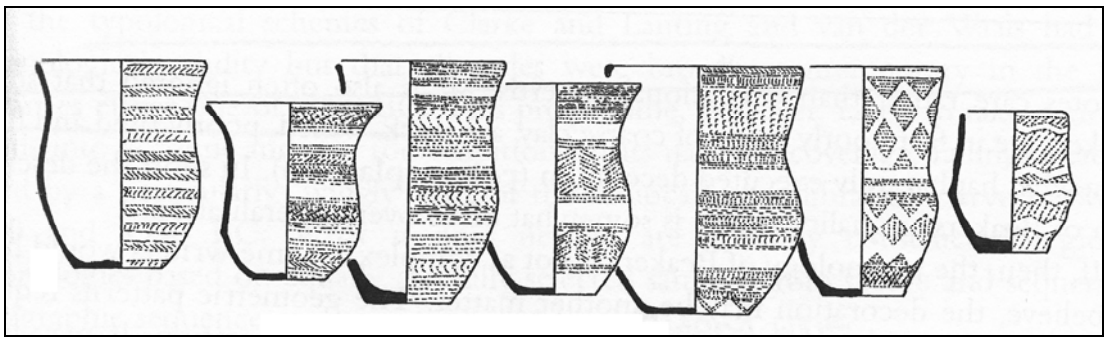


Figure 7.25
Common forms of Wessex Beakers
(after Gibson 2002, fig 42)

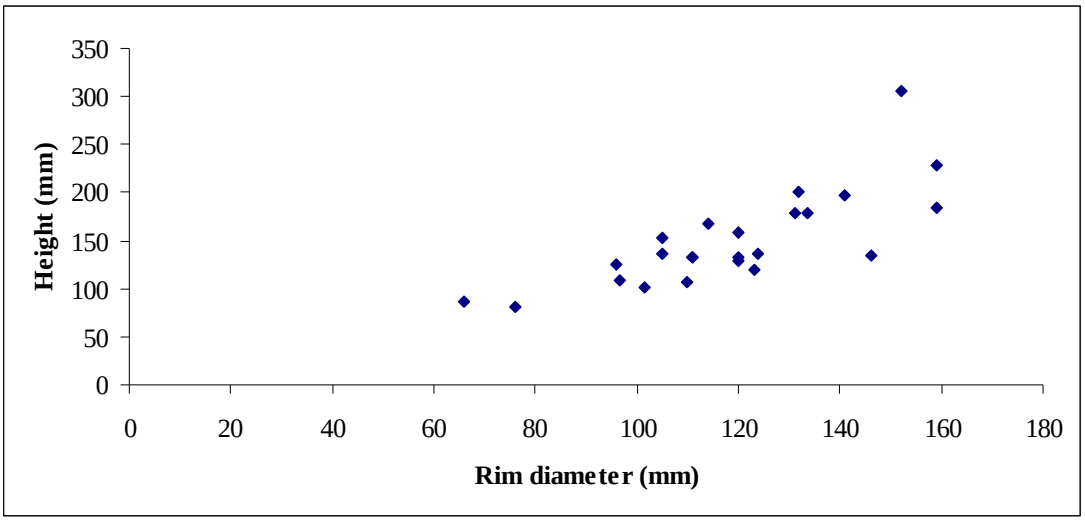


Figure 7.26
Dimensions of Beaker pottery associated with child inhumations in Wessex. Recorded measurements have been converted to millimetres for the purposes of comparison.

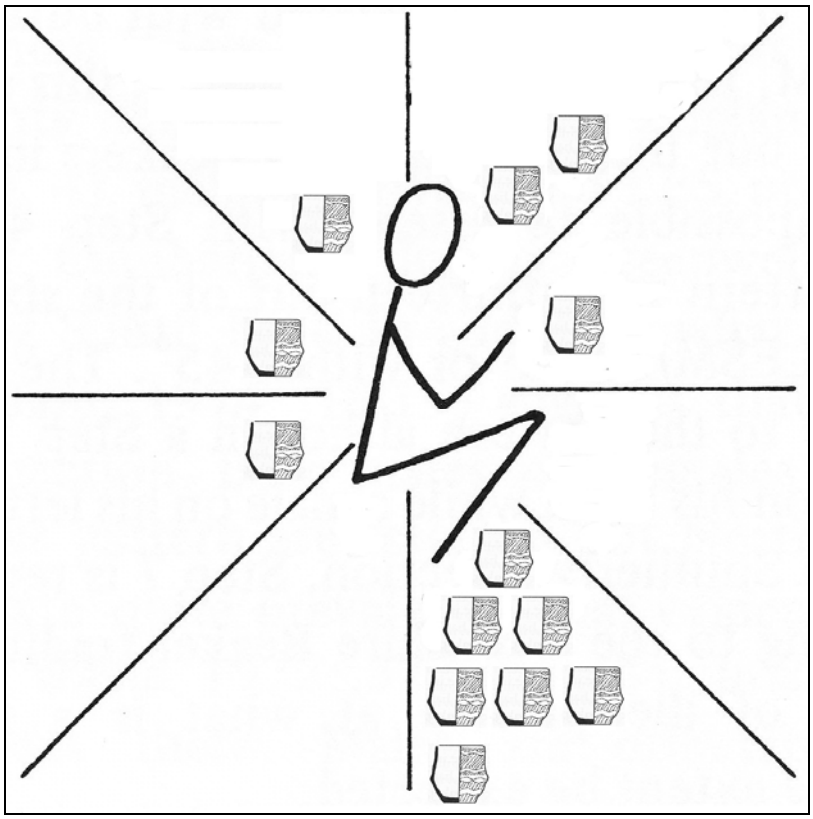


Figure 7.27
Seven locations of associated pottery in relation to the body (after Tuckwell 1975, fig 8).

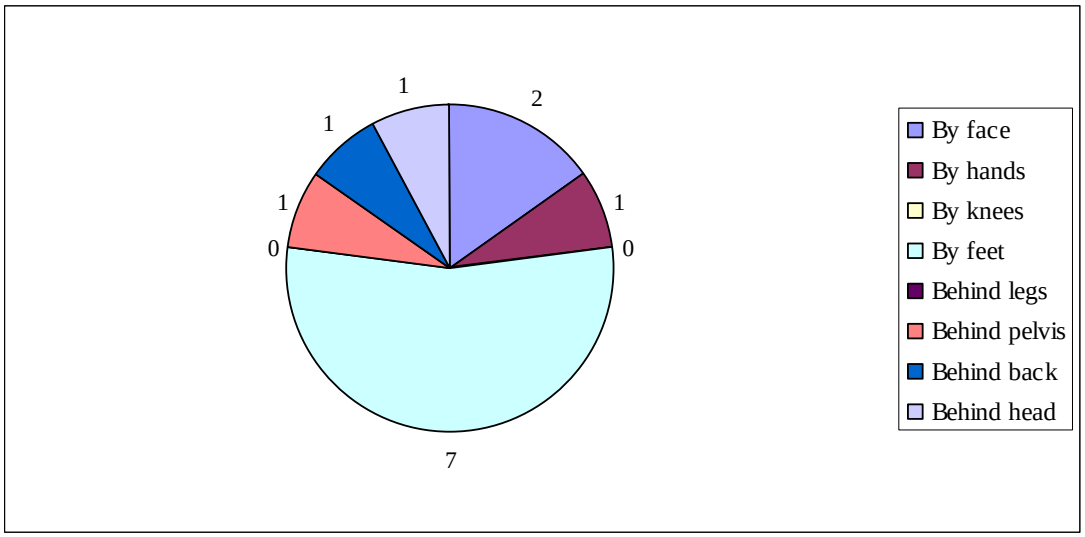


Figure 7.28
Position of Beaker relative to the child's skeleton

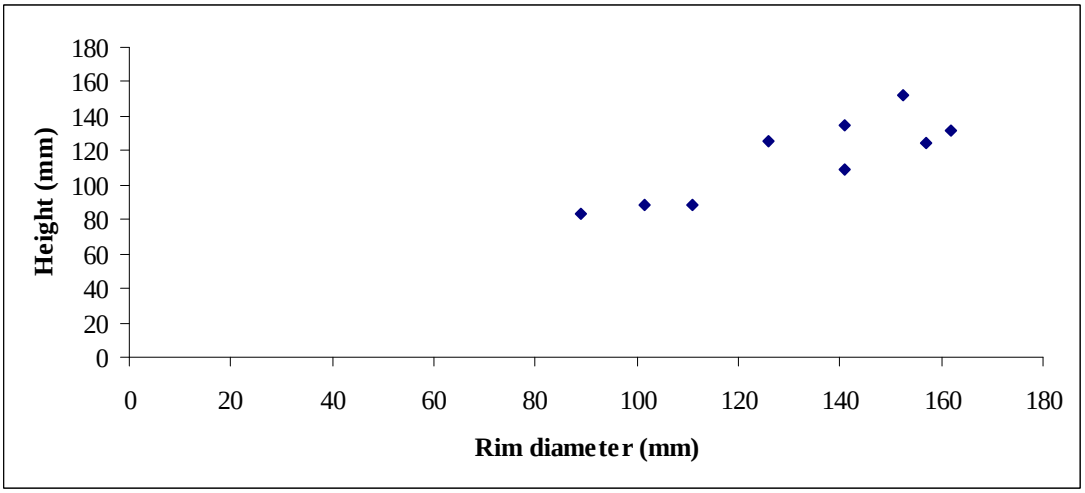


Figure 7.29
Size range of Food Vessels associated with children's inhumations in Wessex



Figure 7.30
An undecorated handled Food Vessel associated with a child at Cow Down barrow G.16, Wilts. *Copyright Wiltshire Heritage Museum*

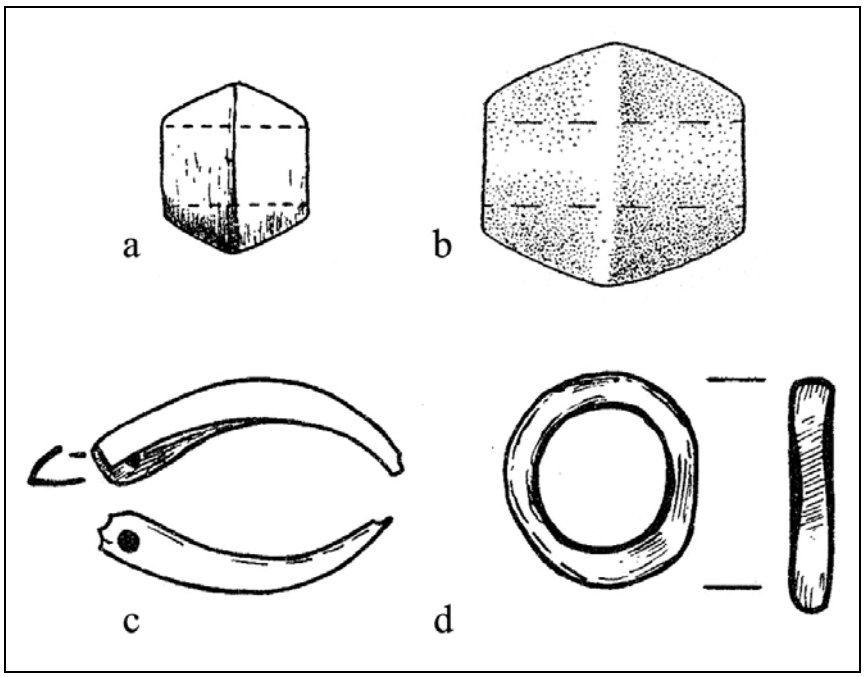


Figure 7.31
A selection of ornaments associated with child inhumations in Wessex (not to scale).
a: shale bead from Cow Down G.16 (after Annable & Simpson 1964, no 498),
b: shale bead from West Overton G6b (after Smith & Simpson 1966, fig 4.2),
c: perforated boars tusk and d: bone ring from Normanton Down
(after Clarke 1970, fig 138).



Figure 7.32
6-10 year-old child from Bincombe, Dorset associated with perforated antler pick (Payne 1944, plate VIII, fig.1)



Figure 7.33
Child inhumation from Earls Farm Down barrow G.71, Wiltshire (WI 11), with organic grave good at back (Christie 1967, pl xxxvi: 4)

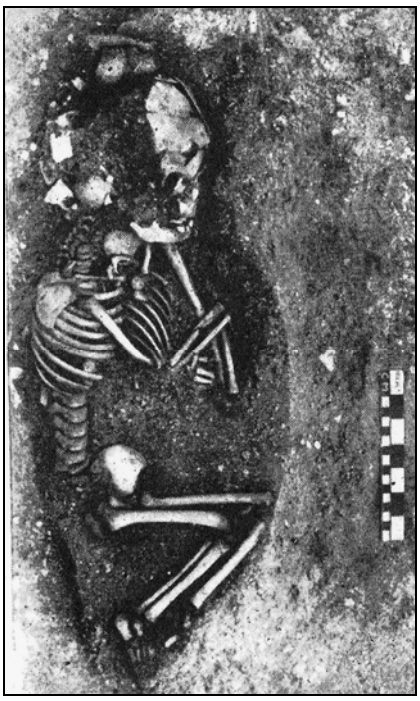


Figure 7.34
Child inhumation from Earls Farm Down barrow G.71, Wilts. (WI 13), with possible organic object in front of body (Christie 1967, pl xxxvi: 3)

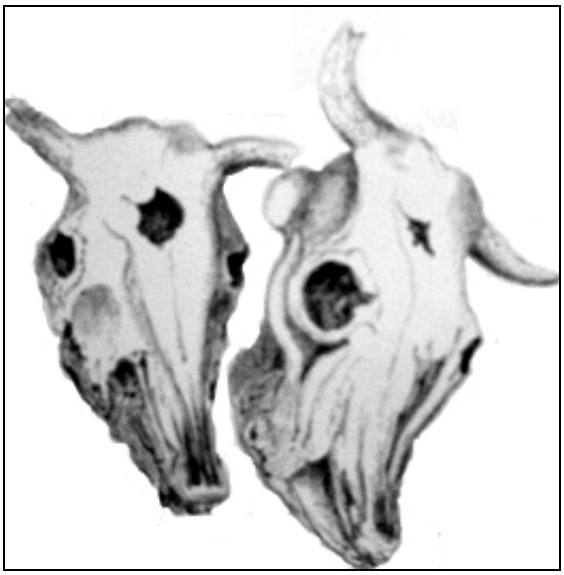


Figure 7.35
Poleaxed bovine crania associated with two infant skeletons at Amesbury G.22, Wiltshire (after Hoare 1912, 199)

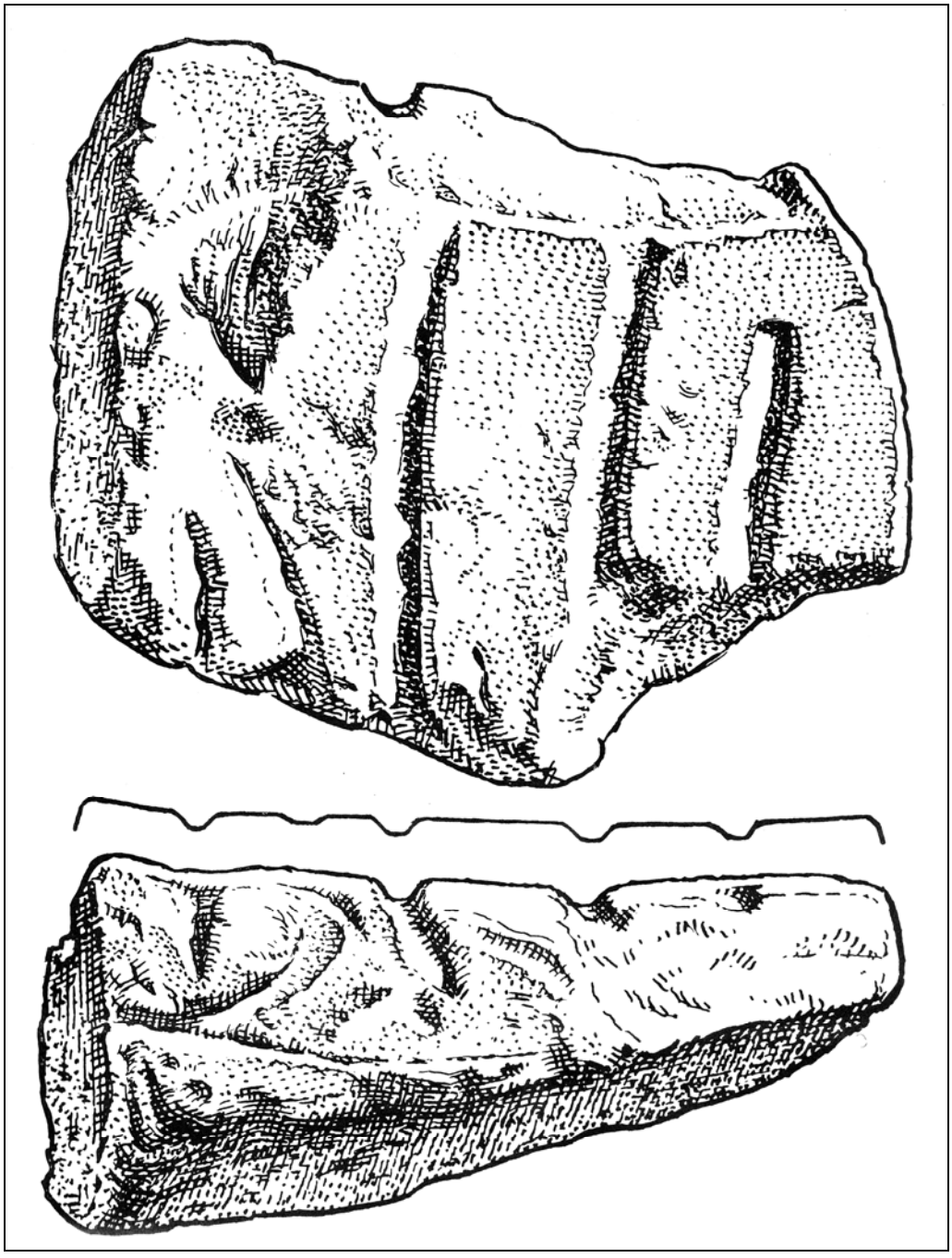


Figure 7.36
A carved chalk block associated with a child at Beckhampton, Wiltshire
(Young 1950, fig 2)

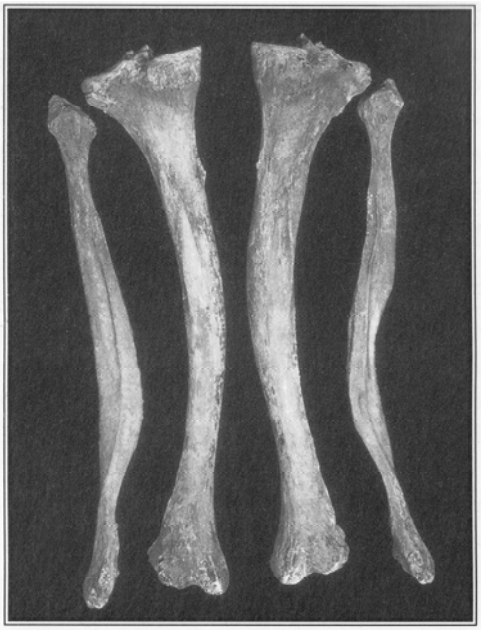


Figure 7.37
An example of deformation of the long bones due to rickets from a medieval burial (Roberts & Cox 2003, fig 6.6).

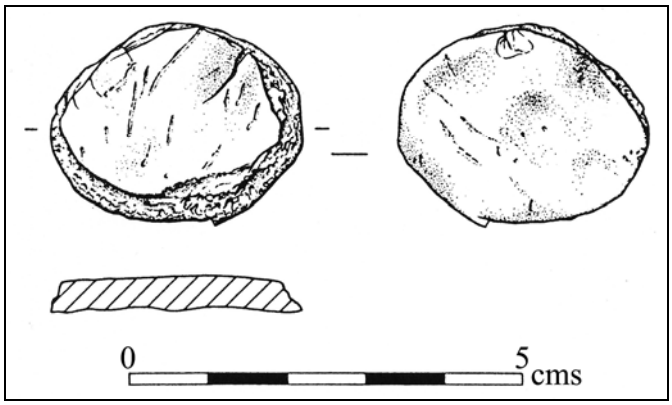


Figure 7.38
Unburnt adolescent cranial disc from Snail Down, Wiltshire. (Thomas 2005, fig.38).

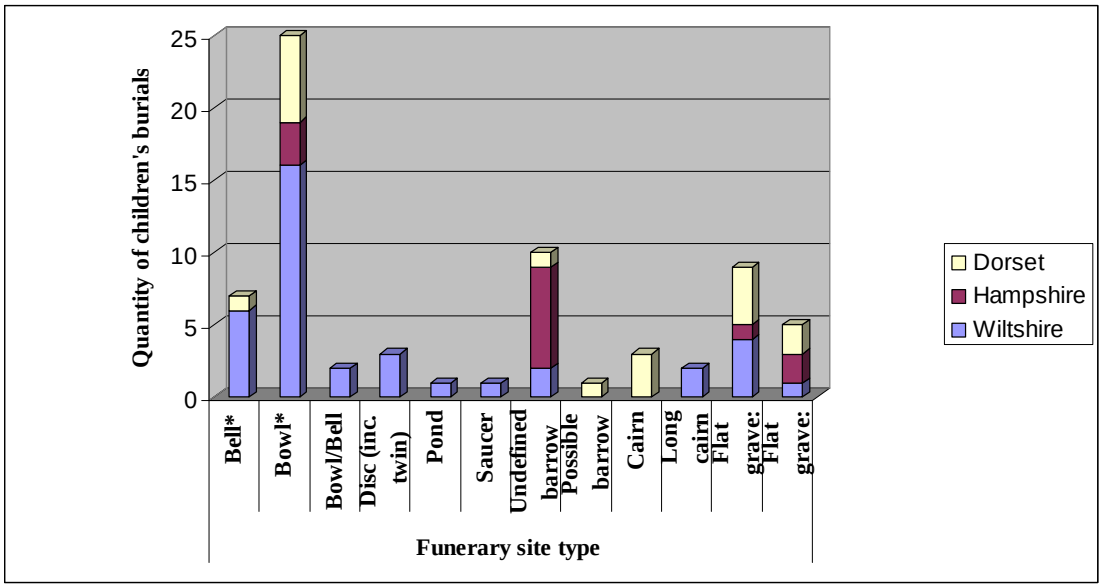


Figure 7.39
Quantity of child cremations by county and site type

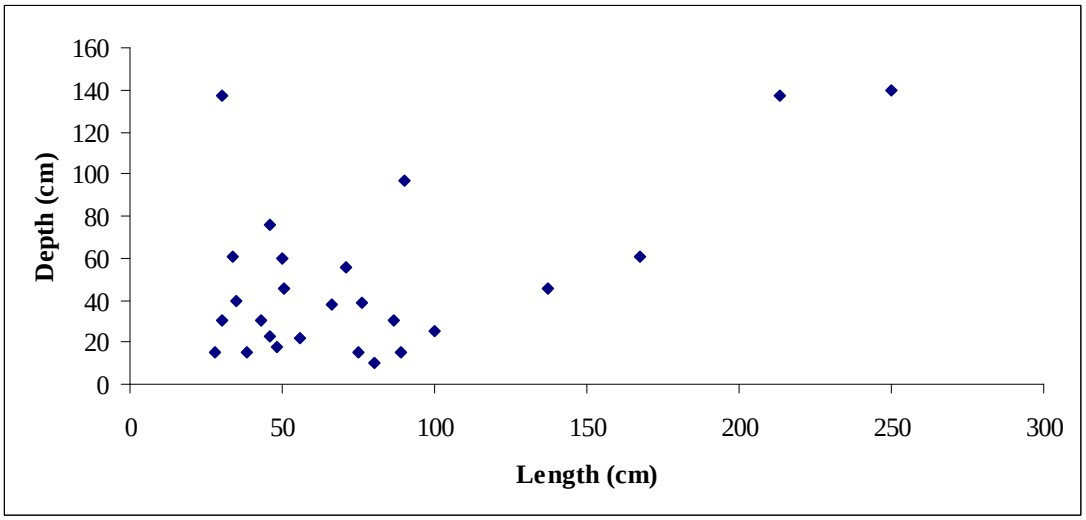


Figure 7.40
Range of burial pit sizes associated with children's cremations.
All reported measurements have been converted to centimetres to allow comparison.

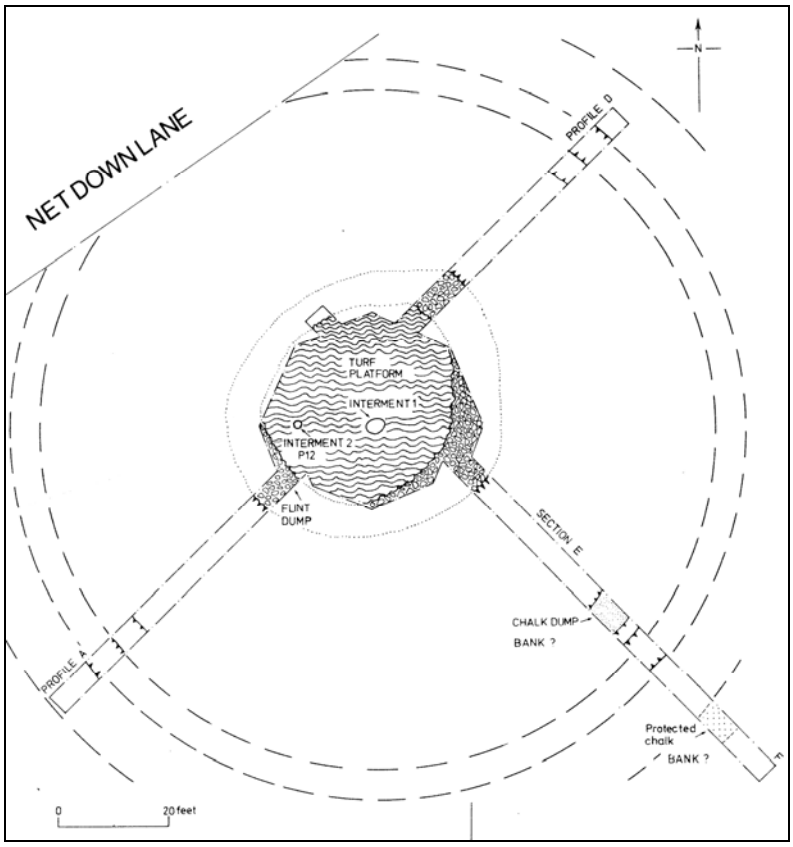


Figure 7.41
Plan of the disc-barrow at Net Down G.5g, Wilts.
(after Rollo-Smith 1984, fig 9.

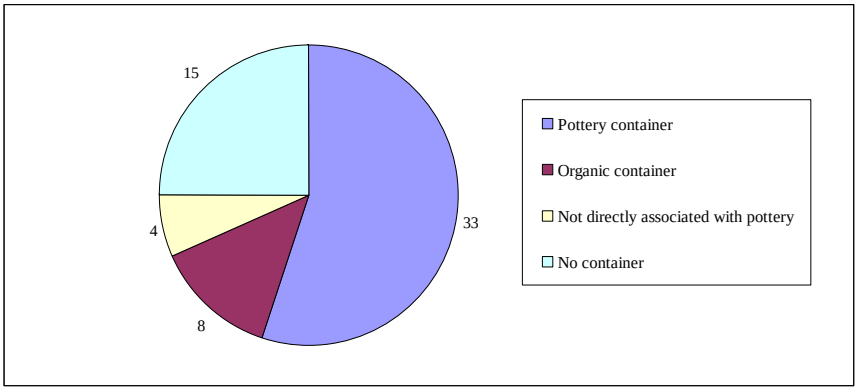


Figure 7.42
Summary of container types in Wessex children's cremations

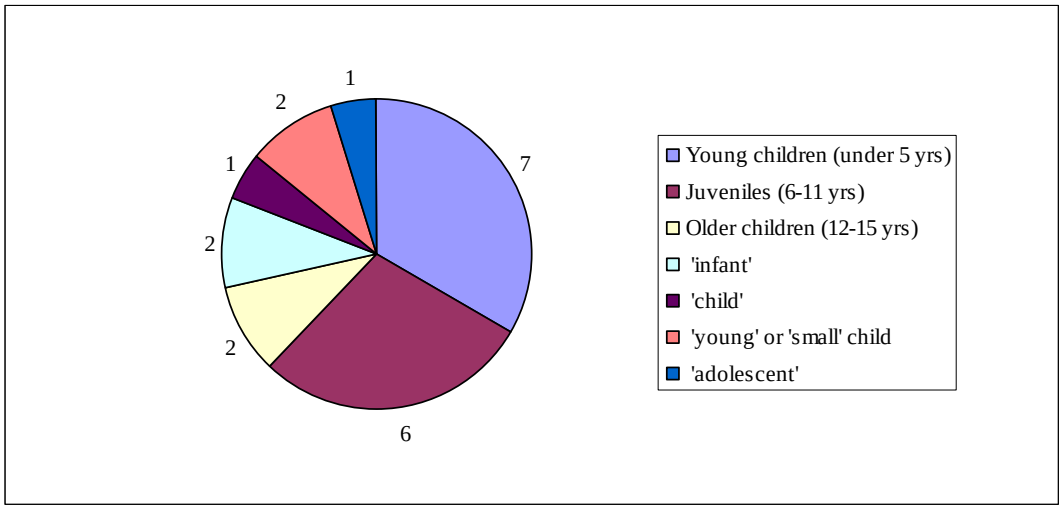


Figure 7.43
Ages of children within unurned cremations

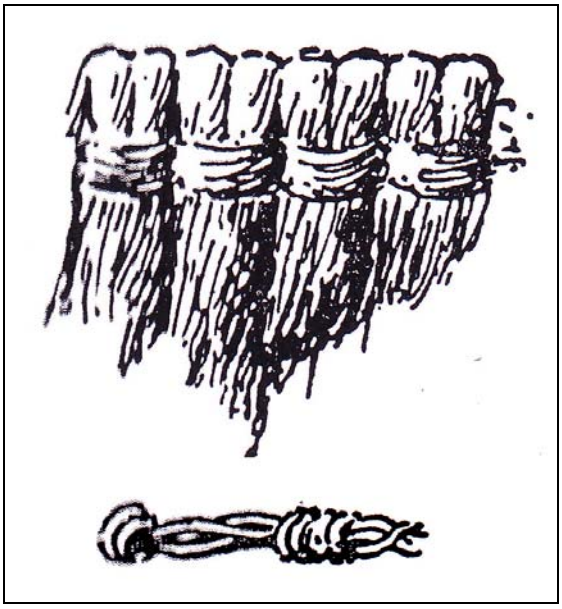


Figure 7.44
Fragment of a fabric bag and cord associated with a child cremation burial at Eweleaze Barn barrow, Dorset (after Gray & Prideux 1905, 29).

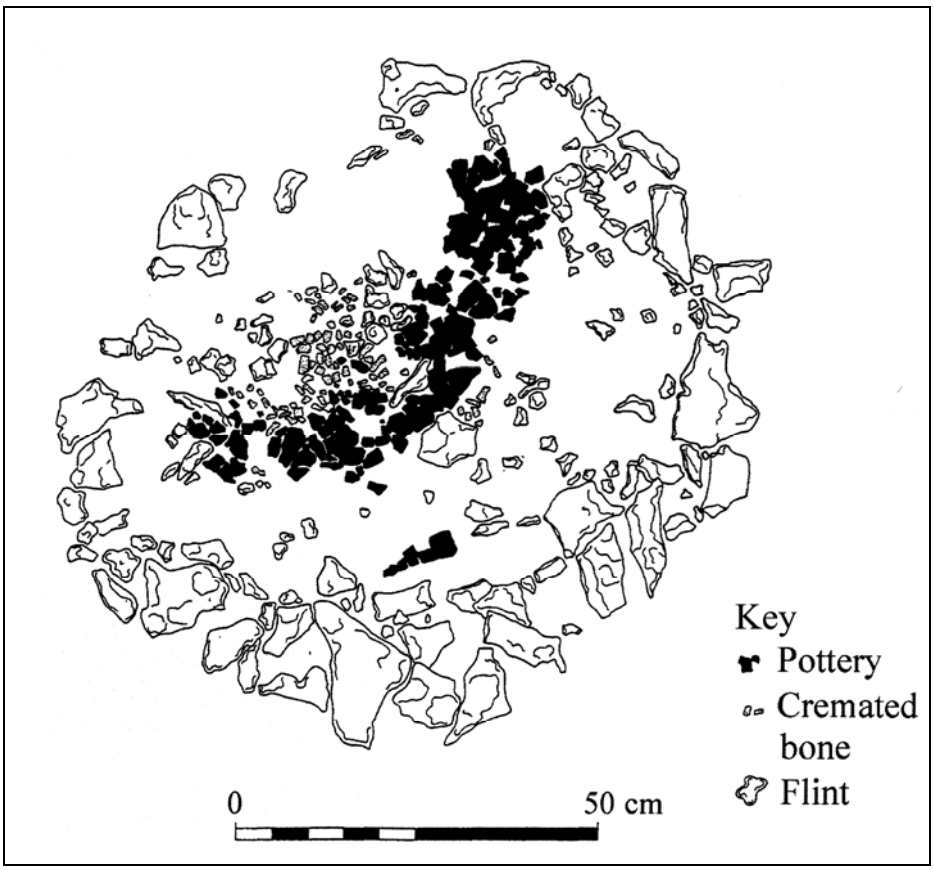


Figure 7.45
Distribution of pottery sherds from smashed vessel at Kimpton, Hants.
(after Dacre & Ellison 1981, fig 7)

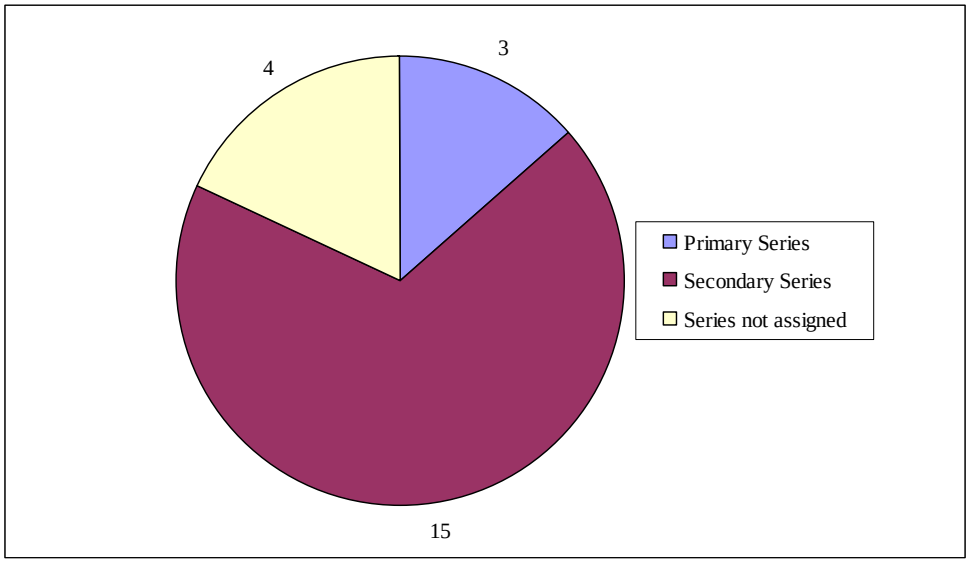


Figure 7.46
Summary of Collared Urn Series associated with children's cremation burials

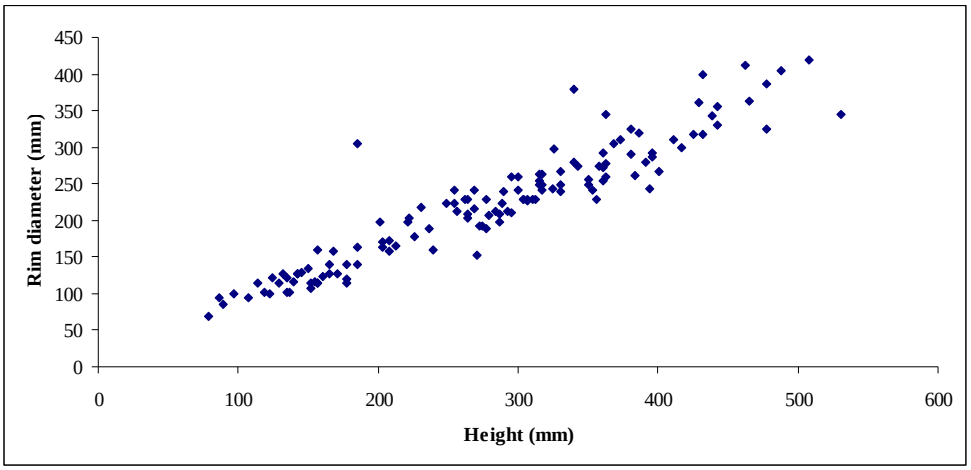


Figure 7.47
Scatter diagram of Collared Urn vessel size in Wiltshire,Dorset and Hampshire classified by Longworth (1984)[1].

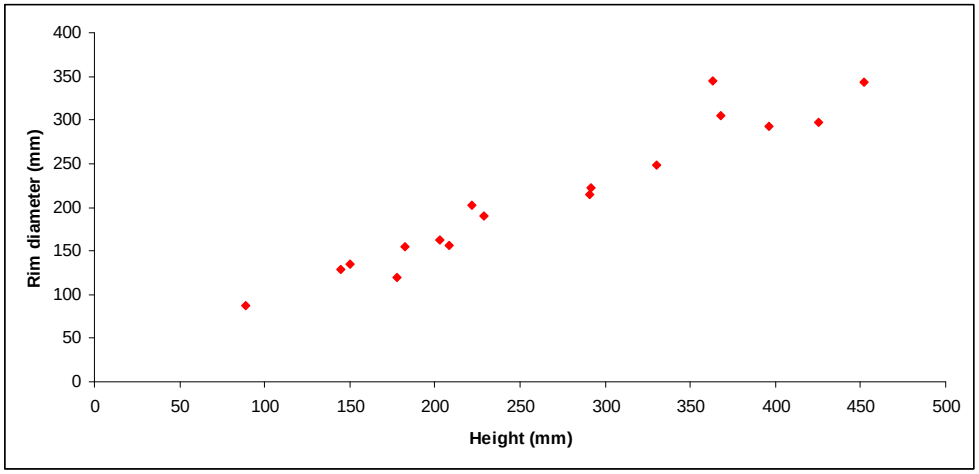


Figure 7.48
Scatter diagram of Collared Urn vessel size associated with children's cremations

[1] The data used to compile this graphic are derived from Longworth's 1984 corpus of urns from Wiltshire, Dorset (Hampshire) and Hampshire. Only dimensions from complete vessels have been used. All vessel sizes have been converted from inches into millimetres.

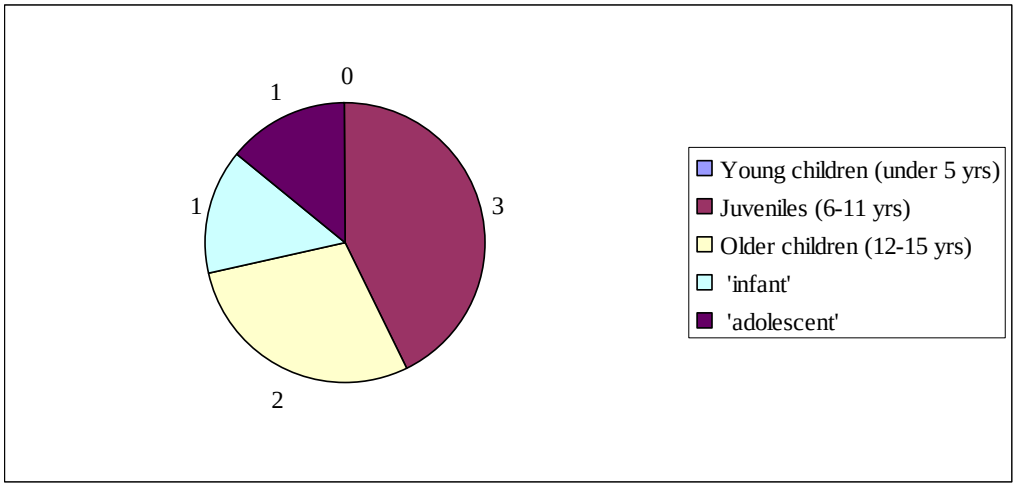


Figure 7.49
Ages of children associated with Food Vessels

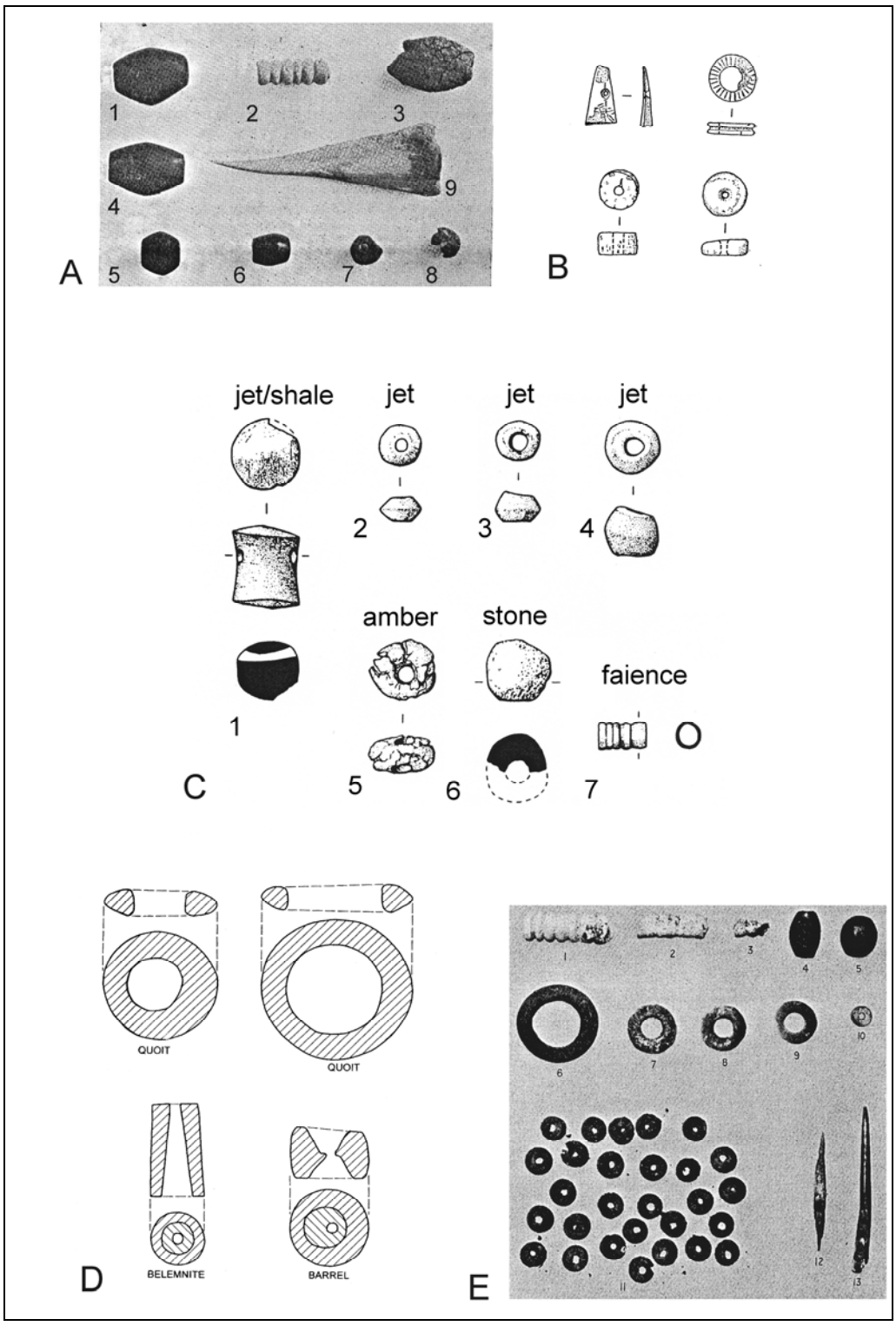


Figure 7.50
Selection of beads and ornaments associated with child cremation burials in Wessex
A: Easton Down, Wilts (Stone 1934, pl II); B: Amesbury G.55, Wilts (after Smith 1965, fig 2); C: Snail Down saucer barrow, Wilts (after Thomas 2005, fig 54, K1-7); D: Blake's Fir, Wilts (after Ride 2001); E: Stockbridge Down, Hants (Stone & Gray Hill 1940, fig 2)

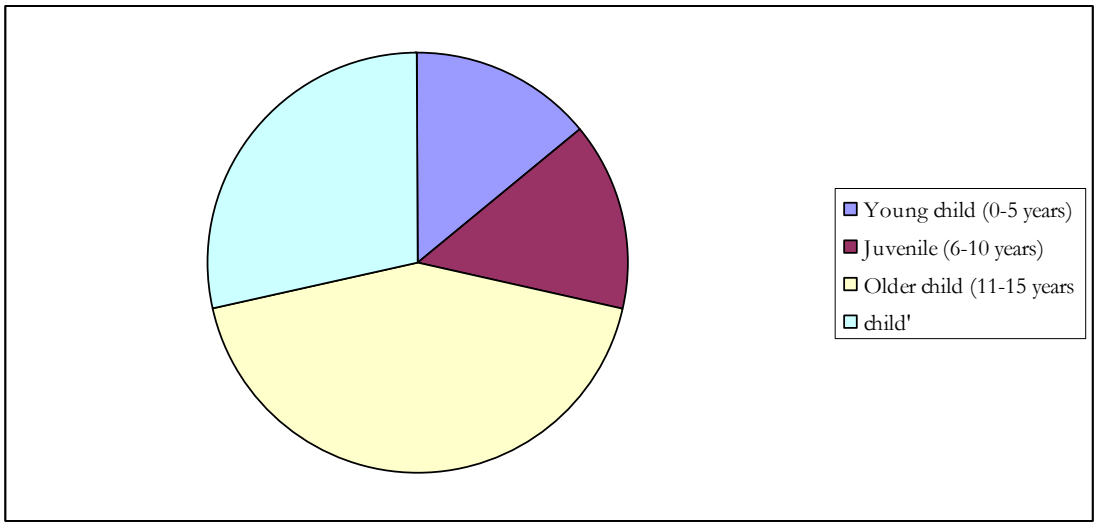


Figure 7.51
Age ranges of children associated with beads in Wessex

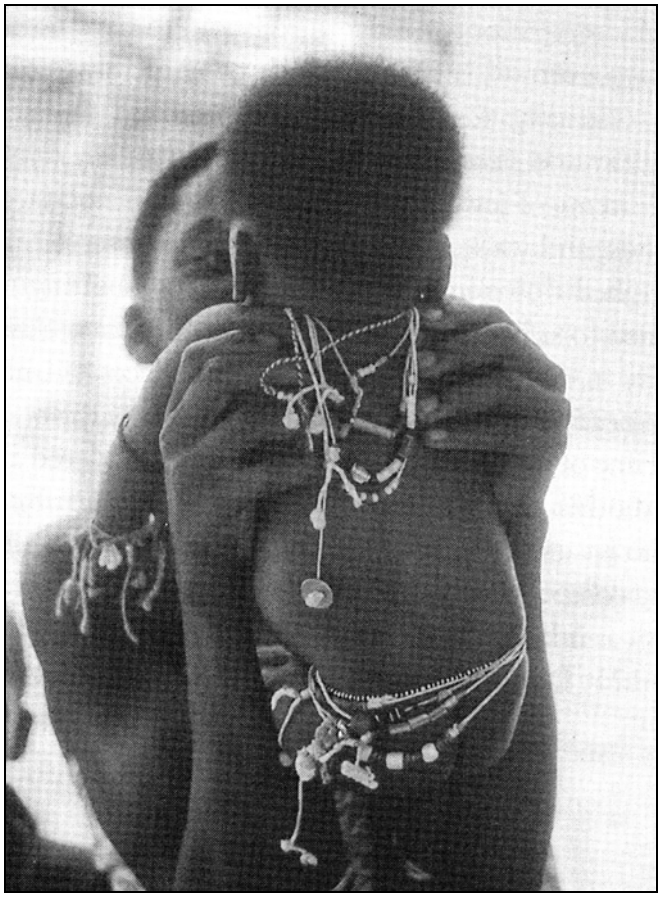


Figure 7.52
Amulets worn by a young child from the Beng of Ivory Coast
(Gottleib 2004, fig 22)

APPENDIX A

THE CATALOGUE

Introduction

In the initial phase of my research I constructed a series of databases to enable specific aspects of each child burial record to be collected in a systematic way. The following summary of database construction is aimed to provide the reader with a full explanation of how and why the data was collected and recorded in this way and to introduce the reader to the range of information the databases were designed to capture. A summary listing of each catalogue entry which has provided the basis for the discussion follows: Scottish child burials (part I: a) inhumations, b) cremations), Yorkshire child burials (part II: a) inhumations, b) cremations) and Wessex child burials (part III: a) inhumations, b) cremations).

As outlined previously, only burials of reliable Earlier Bronze Age date have been considered and are included in the catalogue. Pre-1974 county boundaries have been used throughout. National Grid references are given as accurately as possible but the published location is often not precise enough to allow anything but an approximate reference. Where no site references are provided, that of the general location of the barrow group or village is provided.

Summary of database construction

OVERVIEW

To assist in the collection of data for this research project, a number of databases were constructed to record all relevant information pertaining to Bronze Age children's burials in Britain. Currently, records are held of over two thousand such burials (both inhumation and cremation burials) from throughout Britain and Ireland. Data was collected from existing publication records with systematic data collection focussing on Scotland, Northumberland, Durham, Cheshire, Lancashire, East and West Yorkshire, Hampshire, Dorset, Wiltshire, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset. Burials from other areas (e.g. Ireland,

Wales and central English counties) were collected where encountered but not at the same systematic level as those noted above.

During collection of the data, a fairly open view about the date of the burials was taken. Any possible Bronze Age burial was recorded. The writer acknowledges here that many of the burials included within the database may fall outwith this period of interest, such as later intrusive burials confused as prehistoric during the original reporting or burials that predate Bronze Age activity. For the purposes of this study, a far more rigorous approach to the data was felt necessary in an attempt to limit any contamination of the dataset with inappropriate or misleading examples.

Similarly, a slightly wider biological age-range of immature individuals was recorded within the database than has been considered as part of this study. During data collection all recorded individuals identified as foetus up to and including eighteen years-of-age were noted. For the purposes of this study only individuals up to the age of fifteen years-of-age were considered and discussed for the reasons explained in chapter 3.

The databases were constructed using Microsoft Access software. This database software package was selected as the most appropriate for this task because of its accessibility, allowing the data to be easily interrogated depending on the needs of the investigator. It also enabled extraction and transfer of the data into other commonly used digital formats such as an MS Excel spreadsheet or MS Word document. The fast-pace of innovations and advances in computer and data technology means it is likely that this format will only be suitable for a mid-term duration of storage but the ability to transfer into spreadsheet format should make it possible to continue to access the data on a longer term.

Three databases were constructed to enable maximum data capture from the existing records, including a site database to record details of the site type, location and number of burials. Separate databases were then constructed to record the details of inhumation and cremation burials, designed to focus on three main areas of interest: the human remains, the context and grave setting and any associated objects.

SITE DATABASE

This database was designed to record basic information from each site where Bronze Age child burials were encountered. It was constructed to allow the general details of each site to be recorded but also to avoid the repetition of such details within the inhumation and cremation records particularly where multiple children's burials were involved. The data recorded here comprised: site name(s), parish, county and national grid reference, where known. The total number of burials recorded for each site was noted as well as the number of burials involving children to allow easy reference between the site database and the inhumation/cremation records.

BURIAL DATABASES

Each individual child burial was assigned its own identifying number. The inhumation and cremation data was kept separate to avoid any unnecessary confusion and to allow a slightly different range of data to be captured. Both databases recorded the site name and region and the burial number as referred to in the published report, where available, to allow reference back to the original data source. Whether the burial was considered to be primary or secondary was also noted.

Human remains

Age & Sex

The database sought to compile information about the age and sex of the individual. Where possible, age was recorded in terms of years but if this was not available the term used in the original publication to identify the individual such as 'infant' or 'child' was recorded.

Position (Inhumations only)

The position of the body in the grave or cist was recorded with a selection of tick-box fields comprising 'crouched', 'flexed', 'extended' or 'disarticulated', enabling a search to be conducted on each of the four groups. A text box was also included to allow any further detail regarding the position to be noted, such as orientation or alternative positing such as seated or trussed.

Pathology

An opportunity to record any possible pathology noted during any osteological examination of the remains was created in both the inhumation and cremation database. This aimed to highlight any conclusions regarding the cause of death, and note any injuries, markers of disease or malnutrition or congenital abnormalities.

Associated Adults

This sub-section sought to record information on any associated adult skeletal remains and was designed to allow those immature individuals associated with other burials to be quickly and easily identified. Information on the age and sex of the adult was noted. A field was also created to record the position of the adult in relation to the immature individual. In hindsight this could have been designed better to allow capture of more detailed information. The fields are quite restrictive, particularly when dealing with multiple individuals. It would also have been useful for a field highlight those associated with other immature individuals.

Context and grave setting

The information about the grave setting of the burial had subtle differences between the inhumation and cremation databases in terms of what details were recorded.

Cist/pit/other

In both cases the context of the grave setting was ascertained by recording whether the burial was in a built cist or simple pit. The internal dimensions of grave/pit size were noted where measurements were available recording length, width and depth of the setting. For the inhumation database, additional fields were available to record details of the cist/grave construction, specifically aspects of the flooring (was there a prepared floor?, was it stone lined?, pebble floor?) and the cist manufacture (was there evidence of clay luting to seal the cist? Or tool marks from preparation of the slabs?). For cremations, the possibility to record slab-lined pits was present.

Grave marking

In both databases it was possible to highlight whether any form of grave marking was noted. This was in the form of a simple tick box to allow presence/absence to be recorded. Where present, specific details could be recorded within the ‘other information on grave’.

Other information

A text box field was added to allow any additional information about the grave setting to be recorded. This was particularly useful when recording details of burials within barrow or cairn sites where several phases of activity could be detected.

Associated objects

Using the conclusions drawn from an interim study of Bronze Age child burials in Scotland conducted by the writer for her undergraduate dissertation, three main artefact associations were noted: pottery vessels, flint objects and ornaments. The database was developed focussing on these three material culture groups.

Pottery (inhumation)

The database sought to record whether any pottery vessels were associated with the burial as a simple presence/absence indicator. Where present, the quantity was noted with the opportunity to record whether a complete vessel was involved or whether only sherds were present. It was then possible to record the form of the vessel either as a Beaker or Food Vessel or other, allowing an alternative form of vessel to be described. It was also possible to note the presence of small vessels (e.g. accessory/incense cups or other small-scale vessels). In hindsight it would have been useful to have a field to record sub-form of each vessel (e.g. Beaker Step 5).

The dimensions of the vessel were recorded, where known.

Pottery (cremation)

As with the inhumation database, the presence of associated pottery vessels were recorded, noting the quantities, where present. In the cremation database, however, the role of the vessel was recorded: did it protect the cremated remains? Or did it accompany the cremation in the role of a grave good? It was then possible to record the form of the Earlier Bronze Age vessel either as Collared Urn, Food Vessel (inc. Enlarged Food Vessel), Cordoned Urn or other. The position (upright or inverted) and the dimensions of the vessel were also noted. In addition to these fields in the cremation database, there was also the possibility to record whether evidence of an organic container for the cremated remains had been noted.

Flint objects

A simple presence/absence indicator was chosen to allow burials with associated flint to be quickly and easily identified. In addition, information on the quantity, type and condition (burnt or unburnt) was also noted.

Ornaments

Similar to the flint items, a simple presence/absence indicator was used to enable individuals associated with ornaments of any kind to be identified within the dataset. In addition, information on the quantity, type and material was captured.

Other

In addition to these fields, it was possible to record whether waterworn pebbles, quartz pebbles, animal bones, floral remains and other associated items could be noted. A separate field was created to record whether any evidence of burning (not directly associated with the cremation of the individual) was present.

Other information

A large text box was created to capture any additional information not covered by the field detailed above. This was particularly useful for recording bibliographic references, dating evidence and more detailed descriptions of aspects of the burial. With the benefit of hindsight, separate fields for the publication references and any available radiocarbon dates would have been most useful.

APPENDIX A

PART I a: SCOTTISH INHUMATION CATALOGUE

Cat. No.	Site Name	County	National Grid Reference	References
SI 001	Auchlin, Aberdour	Aberdeenshire	NH 91 93	Callander 1909, 89; Coles 1906a, 310-11; Low 1904, 126-7; Reid 1924, 18; Bruce 1986, 36
SI 002	Auchlin, Aberdour	Aberdeenshire	NH 91 93	Callander 1909, 89; Coles 1906a, 310-11; Low 1904, 126-7; Reid 1924, 18; Bruce 1986, 36
SI 003	Beaties Hill, Fetteresso	Aberdeenshire	NO 849 860	Bruce 1986, 35, 38; Shepherd 1986b, 18
SI 004	Borrowstone, Newhills	Aberdeenshire	NJ 8511 0810	Shepherd 1977, 4; Shepherd & Grieg 1980, 9-10; Shepherd 1984, 13-14; Shepherd 1986a, 12, 13, 15, 19, 34, 36, 38
SI 005	Broomend of Crichie	Aberdeenshire	NJ 7792 1967	Abercromby 1912, 40, pl 18; Chalmers, 1868, 110-14; Clarke 1970, 510, nos1435-6; Davidson 1868, 115-8; Ritchie 1920, 155-8; Mitchell 1934, 174; Hanley & Sheridan 1994, 138; Bradley (ed) 2011
SI 006	Broomend of Crichie	Aberdeenshire	NJ 7792 1967	
SI 007	Hillhead of Fechil, Ellon	Aberdeenshire	NJ 95 29	Reid, R W 1912, no 8; Reid 1924, 37; Mitchell 1934, 176; Clarke 1970, 511, no. 1451; Shepherd & Bruce 1986, 29, 36; Hanley & Sheridan 1994, 138
SI 008	Upper Mains of Muiresk	Aberdeenshire	NJ 70 48	Anderson 1886a, 98; Mitchell 1934, 176
SI 009	Uppermill (Ardiffery), Cruden	Aberdeenshire	NK 0542 3702	Wilson 1851, 51, 295; Anderson 1886b, 17; Anderson & Black 1888, 366-7; Abercromby 1912, 40, 90, pl xviii; Mitchell 1934, 174; Clarke 1970, 510, no 1423-4; Green 1980, 294; Kenworthy 1977, 80-93
SI 010	Barnyards, Tannadice	Angus	NO 4784 5779	Taylor 1955, 5; Taylor *et al* 1998, 45-7

Cat. No.	Site Name	County	National Grid Reference	References
SI 011	East Campsie, Lintrathen	Angus	NO 2883 5271	Benvie *et al* 1991, 91; Benvie *et al* 1995, 94; Taylor *et al* 1998, 54-55
SI 012	Mains of Melgund, Angus	Angus	NO 536 563	Eames *et al* 1989, 62; Taylor *et al* 1998, 49-54
SI 013	Ninewells, Dundee	Angus	NO 36 30	Jervise 1866a, 394-5
SI 014	Wellgrove, Lochlee	Angus	NO 4456 8041 (general)	Reid 1905, 40-2
SI 015	West Scryne	Angus	NO 576 365	Benvie 1994; Taylor *et al* 1998, 57-60
SI 016	Portalloch, Kilmartin	Argyll	NR 81 96 (general)	Cregeen & Harrington 1981
SI 017	Ardachy	Argyll	NM 3803 1885	
SI 018	Ardachy	Argyll	NM 3803 1885	Mitchell 1897, 115-21
SI 019	Cour, Saddell	Argyll	NR 8224 4855	Scott & Scott 1961; Scott 1971
SI 020	Balnabraid, Campbeltown	Argyll	NR 7679 1550	
SI 021	Balnabraid, Campbeltown	Argyll	NR 7679 1550	Galloway 1920, 172; Ritchie 1967, 81; Ritchie 1997, 81; Ritchie 2002, 206
SI 022	Balnabraid, Campbeltown	Argyll	NR 7679 1550	
SI 023	Auchenharvie Estate	Ayrshire	NS 25 41 (general)	Morrison 1971, 8-12, 26, fig 2.1
SI 024	Doonfoot, Maybole	Ayrshire	NS 3233 1884	Simpson 1965, 38, no 10; Davidson 1967; Scott 1967, 164-70; Morrison 1968, 107, no 34.
SI 025	Broomhill, Duns	Berwickshire	NT 804 554	Stevenson 1856; Craw 1923, 184; Cowie 1978, 59
SI 026	Folden Newton (Hagg Folden)	Berwickshire	NT 928 549	Craw 1914
SI 027	Auchintirie (Cnoc-An-Coigreaich), North Bute	Buteshire	NS 0560 6395	Bryce 1904
SI 028	Knockankelly, Kilbride	Buteshire	NS 0472 2728	Jamieson & Cleland 1886
SI 029	Little Kilmory, North Bute	Buteshire	NS 04074 59806	
SI 030	Little Kilmory, North Bute	Buteshire	NS 04074 59806	
SI 031	Little Kilmory, North Bute	Buteshire	NS 04074 59806	Marshall & Bryce 1934; Marshall & Bryce 1935
SI 032	Mossknow	Dumfriesshire	NY 2783 6948	Bate 1909

Cat. No.	Site Name	County	National Grid Reference	References
SI 033	Dryburn Bridge, Dunbar	East Lothian	NT 7238 7547	Dunwell 2007; Roberts 2007, 18-25; Sheridan 2007a, 14-18, illust 10-13;
SI 034	East Barns, Dunbar, East Lothian	East Lothian	NT 717 762	Donations to and purchases for the Museum and Library, with exhibits, *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 35 (1900-1901), 277, fig 1
SI 035	Innerwick	East Lothian	NT 730 737 (general)	Childe 1939, 318-9
SI 036	Nunraw, Garvald	East Lothian	NT 5978 7004	Bruce 1986, 38; Childe *et al* 1944, 116-9; Clarke 1970, 517, no 1546, Hanley & Sheridan 1994, 138; Ralston 2009, 75
SI 037	Phantassie, East Linton	East Lothian	NT 5950 7716	Edwards 1928
SI 038	West Fenton, near Drem	East Lothian	NT 5065 7954	Clarke 1970, 516, no 1625; Edwards & Low 1944, 114-6
SI 039	West Links, North Berwick	East Lothian	NT 545 854	Richardson 1900; Cree & Richardson 1907, 393-400
SI 040	Aberdour Road, Dunfermline, Fife	Fife	NT 1173 8637	Close-Brooks *et al* 1972a, 22; Close-Brooks *et al* 1972b, 121-36
SI 041	Aberdour Road, Dunfermline, Fife	Fife	NT 1173 8637	Close-Brooks *et al* 1972a, 22; Close-Brooks *et al* 1972b, 121-36
SI 042	Balfarg Henge Monument, Markinch	Fife	NO 28488 03137	Mercer 1981; Barclay & Tavener 1985, 13; Barclay & Russell-White 1993
SI 043	Barns Farm, Dalgety	Fife	NT 1780 8417	Watkins 1973a; Watkins 1973b; Watkins 1982
SI 044	Barns Farm, Dalgety	Fife	NT 1780 8417	
SI 045	Barns Farm, Dalgety	Fife	NT 1780 8417	
SI 046	Barns Farm, Dalgety	Fife	NT 1780 8417	
SI 047	Barns Farm, Dalgety	Fife	NT 1780 8417	
SI 048	Ferniehill, Dunfermline	Fife	NT 0983 8381	Callander 1923, 299-302
SI 049	Hare Law Cairn, Ballingry	Fife	NT 1873 9612	Constable 1892

Cat. No.	Site Name	County	National Grid Reference	References
SI 050	Holly Road, Leven, Scoonie	Fife	NO 3783 0213	Christie 1949, 230-1; Lewis & Terry 2004
SI 051	Holly Road, Leven, Scoonie	Fife	NO 3783 0213	
SI 052	Holly Road, Leven, Scoonie	Fife	NO 3783 0213	
SI 053	Holly Road, Leven, Scoonie	Fife	NO 3783 0213	Lewis & Terry 2004
SI 054	Allasdale, Barra	Inverness-shire	NF 655 028	
SI 055	Allasdale, Barra	Inverness-shire	NF 655 028	
SI 056	Allasdale, Barra	Inverness-shire	NF 655 028	
SI 057	Allasdale, Barra	Inverness-shire	NF 655 028	
SI 058	Allasdale, Barra	Inverness-shire	NF 655 028	
SI 059	Allasdale, Barra	Inverness-shire	NF 655 028	
SI 060	Allasdale, Barra	Inverness-shire	NF 655 028	Cook 2006; Cook *forthcoming*
SI 061	Allasdale, Barra	Inverness-shire	NF 655 028	
SI 062	Allasdale, Barra	Inverness-shire	NF 655 028	
SI 063	Allasdale, Barra	Inverness-shire	NF 655 028	Wessex Archaeology 2008
SI 064	Balbridie, Durris	Kincardineshire	NO 73 95	Low 1904, 22, 32-3, 34; Clarke 1970, 518, Nos 1677-80; Bruce 1986, 37.
SI 065	Catterline, Kinneff	Kincardineshire	NO 8579 7886	Shepherd 1986a, 32, 35, 38; Small *et al* 1989, 71-7; Hanley & Sheridan 1994, 138
SI 066	Nether Criggie, Dunnottar	Kincardineshire	NO 8377 8238	Kirk 1954, 10; Kirk & McKenzie 1956, 1-6, 12-14; Clarke 1970, 518, nos 1683-5; Hanley & Sheridan 1994, 138.
SI 067	Spurryhillock, Fetteresso	Kincardineshire	NO 852 861 (general)	Bruce 1986, 17
SI 068	Boatbridge Quarry, Thankerton	Lanarkshire	NS 981 376	Clarke & Ritchie 1971; Clarke *et al* 1984, 557-60
SI 069	Mount vernon, Glasgow	Lanarkshire	NS 6695 6280	Simpson 1965, 41

Cat. No.	Site Name	County	National Grid Reference	References
SI 070	Springwell farm, Baillieston	Lanarkshire	NS 6795 6448	Maxwell 1939; Simpson 1965, 40
SI 071	Bellfield, Fisherrow	Midlothian	NT 337 725	
SI 072	Bellfield, Fisherrow	Midlothian	NT 337 725	Turner 1917, 185, 187, 203, 204
SI 073	Lochloy	Nairn	NH 901 569	Farrell 2001
SI 074	Crantit, near Kirkwall	Orkney	HY 4385 0968	Cursiter 1910, 215, 217; Marwick 1924, 48; Hedges 1980, 61-2.
SI 075	Gyre Farm, Orphir	Orkney	HY 3409 0464	Simpson *et al* 2007, 63
SI 076	Quarrel Geo (Banks), South Ronaldsay	Orkney	ND 4580 8339	
SI 077	Quarrel Geo (Banks), South Ronaldsay	Orkney	ND 4580 8339	
SI 078	Quarrel Geo (Banks), South Ronaldsay	Orkney	ND 4580 8339	Downes 2005, 299
SI 079	Riff, Rendall	Orkney	NY 4239 1930	
SI 080	Riff, Rendall	Orkney	NY 4239 1930	Downes 2005, 298-9
SI 081	Backakelday, Holm	Orkney	HU 4552 0362	Marwick 1928
SI 082	West Water Reservoir, Linton	Pebbles-shire	NT 1181 5256	
SI 083	West Water Reservoir, Linton	Pebbles-shire	NT 1181 5256	
SI 084	West Water Reservoir, Linton	Pebbles-shire	NT 1181 5256	Hunter 1992, 1993, 1995, 2000
SI 085	Doune, Kilmadock	Perthshire	NN 7241 0191	Hamilton 1957; Roe 1966, 242; McLaren 2004
SI 086	Glenhead, Kilmadock	Perthshire	NN 75 00	Anderson 1883, 452-3, figs 10-11; Anderson 1886a, 83-4, figs 101-102
SI 087	North Mains barrow, Blackford	Perthshire	NN 926 162	Barclay 1978, 33; Barclay 1983
SI 088	Barbush Quarry, Dunblane	Perthshire	NN 7875 0255	Holden & Sheridan 2001

Cat. No.	Site Name	County	National Grid Reference	References
SI 089	Loanleven, Methven	Perthshire	NO 0543 2577	King 1991; Lowe 1992; Russell-White *et al* 1992
SI 090	Upper Muirhall	Perthshire	NO 1454 22405	Reid 1984, 40; Reid *et al* 1986
SI 091	Menslaws, Bedrule	Roxburghshire	NT 5918 2055	Henshall & Wallace 1961
SI 092	Little Asta, Tingwall	Shetland	HU 4108 4094	Corrie 1932
SI 093	Coneypark, Stirling	Stirlingshire	NS 7840 9263	Thomson 1972, 39; Thomson 1978, 1-8.
SI 094	Coneypark, Stirling	Stirlingshire	NS 7840 9263	
SI 095	Embo, Dornoch	Sutherland	NH 8177 9265	Henshall & Wallace 1963, 15, 23, 30, fig 4, fig 23: 4, 6, 7
SI 096	Embo, Dornoch	Sutherland	NH 8177 9265	Henshall & Wallace 1963, 19, 23, 32, 33, fig 5, fig 6 no. 3, 5.
SI 097	Embo, Dornoch	Sutherland	NH 8177 9265	Henshall & Wallace 1963, 19, 23, 32, 33, fig 5, fig 6 no. 3, 5.
SI 098	Bridgeness, Bo'ness	West Lothian	NT 0133 8144	Callander & Bryce 1924
SI 099	Mill Road Industrial Estate, Linlithgow	West Lothian	NS 9851 7771	Cook 1998; Cook 2000
SI 100	Mill Road Industrial Estate, Linlithgow	West Lothian	NS 9851 7771	
SI 101	Mill Road Industrial Estate, Linlithgow	West Lothian	NS 9851 7771	
SI 102	Mill Road Industrial Estate, Linlithgow	West Lothian	NS 9851 7771	
SI 103	Carsecreugh, Old Luce	Wigtownshire	NX 22323 59891 (general)	Wilson 1873

Cat No.	Site Name	Region	NGR	References
SC 001	Howford Farm, Strichen	Aberdeenshire	NJ 9538 5472	Lockhart 1972; Longworth 1984, 305, no 1901
SC 002	Howford Farm, Strichen	Aberdeenshire	NJ 9538 5472	Greig 1984, 13; Grieg *in prep*
SC 003	Loanhead of Daviot (Burial 1)	Aberdeenshire	NJ 7478 2884	Kilbride-Jones 1936, 283, 304, fig 4, 5a, 8:2,
SC 004	Loanhead of Daviot (Pit 12)	Aberdeenshire	NJ 7478 2884	Kilbride-Jones 1936, 288-9, 308-9, fig 1, 6, 7:12, 10:D,
SC 005	Loanhead of Daviot (Pit 12)	Aberdeenshire	NJ 7478 2884	Kilbride-Jones 1936, 288-9, 308-9, fig 1, 6, 7:12, 10:D,
SC 006	Seggiecrook	Aberdeenshire	NJ 5933 2646	Callander 1908
SC 007	Skilmafilly cremation cemetery (context 004/6)	Aberdeenshire	NJ 9009 3949	Cameron 2001; Johnson & Sheridan 2004,12-13; Johnson & Cameron *forthcoming*
SC 008	Skilmafilly cremation cemetery (burial 012)	Aberdeenshire	NJ 9009 3949	Cameron 2001; Johnson & Sheridan 2004,12-13; Johnson & Cameron *forthcoming*
SC 009	Skilmafilly cremation cemetery (Pit 3)	Aberdeenshire	NJ 9009 3949	Cameron 2001; Johnson & Sheridan 2004,12-13; Johnson & Cameron *forthcoming*
SC 010	Skilmafilly cremation cemetery (Pit 3)	Aberdeenshire	NJ 9009 3949	Cameron 2001; Johnson & Sheridan 2004,12-13; Johnson & Cameron *forthcoming*
SC 011	Skilmafilly cremation cemetery (pit 7)	Aberdeenshire	NJ 9009 3949	Cameron 2001; Johnson & Sheridan 2004,12-13; Johnson & Cameron *forthcoming*
SC 012	Skilmafilly cremation cemetery (pit 17)	Aberdeenshire	NJ 9009 3949	Cameron 2001; Johnson & Sheridan 2004,12-13; Johnson & Cameron *forthcoming*
SC 013	Skilmafilly cremation cemetery (pit 21)	Aberdeenshire	NJ 9009 3949	Cameron 2001; Johnson & Sheridan 2004,12-13; Johnson & Cameron *forthcoming*
SC 014	Skilmafilly cremation cemetery (pit 26)	Aberdeenshire	NJ 9009 3949	Cameron 2001; Johnson & Sheridan 2004,12-13; Johnson & Cameron *forthcoming*
SC 015	Skilmafilly cremation cemetery (pit 31)	Aberdeenshire	NJ 9009 3949	Cameron 2001; Johnson & Sheridan 2004,12-13; Johnson & Cameron *forthcoming*

Cat No.	Site Name	Region	NGR	References
SC 016	Skilmafilly cremation cemetery (pit 35)	Aberdeenshire	NJ 9009 3949	Cameron 2001; Johnson & Sheridan 2004,12-13; Johnson & Cameron *forthcoming*
SC 017	Skilmafilly cremation cemetery (pit 35)	Aberdeenshire	NJ 9009 3949	Cameron 2001; Johnson & Sheridan 2004,12-13; Johnson & Cameron *forthcoming*
SC 018	Skilmafilly cremation cemetery (pit 44)	Aberdeenshire	NJ 9009 3949	Cameron 2001; Johnson & Sheridan 2004,12-13; Johnson & Cameron forthcoming
SC 019	Strichen	Aberdeenshire	NJ 9390 5493	Reid 1927, 518, fig 6
SC 020	Fordhouse, Dun (burial 3)	Angus	NO 6658 6058	Peterson 1994, 81; Peterson et al 1995, 93; Peterson & Proudfoot 1996, 12; Peterson & Proudfoot 1997, 13; *DES* 2, 2001, 129
SC 021	Graham's Firth, Kinnell	Angus	NO 612 544	Donations to the museum and library', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 21 (1886-7), 200; Longworth 1984, 313, no. 1991, fig 216a
SC 022	Mains of Airle	Angus	NO 3010 5076	Coutts 1964, 160-1, 165; Coutts 1971, 51, no 87
SC 023	Mains of Melgund	Angus	NO 542 563	Eames *et al* 1989, 62; Taylor *et al 1989,* 43
SC 024	Newmonthill Cemetery (cist 2)	Angus	NO 4618 5018	Coutts 1964, 155-8, 162-3, pl viii: 1
SC 025	Acharn (cairn 2; cist 1)	Argyll	NM 697 507	Ritchie & Thornber 1975, 18-19, fig 3
SC 026	Benderloch, Ardchattan	Argyll	NM 906 382	MacGregor 1998a
SC 027	Balloch Hill (urn 75)	Argyll	NR 6777 1767	Peltenburg 1982, 157, 173, fig 8, fig 13 (81)
SC 028	Dalneun, Lorn	Argyll	NM 879 267	Ritchie 1972, 52, pl 10b
SC 029	Tayvallich, North Knapdale (burial 3)	Argyll	NR 741 889	Lahane 1986, 55-6, 57-8, 59-60, fig 2, fig 5
SC 030	Coalpots Road, Girvan (Urn 1)	Ayrshire	NX1907 9717	Mackie 1966, 10, 24, 25, fig 2: b1 & 2, pl 2
SC 031	Coalpots Road, Girvan (burial 2)	Ayrshire	NX1907 9717	Mackie 1966, 10, 25
SC 032	Genoch, Straiton	Ayrshire	NS 3904 0110	MacDonald 1878, 43-6; Morrison 1968, 108, no 44; Morrison 1978, 131, fig 2:38
SC 033	Kiltry Knock, Alvah	Banffshire	NJ 6653 5652	Shepherd & Cowie 1977
SC 034	Kiltry Knock, Alvah	Banffshire	NJ 6653 5652	Shepherd & Cowie 1977
SC 035	Glenvoidean	Buteshire	NR 997 705	Marshall & Taylor 1977, 12-13, 18, fig 5

Cat No.	Site Name	Region	NGR	References
SC 036	Glenvoidean	Buteshire	NR 997 705	Marshall & Taylor 1977, 12-13, 18, 24-5, fig 5, fig 10
SC 037	Dollar	Clackmannanshire	NS 9652 9785	Donations to and purchases for the Museum and library, Proc Soc Antiq Scot 91 (1957-8), 200; Koon & McCulloch 2003
SC 038	Carronbridge (burial 1)	Dumfries-shire	NX 8697 9780	Johnston 1994, 261-2, 264, illust 20, 21, 22.
SC 039	Carronbridge (burial 1)	Dumfries-shire	NX 8697 9780	Johnston 1994, 261-2, 264, illust 20, 21, 22.
SC 040	Carronbridge (burial 2)	Dumfries-shire	NX 8697 9780	Johnston 1994, 162, 266, ills 21
SC 041	Lockerbie Academy (Feature 34)	Dumfries-shire	NY 1339 8273	Kirby 2006; 2011, 29, illus 12, 13
SC 042	Hillend Farm, Milngavie	Dunbartonshire	NS 563 754 (general)	Davidson 1940, 309-10, Fig. 1; Cowie 1978
SC 043	Eweford Cairn (Pit 116)	East Lothian	NT 6637 7737	MacGregor & Shearer 2002; Ashmore 2005, 169-70; Lelong & MacGregor 2007; Duffy *unpublished;* Sheridan *unpublished*
SC 044	Eweford Cairn (Pit 157)	East Lothian	NT 6637 7737	MacGregor & Shearer 2002; Ashmore 2005, 169-70; Lelong & MacGregor 2007; Duffy *unpublished;* Sheridan *unpublished*
SC 045	Eweford Cairn (Pit 157)	East Lothian	NT 6637 7737	MacGregor & Shearer 2002; Ashmore 2005, 169-70; Lelong & MacGregor 2007; Duffy *unpublished;* Sheridan *unpublished*
SC 046	Eweford Cairn (pit 40)	East Lothian	NT 6637 7737	MacGregor & Shearer 2002; Ashmore 2005, 169-70; Lelong & MacGregor 2007; Duffy *unpublished;* Sheridan *unpublished*
SC 047	Eweford cairn (pit 105)	East Lothian	NT 6637 7737	MacGregor & Shearer 2002; Ashmore 2005, 169-70; Lelong & MacGregor 2007; Duffy *unpublished;* Sheridan *unpublished*
SC 048	Eweford Cairn (Grave 027)	East Lothian	NT 6637 7737	MacGregor & Shearer 2002; Ashmore 2005, 169-70; Lelong & MacGregor 2007; Duffy *unpublished;* Sheridan *unpublished*

Cat No.	Site Name	Region	NGR	References
SC 049	Eweford Cairn (Grave 027)	East Lothian	NT 6637 7737	MacGregor & Shearer 2002; Ashmore 2005, 169-70; Lelong & MacGregor 2007; Duffy *unpublished;* Sheridan *unpublished*
SC 050	Eweford Cairn (pit 32)	East Lothian	NT 6637 7737	MacGregor & Shearer 2002; Ashmore 2005, 169-70; Lelong & MacGregor 2007; Duffy *unpublished;* Sheridan *unpublished*
SC 051	Eweford Cairn (pit 32)	East Lothian	NT 6637 7737	MacGregor & Shearer 2002; Ashmore 2005, 169-70; Lelong & MacGregor 2007; Duffy *unpublished;* Sheridan *unpublished*
SC 052	Eweford Cairn (grave 81)	East Lothian	NT 6637 7737	MacGregor & Shearer 2002; Ashmore 2005, 169-70;Lelong & MacGregor 2007; McLaren 2007; Duffy *unpublished;* McLaren *unpublished;* Sheridan *unpublished*
SC 053	Eweford Cairn (grave 65)	East Lothian	NT 6637 7737	MacGregor & Shearer 2002; Ashmore 2005, 169-70;Lelong & MacGregor 2007; McLaren 2007; Duffy *unpublished;* McLaren *unpublished;* Sheridan *unpublished*
SC 054	Kirkpark, Musselburgh (Urns 4 & 5)	East Lothian	NT 3416 7228	Low & Anderson 1894, 63, 70-1, fig 4 & 5
SC 055	Barns Farm (grave 1)	Fife	NT 1780 8417	Watkins 1982, 71, fig 9, pl 7; *DES* 4, 2003, 167
SC 056	Barns Farm (pit 6)	Fife	NT 1780 8417	Watkins 1982, 82
SC 057	Blackhill, Wester Bucklyvie	Fife	NT 156 886	Smith 1872, 189-91, fig 1 & 2
SC 058	Brackmont Mill (burial b)	Fife	NO 436 223	Childe & Waterston 1942, 86, 89, fig 2:II, pl xxv
SC 059	Brackmont Mill (burial v)	Fife	NO 436 223	Childe & Waterston 1942, 86, 90, fig 1:v, pl xxii
SC 060	Brackmont Mill (burial vi)	Fife	NO 436 223	Childe & Waterson 1942, 86, 90, fig 2: VI, pl xxiv
SC 061	Brackmont Mill (burial 5)	Fife	NO 436 223	Longworth 1967, 611-2, fig1:6, fig 2:2
SC 062	Craigdhu	Fife	NT 1266 8061	Smith 1872, 201; Cowie 1978, 121; DES 4, 2003, 168
SC 063	Holly Road,	Fife	NO 3783 0213	Lewis & Terry 2004, 28

Cat No.	Site Name	Region	NGR	References
	Leven (cist c)			
SC 064	Kirkton (cist 2)	Fife	NO 3433 1007	MacGregor 1998b, 69-78
SC 065	Kirkton (cist 2)	Fife	NO 3433 1007	MacGregor 1998b, 69-78
SC 066	Pitmilly, Kingsbarns	Fife	NO 5812 1356	Sheridan 2003
SC 067	Tayford, Newport (grave A)	Fife	NO 4215 2750	Millar 1883
SC 068	Westwood, Forgan (burial 6)	Fife	NO 4186 2752	Jervise 1866b, 390, pl xii, no 6 1 & 2; Longworth 1984, 298.
SC 069	Stoneyfield, Raigmore (pit 30)	Inverness-shire	NH 6878 4549	Simpson 1996, 61, 74 (pot 54), illus 18: 2 & 3; *DES* 4, 2003, 168
SC 070	Ury, Stonehaven	Kincardineshire	NO 8584 8790	Low 1935, 284-6, fig 3
SC 071	Kilmagadwood, Portmoak	Kinross-shire	NO 1799 0222	Stevenson 1946, 145-6, pl xxv; Cowie 1978, 125, fig 21; Koon & McCulloch 2003
SC 072	Cloburn Quarry (Feature 068)	Lanarkshire	NS 947 415	Lelong & Pollard 1998, 116, 117, 120, 128, 129, ilus 3 & 6
SC 073	Limefield Cairn (cremation 5)	Lanarkshire	NS 9237 3161	MacLaren 1984,107, fig 6.6 (no7); *DES* 4, 2003, 169
SC 074	Patrickholm Sand Quarry (burial 2)	Lanarkshire	NS 753 501	Maxwell 1949, 209, fig 2:4
SC 075	Patrickholm Sand Quarry (burial 3)	Lanarkshire	NS 753 501	Maxwell 1949, 209-11, fig 1, 2:1, 2:2, 2:3, pl xxxvi: 2)
SC 076	Patrickholm Sand Quarry (burial 3)	Lanarkshire	NS 753 501	Maxwell 1949, 209-11, fig 1, 2:1, 2:2, 2:3, pl xxxvi: 2)
SC 077	Braid Hills	Midlothian	NT 2522 6961	Coles 1900, 491, fig 1
SC 078	Saxe-Coburg Place, Edinburgh	Midlothian	NT 246 748	Anon. 1831, 48; Anon 1892, 162; Koon & McCulloch 2003; *DES* 2, 2001, 129
SC 079	Findhorn	Morayshire	NJ 0397 6443	Shepherd & Shepherd 2001
SC 080	Lesmurdie Road (Context 022)	Morayshire	NJ 2235 6395	Suddaby 2002; Suddaby *forthcoming*
SC 081	Lesmurdie Road (context 183)	Morayshire	NJ 2235 6395	Suddaby 2002; Suddaby *forthcoming*
SC 082	Blomuir 1, Holm (burial 1)	Orkney	HY 4712 0319	DES 4, 2003, 169; Downes 2005, 294
SC 083	Blomuir 1, Holm (burial 1)	Orkney	HY 4712 0319	DES 4, 2003, 169; Downes 2005, 294
SC 084	Ferndale, Rendall (context 004)	Orkney	HY 3836 2035	Duffy 2005, 4, 7-8, illust 2; MacGregor 2005, 11
SC 085	Gitterpitten, Mound 4 (central cist)	Orkney	HY 3928 2072	Downes 1998a 70; 1999; Downes 2005, 289, 248

Cat No.	Site Name	Region	NGR	References
SC 086	Gitterpitten, Mound 4 (central cist)	Orkney	HY 3928 2072	Downes 1998a, 70; 1999; Downes 2005, 248, 289
SC 087	Gitterpitten, Mound 4 (pit 1037)	Orkney	HY 3928 2072	Downes 1998a, 70; 1999; Downes 2005, 248, 289
SC 088	Knowes of Quoyscottie, Knowe 2 (Feature 66)	Orkney	HY 302 228	Hedges 1977, 135-6, 137, 146; *DES* 4, 2003, 169
SC 089	Knowes of Quoyscottie, Knowe 3 (Feature 71)	Orkney	HY 302 228	Hedges 1977, 136, 146
SC 090	Linga Fiold, Mound 7 (context 346)	Orkney	HY 2642 1534	Downes & MacGregor 1995, 14; Downes 2005,264, 247
SC 091	Loth Road Cairn (cist 069)	Orkney	HY 60553 34489	Sharman 2007
SC 092	Tafts mound, Quandale,	Orkney	HY 3716 3260	Grant 1937, 81, 84
SC 093	Varme Dale, Mound 1 (central cist)	Orkney	HY 4074 1856	Downes 1998b, 70; 1999, 325; 2005, 292, 248
SC 094	Harehope Cairn (cremation c)	Peebles-shire	NT 2139 4350	Jobey 1980; Longworth 1984, 294
SC 095	Harehope Cairn (cremation j)	Peebles-shire	NT 2139 4350	Jobey 1980, 102
SC 096	Harehope Cairn (cremation k)	Peebles-shire	NT 2139 4350	Jobey 1980, 103
SC 097	Horsburgh Castle farm	Peebles-shire	NT 295 392	Petersen et al 1973, 46-7, 54-5, 57 fig 2
SC 098	West Water Reservoir (cist 9)	Peebles-shire	NT 1181 5256	Hunter 1992; 1993; 1995; 2000, 16, illus 11
SC 099	Beech Hill House, Coupar Angus	Perthshire	NO 2201 4040	Stevenson 1995, 204; DES 3, 2002, 154
SC 100	Beech Hill House, Coupar Angus	Perthshire	NO 2201 4040	Stevenson 1995, 205; DES 3, 2002, 154
SC 101	Callum's Hill, Crieff	Perthshire	NG 874 221	Dalglish 1967, 36; Denston 1968, 28; Cowie 1978
SC 102	Callum's Hill, Crieff	Perthshire	NG 874 221	Dalglish 1967, 36; Denston 1968, 28; Cowie 1978
SC 103	Grantully	Perthshire	NN 922 533	Simpson & Coles 1990, 39-40 illus 9, Illust 10, Illust 11; *DES* 4, 2003, 168
SC 104	Grantully	Perthshire	NN 922 533	Simpson & Coles 1990, 39-40 illus 9, Illust 10, Illust 11; *DES* 4, 2003, 168

Cat No.	Site Name	Region	NGR	References
SC 105	Grantully	Perthshire	NN 922 533	Simpson & Coles 1990, 39-40 illus 9, Illust 10, Illust 11; *DES* 4, 2003, 168
SC 106	Murthly	Perthshire	NO 1027 3851	Mitchell 1972; Koon & McCulloch 2003
SC 107	North Mains Henge (burial J)	Perthshire	NN 9285 1625	Barclay 1983, 142-3, 160, 168, pl 11,
SC 108	North Mains, Barrow (burial A)	Perthshire	NN 926 162	Barclay 1983, 202, 206, 227, fig 51
SC 109	North Mains, Barrow (burial B)	Perthshire	NN 926 162	Barclay 1983, 202, 207,227 fig 51
SC 110	North Mains, Barrow (burial B)	Perthshire	NN 926 162	Barclay 1983, 202, 207,227 fig 51
SC 111	North Mains, Barrow (burial C)	Perthshire	NN 926 162	Barclay 1983, 207, 228, 219, fig 51
SC 112	North Mains, Barrow (burial C)	Perthshire	NN 926 162	Barclay 1983, 207, 228, 219, fig 51
SC 113	North Mains, Barrow (burial C)	Perthshire	NN 926 162	Barclay 1983, 207, 228, 219, fig 51
SC 114	North Mains, Barrow (burial C)	Perthshire	NN 926 162	Barclay 1983, 207, 228, 219, fig 51
SC 115	North Mains, Barrow (burial D)	Perthshire	NN 926 162	Barclay 1983, 207, 229, fig 51
SC 116	North Mains, Barrow (burial D)	Perthshire	NN 926 162	Barclay 1983, 207, 229, fig 51
SC 117	North Mains, Barrow (burial D)	Perthshire	NN 926 162	Barclay 1983, 207, 229, fig 51
SC 118	North Mains, Barrow (burial D)	Perthshire	NN 926 162	Barclay 1983, 207, 229, fig 51
SC 119	North Mains, Barrow (burial D)	Perthshire	NN 926 162	Barclay 1983, 207, 229, fig 51
SC 120	North Mains, Barrow (burial D)	Perthshire	NN 926 162	Barclay 1983, 207, 229, fig 51
SC 121	Sketewan cairn (cist 4)	Perthshire	NN 9450 5184	Mercer & Midgley 1997; McSweeney 1997
SC 122	Sketewan cairn (cist 4)	Perthshire	NN 9450 5184	Mercer & Midgley 1997; McSweeney 1997
SC 123	Sketewan cairn (cist 4)	Perthshire	NN 9450 5184	Mercer & Midgley 1997; McSweeney 1997
SC 124	Sketewan cairn (cist 5)	Perthshire	NN 9450 5184	Mercer & Midgley 1997; McSweeney 1997

Cat No.	Site Name	Region	NGR	References
SC 125	Sketewan cairn (feature 88)	Perthshire	NN 9450 5184	Mercer & Midgley 1997, 303; McSweeney 1997
SC 126	Sketewan cairn (feature 88)	Perthshire	NN 9450 5184	Mercer & Midgley 1997, 303; McSweeney 1997
SC 127	Sketewan cairn (feature 90)	Perthshire	NN 9450 5184	Mercer & Midgley 1997, 307-8, illus 23; McSweeney 1997
SC 128	Sketewan cairn (pyre)	Perthshire	NN 9450 5184	Mercer & Midgley 1997; McSweeney 1997
SC 129	South Mound, Houston	Renfrewshire	NS 400 664	Morrison 1979, 23, 39-40, 42, 44-5, pl 1, pl 14; Stables 1996, 26
SC 130	Dunion Hill, Bedrule	Roxburghshire	NT 62 19	Anderson 1886a, 98-100
SC 131	Dornoch Nursery (Hilton of Embo)	Sutherland	NH 7980 9081	Ashmore 1989; Masson & McSweeney 2005
SC 132	Blackness Castle (burial 2)	West Lothian	NT 0545 8010	Low 1945, 174
SC 133	Mill Road, Linlithgow	West Lothian	NS 9851 7771	Cook 2000
SC 134	Glenluce Sands (urn 1)	Wigtownshire	NX 133 557 (general)	Davidson 1952, 46, fig 2.1
SC 135	Low Glengyre, Eldrig	Wigtownshire	NX 0015 6632	Mann 1923

PART II a: YORKSHIRE INHUMATION CATALOGUE

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 01	Greenwell's barrow CCLIII, Bempton (Metlow Hill)	Bempton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 219 720	Greenwell 1890, 28-9; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 120.
YI 02	Greenwell's barrow CCLVI, Bishop Burton (Littlewood II)	Bishop Burton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 955 377	Greenwell 1890, 32, Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 122
YI 03	Mortimer's Barrow 42, Garrowby Wold Group	Bishop Wilton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8065 5651	Mortimer 1905, 144, 417
YI 04	Mortimer's Barrow C69, Garrowby Wold Group	Bishop Wilton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8137 5673	Mortimer 1905, 139, 416
YI 05	Mortimer's Barrow C69, Garrowby Wold Group	Bishop Wilton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8137 5673	Mortimer 1905, 139, 416
YI 06	Mortimer's Barrow C69, Garrowby Wold Group	Bishop Wilton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8137 5673	Mortimer 1905, 139, 416
YI 07	Mortimer's Barrow C69, Garrowby Wold Group	Bishop Wilton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8137 5673	Mortimer 1905, 139, 416
YI 08	Mortimer's Barrow C69, Garrowby Wold Group	Bishop Wilton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8137 5673	Mortimer 1905, 139, 416
YI 09	Mortimer's Barrow C69, Garrowby Wold Group	Bishop Wilton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8137 5673	Mortimer 1905, 139, 416
YI 10	Mortimer's Barrow C69, Garrowby Wold Group	Bishop Wilton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8137 5673	Mortimer 1905, 139, 416
YI 11	Mortimer's barrow 99, 'Kitty Hill', near Galllowby	Bishop Wilton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 7801 5652	Mortimer 1905, 149, 417
YI 12	Mortimer's barrow 120, Garrowby Wold Group	Bishop Wilton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8129 5548	Mortimer 1905, 144, 417

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 13	Mortimer's Barrow 275, Calais Wold Group (alternative name: Callis Wold)	Bishop Wilton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8310 5593	Mortimer 1905, 419.
YI 14	Mortimer's Barrow 275, Calais Wold Group (alternative name: Callis Wold)	Bishop Wilton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8310 5593	Mortimer 1905, 419.
YI 15	Mortimer's Barrow 275, Calais Wold Group (alternative name: Callis Wold)	Bishop Wilton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8310 5593	Mortimer 1905, 419.
YI 16	Caythorpe Barrow	Burton Agnes	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 0995 6569	Abramson 1996
YI 17	Greenwell's barrow LV (Cowlam V; Cottam II), Cowlam	Cowlam	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 984 667	Greenwell 1877, 213-214, Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 55.
YI 18	Greenwell's barrow LVI, Cowlam (Cowlam vi; Cottam III)	Cowlam	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 984 667	Greenwell 1877,214; Gentleman's Magazine 1867, 652; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 55-6
YI 19	Greenwell's barrow LVI, Cowlam (Cowlam vi; Cottam III)	Cowlam	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 984 667	Greenwell 1877,214; Gentleman's Magazine 1867, 652; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 55-6.
YI 20	Greenwell's barrow LVII, Cowlam (Cowlam VII)	Cowlam	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 984 667	Gentleman's Magazine 1867, ii: 651-3; Greenwell 1877, 214-21; Manby 1974, 121; Kinnes 1979, Ba5; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 56

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 21	Greenwell's barrow LVII, Cowlam (Cowlam VII)	Cowlam	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 984 667	Gentleman's Magazine 1867, ii: 651-3; Greenwell 1877, 214-21; Manby 1974, 121; Kinnes 1979, Ba5; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 56
YI 22	Greenwell's barrow LVII, Cowlam (Cowlam VII)	Cowlam	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 984 667	Gentleman's Magazine 1867, ii: 651-3; Greenwell 1877, 214-21; Manby 1974, 121; Kinnes 1979, Ba5; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 56
YI 23	Greenwell's barrow LVIII, Cowlam (Cowlam IX)	Cowlam	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 984 667	Greenwell 1868; Greenwell 1877, 222-5; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 58.
YI 24	Greenwell's barrow LIX, Cowlam (Cowlam X)	Cowlam	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 96 66	Greenwell 1877, 225-6; Manby 1974, 121; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 58-59
YI 25	Greenwell's barrow LXXXII, Etton (Riley)	Etton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 93 45	Greenwell 1877, 285-6; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 81.
YI 26	Mortimer Barrow 37, Garton Slack Group	Garton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9573 5970	Mortimer 1905, 262, 432
YI 27	Mortimer's Barrow 40, Garton Slack Group	Garton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9655 5803	Mortimer 1905, 244, 431.
YI 28	Mortimer's Barrow 40, Garton Slack Group	Garton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9655 5803	Mortimer 1905, 244, 431.
YI 29	Mortimer's Barrow 51, Garton Slack Group	Garton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9668 5835	Mortimer 1905, 216, 427
YI 30	Mortimer's Barrow 53, Garton Slack group	Garton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9696 5838	Mortimer 1905, 218, 427
YI 31	Mortimer's Barrow 62, Garton Slack Group	Garton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9620 5874	Mortimer 1905, 212, 426

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 32	Mortimer Barrow 71, Garton Slack Group	Garton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9560 56817	Mortimer 1905, 225, 428
YI 33	Mortimer Barrow 71, Garton Slack Group	Garton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9560 56817	Mortimer 1905, 225, 428
YI 34	Mortimers Barrow 74, Garton Slack Group	Garton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9627 5798	Mortimer 1905, 221, 427.
YI 35	Mortimers Barrow 74, Garton Slack Group	Garton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9627 5798	Mortimer 1905, 221, 427.
YI 36	Mortimer's Barrow 75, Garton Slack Group	Garton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9618 5803	Mortimer 1905, 224, 428
YI 37	Mortimer's barrow 107, Garton Slack Group	Garton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9695 5798	Mortimer 1905, 231, 429
YI 38	Wetwang Slack Barrow B	Garton/ Wetwang	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9460 6015	Dent 1979, 26-7
YI 39	Wetwang Slack Barrow B	Garton/ Wetwang	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9460 6015	Dent 1979, 28
YI 40	Wetwang Slack Barrow B	Garton/ Wetwang	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9460 6015	Dent 1979, 28
YI 41	Wetwang Slack grave 1 (isolated burial)	Garton/ Wetwang	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9460 6015	Dent 1979, 35
YI 42	Greenwell's barrow LXXXIX, Goodmanham (Enthorpe IX)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 91 45	Greenwell 1877, 297; Abercromby 1912, no 106a; Longworth 1984, no 698; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 82.
YI 43	Greenwell's barrow LXXXIX, Goodmanham (Enthorpe IX)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 91 45	Greenwell 1877, 297-8; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 82.
YI 44	Greenwell's barrow LXXXIX, Goodmanham (Enthorpe IX)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 91 45	Greenwell 1877, 298; Kinnes & Longworth 1984, 82
YI 45	Greenwell's barrow LXXXIX, Goodmanham (Enthorpe IX)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 91 45	Greenwell 1877, 299; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 83

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 46	Greenwell's barrow LXXXIX, Goodmanham (Enthorpe IX)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 91 45	Greenwell 1877, 299; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 83
YI 47	Greenwell's barrow XCII, Goodmanham (Goodmanham XIII)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 91 46	Greenwell 1877, 301-2; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 83.
YI 48	Greenwell's barrow XCIX, Goodmanham (Goodmanham VIII)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 91 46	Greenwell 1877, 308-19; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 85.
YI 49	Greenwell's barrow CXI, Goodmanham (Paulinus II)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 91 46	Greenwell 1877, 319; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 86. R
YI 50	Greenwell's barrow CXI, Goodmanham (Paulinus II)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 91 46	Greenwell 1877, 319; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 86. R
YI 51	Greenwell's barrow CXI, Goodmanham (Paulinus II)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 91 46	Greenwell 1877, 320; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 86. R
YI 52	Greenwell's barrow CXI, Goodmanham (Paulinus II)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 91 46	Greenwell 1877, 320; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 86. R
YI 53	Greenwell's barrow CXII, Goodmanham (Paulinus III)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 91 46	Greenwell 1877, 321; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 87.
YI 54	Greenwell's barrow CXII, Goodmanham (Paulinus III)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 91 46	Greenwell 1877, 321; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 87.
YI 55	Greenwell's barrow CXIV, Goodmanham (Paulinus VI)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 91 46	Greenwell 1877, 323-4; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 87.
YI 56	Greenwell's barrow CXIV, Goodmanham (Paulinus VI)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 91 46	Greenwell 1877, 323-4; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 87.
YI 57	Moneyhill, Greenwell's Barrow CXXI, Goodmanham (Goodmanham XI)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 921 455	Greenwell 1877, 329-31; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 89.

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 58	Moneyhill, Greenwell's Barrow CXXI, Goodmanham (Goodmanham XI)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 921 455	Greenwell 1877, 330; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 89.
YI 59	Mortimer's Barrow 216, Huggate Wold Group	Huggate	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8403 5694	Mortimer 1905, 309, 435
YI 60	Mortimer's Barrow 216, Huggate Wold Group	Huggate	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8403 5694	Mortimer 1905, 309, 435
YI 61	Mortimer's Barrow 225, Huggate Wold Group	Huggate	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8728 5771	Mortimer 1905, 301, 434
YI 62	Mortimer's Barrow 225, Huggate Wold Group	Huggate	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8728 5771	Mortimer 1905, 301, 434.
YI 63	Mortimer's Barrow 225, Huggate Wold Group	Huggate	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8728 5771	Mortimer 1905, 301, 434.
YI 64	Mortimer's Barrow 226, Huggate Wold Group	Huggate	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 87 57 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 303, 434.
YI 65	Mortimer's Barrow 228, Huggate Wold Group	Huggate	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8692 5702	Mortimer 1905, 304, 435
YI 66	Mortimer's Barrow 228, Huggate Wold Group	Huggate	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8692 5702	Mortimer 1905, 304, 435
YI 67	Mortimer's Barrow 244, Huggate and Warter wold group	Huggate	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8563 5410	Mortimer 1905, 313, 436
YI 68	Mortimer's Barrow 264, Huggate and Warter Wold Group	Huggate	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8593 5376	Mortimer 1905, 317, 437
YI 69	Mortimer's Barrow 264, Huggate and Warter Wold Group	Huggate	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8593 5376	Mortimer 1905, 322, 437
YI 70	Mortimers Barrow 4, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Kirby Underdale	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8221 5934	Mortimer 1905, 115, 413

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 71	Mortimers Barrow 4, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Kirby Underdale	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8221 5934	Mortimer 1905, 115, 413
YI 72	Mortimers Barrow 4, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Kirby Underdale	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8221 5934	Mortimer 1905, 115, 413
YI 73	Mortimers Barrow 4, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Kirby Underdale	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8221 5934	Mortimer 1905, 115, 413
YI 74	Mortimers Barrow 4, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Kirby Underdale	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8221 5934	Mortimer 1905, 115, 413
YI 75	Mortimer's Barrow 83, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Kirby Underdale	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8271 5882	Mortimer 1905, 119, 413
YI 76	Mortimer's Barrow 83, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Kirby Underdale	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8271 5882	Mortimer 1905, 119, 413
YI 77	Mortimer's Barrow 97, Garrowby Wold Group	Kirby Underdale	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8044 5688	Mortimer 1905, 143, 417.
YI 78	Mortimer's Barrow 98 Painsthorpe wold group	Kirby Underdale	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 842 577	Mortimer 1905, 129, 415
YI 79	Mortimer's Barrow 98 Painsthorpe wold group	Kirby Underdale	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 842 577	Mortimer 1905, 129, 415
YI 80	Mortimer's barrow 102, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Kirby Underdale	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8246 5826	Mortimer 1905, 124, 414
YI 81	Mortimer's barrow 104, Garrowby Wold Group	Kirby Underdale	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8162 5689	Mortimer 1905, 134, 416.
YI 82	Mortimer's barrow 104, Garrowby Wold Group	Kirby Underdale	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8162 5689	Mortimer 1905, 136, 416
YI 83	Mortimer's barrow 67, Garton Slack Group	Kirkburn	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9807 5748	Mortimer 1905, 243, 431
YI 84	Mortimer's barrow 67, Garton Slack Group	Kirkburn	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9807 5748	Mortimer 1905, 243, 431
YI 85	Mortimer's barrow 67, Garton Slack Group	Kirkburn	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9807 5748	Mortimer 1905, 243, 431

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 86	Mortimer's Barrow 79, Garton Slack Group	Kirkburn	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9796 5771	Mortimer 1905, 242, 431
YI 87	Mortimer's Barrow 112, Garton Slack Group	Kirkburn	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9865 5752	Mortimer 1905, 245, 431.
YI 88	Mortimer's Barrow 112, Garton Slack Group	Kirkburn	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9865 5752	Mortimer 1905, 245, 431.
YI 89	Mortimer's Barrow 112, Garton Slack Group	Kirkburn	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9865 5752	Mortimer 1905, 245, 431.
YI 90	Mortimer's Barrow 57, Garton Slack Group	Kirkburn	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9887 5681	Mortimer 1905, 260, 432
YI 91	Greenwell's barrow XLVIII, Langtoft (lamplough)	Langtoft	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 00 68	Greenwell 1877, 204-5; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 50
YI 92	Greenwell's CXXII, Londesborough	Londesborough	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 89 49	Greenwell 1877, 331; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 89.
YI 93	Mortimer's Barrow 265, Blanch group	North Dalton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9018 5331	Mortimer 1905, 330, 438
YI 94	Mortimer's Barrow 265, Blanch group	North Dalton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9018 5331	Mortimer 1905, 330, 438
YI 95	Greenwell's barrow LXII, Rudston (Rudstone IV)	Rudston	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 098 658	Greenwell 1877, 234-5; Pacitto 1972; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 61-8.
YI 96	Greenwell's barrow LXII, Rudston (Rudstone IV)	Rudston	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 098 658	Greenwell 1877, 234-5; Pacitto 1972; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 61-8.
YI 97	Greenwell's barrow LXII, Rudston (Rudstone IV)	Rudston	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 098 658	Greenwell 1877, 234-5; Pacitto 1972; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 61-8.

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 98	Greenwell's barrow LXIII, Rudston (Rudstone V)	Rudston	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 098 658	Greenwell 1877, 245-51; Abercromby 1912, no 110; Clarke 1970, no 1373; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 69-71
YI 99	Greenwell's barrow LXIII, Rudston (Rudstone V)	Rudston	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 098 658	Greenwell 1877, 245-51; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 69-71
YI 100	Greenwell's barrow LXIII, Rudston (Rudstone V)	Rudston	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 098 658	Greenwell 1877, 245-51, Tyndal 1870; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 69-71
YI 101	Greenwell's barrow LXVII, Rudston (Cranswick I)	Rudston	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 107 666	Greenwell 1877, 257-62; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 74-85.
YI 102	Greenwell's barrow LXVII, Rudston (Cranswick I)	Rudston	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 107 666	Greenwell 1877, 257-62; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 74-85.
YI 103	Greenwell's barrow LXVII, Rudston (Cranswick I)	Rudston	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 107 666	Greenwell 1877, 257-62; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 74-85.
YI 104	Greenwell's barrow LXVII, Rudston (Cranswick I)	Rudston	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 107 666	Greenwell 1877, 257-62; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 74-85.
YI 105	Greenwell's barrow LXVII, Rudston (Cranswick I)	Rudston	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 107 666	Greenwell 1877, 257-62; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 74-85.
YI 106	Greenwell's barrow LXVII, Rudston (Cranswick I)	Rudston	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 107 666	Greenwell 1877, 257-62; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 74-85.
YI 107	Greenwell's barrow LXVII, Rudston (Cranswick I)	Rudston	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 107 666	Greenwell 1877, 257-62; Abercromby 1912, no.107; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 74-85.

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 108	Greenwell's barrow LXVII, Rudston (Cranswick I)	Rudston	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 107 666	Greenwell 1877, 257-62; Abercromby 1912, no.142; Clarke 1970, no.1377; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 74-85.
YI 109	Greenwell's barrow LXVIII, Rudston (Cranswick II)	Rudston	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 08 65	Greenwell 1877, 262-9; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 76-8
YI 110	Mortimer's Barrow 28, Liff Hill Group	Sledmere	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9363 6188	Mortimer 1905, 200, 424
YI 111	Mortimer's Barrow 294, Liff hill group	Sledmere	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 0442 6207	Mortimer 1905, 204, 424.
YI 112	Mortimer's barrow 237, Blanch group	Warter	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8998 5370	Mortimer 1905, 325, 438
YI 113	Mortimer's barrow 237, Blanch group	Warter	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8998 5370	Mortimer 1905, 325, 438
YI 114	Greenwell's Weaverthorpe Barrow XLVII	Weaverthorpe	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 004 691	Greenwell 1877, 201-4; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 48-50
YI 115	Greenwell's Weaverthorpe Barrow XLVII	Weaverthorpe	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 004 691	Greenwell 1877, 201-4; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 48-50
YI 116	Mortimer's barrow 284, near Wold Newton	Wold Newton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 0484 7261	Mortimer 1905, 350, 441
YI 117	Mortimer's barrow 284, near Wold Newton	Wold Newton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	TA 0484 7261	Mortimer 1905, 350, 441
YI 118	Mortimers Barrow 204, Acklam Wold Group	Acklam	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 7964 6211	Mortimer 1905, 86, 408
YI 119	Mortimers Barrow 204, Acklam Wold Group	Acklam	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 7964 6211	Mortimer 1905, 86, 408
YI 120	Mortimers Barrow 204, Acklam Wold Group	Acklam	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 7964 6211	Mortimer 1905, 86, 408
YI 121	Mortimer's Barrow 51, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8169 6226	Mortimer 1905, 78, 407

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 122	Mortimer's Barrow 51, Aldro group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8169 6226	Mortimer 1905, 78, 407
YI 123	Mortimer Barrow 54, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8152 6295	Mortimer 1905, 64, 404.
YI 124	Mortimer Barrow 54, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8152 6295	Mortimer 1905, 64, 404.
YI 125	Mortimer Barrow 54, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8152 6295	Mortimer 1905, 65, 404
YI 126	Mortimer Barrow 54, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8152 6295	Mortimer 1905, 65, 404
YI 127	Mortimer Barrow 54, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8152 6295	Mortimer 1905, 65, 404
YI 128	Mortimer Barrow 54, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8152 6295	Mortimer 1905, 65, 404
YI 129	Mortimer Barrow 54, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8152 6295	Mortimer 1905, 65, 404
YI 130	Mortimer Barrow 59, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8169 6226	Mortimer 1905, 69, 405
YI 131	Mortimer Barrow 59, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8169 6226	Mortimer 1905, 69, 405
YI 132	Mortimer Barrow 59, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8169 6226	Mortimer 1905, 69, 405
YI 133	Mortimer Barrow 59, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8169 6226	Mortimer 1905, 69, 405
YI 134	Mortimer's barrow 66, Wharram Percy Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8395 6395	Mortimer 1905, 49
YI 135	Mortimer's barrow 67, Wharram Percy	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8319 6351	Mortimer 1905, 50
YI 136	Mortimer's Barrow 70, Wharram Percy group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8370 6348	Mortimer 1905, 47
YI 137	Mortimer's barrow C76, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 83 63 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 71, 405

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 138	Mortimer's barrow 88, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8200 6282	Mortimer 1905, 58, 403.
YI 139	Mortimer's barrow 88, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8200 6282	Mortimer 1905, 58, 403.
YI 140	Mortimer's barrow 88, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8200 6282	Mortimer 1905, 58, 403.
YI 141	Mortimer's barrow 116, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8291 6278	Mortimer 1905, 55, 403.
YI 142	Mortimer's barrow 116, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8291 6278	Mortimer 1905, 55, 403.
YI 143	Mortimer's barrow 116, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8291 6278	Mortimer 1905, 55, 403.
YI 144	Mortimer's barrow 281, Hedon Howe (Eddlethorpe)	Burythorpe	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 7846 6651	Mortimer 1905, 347, 441
YI 145	Greenwell's barrow LXX, Folkton (Flixton 2)	Folkton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 040 768	Greenwell 1877, 272-4; Abercromby 1912, no 122; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 78.
YI 146	Greenwell's barrow LXX, Folkton (Flixton 2)	Folkton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 040 768	Greenwell 1877, 272; Longworth 1984, 88, no 1137a 7 1138; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 78.
YI 147	Greenwell's barrow LXX, Folkton (Flixton 2)	Folkton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 040 768	Greenwell 1877, 272;Abercromby 1912, no 120; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 78.
YI 148	Greenwell's barrow LXX, Folkton (Flixton 2)	Folkton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 040 768	Greenwell 1877, 272; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 78.
YI 149	Greenwell's barrow LXX, Folkton (Flixton 2)	Folkton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 040 768	Greenwell 1877, 273; Abercromby 1912, no 121; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 78.

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 150	Greenwell's barrow LXXI, Folkton (Flixton 3)	Folkton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 043 767	Greenwell 1877, 276; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 79
YI 151	Greenwell's barrow CCXLII, Folkton (Sharp VI)	Folkton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 051 770	Greenwell 1890, 10; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 114
YI 152	Greenwell's barrow CCXLII, Folkton (Sharp VI)	Folkton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 051 770	Greenwell 1890, 11; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 114
YI 153	Greenwell's barrow CCXLV, Folkton (Folkton II; 'Bording Dale')	Folkton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 059 778	Greenwell 1890, 14-16; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 115-116.
YI 154	Greenwell's barrow CCXLV, Folkton (Folkton II; 'Bording Dale')	Folkton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 059 778	Greenwell 1890, 15; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 116.
YI 155	Greenwell's barrow CCXLV, Folkton (Folkton II; 'Bording Dale')	Folkton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 059 778	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 116
YI 156	Greenwell's barrow CCXLV, Folkton (Folkton II; 'Bording Dale')	Folkton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 059 778	Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 116
YI 157	Brough V, Ganton (Greenwell's barrow XVI)	Ganton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 97 75	Greenwell 1877, 155-7; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 36
YI 158	Brough III, Ganton (Greenwell's barrow XXI)	Ganton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 985 760	Greenwell 1877, 161-6; Kinnes & Longworth 1984, 37-40.
YI 159	Brough III, Ganton (Greenwell's barrow No.XXI)	Ganton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 985 760	Greenwell 1877, 161-6; Kinnes & Longworth 1984, 37-40.
YI 160	Brough III, Ganton (Greenwell's barrow XXI)	Ganton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 985 760	Greenwell 1877, 161-6; Kinnes & Longworth 1984, 37-40.
YI 161	Brough III, Ganton (Greenwell's barrow XXI)	Ganton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 985 760	Greenwell 1877, 161-6; Kinnes & Longworth 1984, 37-40.
YI 162	Southwell, Ganton (Greensell's barrow XXIII)	Ganton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 99 76	Greenwell 1877, 167-9; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 40

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 163	Southwell III, Ganton (Greenwell's barrow XXVI)	Ganton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 00 76	Greenwell 1877, 171-3; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 41
YI 164	Southwell III, Ganton (Greenwell's barrow XXVI)	Ganton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 00 76	Greenwell 1877, 171-3; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 41
YI 165	Southwell III, Ganton (Greenwell's barrow XXVI)	Ganton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 00 76	Greenwell 1877, 171-3; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 41
YI 166	Southwell III, Ganton (Greenwell's barrow XXVI)	Ganton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 00 76	Greenwell 1877, 171-3; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 41
YI 167	Southwell I, Ganton (Greenwell's barrow XXVII)	Ganton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 00 76	Greenwell 1877, 173-5; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 42.
YI 168	Greenwell's barrow XLI, Helperthorpe (Grundon II)	Helperthorpe	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 94 72	Greenwell 1877, 191-2; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 45.
YI 169	Heslerton (Greenwell's barrow IV)	Heslerton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 90 74	Greenwell 1877, 141, 458; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 33.
YI 170	Heslerton (Greenwell's barrow VI)	Heslerton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 91 74	Greenwell 1877, 142-5; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 33-4.
YI 171	Barrow 1M, Heslerton	Heslerton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 9175 7670	Powlesland 1986, 91
YI 172	Barrow 1M, Heslerton	Heslerton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 9175 7670	Powlesland 1986, 91
YI 173	Barrow 1M, Heslerton	Heslerton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 9175 7670	Powlesland 1986, 91
YI 174	Barrow 1M, Heslerton	Heslerton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 9175 7670	Powlesland 1986, 91
YI 175	Barrow 1M, Heslerton	Heslerton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 9175 7670	Powlesland 1986, 91
YI 176	Barrow 1R, Heslerton	Heslerton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 9175 7670	Powlesland 1986, 98

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 177	Barrow 1R, Heslerton	Heslerton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 9175 7670	Powlesland 1986, 98
YI 178	Barrow 1R, Heslerton	Heslerton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 9175 7670	Powlesland 1986, 98
YI 179	Barrow 1R, Heslerton	Heslerton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 9175 7670	Powlesland 1986, 104
YI 180	Barrow 1R, Heslerton	Heslerton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 9175 7670	Powlesland 1986, 104
YI 181	Barrow 1R, Heslerton	Heslerton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 9175 7670	Powlesland 1986, 110
YI 182	Greenwell's barrow CCL, Hunmanby (Folkton VIII)	Hunmanby	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 075 742	Greenwell 1890, 18; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 119.
YI 183	Greenwell's barrow CCLI, Hunmanby (Folkton IX)	Hunmanby	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 08 75	Greenwell 1890, 22; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 120.
YI 184	Mortimer's Barrow 21, Towthorpe group	Kirby Grindalythe	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 9066 6531	Mortimer 1905, 21
YI 185	Mortimer's Barrow 21, Towthorpe group	Kirby Grindalythe	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 9066 6531	Mortimer 1905, 21
YI 186	Mortimer's barrow 273, Howe Hill, Duggleby	Kirby Grindalythe	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8804 6688	Mortimer 1905, 27
YI 187	Mortimer's barrow 273, Howe Hill, Duggleby	Kirby Grindalythe	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8804 6688	Mortimer 1905, 27
YI 188	Mortimer's barrow 273, Howe Hill, Duggleby	Kirby Grindalythe	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8804 6688	Mortimer 1905, 27
YI 189	Mortimer's barrow 273, Howe Hill, Duggleby	Kirby Grindalythe	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8804 6688	Mortimer 1905, 27
YI 190	Mortimer's barrow 273, Howe Hill, Duggleby	Kirby Grindalythe	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8804 6688	Mortimer 1905, 27
YI 191	Mortimer's barrow 273, Howe Hill, Duggleby	Kirby Grindalythe	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8804 6688	Mortimer 1905, 27
YI 192	Mortimer's barrow 280, near Marton Hall	Marton	Yorkshire East Riding: North Yorkshire	SE 7334 8322	Mortimer 1905, 344, 440

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 193	Barrow 280, near Marton Hall	Marton	Yorkshire East Riding: North Yorkshire	SE 7334 8322	Mortimer 1905, 344, 440
YI 194	Lamplough I, Sherburn (Greenwell's barrow XII)	Sherburn	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 96 74	Greenwell 1877, 148-9; Kinness & Longworth 1985, 35
YI 195	Sherburn (Greenwell's barrow XII)	Sherburn	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 94 73	Greenwell 1877, 150-2; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 35
YI 196	Sherburn (Greenwell's barrow XII)	Sherburn	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 94 73	Greenwell 1877, 150-2; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 35
YI 197	Mortimer's Barrow 211 1/2, Towthorpe Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8332 6220	Mortimer 1905, 18
YI 198	Barrow 211 1/2, Towthorpe Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8332 6220	Mortimer 1905, 19
YI 199	Mortimer's Barrow 61, Hanging Grimston Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8000 6067	Mortimer 1905, 96, 410
YI 200	Mortimer's Barrow 55, Hanging Grimston Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8063 6121	Mortimer 1905, 100, 411
YI 201	Mortimer's Barrow 55, Hanging Grimston Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8063 6121	Mortimer 1905, 100, 411
YI 202	Mortimer's Barrow 55, Hanging Grimston Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8063 6121	Mortimer 1905, 100, 411
YI 203	Mortimer's Barrow 55, Hanging Grimston Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8063 6121	Mortimer 1905, 100, 411
YI 204	Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8335 5838	Mortimer 1905, 125, 414
YI 205	Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8335 5838	Mortimer 1905, 125, 414
YI 206	Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8335 5838	Mortimer 1905, 125, 414

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 207	Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8335 5838	Mortimer 1905, 125, 414
YI 208	Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8335 5838	Mortimer 1905, 125, 414
YI 209	Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8335 5838	Mortimer 1905, 125, 414
YI 210	Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8335 5838	Mortimer 1905, 125, 414
YI 211	Mortimer's Barrow 118, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8335 5838	Mortimer 1905, 125, 414
YI 212	Mortimer's Barrow 121, Painsthorpe Wold Group,	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8358 58 39	Mortimer 1905, 128, 415
YI 213	Mortimer's Barrow 111, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8384 5913	Mortimer 1905, 128, 415
YI 214	Mortimer's Barrow 111, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8384 5913	Mortimer 1905, 128, 415
YI 215	Mortimer's Barrow 111, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8384 5913	Mortimer 1905, 128, 415
YI 216	Mortimer's Barrow 16, Riggs Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8515 5880	Mortimer 1905, 177, 421
YI 217	Mortimer's barrow 17, Riggs group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8527 5890	Mortimer 1905, 179, 422
YI 218	Mortimer's Barrow 41, Rigg Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8548 5825	Mortimer 1905, 181, 422.
YI 219	Mortimer's Barrow 49, Rubbing Horse Hill, Riggs Group	Thixendale	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8484 6030	Mortimer 1905, 172, 421
YI 220	Greenwell's barrow XLV, Weaverthorpe	Weaverthorpe	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 00 68	Greenwell 1877, 199-200; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 47.

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 221	Greenwell's barrow XLV, Weaverthorpe	Weaverthorpe	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 00 68	Greenwell 1877, 199-200; Abercromby 1912 no.38; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 47.
YI 222	Mortimer's Barrow 106, Towthorpe group	Wharram-le-Street	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8763 6393	Mortimer 1905, 13
YI 223	Mortimer's Barrow 106, Towthorpe group	Wharram-le-Street	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 8763 6393	Mortimer 1905, 13
YI 224	Greenwell's barrow XXXIII, Willerby	Willerby	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 03 76	Greenwell 1877, 181-3; Kinnes & Longworth 1984, 43-4.
YI 225	Greenwell's barrow XXXIII, Willerby	Willerby	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 03 76	Greenwell 1877, 181-3; Kinnes & Longworth 1984, 43-4.
YI 226	Greenwell's barrow XXXIII, Willerby	Willerby	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 03 76	Greenwell 1877, 181-3; Kinnes & Longworth 1984, 43-4.
YI 227	Greenwell's barrow XXXIII, Willerby	Willerby	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 03 76	Greenwell 1877, 181-3; Kinnes & Longworth 1984, 43-4.
YI 228	Greenwell's barrow XXXIII, Willerby	Willerby	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 03 76	Greenwell 1877, 181-3; Kinnes & Longworth 1984, 43-4.
YI 229	Greenwell's barrow XXXIV, Willerby	Willerby	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 03 76	Greenwell 1877, 183-4; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 44.
YI 230	Greenwell's barrow XXXIV, Willerby	Willerby	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 03 76	Greenwell 1877, 183-4; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 44.
YI 231	Staxton	Willerby	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 023 794	Stead 1962
YI 232	Staxton	Willerby	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 023 794	Stead 1962
YI 233	Staxton	Willerby	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 023 794	Stead 1962
YI 234	Ampleforth Barrow 3, Oswaldkirk	Ampleforth	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 5955 7979	Smith 1994, 100-1, fig 60.4

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 235	Ampleforth Barrow 3, Oswaldkirk	Ampleforth	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 5955 7979	Smith 1994, 100-1, fig 60.4
YI 236	Ampleforth barrow 4, Oswaldkirk	Ampleforth	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 5955 7979	Smith 1994, 101-2,
YI 237	Pinderdale Wood Barrow	Beadlam	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 628 899	Hayes 1963, 35, 52, 345-6, 348; Smith 1994, 110
YI 238	Lord Barrow	Boltby	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 5112 8507	Smith, M J B 1994, 105.
YI 239	Seamer Moor barrow	East Ayton	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 0194 8618	Smith 1994, 153.
YI 240	Near Seamer, Scarborough	East Ayton	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 02 89 (general)	Denison 2001
YI 241	Limestone cairn, 7 miles E of pickering	Ebberston & Yedingham	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 90 85	Bateman 1861, 221-22; Howarth 1899, 17-18; Smith 1994, 133
YI 242	Limestone cairn, 7 miles E of pickering	Ebberston & Yedingham	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 90 85	Bateman 1861, 221-22; Howarth 1899, 17-18; Smith 1994, 133
YI 243	1 mile N of pickering	Ebberston & Yedingham	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 90 85	Bateman 1861, 210, 271-2; Howarth 1899, 216; Elgee 1930, 68; Smith 1994,117-8
YI 244	Hutton Buscel Barrow 2	Hutton Buscel	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 9595 8720	Brewster & Finney 1995, 7
YI 245	Green Howe Barrow	North Deighton	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 3887 5123	Wood 1972, 6
YI 246	Green Howe Barrow	North Deighton	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 3887 5123	Wood 1972, 6
YI 247	Green Howe Barrow	North Deighton	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 3887 5123	Wood 1972, 6
YI 248	Green Howe Barrow	North Deighton	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 3887 5123	Wood 1972, 6

Cat No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YI 249	Green Howe Barrow	North Deighton	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 3887 5123	Wood 1972, 8

Cat. No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YC 1	Quernhow	Ainderby Quernhowe/Hambleton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 338 804	Fox 1959, 71-4
YC 2	Quernhow	Ainderby Quernhowe/Hambleton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 338 804	Fox 1959, 71-4
YC 3	Barrow 79, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 811 628 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 75, 406
YC 4	Barrow 97, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 811 628 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 76, 407
YC 5	Barrow 46, Greenlands, Wharram Percy Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding, North Yorkshire	SE 835 633 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 45, 402, 68
YC 6	Barrow 109, Aldro Group	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding, North Yorkshire	SE 811 628 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 58, 403, fig 109
YC 7	Greenwell's barrow LXX, Folkton (Flixton 2)	Folkton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 040 768	Greenwell 1877, 274; Abercromby 1912, no. 118; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 78.
YC 8	Greenwell's barrow CCXLI, Folkton (Sharpe Howes I)	Folkton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 049 778	Greenwell 1890, 9-10; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 113.
YC 9	Greenwell's barrow CCXLIV, Folkton (Folkton 1)	Folkton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 050 736	Greenwell 1890, 13; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 115.
YC 10	Southwell IV, Ganton (Greenwell's No. XXV)	Garton on the Wolds	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	TA 00 76	Greenwell 1877, 170-1; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 41

Cat. No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YC 11	Barrow 1M, Heslerton	Heslerton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 9175 7670	Powlesland 1986
YC 12	Barrow 280, 200 yards S of Marton Hall	Marton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 7334 8322	Mortimer 1905, 345-6, 440, Fig 1004-9
YC 13	Lamplough I, Sherburn (Greenwell's No. XII)	Sherburn	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 96 74	Greenwell 1877, 154; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 34
YC 14	Lamplough IV, Sherburn (Greenwell's No. XV)	Sherburn	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 97 95	Greenwell 1877, 155; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 36.
YC 15	Hanging Grimston Barrow 56	Thixendale/Wharram Percy	Yorkshire East Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 805 613	Mortimer 1905, 99
YC 16	Barrow 26, 'black plantation', Hanging Grimston Group	Thixendale/Wharram Percy	Yorkshire East Riding, North Yorkshire	SE 805 613	Mortimer 1905, 109-112, 412.
YC 17	Barrow 26, 'black plantation', Hanging Grimston Group	Thixendale/Wharram Percy	Yorkshire East Riding, North Yorkshire	SE 805 613	Mortimer 1905, 109-112, 412.
YC 18	Barrow 84, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Thixendale/Wharram Percy	Yorkshire East Riding, North Yorkshire	SE 81 58 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 124, 414
YC 19	Barrow 95, Painsthrope Wold Group	Thixendale/Wharram Percy	Yorkshire East Riding, North Yorkshire	SE 81 58 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 124, 414
YC 20	Barrow 118, SW of Bradeham Farm, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Thixendale/Wharram Percy	Yorkshire East Riding, North Yorkshire	SE 8335 5838	Mortimer 1905, 125-127, 414, fig 311, 312.

Cat. No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YC 21	Barrow 118, SW of Bradeham Farm, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Thixendale/Wharram Percy	Yorkshire East Riding, North Yorkshire	SE 8335 5838	Mortimer 1905, 125-127, 414
YC 22	Barrow 93, Bradeham, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Thixendale/Wharram Percy	Yorkshire East Riding, North Yorkshire	SE 833 583 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 130, 415.
YC 23	Barrow 98, Painsthorpe Wold Group	Thixendale/Wharram Percy	Yorkshire East Riding, North Yorkshire	SE 833 583 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 130, 415
YC 24	Barrow 36, N of Gill's Farm, Riggs Group	Thixendale/Wharram Percy	Yorkshire East Riding, North Yorkshire	SE 855 582 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 173, 421
YC 25	Barrow 42a, Cowdale Leys, Riggs group	Thixendale/Wharram Percy	Yorkshire East Riding, North Yorkshire	SE 851 597	Mortimer 1905, 174, 421.
YC 26	Barrow 6, Towthorpe Group	Towthorpe	Yorkshire East Riding, North Yorkshire	SE 62 58 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 8-10, 398, fig 13
YC 27	Barow 103, Calais Wold Group (alternatively Callis Wold)	Bishop Wilton	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 8282 5620 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 166, 419, fig 419
YC 28	Barrow 75, Garton Slack Group	Garton on the Wolds	Yorkshire East Riding, Humberside	SE 956 599 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 224, 428, fig 57a
YC 29	Barrow 80, Garton Slack Group	Garton on the Wolds	Yorkshire East Riding, Humberside	SE 9781 5773	Mortimer 1905, 237, 430.

Cat. No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YC 30	Greenwell's barrow LXXIII, Cherry Burton (Gardham II)	Cherry Burton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Humberside	SE 942 405	GM 1866, I: 493-4; Greenwell 1877, 280; Longworth 1984, no.677; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 80.
YC 31	Greenwell's barrow LXXIII, Cherry Burton (Gardham II), Yorkshire East Riding, North Humberside	Cherry Burton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Humberside	SE 942 405	GM 1866, I: 493-4; Greenwell 1877, 280-1; Longworth 1984, no.676; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 80.
YC 32	Greenwell's barrow LXXXI, Etton (Etton II), Yorkshire East Riding, North Humberside.	Etton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Humberside	SE 935 438	Greenwell 1877, 284; Coombs 1974, 3; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 81
YC 33	Greenwell's barrow LXXXII, Etton (Riley), Yorkshire East Riding, North Humberside	Etton	Yorkshire East Riding; North Humberside	SE 93 45	Greenwell 1877, 285; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 81.
YC 34	Greenwell's barrow LXXXIII, Goodmanham (Enthorpe I)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; North Humberside	SE 91 45	Greenwell 1877, 287-8; Abercromby 1912, no 115; Longworth 1984, no 690; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 81.

Cat. No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YC 35	Greenwell's barrow LXXXIII, Goodmanham (Enthorpe I)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; North Humberside	SE 91 45	Greenwell 1877, 287-8; Abercromby 1912, no 115a; Longworth 1984, no 689; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 81.
YC 36	Greenwell's barrow LXXXIV, Goodmanham (Enthorpe II)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; North Humberside	SE 91 45	Greenwell 1877, 288-90; Abercromby 1912, 105b; Longworth 1961, 263-306, no 237; Longworth 1984, 207, no 691; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 81.
YC 37	Greenwell's barrow LXXXV, Goodmanham (enthorpe III)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; North Humberside	SE 91 45	Greenwell 1877, 290; Abercromby 1912, no 114 & 114a; Longworth 1984, no. 694 & 5; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 82.
YC 38	Greenwell's barrow LXXXV, Goodmanham (enthorpe III)	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; North Humberside	SE 91 45	Greenwell 1877, 290; Abercromby 1912, no 114 & 114a; Longworth 1984, no. 694 & 5; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 82.

Cat. No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YC 39	Greenwell's barrow CIX, Goodmanham (Jarrett V), Yorkshire East Riding, North Humberside	Goodmanham	Yorkshire East Riding; North Humberside	SE 91 46	Greenwell 1877, 318; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 86.
YC 40	Barrow 251, Huggate and Warter wold group	Huggate	Yorkshire East Riding, Humberside	SE 8596 5396	Mortimer 1905, 316, 437.
YC 41	barrow 92, Blanch group	Huggate	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 880 555 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 323, 438, fig. 967.
YC 42	barrow 92, Blanch Group	Huggate	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 880 555 (general)	Mortimer 323-4, 438
YC 43	Barrow 94, Blanch Group	Huggate	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 880 555 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 324, , 498, fig. 968, 969, 970
YC 44	Barrow 262, Blanch group	Huggate	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 880 555 (general)	Mortimer 1905, 331, 439, fig. 992.
YC 45	Wetwang Slack Barrow B, Garton Slack	Wetwang	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9460 6015	Dent 1979, 26-27; Dawes 1979, 38
YC 46	Wetwang Slack barrow B, Garton Slack	Wetwang	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	SE 9460 6015	Dent 1979, 26-27; Dawes 1979, 38
YC 47	Isolated burial, near Bridlington	Unknown	Yorkshire East Riding; Humberside	Unknown	Longworth 1984, 205, no 668, pl 246i.
YC 48	Wilton Moor, Kirleatham	Guisborough	Yorkshire North Riding; Cleveland	NZ 5773 1829	Vyner 1991

Cat. No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YC 49	Ord Tumulus II, Eston	Guisborough	Yorkshire North Riding; Cleveland	NZ 5690 1803	Ord 1846, 106-9.; Longworth 1984, 155, pl 113a; Smith 1994, 50, fig 7,1
YC 50	Herd Howe, Moorsham	Lockwood	Yorkshire North Riding; Cleveland	NZ 7045 1176	Atkinson 1864, 705-9; 1874, 314; 1891, 135, 139-142; Longworth 1984, 163, pl 152c; Smith 1994, 70-2, fig 32.2;
YC 51	Herd Howe, Moorsham	Lockwood	Yorkshire North Riding; Cleveland	NZ 7045 1176	Atkinson 1864, 705-9; 1874, 314; 1891, 135, 139-142; Longworth 1984, 165, pl.190a; Smith1994, 70-2, fig 32.3;.
YC 52	Herd Howe, Moorsham	Lockwood	Yorkshire North Riding; Cleveland	NZ 7045 1176	Atkinson 1864, 705-9; 1874, 314; 1891, 135, 139-142; Abercromby 1912, LXXVII, 176; Longworth 1984, 162, pl. 132c; Smith 1994, 70-2..
YC 53	Boulby Barrow 7, Easington	Loftus	Yorkshire North Riding; Cleveland	NZ 7564 1895	Hornsby & Laverick 1920; Longworth 1984, 163, no. 153, pl118b; Smith 1994, 77.

Cat. No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YC 54	Street House Cairn	Loftus	Yorkshire North Riding; Cleveland	NZ 7365 1962	Vyner 1984; Smith 1994
YC 55	Street house cairn	Loftus	Yorkshire North Riding; Cleveland	NZ 7365 1962	Vyner 1984; Smith 1994
YC 56	Sawdon Moor, Barrow 1	Brompton	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 934 859	Brewster & Finney 1995, 11-20; Dawes 1995 57-59
YC 57	Sawdon Moor, Barrow 1	Brompton	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 934 859	Brewster & Finney 1995, 11-20; Dawes 1995 57-59
YC 58	Broxa cairn No.4, Broxa	Broxa Cum Troutsdale	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 9434 9262	Strickland 1950, 89; Smith 1994
YC 59	Greenwell's barrow CXXVIII, Cold Kirby	Cold Kirby	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 516 827	Greenwell 1866, 115-7; Greenwell 1877, 338-9; Abercromby 1912, II, fig III; Longworth 1984, 240, no. 1106; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 90;
YC 60	Circle D, Great Ayton Moor	Hambleton	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	NZ 593 114	Hayes 1967; Longworth 1984, 245, no.1154, pl 158c.; Smith 1994 p.52-3
YC 61	Long Hill Cairn (north), Hackness	Harwood Dale	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 953 946	Strickland 1950; Smith 1994, 148
YC 62	Gnipe Howe cairn	Hawkser Cum Stainsacre	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	NZ 9340 8560	Brewster 1973; Smith 1994, 92; Brewster & Finney 1995, 1-3, fig 3, fig 31.3; Dawes 1995, 52-4

Cat. No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YC 63	Gnipe Howe cairn	Hawkser Cum Stainsacre	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	NZ 9340 8560	Brewster 1973; Smith 1994, 92; Brewster & Finney 1995, 1-3, fig 3, fig 31.3; Dawes 1995, 52-4
YC 64	Gnipe Howe Cairn	Hawkser Cum Stainsacre	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	NZ 9340 8560	Brewster 1973; Smith 1994, 92; Brewster & Finney 1995, 1-3, fig 31.3; Dawes 1995, 53
YC 65	Holt Howe, Hutton Buschel 1	Hutton Buscel	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 973 843 (General)	Brewster & Finney 1995, 4-5; Dawes 1995, 54-5
YC 66	Holt Howe, Hutton Buschel 1	Hutton Buscel	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 973 843 (General)	Brewster & Finney 1995, 4-5; Dawes 1995, 55
YC 67	Hutton Buscel barrow 2	Hutton Buscel	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 973 843 (General)	Brewster & Finney 1995, 6-10, fig 37; Dawes 1995, 56-7
YC 68	Greenwell's barrow CXLIV, Slingsby	Slingsby	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 69 73	Greenwell 1877, 351; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 92; Abercromby 1912, no 315.
YC 69	Greenwell's barrow CXLV, Slingsby (Hall Moor)	Slingsby	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 72 70	Greenwell 1877, 352-3; Green 1980, no 72; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 92; Longworth 1984, 254;
YC 70	Greenwell's barrow CXLVI. Slingsby	Slingsby	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 72 70	Greenwell 1877, 353; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 93.

Cat. No.	Site Name	Parish	Area	NGR	Reference
YC 71	Greenwell's barrow CXLVII, Slingsby	Slingsby	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 72 70	Greenwell 1877, 353-4; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 93.
YC 72	Greenwel"s barrow CXLIX, Slingsby	Slingsby	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 72 70	Greenwell 1877, 354-5; Abercromby 1912, no 317; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 93.
YC 73	Greenwell's barrow CLVII, Hutton Buscel, Yorkshire North Riding, North Yorkshire	Wykeham	Yorkshire North Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 95 88	Greenwell 1877, 368; Kinnes & Longworth 1984, 95; Smith 1994, 138-4.
YC 74	Green Howe Barrow	North Deighton	Yorkshire West Riding; North Yorkshire	SE 3886 5124	Strickland 1939, 110; Wood 1972, 2-32.
YC 75	Greenwell's barrow CLXI, Ferry Fryston	Ferry Fryston	Yorkshire West Riding; West Yorkshire	SE 474 245	Greenwell 1877, 371; Pacitto 1971, 297; Kinnes & Longworth 1985, 96;
YC 76	Saddleworth Barrow	Oldham	Yorkshire West Riding; West Yorkshire	SE 000 059	Brierley 1910, 14-5, pl ix-x; Petch 1924, 59; Longworth 1984, 201, no 613, pl 97b.
YC 77	Thornton in Craven	Thornton-in-Craven	Yorkshire West Riding; West Yorkshire	SD 905 485	Longworth 1984, 256, no. 1292

PART III a: WESSEX INHUMATION CATALOGUE

Cat. No	Site Name	Parish	County	NGR	References
WI 1	Butterfield Down Satellite Burial	Amesbury	Wilts.	SU 166 414	Rawlings & Fitzpatrick 1996; Bristow 1998, 396
WI 2	Bowl Barrow SE of Stonehenge (G.22)	Amesbury	Wilts	SU 1297 4182	Hoare 1812, 199; Goddard 1913, 167; Cunnington 1927, 271;Grinsell 1957, 150, 227
WI 3	Bowl Barrow SE of Stonehenge (G.22)	Amesbury	Wilts	SU 1297 4182	Hoare 1812, 199; Goddard 1913, 167; Cunnington 1927, 271;Grinsell 1957, 150, 227
WI 4	Bowl Barrow (G.39), West of New Kings Barrows	Amesbury	Wilts	SU 1295 4247	Hoare 1812, 159; Goddard 1913, 158; Grinsell 1957, 151.
WI 5	Cursus Barrow Group, Bowl Barrow (G.51)	Amesbury	Wilts	SU 114 427	Hoare 1812, Grinsell 1957, Ashbee 1978; Bristow 1998, 127
WI 6	Bowl Barrow (G.56) W end of cursus	Amesbury	Wilts	SU 1105 4292	Hoare 1812, 165; Goddard 1913, 169-70; Grinsell 1957, 151, 227
WI 7	Bowl Barrow, W of Bulford (G.61)	Amesbury	Wilts	SU 178 424	Grinsell 1957, 151; Ashbee 1985, 85; Bristow 1998, 115.
WI 8	Bowl Barrow, W of Bulford (G.61)	Amesbury	Wilts	SU 178 424	Grinsell 1957, 151; Ashbee 1985, 55, 86; Bristow 1998, 115
WI 9	Disc barrow, N of Andover Rd (G.61a)	Amesbury	Wilts	SU 175 423	Grinsell 1957; 1974; Ashbee 1985, 49-50, fig 10 & 11; Bristow 1998, 114
WI 10	Disc barrow, N of Andover Rd (G.61a)	Amesbury	Wilts	SU 175 423	Grinsell 1957; 1974; Ashbee 1985; Bristow 1998, 114
WI 11	Earl's Farm Down, Bowl Barrow (G.71)	Amesbury	Wilts	SU 184 419	Christie 1967, 343, pl xxxvi, no 2; Grinsell 1957, 151; Bristow 1998, 130
WI 12	Earl's Farm Down, Bowl Barrow (G.71)	Amesbury	Wilts	SU 184 419	Christie 1967, 343, pl xxxvi, no.2, fig 6:3; Grinsell 1957, 151; Bristow 1998, 130
WI 13	Earl's Farm Down, Bowl Barrow (G.71)	Amesbury	Wilts	SU 184 419	Christie 1967, 344, pl xxxvi no 3; Grinsell 1957, 151; Bristow 1998, 130
WI 14	Bowl Barrow (G16a), Fox Covert Group	Avebury	Wilts	SU 0753 6873	Merewether 1849, 108-9; Grinsell 1957, 153, 228; Longworth 1984, 283
WI 15	The Grange, Beckhampton	Avebury	Wilts	SU 081 692	Young 1950; Grinsell 1957, 153, Clarke 1970, 501; Bristow 1998, 121

Cat. No	Site Name	Parish	County	NGR	References
WI 16	the sanctuary', Overton Hill	Avebury	Wilts	SU 118 680	Cunnington 1931; Annable & Simpson 1964; Clarke 1970, 501; Pollard 1992; Bristow 1999, 137; Pitts 2001
WI 17	Stone hole 25b, West Kennet Avenue	Avebury	Wilts	SU 107 692	Smith 1965, 209-10; Clarke 1970, 501, Bristow 1998, 108; Pitts and Whittle 1992
WI 18	Stone hole 25b, West Kennet Avenue	Avebury	Wilts	SU 107 692	Smith 1965, 209-10; Clarke 1970, 501, Bristow 1998, 108; Pitts and Whittle 1992.
WI 19	Saucer barrow (G.46 or 46a), E slope of Windmill Hill	Avebury	Wilts	SU 0914 7126	Merewether 1849, 94; Goddard 1913; Grinsell 1957, 222; Longworth 1984, 283, no. 1641
WI 20	Hemp Knoll Bowl Barrow (G.81)	Bishops Cannings	Wilts	SU 0685 6733	Roberston-Mackay 1980, 143, fig 10, pl 15; Bristow 1998, 126
WI 21	Boscombe Bowman Flat Grave	Boscombe	Wilts	SU 161 401 (approx)	Fitzpatrick 2004; McKinley 2011; Fitzpatrick *in prep*
WI 22	Boscombe Bowman Flat Grave	Boscombe	Wilts	SU 161 401 (approx)	Fitzpatrick 2004; McKinley 2011; Fitzpatrick *in prep*
WI 23	Boscombe Bowman Flat Grave	Boscombe	Wilts	SU 161 401 (approx)	Fitzpatrick 2004; McKinley 2011; Fitzpatrick *in prep*
WI 24	Corton Down Bowl Barrow (G.4)	Boyton	Wilts	ST 9376 3842	Hoare 1812, 102; Arch xv 343, Pl xvi, figs I, xvii; Goddard 1913, 208; Grinsell 1957, 208, 228; Clarke 1970, 502, Nos 1081 & 1082.
WI 25	Bulford Bowl Barrow (G.27), Sling Plantation Group	Bulford	Wilts	SU 192 444	Hawley 1910, 616; Grinsell 1957
WI 26	Bulford Bowl Barrow (G.27), Sling Plantation Group	Bulford	Wilts	SU 192 444	Hawley 1910, 616; Grinsell 1957
WI 27	Bulford Bowl Barrow (G.27), Sling Plantation Group	Bulford	Wilts	SU 192 444	Hawley 1910, 616; Grinsell 1957
WI 28	Bulford Bowl Barrow (G.27), Sling Plantation Group	Bulford	Wilts	SU 192 444	Hawley 1910, 616; Grinsell 1957
WI 29	Bulford Bowl Barrow (G.27), Sling Plantation Group	Bulford	Wilts	SU 192 444	Hawley 1910, 616; Grinsell 1957

Cat. No	Site Name	Parish	County	NGR	References
WI 30	Bulford Bowl Barrow (G.27), Sling Plantation Group	Bulford	Wilts	SU 192 444	Hawley 1910, 616; Grinsell 1957
WI 31	Bulford Bowl Barrow (G.27), Sling Plantation Group	Bulford	Wilts	SU 192 444	Hawley 1910, 616; Grinsell 1957
WI 32	Bowl Barrow B, Lamb Down	Codford St Marys	Wilts	ST 989 395	Vatcher 1963, 240; Grinsell 1957, 166; Clarke 1970, 502; Bristow 1998, 125
WI 33	Bowl barrow (G11), Cow Down Group	Collingbourne Ducis	Wilts	SU 2301 5154	Lukis 1866, 92-4, pl 3.2; Abercromby 1912, 11, fig 7; Goddard 1913, 232; Grinsell 1957, 167; Annable & Simpson 1964, 62; Longworth 1984, 285, pl 10b & c; Bristow 1998, 145
WI 34	Cow Down Bowl Barrow (G.16)	Collingbourne Ducis	Wilts	SU 231 517	Lukis 1867, 85-103; Grinsell 1957, 168; Annable & Simpson 1967, 63 (no. 499); Bristow 1998, 144
WI 35	Saucer Barrow, Snail Down (G.6)	Collingbourne Kingston	Wilts	SU 217 520	Thomas 2005, 27, 148-9
WI 36	Durrington Down Round Barrow	Durrington	Wilts	SU 1142 4432	Richards 1990, 175, 183, fig 125, 126; Bristow 1998, 210
WI 37	Barrow Clump' Bowl Barrow (G.25)	Figheldean	Wilts	SU 1655 4690	Grinsell 1957, 175; Last 2005, 18-20; Mays 2008; Last *forthcoming,* 10, fig 6
WI 38	Barrow Clump' Bowl Barrow (G.25)	Figheldean	Wilts	SU 165 469	Hawley 1910; Goddard 1913, 253; Newall 1929, 118, Grinsell 1957, 175; Annable & Simpson 1967, 62 No. 493; Bristow 1998, 123
WI 39	Bowl Barrow, Porton, Winterbourne Gunner (recorded by Goddard and Grinsell as Idmiston G.25e)	Idmiston	Wilts	SU 1669 3850	Rawlence 1904; Abercromby 1912; Goddard 1913, 268-9; Grinsell 1957, 178-9, Longworth 1984, 287
WI 40	Netheravon Air Field	Netheravon	Wilts	SU 140 480	Cunnington, 1927a; Clarke 1970, 503; Bristow 1998, 114.
WI 41	Net Down Group, Bowl barrow (G.5a)	Shrewton	Wilts	SU 0862 4479	Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 260, fig 3
WI 42	Net Down Group, Bowl barrow (G.5e)	Shrewton	Wilts	SU 0868 4468	Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 267, fig 7

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WI 43	Net Down, Bowl Barrow (G.5j)	Shrewton	Wilts	SU 0890 4487	Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 273, fig 10
WI 44	Net Down Group, Bowl Barrow (G.5k)	Shrewton	Wilts	SU 0894 4486	Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 275-6, fig 12
WI 45	Buxbury Hill Bowl Barrow (G.1)	Sutton Mandeville	Wilts	ST 9844 2692	Goddard 1913; Clay 1924,;Grinsell 1957, 192.
WI 46	Okus Quarries, Swindon Hill	Swindon	Wilts	SU 1445 8350	Passmore 1914; Goddard 1913; Keith 1927; Grinsell 1957; Clarke 1970, 503
WI 47	Okus Quarries, Swindon Hill	Swindon	Wilts	SU 1445 8350	Passmore 1914; Goddard 1913; Keith 1927; Grinsell 1957; Clarke 1970, 503
WI 48	Okus Quarries, Swindon Hill	Swindon	Wilts	SU 1445 8350	Passmore 1914; Goddard 1913; Keith 1927; Grinsell 1957; Clarke 1970, 503
WI 49	Cop Heap Bowl Barrow (G10)	Warminster	Wilts	SU 880 456	Hoare 1812, 67-8; Arch xliii, 490; Goddard 1913, 339; Thomas, WAM vol. 55, 1953-54, p315; Grinsell 1957, 194-5; Bristow 1998, 160.
WI 50	Overton Down Bowl Barrow	West Overton	Wilts	SU 1455 6685?	Grinsell 1957, 195; Smith & Simpson 1966; Bristow 1998, 128, Fowler 2000
WI 51	North Farm Bowl Barrow (G.19)	West Overton	Wilts	SU 1386 6861	Grinsell 1957, 195; Smith & Simpson 1966; Bristow 1998, 128, Fowler 2000; 2005
WI 52	North Farm Bowl Barrow (G.19)	West Overton	Wilts	SU 1386 6861	WAM 1988, 181-2; Fowler 2000; Bristow 1998, 385
WI 53	West Overton Bowl Barrow (G.6b)	West Overton	Wilts	SU 1196 6835	Grinsell 1957, 195; Smith & Simpson 1966, 129, fig 2; Bristow 1998, 128
WI 54	West Overton Bowl Barrow (G.6b)	West Overton	Wilts	SU 1196 6835	Grinsell 1957, 195; Smith & Simpson 1966, 129, fig 2; Bristow 1998, 128
WI 55	West Overton Bowl Barrow (G.6b)	West Overton	Wilts	SU 11966835	Grinsell 1957, 195; Smith & Simpson 1966, 128, fig 2; Bristow 1998, 128
WI 56	West Overton Bowl Barrow (G.6b)	West Overton	Wilts	SU 11966835	Grinsell 1957, 195; Smith & Simpson 1966, 128, fig 2; Bristow 1998, 128
WI 57	West Overton Bowl Barrow (G.6b)	West Overton	Wilts	SU 11966835	Grinsell 1957, 195; Smith & Simpson 1966, 128, fig 2; Bristow 1998, 128
WI 58	Wilsford Group Disc Barrow (G.70)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 1199 3980	Hoare 1812, 208; Goddard 1913, 352; Grinsell 1957, 220; Clarke 1970, 504; Grinsell 1974, 106; Bristow 1999, 384

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WI 59	Wilsford Cum Lake Bowl Barrow(G.51)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 1149 4047	Cunnington 1807; Hoare 1812, 211; Goddard 1913; 349; Grinsell 1957, 198
WI 60	Wilsford Cum Lake Bowl Barrow, Wilsford Down (G.52)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 1147 4045	Cunnington 1807; Hoare 1812, 211; Goddard 1913; 349; Grinsell 1957, 198; Annable 1960, 228; Clarke 1970, 504; Bristow 1998, 125
WI 61	Lake Group Bowl Barrow (G.36f)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 108 402	Grimes 1964; Bristow 1998, 119
WI 62	Normanton Down Bowl Barrow (G.1)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 1111 4163	Hoare 1812, 206, Grinsell 1957, 196; Annable 1961, 30; Clarke 1970, 504; Bristow 1999, 146.
WI 63	Normanton Down Bowl Barrow (G.1)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 1111 4163	Hoare 1812, 206, Grinsell 1957, 196; Annable 1961, 30; Clarke 1970, 504; Bristow 1998, 146
WI 64	Normanton Down Bowl Barrow (G.1)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 1111 4163	Hoare 1812, 206, Grinsell 1957, 196; Annable 1961, 30; Clarke 1970, 504; Bristow 1998, 146.
WI 65	Normanton Down Bowl Barrow (G.1)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 1111 4163	Hoare 1812, 206, Grinsell 1957, 196; Annable 1961, 30; Clarke 1970, 504; Bristow 1998, 146.
WI 66	Normanton Down Bowl Barrow (G.1)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 1111 4163	Hoare 1812, 206, Grinsell 1957, 196; Annable 1961, 30; Clarke 1970, 504; Bristow 1998, 146.
WI 67	Normanton Down Bowl Barrow (G.1)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 1111 4163	Hoare 1812, 206, Grinsell 1957, 196; Annable 1961, 30; Clarke 1970, 504; Bristow 1998, 146
WI 68	Normanton Down Bowl Barrow (G.1)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 1111 4163	Hoare 1812, 206, Grinsell 1957, 196; Annable 1961, 30; Clarke 1970, 504; Bristow 1998, 146
WI 69	Lake Group Bowl Barrow (G.40)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 108 402	Hoare 1812, 210, pl xxx; Goddard 1913, 348; Grinsell 1957, 198; Clarke 1970, 504; Bristow 1998, 154
WI 70	Lake House Bowl Barrow (G.87a)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 1320 3867	Goddard 1908, 584; Goddard 1913, 352-3; Grinsell 1957, 199; Clarke 1970, 504.
WI 71	Lake House Bowl Barrow (G.87a)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 1320 3867	Goddard 1908, 584; Goddard 1913, 352-3; Grinsell 1957, 199
WI 72	Lake House Bowl Barrow (G.87b)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 1320 3867	Goddard 1908, 585; Goddard 1913, 353; Grinsell 1957, 199

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WI 73	Lake House Bowl Barrow (G.87b)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 1320 3867	Goddard 1908, 585; Goddard 1913, 353; Grinsell 1957, 199
WI 74	Lake House Bowl Barrow (G.87b)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 1320 3867	Goddard 1908, 585; Goddard 1913, 353; Grinsell 1957, 199
WI 75	The Lake Group, Bowl Barrow (G.36f)	Wilsford (S.)	Wilts	SU 108 402	Grimes 1967; Bristow 1998, 119
WI 76	Flat Grave, W of Shelving Stones	Winterbourne Monkton	Wilts	SU 086 722	Hillier 1854, 303-4; Grinsell 1957,126
WI 77	Monkton Down Bowl Barrow (G.9) [goddard no.10]	Winterbourne Monkton	Wilts	SU 1167 7231	Goddard 1913, 359 (no 10), Grinsell 1957, 200, No.9: Clarke 1970, 504.
WI 78	Bowl barrow (G.30) on W end of cursus	Winterbourne Stoke	Wilts	SU 110 429	Hoare 1812; Grinsell 1957, 202; Christie 1963, Bristow 1998, 124
WI 79	Winterbourne Stoke Bowl Barrow (G.10)	Winterbourne Stoke	Wilts	SU 1033 4192	Hoare 1812, 125-6; Goddard 1913, 362; Grinsell 1957, 201, 231.
WI 80	Winterbourne Stoke Bowl Barrow (G.10)	Winterbourne Stoke	Wilts	SU 1033 4192	Hoare 1812, 125; Goddard 1913, 362; Grinsell 1957, 201, 231.
WI 81	Winterbourne Stone (east) Bowl Barrow (G.56)	Winterbourne Stoke	Wilts	SU 0818 4239	Hoare 1812, 115; Goddard 1913, 368; Grinsell 1957, 202
WI 82	Winterbourne Stoke Down Bowl Barrow (G.54)	Winterbourne Stoke	Wilts	SU 097 424	Hoare 1812,118, pl xiv, Goddard 1913, 367, No 54; Grinsell 1957, 202, No.54; Bristow 1998, 155
WI 83	Bell Barrow (G.37), West of small cursus	Winterbourne Stoke	Wilts	SU 1018 4348	Hoare 1812, 165; Goddard 1913, 365; Grinsell 1957, 212.
WI 84	Longbarrow (G.1), Longbarrow Crossroads	Winterbourne Stoke	Wilts	SU 100 415	Grinsell 1957, 231; Bristow 1998, 113
WI 85	Longbarrow (G.1), Longbarrow Crossroads	Winterbourne Stoke	Wilts	SU 100 415	Grinsell 1957, 231; Bristow 1998, 113
WI 86	Longbarrow (G.1), Longbarrow Crossroads	Winterbourne Stoke	Wilts	SU 100 415	Grinsell 1957, 231; Bristow 1998, 113
WI 87	Longbarrow (G.1), Longbarrow Crossroads	Winterbourne Stoke	Wilts	SU 100 415	Grinsell 1957, 231; Bristow 1998, 113
WI 88	Walworth Round Barrow	Andover	Hants.	SU 3833 4600	Grinsell 1957, 349; Scott 1988, 9
WI 89	Walworth Round Barrow	Andover	Hants.	SU 3833 4600	Grinsell 1957, 349; Scott 1988, 10

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WI 90	Eyebury Round Barrow B	Eye	Hants.	TF 233 012	Evans 1915, 118
WI 91	Eyebury Round Barrow B	Eye	Hants.	TF 233 012	Evans 1915, 118
WI 92	Arreton Down Round Barrow	Isle of wight	Hants.	SZ 535 874	Alexander et al 1960; 268, 298, pl xxviiib; Ozanne & Ozanne 1961; 1962; Bristow 1998, 196
WI 93	Arreton Down Round Barrow	Isle of wight	Hants.	SZ 535 874	Alexander et al 1960, 299; Ozanne & Ozanne 1961; 1962; Bristow 1998, 196
WI 94	Southwick Hill flat grave	Portsmouth	Hants.	SU 6490 0657	Rudkin 1989; Bristow 1998, 206
WI 95	Rockbourne Down Round Barrow	Rockbourne	Hants.	SU 110180	Piggott & Piggott 1947, 157-8, 162, pl I; Bristow 1998, 202
WI 96	Twyford Down Round Barrow	Twyford	Hants	SU 4843 2628	McKinley 2000b, 88, fig.35, no 1049
WI 97	Balksbury Camp	Upper Clatford	Hants	SU 3515 4456	Wainright & Davies 1995; Henderson 1995; Cleal 1995
WI 98	Bere Down Bowl barrow, Bere Regis (G.8a)	Bere Regis	Dorset	SY 843 968	Warne 1866; Grinsell 1959, 88; Bristow 1998, 162
WI 99	Bincombe Bowl Barrow (G.11)	Bincombe	Dorset	SY 672 859	Payne 1944, 44, 47, pl vi fig 1; Bristow 1998, 164
WI 100	Bincombe Bowl Barrow (G.11)	Bincombe	Dorset	SY 672 859	Payne 1944, 45, 47, 48, pl vi, fig 3, pl x, fig 2, pl ix:B; Clarke 1970, 479; Bristow 1998, 164
WI 101	Bincombe Bowl Barrow (G.11)	Bincombe	Dorset	SY 672 859	Payne 1944, 45-47, pl viii fig 1; Bristow 1998, 164
WI 102	Bincombe Bell Barrow (G.13)	Bincombe	Dorset	SY 674 858	Best 1965; Bristow 1998, 164
WI 103	Bincombe Bell Barrow (G.13)	Bincombe	Dorset	SY 674 858	Best 1965; Bristow 1998, 164
WI 104	Bincombe Bowl Barrow (G.60d)	Bincombe	Dorset	SY 664867	Warne 1866; Grinsell 1959, 93; Bristow 1998, 165
WI 105	Forty Acre Plantion Bowl Barrow (G.26)	Bradford Peverell	Dorset	SY 667 918	Acland 1916, 42, Grinsell 1959; Clarke 1970, 479
WI 106	Lord's Down Bowl Barrow, Dewlish (G.6)	Dewlish	Dorset	SY 784 963	Warne 1866, 48; Grinsell 1959; Calkin 1967; Clarke 1970, 479; Bristow 1998, 167
WI 107	Fordingham Farm, 'Two Barrows' (east), Dorchester G.10	Dorchester	Dorset	SY 6989 8989	Bellamy 1992, 108, fig 3, pl 3; Sparey-Green 1994; Bristow 1998, 389
WI 108	Fordingham Farm, 'Two Barrows' (east), Dorchester G.10	Dorchester	Dorset	SY 6989 8989	Bellamy 1992, 109, fig 3, pl 4; Bristow 1998, 389

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WI 109	Long Ash Lane Bowl Barrow (G.4)	Frampton	Dorset	SY 635 949	Forde-Johnston 1959, 112; Grinsell 1959; Clarke 1970; Bristow 1998, 169
WI 110	Long Ash Lane Bowl Barrow (G.4)	Frampton	Dorset	SY 635 949	Forde-Johnston 1959, 112; Grinsell 1959; Clarke 1970; Bristow 1998, 169
WI 111	Long Ash Lane Bowl Barrow (G.5)	Frampton	Dorset	SY 636 948	Forde-Johnston 1959, 119; Grinsell 1959; Bristow 1998, 170
WI 112	Long Ash Lane Bowl Barrow (G.5)	Frampton	Dorset	SY 636 948	Forde-Johnston 1959, 119-20; Grinsell 1959; Bristow 1998, 170
WI 113	Down Farm Pond Barrow	Gussage St. Michael	Dorset	SU 0006 1454	Green 1982; Green 1994; Barrett et al 1991, 128-39; Bristow 1998, 376
WI 114	Down Farm Pond Barrow	Gussage St. Michael	Dorset	SU 0006 1454	Green 1982; Green 1994; Barrett et al 1991, 128-39; Bristow 1998, 376
WI 115	Down Farm Pond Barrow	Gussage St. Michael	Dorset	SU 0006 1454	Green 1982; Green 1994; Barrett et al 1991, 128-39; Bristow 1998, 376
WI 116	Down Farm Pond Barrow	Gussage St. Michael	Dorset	SU 0006 1454	Green 1982; Green 1994; Barrett et al 1991, 128-39; Bristow 1998, 376
WI 117	Down Farm Pond Barrow	Gussage St. Michael	Dorset	SU 0006 1454	Green 1982; Green 1994; Barrett et al 1991, 128-39; Bristow 1998, 376
WI 118	Thickthorn Down Long Barrow	Gussage St. Michael	Dorset	ST 9719 1225	Drew & Piggott 1936, 80; Grinsell 1959; Clarke 1970; Bradley & Entwhistle 1985; Bristow 1998; 18
WI 119	Black Down Disc Barrow (G.3a)	Kingston Russell	Dorset	SY 578 904	Bailey 1972; 1982, 23, fig 3, pl II; Tomalin 1982, 29-30; Bristow 1998, 174
WI 120	Black Down Disc Barrow (G.3a)	Kingston Russell	Dorset	SY 578 904	Bailey 1972, 1982, 23, pl 1, fig 5 (pot 8); Bristow 1998, 174
WI 121	Black Down Disc Barrow (G.3a)	Kingston Russell	Dorset	SY 578 904	Bailey 1972; 1982, 24; Bristow 1998, 174
WI 122	Black Down Disc Barrow (G.3a)	Kingston Russell	Dorset	SY 578 904	Bailey 1972; 1982, 27, 28, pl vi; Bristow 1998, 174
WI 123	Long Bredy Bowl Barrow (G.5)	Long Bredy	Dorset	SY 570 914	Eogan 1980, 44, 52, fig 10; Grinsell 1959, 44; Bristow 1998, 176
WI 124	Long Bredy Bowl Barrow (G.5)	Long Bredy	Dorset	SY 570 914	Eogan 1980; Grinsell 1959, 44; Bristow 1998, 176
WI 125	Long Bredy Bowl Barrow (G.5)	Long Bredy	Dorset	SY 570 914	Eogan 1980; Grinsell 1959, 44; Bristow 1998, 176
WI 126	Long Crichel Bowl Barrow (G.5)	Long Crichel	Dorset	ST 959 116	Grinsell 1959; Green et al 1983, 43, 55; Bristow 1998, 176

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WI 127	Long Crichel Bowl Barrow (G.5)	Long Crichel	Dorset	ST 959 116	Grinsell 1959; Green et al 1983, 43, 55; Bristow 1998, 176
WI 128	Long Crichel Bowl Barrow (G.5)	Long Crichel	Dorset	ST 959 116	Grinsell 1959; Green et al 1983, 43, 55; Bristow 1998, 176
WI 129	Long Crichel Bowl Barrow (G.5)	Long Crichel	Dorset	ST 959 116	Grinsell 1959; Green et al 1983, 43, 55; Bristow 1998, 176
WI 130	Long Crichel Bowl Barrow (G.5)	Long Crichel	Dorset	ST 959 116	Grinsell 1959; Green et al 1983, 43, 55; Bristow 1998, 176
WI 131	Long Crichel Bowl Barrow (G.7)	Long Crichel	Dorset	ST 959 116	Grinsell 1959; Green et al 1983, 43, 55; Bristow 1998, 176
WI 132	Bowl Barrow south of Ridgeway Hill (G.14)	Portesham	Dorset	SY 646 867	Acland 1915, 45; Grinsell 1959, 127; Calkin 1967; Bristow 1998, 182
WI 133	Badbury Bowl Barrow, Shapwick (G.6a)	Shapwick	Dorset	ST 948 036	Austen 1846; Warne 1866, 54; Grinsell 1959; Bristow 1998, 183.
WI 134	Badbury Bowl Barrow, Shapwick (G.6a)	Shapwick	Dorset	ST 948 036	Austen 1846; Warne 1866, 54; Grinsell 1959; Bristow 1998, 183.
WI 135	Badbury Bowl Barrow, Shapwick (G.6a)	Shapwick	Dorset	ST 948 036	Austen 1846; Warne 1866, 54; Grinsell 1959; Bristow 1998, 183.
WI 136	Badbury Bowl Barrow, Shapwick (G.6a)	Shapwick	Dorset	ST 948 036	Austen 1846; Warne 1866, 54; Grinsell 1959; Bristow 1998, 183.
WI 137	Barford Farm Bowl Barrow, Pamphill	Wimborne Minster	Dorset	ST 967 005	Howard 1990, 35-6; fig 4B, pl 6; Bristow 1998, 180
WI 138	Oakley Down Bowl Barrow (G.2)	Wimborne St Giles	Dorset	SU 020 176	Hoare 1812; Warne 1866; Farrar 1951, 92; Grinsell 1959, 143; Bristow 1998, 185
WI 139	Bridport Road Bowl Barrow, Rew Group (Warne 26)	Winterborne St Martin	Dorset	SY 636 903	Sydenham 1844; Warne 1866, 44-6; Grinsell 1959, 51; Calkin 1967, 143, fig 3
WI 140	Bridport Road Bowl Barrow, Rew Group (Warne 70)	Winterborne St Martin	Dorset	SY 636 903	Sydenham 1844, 330, pl xvii, no 1; Warne 1966, 45, pl, no 1; Grinsell 1959, 51
WI 141	Bowl Barrow (G.46), Eweleaze Barn Barrow Group	Winterborne St Martin	Dorset	SY 646 878	Gray & Prideaux 1905, 21; Bristow 1998, 190
WI 142	Bowl Barrow (G.46), Eweleaze Barn Barrow Group	Winterborne St Martin	Dorset	SY 646 878	Gray & Prideaux 1905, 21; Bristow 1998, 190

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WI 143	Bowl Barrow (G.46), Eweleaze Barn Barrow Group	Winterborne St Martin	Dorset	SY 646 878	Gray & Prideaux 1905, 21; Bristow 1998, 190
WI 144	Bowl Barrow (G.44), Eweleaze Barn Barrow Group	Winterborne St Martin	Dorset	SY 648 876	Gray & Prideaux 1905, 21; Bristow 1998, 190
WI 145	Bowl Barrow (G.44), Eweleaze Barn Barrow Group	Winterborne St Martin	Dorset	SY 648 876	Gray & Prideaux 1905, 21; Bristow 1998, 190
WI 146	Sheep Down Pond Barrow, Winterbourne Steepleton G.19c	Winterborne Steepleton	Dorset	SY 607 890	Farrar 1948; Atkinson *et al* 1952, 6; Brailsford 1952, 17, fig 4, no.6; Grinsell 1959; Longworth 1984, 193, no 517& 518; Bristow 1998, 191
WI 147	Sheep Down Pond Barrow, Winterbourne Steepleton G.19c	Winterborne Steepleton	Dorset	SY 607 890	Farrar 1948; Atkinson et al 1952, 7; Brailsford 1952, 18, fig 5, no.20; Grinsell 1959; Longworth 1984, 193, no 250; Bristow 1998, 191
WI 148	Sheep Down Pond Barrow, Winterbourne Steepleton G.19c	Winterborne Steepleton	Dorset	SY 607 890	Farrar 1948; Atkinson et al 1952, 7; Brailsford 1952, 18, fig 5, no.20; Grinsell 1959; Longworth 1984, 193, no 250; Bristow 1998, 191

PART III b: WESSEX CREMATION CATALOGUE

Cat. No.	Site Name	Parish	County	NGR	References
WC 1	Blake's Firs cemetery & cairn, Easton Down	Allington	Wilts.	SU 2347 3627	Ride 2001, 166
WC 2	Blake's Firs cemetery & cairn, Easton Down	Allington	Wilts.	SU 2347 3627	Ride 2001, 166
WC 3	Blake's Firs cemetery & cairn, Easton Down	Allington	Wilts.	SU 2347 3627	Ride 2001, 167-8
WC 4	Blake's Firs cemetery & cairn, Easton Down	Allington	Wilts.	SU 2347 3627	Ride 2001, 168
WC 5	Earls Farm Down joined bowl barrow G.72a	Amesbury	Wilts.	SU 1783 4147	Ashbee 1985, 63-7
WC 6	Earls Farm Down bowl/bell barrow G.71	Amesbury	Wilts.	SU 184 419	Grinsell 1957, 151; Christie 1967
WC 7	Earls Farm Down bowl/bell barrow G.71	Amesbury	Wilts.	SU 184 419	Grinsell 1957, 151; Christie 1967
WC 8	Twin bell barrow amongst Cursus Group G.44	Amesbury	Wilts.	SU 1197 4278	Stuckley *stonehenge;* Goddard 1913, 168-9; Grinsell 1957, Piggott 1938
WC 9	Bell Barrow G.55	Avebury	Wilts.	SU 1024 6788	Smith 1965; Brothwell 1992
WC 10	Bell Barrow G.55	Avebury	Wilts.	SU 1024 6788	Smith 1965; Brothwell 1992
WC 11	Bell Barrow G.55	Avebury	Wilts.	SU 1024 6788	Smith 1965; Brothwell 1992
WC 12	Boscombe Bowmen Flat Grave	Boscombe	Wilts.	SU 161 401 (approx)	Fitzpatrick 2004; McKinley 2011; Fitzpatrick *in prep*
WC 13	Lamb Down bowl barrow G.5 (Vatcher site F)	Codford St Mary	Wilts.	ST 989 395	Vatcher 1963; Longworth 1984, 285
WC 14	Snail Down pond barrow G6c	Collingbourne Ducis	Wilts.	SU 219 521	Grinsell 1958, 109-110; Annable 1958; Thomas 2005
WC 15	Cow Down Group, bowl barrow G.11 (Lukis barrow 6)	Collingbourne Ducis	Wilts.	SU 2301 5154	Lukis 1867; Thurnam 1871; Abercromby 1912; Grinsell 1957; Longworth 1961; Annable & Simpson1964; Longworth 1984, 285;

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WC 16	Cow Down Group, bowl barrow G.10 (Luks barrow 5)	Collingbourne Ducis	Wilts.	SU 229 515	Lukis 1867; Grinsell 1957, 167; Annable & Simpson 1964; Bristow 1998, 145
WC 17	Snail Down saucer barrow G.6	Collingbourne Kingston	Wilts.	SU 217 520	Hoare 1812,180; Goddard 1913, 149; Grinsell 1957, 223; Annable & Simpson 1964, 62-63; Thomas 2005
WC 18	Snail Down bell barrow G.8	Collingbourne Kingston	Wilts.	SU 217 520	Hoare 1812, 180; Goddard 1913, 234; Grinsell 1957, 209; Thomas 2005
WC 19	Snail Down bell barrow G.8	Collingbourne Kingston	Wilts.	SU 217 520	Hoare 1812, 180; Goddard 1913, 234; Grinsell 1957, 209; Thomas 2005
WC 20	Durrington Down Round Barrow	Durrington	Wilts.	SU 1142 4432	Richards 1990
WC 21	Batt's Meadow, Grafton, Wiltshire	Grafton (formally Great Bedwyn)	Wilts.	SU 260 615	Grinsell 1957, 72; Longworth 1984, 286
WC 22	Milton Hill Farm barrow group, twin disc barrow G.1	Milton Lilbourne	Wilts.	SU 1993 5790	Thurnham 1871; Grinsell 1957, 22; Grinsell 1974, 110; Longworth 1984, 274; Bristow 1998, 121
WC 23	Milton Hill Farm barrow group, bowl barrow G.5	Milton Lilbourne	Wilts.	SU 2007 5789	Grinsell 1957, 184; Longworth 1984, 287; Ashbee 1986; Bristow 1998, 122
WC 24	Net Down Group, bowl barrow G.5f	Shrewton	Wilts.	SU 087 448	Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 269-71, fig.8; Bristow 1998, 135
WC 25	Net down Group, disc barrow G.5g	Shrewton	Wilts.	SU 088 448	Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 271-3, fig 9; Bristow 1998, 135
WC 26	Net down Group, disc barrow G.5g	Shrewton	Wilts.	SU 088 448	Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 271-3, fig 9; Bristow 1998, 135
WC 27	Bowl barrow east of Middle Farm, Shrewton G.23	Shrewton	Wilts.	SU 090 442	Green & Rollo-Smith 1984, 281-285, fig 14 & 15 ; Bristow 1998, 136
WC 28	Castle Barrow, bowl barrow G.3	Upton Lovell	Wilts.	ST 961 448	Cunnington 1939; Grinsell 1975
WC 29	Overton Hill Group, bowl barrow G.6b	West Overton	Wilts.	SU 1196 6835	Smith & Simpson 1966, 127-8
WC 30	Overton Hill Group, bowl barrow G.6b	West Overton	Wilts.	SU 1196 6835	Smith & Simpson 1966, 127-8

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WC 31	Lake group, joined bowl barrow G.38	Wilsford	Wilts.	SU 108 402	Grimes 1964; Longworth 1984, 289, Bristow 1998, 120
WC 32	Lake group, joined bowl barrow G.38	Wilsford	Wilts.	SU 108 402	Grimes 1964; Longworth 1984, 289, Bristow 1998, 120
WC 33	Lake Group, bowl barrow G.37	Wilsford	Wilts.	SU 107402	Hoare 1812; Grinsell 1957; Grimes 1964; Bristow 1998, 120
WC 34	Winterbourne Stoke bowl barrow G.39, W of small cursus	Winterbourne Stoke	Wilts.	SU 100 434	Hoare 1812, Gingell 1988; Bristow 1998, 118
WC 35	Winterbourne Stoke bowl barrow G.39, W of small cursus	Winterbourne Stoke	Wilts.	SU 100434	Hoare 1812, Gingell 1988; Bristow 1998, 118
WC 36	Winterbourne Stoke bowl barrow G.39, W of small cursus	Winterbourne Stoke	Wilts.	SU 100434	Hoare 1812, Gingell 1988; Bristow 1998, 118
WC 37	Easton Down long cairn G.21	Winterslow	Wilts.	SU 236 359	Stone 1934; Stone 1938; Piggott 1938, 105 (no 58); Grinsell 1957, 127, 203, 238; Bristow 1998, 132
WC 38	Easton Down long cairn G.21	Winterslow	Wilts.	SU 236 359	Stone 1934; Stone 1938; Piggott 1938, 105 (no 58); Grinsell 1957, 127, 203, 238; Bristow 1998, 132
WC 39	Buckskin bell barrow	Basingstoke and Dean	Hants.	SU 6041 5118	Allen *et al* 1995
WC 40	Hinton Ampner bowl barrow (barrow A)	Bramdean and Hinton Ampner	Hants.	SU 6203 2612	Winbolt 1931; Milner 1947; Grinsell 1940, 18, 355
WC 41	Eyebury Round Barrow B, near Peterborough	Eye	Hants.	TF 233 012	Evans 1915, 116-127.
WC 42	Mockbeggar Lane double ring ditch	Ibsley	Hants.	SU 152 095	Coles, S 2004
WC 43	Mockbeggar Lane double ring ditch	Ibsley	Hants.	SU 152 095	Coles, S 2004
WC 44	Mockbeggar Lane double ring ditch	Ibsley	Hants.	SU 152 095	Coles, S 2004
WC 45	Mockbeggar Lane double ring ditch	Ibsley	Hants.	SU 152 095	Coles, S 2004
WC 46	Mockbeggar Lane double ring ditch	Ibsley	Hants.	SU 152 095	Coles, S 2004
WC 47	Mockbeggar Lane double ring ditch	Ibsley	Hants.	SU 152 095	Coles, S 2004

Cat. No.	Site Name	Parish	County	NGR	References
WC 48	Kimpton Cremation Cemetery	Kimpton	Hants.	SU 28910 48040	Dacre, M & Ellison A 1981
WC 49	Choseley Farm	North Warnborough	Hants.	SU 730 510	Willis 1954; Bristow 1998, 197
WC 50	Stockbridge Down bowl barrow	Stockbridge	Hants.	SU 375 347	Stone & Gray 1940; Bristow 1998, 202
WC 51	Thorness cremation burial, Isle of Wight	Thorness	Hants.	SZ459870	Sherwin 1939; Bristow 1998, 206.
WC 52	High Dell Farm bowl barrow	Warnford	Hants.	SU 59167 24033	Unpublished at time of writing
WC 53	Buckham Down, Wellwood,	Beaminster	Dorset	ST 478 035	Farrar 1956, 1936-7; Grinsell 1959, 87; Longworth 1984, 181; Bristow 1998, 372
WC 54	Moordown	Bournemouth	Dorset	SZ 080940	Calkin 1964; Longworth 1984, 183, pl 43a; Bristow 1998, 372
WC 55	St Catherine's Hill	Christchurch	Dorset	SZ 1433 9592	Longworth 1984, 184, pl78a
WC 56	Latch Farm Urnfield	Christchurch	Dorset	SZ 150 940	Piggott, 1938; Longworth 1984, 185
WC 57	Latch Farm Urnfield	Christchurch	Dorset	SZ 150 940	Piggott, 1938; Longworth 1984, 185
WC 58	Latch Farm Urnfield	Christchurch	Dorset	SZ 150 940	Calkin 1964; Bristow 1998
WC 59	Crouch Hill round barrow	Christchurch	Dorset	SZ 169918	Ridley 1963; Bristow 1998
WC 60	High Lea Farm bowl barrow	Hinton Martell	Dorset	SU 998 055	Gale *et al* 2004
WC 61	Litton Cheney Cairn	Litton Cheney	Dorset	SY 556 917	Piggott & Piggott 1939: Catherall 1975, 1979; Bristow 1998, 175
WC 62	Litton Cheney Cairn	Litton Cheney	Dorset	SY 556 917	Piggott & Piggott 1939: Catherall 1975, 1979; Bristow 1998, 175
WC 63	Litton Cheney Cairn	Litton Cheney	Dorset	SY 556 917	Piggott & Piggott 1939: Catherall 1975, 1979; Bristow 1998, 175
WC 64	Knighton Heath cremation cemetery	Poole	Dorset	SZ 0469 9598	Petersen 1981; Bristow 1998
WC 65	Smedmore Hill	Steeple	Dorset	SY 919800	Calkin 1934; Longworth 1984; Bristow 1998, 183

Cat. No.	Site Name	Parish	County	NGR	References
WC 66	Keyneston Down bowl barrow (Warne Barrow 6, Grinsell G.1a)	Tarrant Keynston	Dorset	ST 92 09	Warne 1866; Grinsell 1959; Tomalin 1988
WC 67	Crichel and Launceston Down bowl barrow (G.3) (aka. Tarrant Launceston 3)	Tarrant Launceston	Dorset	ST 9550 1069	Piggott & Piggott 1944; Longworth 1984, 188, pl 178f; Bristow 1998, 178
WC 68	Bowl Barrow (G.44), Eweleaze Barn Barrow Group	Winterborne St Martin	Dorset	SY 6465 8780	Gray & Prideaux 1905; Abercromby 1912, II, fig 50; Grinsell 1959, 154; Longworth 1984, 193, pl 193e; Bristow 1998, 190
WC 69	Rowbarrow, bowl barrow (Warne's Barrow 16)	Winterbourne Stickland	Dorset	ST 8257 0667	Warne 1866, 14

APPENDIX B

PUBLICATIONS BY THE WRITER

B.1 OVERVIEW OF APPENDIX B

Paper A

'An important child burial from Doune, Perth & Kinross' was published in 2004 in *Sickles and Circles. Britain and Ireland at the time of Stonehenge* a volume edited by Alex Gibson and Alison Sheridan. Permission from the editors has been given for inclusion here.

Paper B

'Where have all the flowers gone? Bronze Age children's burials in South East England: initial thoughts' was published in 2011 within an within an edited volume presenting the proceedings of a 2004 conference on the Archaeology of Infancy and Childhood held in Canterbury University, Kent. The volume, edited by Dr Mike Lally and Dr Alison Moore, is entitled (*Re)thinking the little ancestor: new perspectives on the archaeology of infancy and childhood,* is in preparation for publication in early 2012. Permission from the editors has been given for inclusion here.



FROM SICKLES TO CIRCLES

BRITAIN AND IRELAND AT THE TIME OF STONEHENGE

Edited by Alex Gibson and
Alison Sheridan

TEMPUS

The contributors dedicate this book to Emeritus Professor Derek Douglas Alexander Simpson to mark his retirement

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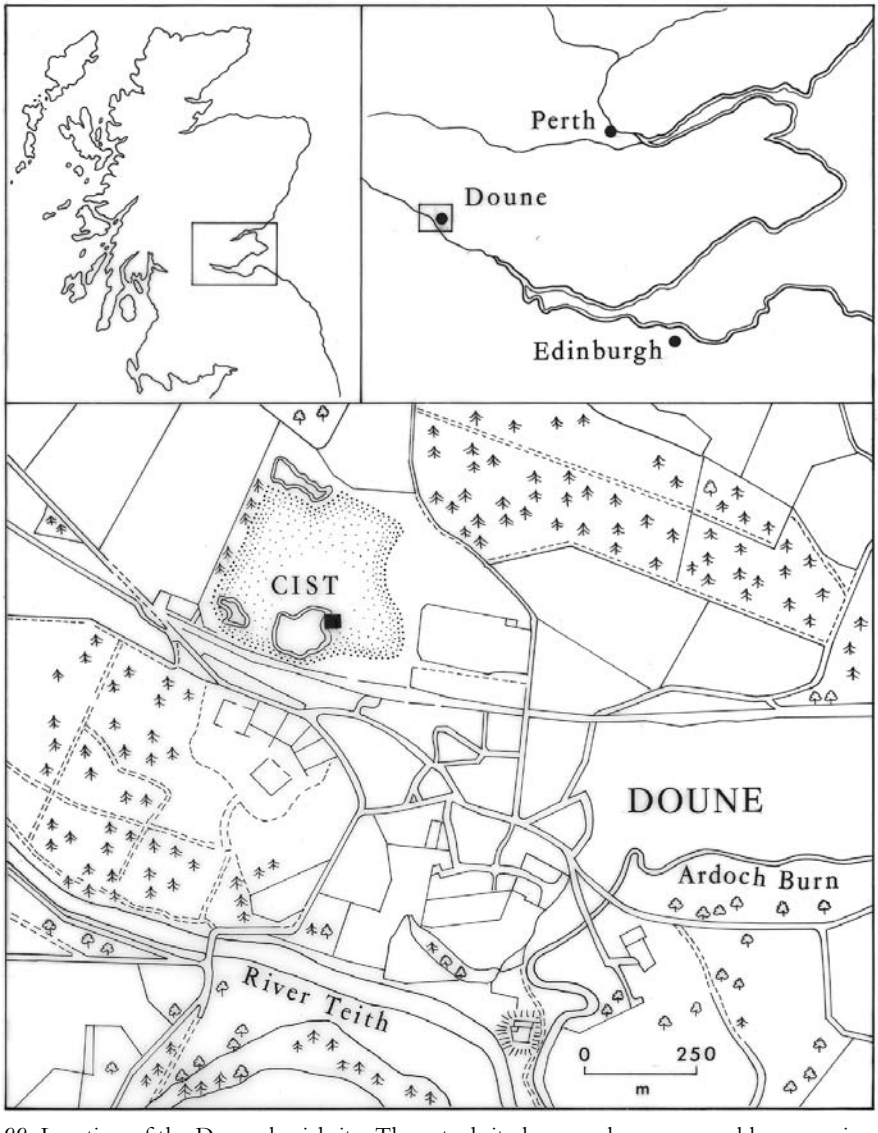
18
An Important Child's Burial from Doune, Perth and Kinross, Scotland

Dawn McLaren

Introduction

In 1957 a short note (Hamilton 1957) was published recording the discovery of a short cist at Doune in Perth & Kinross *(99)*. The cist contained an inhumation burial of a child accompanied by a miniature battle-axe, a small Food Vessel and a fragment of a second, larger Food Vessel *(100 & 101)*. This article was, however, little more than a note reporting the circumstances of the find. It did not attempt any discussion of the significance of the burial assemblage nor of its wider implications. Nearly 50 years after it was first reported analysis of the grave assemblage has shown that it is unusual in several respects. This piece is an attempt to situate this important grave in its wider context.

Preliminary study of battle-axes, based on the lists of Roe (1966) and Simpson (1990) and focused largely on size and find location, indicates the existence of regional differences. It suggests that miniature battle-axes are a distinct and significant variant of this important Bronze Age artefact. Despite the reduction in scale, the miniature battle-axes can still be seen to retain a symbolic function indicative of the status and wealth of the individual. The association of a miniature battle-axe with the child at Doune suggests that this individual was considered to be a significant member of the community. This is reinforced by the identification of the fragmentary Food Vessel as a relic or 'special pot' with an extended biography and special significance. Its inclusion within this mortuary context, the burial of the child, represented an opportunity for lineage ties and social boundaries to be reaffirmed by the living community. This fragment was recovered from the damaged end of the cist and the adjacent scree. These circumstances raise the possibility that this represents what was once a complete pot in the cist. Such a view would not materially alter the interpretations of it offered here.



99 Location of the Doune burial site. The actual site has now been removed by quarrying. *Map drawn by Marion O'Neil*

Identifying the Child's World

Interest in identifying the world of children in the archaeological record has dramatically increased since Lillehammer's (1989) pioneering article. This new concern with the archaeology of children can be seen to stem from the growing influence of feminist thinking on archaeological interpretations. It has formed part of wider attempts at making visible the social groups that had previously been ignored, overlooked or considered unrecognisable within the archaeological record (Sofaer-Derevenski 1997).

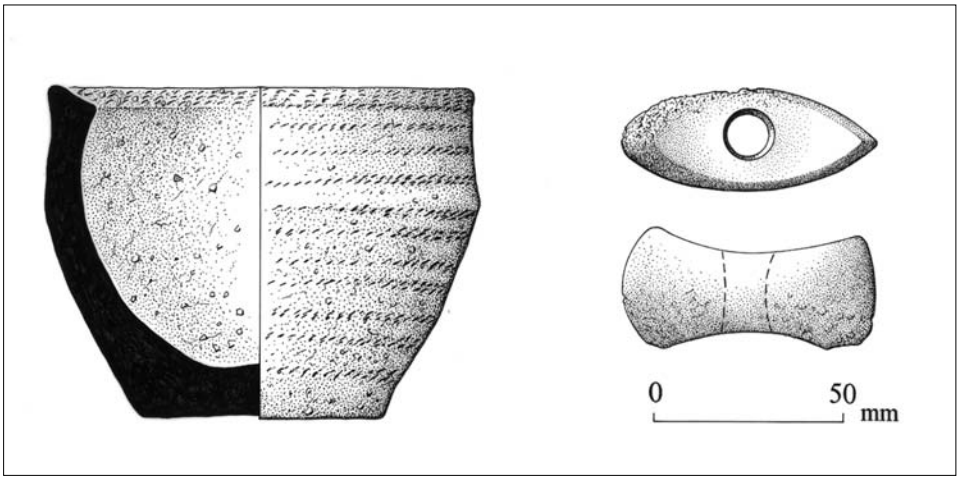
The apparent invisibility of children in the archaeological record was previously attributed to problems of preservation or failure to identify the remains of children during excavation. Certainly, the conspicuous absence of children from the archaeological burial record was formerly assumed to mean that children were not considered important enough to their society to be afforded formal burial. But to state that remnants of the child's world are too difficult to identify in an already fragmentary archaeological record or that factors of preservation have meant that children have all but disappeared from view can now be seen as attempts to over-simplify and dismiss the problem. Scott believes that our marginalisation of the prehistoric child is the result of 'our own cultural association of infants with the female and the domestic [which] has effectively rendered them unworthy of serious academic study' (1992, 82). Despite this recent increase in interest, children remain peripheral to most archaeological interpretations.

The culturally constructed qualities of the terms 'child' and 'childhood' have been extensively discussed by Sofaer-Derevenski (1994; 1997; 2000). Children, in our modern, socially constructed, westernised view, are seen to embody our hopes and expectations for the future. But Mizoguchi reminds us 'that the position of a particular child within a group hierarchy may be constituted by reference to that of their parents and ancestors' (2000, 142) and can, therefore, also be regarded as an embodiment of the past. This means that children can be viewed as potent symbols for the life of the community in general, representing links to the past, present and future. When these powerful symbols are removed by death, a unique occasion when 'social roles are publicly renewed and reinforced' (Sofaer-Derevenski 1994, 23) is created. It can be expected that these key symbolic issues will be brought to the forefront in mortuary rituals. These concerns may then be addressed and communicated through mortuary practice and the treatment of the child in a burial context. The way that children were buried, and what grave goods were interred with them, was deliberately selected by the adult community. Such burials will hold valuable information about the social attitudes of the adult population to children in society.

A recent re-assessment of the skeletal remains from the Doune burial (Koon & McCulloch 2003, 50-2) has confirmed that it was the inhumation of a child of 7 years ± 24 months, and a bone from this burial has just been dated to 3400 ± 35 BP (SUERC-2869, 1870-1530 cal BC at 2σ: Sheridan, A., pers. com.) This confirmation of the deceased's age, together with the unusual grave goods, suggests that we have here a grave with potential wider implications.

Miniature Battle-Axes

The miniature battle-axe from Doune is of Roe's 'intermediary' type (1966, 207) with a rounded butt. It is made of quartz-rich sandstone (S. Miller pers.

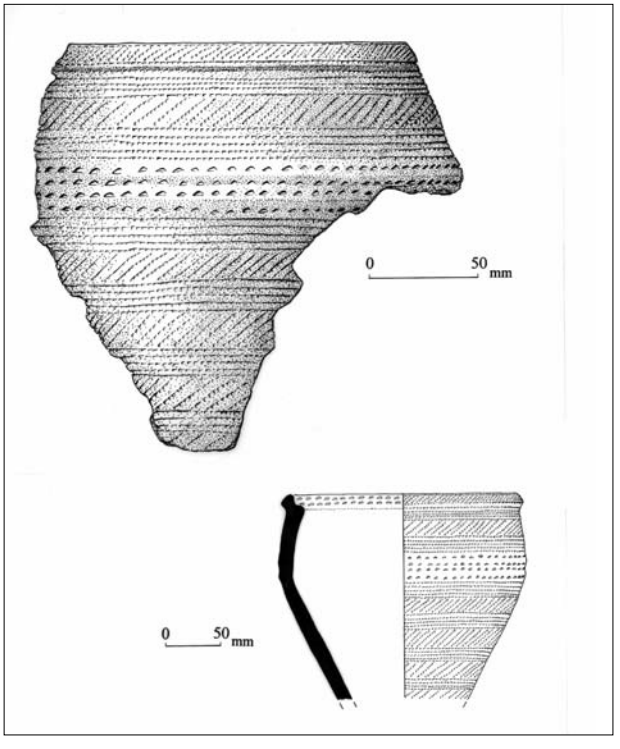


100 The small Food Vessel and miniature battle-axe from the child's burial at Doune. *Illustration by Marion O'Neil*

comm.) with polish remaining on one side of the battle-axe and on the upper surface. The stone itself is characteristic of the region so is most likely to be locally derived. The calcite cement that binds together the quartz inclusions is very poorly consolidated, indicating that the stone would always have been too fragile to be put to any vigorous use. One side of the object is severely eroded, most likely as the result of slightly acidic rainwater percolating into the cist. It is 66mm in length, 31mm wide at the rounded ends, and 21mm wide at the perforation. It has a thickness of 3mm at the cutting edge, 27mm at the rounded butt and 27mm at the perforation. The central cylindrical perforation is 14mm in diameter. Although this battle-axe is frequently referred to and quoted in the literature (e.g. Sharman 2000, 86) its miniature nature and the significance of this has passed without comment.

What Defines a Miniature Battle-Axe?

A distinction needs to be drawn between small battle-axes and those that can be considered miniatures. Roe's article (1966, 201) described battle-axes being between 3.1in (79mm) and 7in (178mm) in length although several examples within her catalogue are smaller than this. Because Roe was concerned with creating a typology using a classification based on shape, the size of particularly small examples was not commented on. A preliminary reanalysis of Roe's (1966) and Simpson's (1990) catalogues based on size and find location has shown that distinct clusters of miniature battle-axes, ranging in length from 60-85 mm, exist in Scotland and Wales. There is no equivalent evidence of miniaturisation of battle-axes in Ireland. In England, the majority of battle-axes are between 100-160mm in length. But there are several examples smaller than



101 The fragment of Food Vessel from the child's burial at Doune, with reconstruction of the probable form of the vessel in an unbroken state. *Illustration by Marion O'Neil*

this although there is no indication of the distinct miniature groups seen in Scotland and Wales. (*102 & 103*) demonstrate the existence of distinct groupings of miniature battle-axes, with lengths between 60 and 85mm, among the finds from Scotland and Wales.

A Review of Miniature Battle-Axes and their Contexts

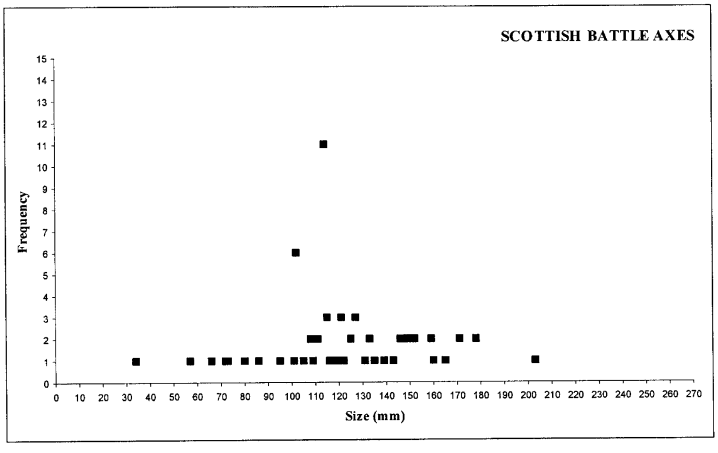
Examples are listed by country, in order of size.

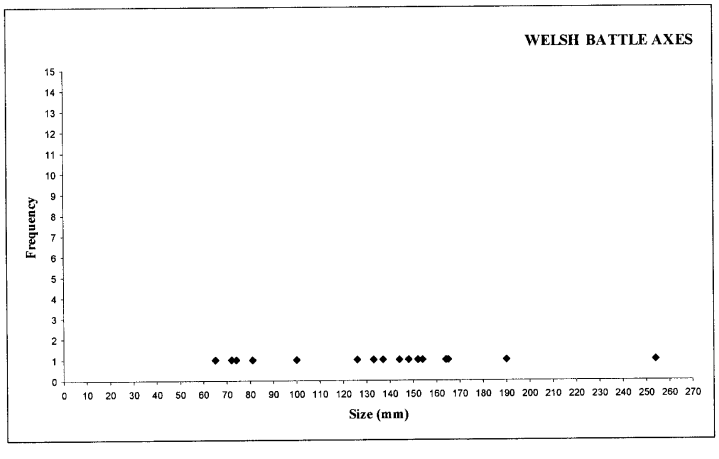
Scotland

Sumburgh, Shetland (Sharman 2000, 67, fig. 29 no. 723). 34mm. Settlement. The excavators suggest that this is an Early/Middle Bronze Age type but was found in Late Bronze Age levels. Sharman suggested that it is a possible heirloom and that it could have functioned as an amulet, ornament or toy (2000, 86).

Ness of Gruting, Shetland (Calder 1956, 392). 57mm. Unperforated. Settlement.

Doune, Perth & Kinross. 66mm. Inhumation of between five- and eight-year-old child with two Food Vessels, one small and the larger represented only by a fragment when found. Discussed in this article.

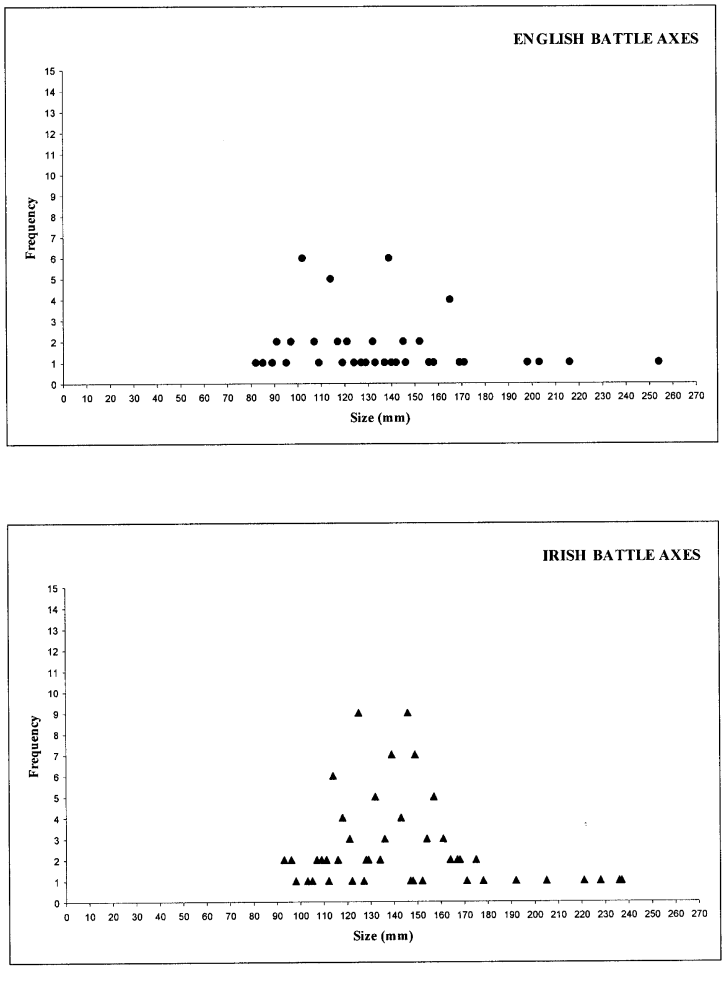




102 Scottish and Welsh battle-axes. The positions on the graph indicate length and frequency

Broken example from Ness of Gruting, Shetland (Calder 1956, 392). This axe was broken in half across the central perforation but symmetry may reasonably be assumed: estimated length is 72mm. Settlement.

Kirkcolm, Low Glengyre, Dumfries & Galloway (Mann 1923, 98-103, fig. 2; Longworth 1984, 297, no. 1800 & pl. 244b). 73mm. Found near to, but not directly associated with, a disturbed cremation burial of a child. The miniature battle-axe was found in 1907 as a stray find but further investigation of the area at a later date revealed a disturbed cremation burial. Mann believed the battle-axe was associated with this burial (1923, 98). A small stone-lined pit with an upright Collared Urn was found containing the cremated remains of a child 'certainly over eight, probably over 12 years of age' (Mann 1923, 101). The Cinerary Urn had been damaged by ploughing. Beside it was an accessory vessel (58mm high), also containing cremated remains. A thumbnail scraper of flint and two small flint flakes were also found; all were fire damaged. The



103 English and Irish battle-axes. The positions on the graph indicate length and frequency

battle-axe is reported to have been found 31ft (9.45m) from the centre of the larger urn (Mann 1923, 100) and Longworth (1984, 297) does not accept the association.

Near Skara Brae, Orkney. (Unpublished: NMS X.HA 702). 80mm. Unperforated. Stray find.

Skoonan, Evie, Orkney. (Purchases for the museum, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 68 (1933-4), 19). Approximately 60% of the length remains (43mm) but symmetry may be assumed suggesting full length would not have exceeded 80mm. Stray find.

PoltallochEstate, Argyll. (NMSX.HP026) 86mm. Stray find.

An interesting aspect of the settlement finds of miniature battle-axes is that the majority are from Shetland and, with the notable exception of the example from Sumburgh, are broken or unfinished. Finds of broken stone maceheads

from Orkney have previously been noted by Callander (1931, 91-5) who dismissed the possibility of breakage in use because of the lack of any evidence of wear suggesting that they were functional pieces. But he noted that if they were found in a mortuary context in this condition it would be assumed that they had been broken deliberately with ritual significance. His emphasis on context as a frame for explanation enabled him to avoid the key question. In the absence of evidence of use, how are we to explain the breakage of such solid stone pieces? Sharman's suggestion (2000, 86) that the miniature battle-axe from Sumburgh was an heirloom raises the possibility that other examples were also heirlooms or relics for in such circumstances the fact that they were broken would not necessarily have impaired their continuing significance. The unfinished and broken examples from Ness of Gruting (Calder 1956, 392) could equally well introduce the possibility of damage during manufacture.

Wales

Wrexham, Denbighshire (Savory 1980, 94). 72mm. Perforation was not fully completed. Found in the River Clywedog.

Llanrhian, Pembrokeshire (Allen 1903). 74mm. It was found amongst debris thrown out from a large cist under a barrow. The cist contained an inhumation burial. Allen suggested that it was 'too small, and the edge too blunt to be used as a warlike weapon, and was most likely worn as an amulet or an ornament' (1903, 229).

Teifiside, Ceredigion (Peate 1925, 206). Although it is 81mm in length, it is included here because it appears to form part of the group of miniatures even though lying strictly outside the size range. Stray find.

In this context it is worth noting the battle-axe from Garthbeibio, Powys (Wheeler 1923). Although it falls just outside the miniature cluster (being 99mm in length), the find circumstances of this battle-axe are of interest. It was found during the excavation of Foel Cairn, Caeerwyd, Garthbeibio in a cist associated with the primary burial, a cremation of a nine-year-old child. Associated with the burial was this small battle-axe, a hammerstone and three flint flakes. The cist itself was of an unusual form being 6ft (1.83m) long and made up of several small flagstones and river boulders (Wheeler 1923, 280-1).

What is the Significance of a Miniature Battle-Axe?

Park (1998, 275) indicates that miniature representations of symbolic items formed an integral part of the Inuit shaman's kit, suggesting the possible magico-religious significance of miniature items. Ethnographic examples from Inuit societies in Greenland (Park 1998, 275) and burial evidence from Bronze Age Scandinavia show that there are instances of specially

manufactured, small-scale objects that are interred in a grave as the representation of a full-scale object (Lillehammer 1989). Similarly, miniature versions of pots and battle-axes have been noted within burial assemblages in Late Neolithic Corded Ware burials in Bohemia (Turek 2000). In such contexts these miniatures can be seen to be specially produced funerary objects. However, the presence of miniature battle-axes in Scottish settlement contexts (Calder 1956) suggests that British examples may have served a wider range of functions. Certainly, they appear to require a more complex interpretation than just that of representational items.

Further, most battle-axes in Scotland in burial contexts are associated with cremation burials. The inclusion of one with the inhumation burial of a child at Doune is, therefore, unusual. It provides more of an echo of the common association of elaborate battle-axes and Food Vessels with inhumation burials in the rich barrow burials of Wessex (Case 2003, 177).

There is no evidence in the form of observed wear patterns to suggest that these were functional items (Callander 1931, 94) and the miniature battle-axe from Doune was made from a stone that would be too soft and fragile to withstand being put to any practical use. Although designed for display, it is clear from their size that these miniatures were too large to be considered beads or pendants. One exception to this is the example from the barrow Wilsford G7 (Case 2003, 177). Here a large collection of various types of beads and pendants were found associated with the central primary inhumation. Among them was a pendant made from jet in the shape of a battle-axe. Being less than 80mm in length it conforms to the criteria suggested here as the definition of miniature battle-axes. But its extremely small size (30mm in length) and the use of jet suggests that this example is more likely to have been intended as a pendant or bead. It should, therefore, not be considered as part of the miniature battle-axe group.

Full-sized battle-axes have an accepted ceremonial and ritual use acting as a powerful symbol of wealth, power and social status. These easily recognisable objects reflect the power of the individual having them but could also have been a means whereby that power was legitimised. These small-scale versions must inevitably contain resonances of the meanings inherent in the larger examples. But at the same time they could take on a meaning of their own if they are regarded as a charm as well as a symbol. Perhaps the situation was similar to children from Inuit societies in Greenland who were seen to be vulnerable to malign supernatural forces and wore amulets in an attempt to counter these evil powers (Park 1998, 273). The frequent association of quartz stones with Bronze Age burial contexts (e.g. West Water Reservoir, Scottish Borders (Hunter 2000, 124-5), Beech Hill House, Perth & Kinross (Stevenson 1995, 204)) clearly implies a symbolic purpose. Could it be that the deliberate selection of a stone with a high white quartz content imbued the battle-axe from Doune with a further symbolic quality?

Sharman suggested that the miniature battle-axe from Sumburgh, Shetland could have been a child's toy (2000, 86). This, and the association of the Doune example with a young child, make it easy to assume that all miniature battle-axes were children's toys. We should be aware that our modern, westernised notion of the purpose of a 'toy' should not be considered universal, loaded as it is with preconceived notions. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines a toy as:

> Toy 1. n. thing to play with, especially for children; trinket or curiosity, trifling thing or thing meant only for amusement. 2.a. that is a toy; (of dog) of diminutive breed; hardly deserving the name, not meant for serious use. 3. v. i. Play or fiddle or dally with (thing, or idea etc.).

This definition rather ignores the potential educational attributes of such an item. As Lillehammer reminds us 'a child's plaything[s] must not necessarily be restricted to objects which do not function in the adult world' (1989, 100). Our modern conception of toys as means of distraction for children limits our understanding of the role that play can have in socialising children and familiarising them with skills that will be fundamental in adult life. Describing objects as toys runs the real risk, then, that we create an image dominated by play as distraction. But we cannot see the miniature battle-axe as a 'toy' if that means that we detach it from the significance of the full-sized object. If these miniature battle-axes were toys, what would be learnt through interaction with such an object? Sillar notes that 'children frequently learn through imitating aspects of the adult world in play; in doing so, they learn the limitations of the physical world but they may also try modifications of the techniques or ideas used by their parents. Thus children's play is potentially a time and place for generating new cultural and material forms as they learn to reproduce and re-create society' (Sillar 1994, 49). All of this suggests that the definition of these objects as toys is too simple an explanation for miniature battle-axes. It is important to note in this context that battle-axes small enough to be viewed as possible toys have been found associated with adult burials, for example at Thirkel Low, Derbyshire (Ward 1897, 263-6) where the battle-axe was some 85mm in length.

Miniature stone implements are not restricted to battle-axes. Miniature axes and maceheads have also been found. Two are particularly worthy of note. At Glenhead, also at Doune but on the southern side of the Ardoch Burn, a miniature macehead was recovered from a burial. It was associated with a Food Vessel containing the inhumed remains of a female aged between 15 and 21 years (Koon & McCulloch 2003, 75-6) and at Brownstone Farm, Kingswear, Devon, a miniature greenstone axe was found within a cist at the centre of a barrow. Close by was the cremation burial of a ten-year-old child (Rogers 1947).

The Pottery

Instances of inhumation burials with multiple vessels are well known, for example Balblair, Highland (Hanley & Sheridan 1994) and Little Gonerby, Lincolnshire (Phillips 1933, 128). Some of these burials involve children. But the fragmentary nature of the larger Food Vessel in the burial at Doune suggests that we should not necessarily consider this as two *complete* pots. Rather we could see the burial as having one small Food Vessel and one relic in the form of a fragment of a pot. This opens out two points for discussion: the presence of small pots in the burials of children and the significance of the possible 'heirloom'.

Small Pots

The inclusion of small pots is a common feature of the inhumation burial of children, especially in Scotland, for example at Broomend of Crichie (Davidson 1868; Ritchie 1920) and Nether Criggie, both Aberdeenshire (Kirk & McKenzie 1955), and Ireland (O'Donnabháin & Brindley 1990). Although it would be convenient to interpret the small pots in many of these graves as children's toys or as an item designed specifically with children in mind, this fails to explain their presence within the adult graves (e.g. Gairneybank, Perth & Kinross: Cowie & Ritchie 1991, 105). Although their occurrence within adult inhumation burials does not seem to occur with the frequency we see in the children's graves, their presence emphasises that assumptions that these diminutive pots are to be associated with the material culture of children alone should treated with caution. They may not be children's toys but it seems as though, in some instances at least, they were of a size considered appropriate to be included in the burial of a child. Correlation between size of pot and age of individual has been identified at the large Bronze Age cremation cemetery at Pasture Lodge, Lincolnshire (Allen *et al.* 1987). Here it was shown that children were interred within pots, the size of which seemed to reflect the age of the child with the youngest child interred within the smallest pot (Allen *et al.* 1987, 187).

Heirlooms

In Hamilton's original report (1957) he commented that a large fragmentary Food Vessel was associated with the grave. In keeping with the practice of the time, this fragment was presented in a reconstruction drawing showing it as complete vessel. But recent analysis by Woodward, such as her consideration of the 'special pots' within the Lockington hoard (2000a), and grave goods associated with Wessex barrow burials (2000b) suggests heirlooms or relics are a more common feature of Bronze Age material culture than has previously been acknowledged (Woodward 2002). In light of these ideas, a re-analysis of the significance of the fragmentary Food Vessel within the burial at Doune is now possible.

Woodward notes several examples of special pots being associated with burials (2000, 59-60). These pots are often broken and damaged and suggested an extended biography prior to deposition within the grave context. The significance of the inclusion of an heirloom within a mortuary context is emphasised by Lillios' suggestion that 'heirlooms serve to objectify memories and histories, acting as mnemonics to remind the living of their link to a distant, ancestral past' (1999, 236).

The fragmentary pot from Doune may not necessarily have been that ancient when it was incorporated into the burial so that the terms heirloom and relic need to be used in this context with caution. Even if it was not particularly old, it must have been considered special to have been retained in a fragmentary condition and deposited in a burial. A pot only a couple of generations removed from the burial itself may nevertheless have been considered a relic and a link to the past. The fragment may well be an attempt to legitimise and emphasise the status of the individual it was buried with. By burying this special pot within this grave it does suggest that the community was acknowledging the child's lineage and using the pot to delineate social relations. Perhaps, the significance of the pot is not related directly to the child itself but to the remaining living family members and community. Burials are often seen as an opportunity to re-establish and re-affirm social ties and boundaries. By acknowledging the child as part of the community through the interment of a special relic of social significance an opportunity is created for community bonds to be strengthened. If the child was of powerful lineage the interment of the special pot in the grave may have created an opportunity for kin members to acknowledge their connection to the child and as a result re-affirm their claim to that lineage. The potential symbolic value of the association of a relic with an individual in a burial context should not be undervalued in light of the suggestion that 'Our ancient ancestors may have discovered that, in defending territorial claims or legitimating unequal rights to land or other critical resources, heirlooms, as tangible links to their ancestors were their most powerful weapon of all' (Lillios 1999, 258).

The burial of a child at Beckhampton, Wiltshire (Young 1950) shows that the association of children and relics is not restricted to the burial assemblage at Doune. But it is far from common. This burial had an inhumation of a child associated with a severely damaged beaker, a single sherd from another pot, two flints placed directly under each side of the pelvis and a unique carved chalk plaque. It is interesting to note that no attempt was made to hide the obviously damaged condition of the pot when it was placed within the grave as it positioned with the broken surface facing outwards (Young 1950, 314), almost as though deliberately displaying its fragmentary state. The abraded and worn fractured edges imply that this pot had been in circulation for some time prior to deposition. This confirms that the practice of interring 'special pots' within funerary deposits was not restricted to adults only but extended to funerary rites involving children.

The cremation burial of an adult and child at Noranbank, Tannadice (Taylor 1998, 38) shows that the phenomenon of using 'special pots' can be restricted to the single special vessel. Here the cremated remains were contained within a broken Cinerary Urn and, again, the focus seems to have been on the broken condition of the vessel. The base of the Collared Urn in which the calcined bones were contained was broken prior to deposition. A small slab of stone had been placed over the break to seal and protect it. Such treatment suggests that this pot was not a simple and convenient repository for burial but was considered special prior to deposition. It must have been recognised as such when interred as part of the burial.

Conclusion

The inclusion of a battle-axe and Food Vessel in the burial at Doune is consistent with the treatment afforded to adult burials but with several specific differences. The small pot and miniature battle-axe found in this child's grave seems to reflect the adult world but in miniature. This special consideration suggests that the child was seen as distinct, but not separate, from the adult world. Although some of the items with this inhumation were perhaps specifically chosen for the child because of their size and form, children do not appear to have had a defined material culture of their own. The overall lack of evidence for toys within the surviving material culture of the Bronze Age emphasises that childhood in prehistory was not defined in terms that we would recognise today. It would be easy to interpret the small Food Vessel and miniature stone implement associated with this grave as the child's toys or as items designed specifically with the child in mind. But to do so would fail to explain the presence of comparable forms in adult graves nor give sufficient recognition of the battle-axe's role as an acknowledged symbolic object. The inclusion of the heirloom, an item whose importance and significance would have been recognisable to the community, confirms the wealth and status that the battle-axe indicates. It appears to have been used as a material representation of the child's important lineage and its addition to the grave may have created an opportunity for kin-members to re-affirm and legitimise their position in society by reference to the child as the focus of the mortuary rituals. This evidence of ascribed status suggests that Hertz' observation that 'the death of a stranger, a slave or a child will go almost unnoticed; it will arouse no emotion, occasion no ritual' (1960, 76) cannot be applicable to Bronze Age children in Britain and Ireland.

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(Re)Thinking the Little Ancestor: New Perspectives on the Archaeology of Infancy and Childhood

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Where have all the flowers gone? Bronze Age children's burials in South East England: initial thoughts

Dawn McLaren

Introduction

This paper is the result of recent investigations into Bronze Age children's burials in South East England as part of my ongoing research looking at aspects of children's burials of this period in Britain. The aim of this paper is to introduce some of the main themes of my research in this area, focusing on the counties of Sussex, Surrey and Kent (fig. 1), where ninety-three possible children have been identified within previously recorded burials. These specific counties have been selected for study because the area has generally been considered peripheral to and overshadowed by the Bronze Age burial evidence from other areas, particularly Wiltshire, Yorkshire, and the Peak District. This is a deliberate attempt to shift the focus away from these regions and to concentrate on an area with an assumed poverty of information with regard to Bronze Age burial activity and where children are currently believed to be invisible.



Fig. 1: Area of study discussed in paper

The apparent invisibility of children in general within the archaeological record has been previously linked to problems of preservation or failure to identify children's remains during excavations. Their conspicuous absence was assumed to mean that children were not considered important enough to be given a formal burial. However, the current writer believes this is an attempt to oversimplify the problem.

The rites afforded to children in mortuary contexts is not a direct reflection of the world of the child itself, but of aspects of culture transferred from the adult society onto the child, in accordance with the way the community regarded them. Children do not bury themselves and what we are observing is not an expression of the child's world itself but merely a view of it through adult eyes. This affords us the opportunity to glimpse the way children were thought of by the adult community and can help us to reconstruct the child's role and status within society.

What is a child?

Before further analysis it is essential to understand that caution should be exercised on using the broad terms 'child' and 'childhood' without any conceptual understanding of their meaning (Derevenski 1994, 8). These expressions are modern, socially constructed terms, which are culturally loaded with perceived ideas on what a child is and what childhood should be. The concept of the child is often viewed as a universal state of physiological development reflecting our biological life cycles. The idea of what a child was in prehistoric societies may have been a far more flexible concept than it is today. Joanna Sofaer has suggested that modern Western society has

marginalised the child's economic, social and political importance, constructing a stereotype that establishes children as peripheral to adult society (Derevenski 1997, 193).

Children, as defined by demographic conventions, encompass all individuals under fifteen years of age (Chamberlain 2000, 207). This concurs with the concept of childhood terminating and giving way to 'adolescence' at the onset of puberty. The end of childhood means an end of dependence on the care of the adult population and the inclusion of the individual into the community as a competent member of society. But when does this take place in prehistory?

For the purposes of my analysis it is proposed that the term 'child' should concur with established demographic conventions, to include all individuals up to fifteen years of age. It should be noted that prior to any evidence suggesting a real social boundary existed around this age group, this division is, to a certain extent, arbitrary. However, it is necessary to define a practical boundary within which analysis can take place.

Problems of Identification

Eleanor Scott believes that our marginalisation of the prehistoric child is the result of 'our own cultural association of infants with the female and the domestic which has effectively rendered them unworthy of serious academic study' (1992, 82). Because greater attempts to identify and visualise women in prehistory have themselves been a relatively recent development, there has been a general belief that it is beyond the scope of the archaeological record to produce evidence of the child's world. To state that remnants of the child's world are too difficult to identify in an already fragmentary archaeological record or that factors of preservation have meant that children have all but disappeared, can be seen as an attempt to oversimplify and dismiss the problem. The reason why so little information on children has been found is due to a lack of systematic study. Despite a recent increase in interest in this subject, children remain peripheral within archaeological interpretations.

There are three main problems that affect our ability to study children in prehistory. The first is that skeletal identification remains a factor; the brittle and delicate nature of children's bones often mean that preservation is not great, even when soil conditions are optimal, leading to a lack of precision in identification. Dental and skeletal analysis can give quite precise indications of the age of the individual, potentially to within two years, up to the age of fifteen if preservation is good (Lunt 1973; 114). This is due to rapid but predictable osteological and dental changes. After the age of fifteen, identification of age becomes more difficult due to more variable developmental rates (Mays and Anderson 1995, 355; Lunt 1973, 114). It is also difficult to determine the sex of a child and, in many cases, this is not attempted.

Secondly, varying standards in the levels of recording has also placed limits on our ability to analyse effectively available data. Today our excavation methods are designed to gain and record as much information as possible. In the past, records were often sketchy and lacking in detail. When skeletal remains were encountered they were often divided simply into 'child' or 'adult' categories. Despite this lack of detail, they can still be regarded as a useful source.

The final problem is that high infant mortality rates have led some to believe that parents would have divorced themselves emotionally from their young. It has been estimated that up to 50% did not survive past infancy (Chamberlain 2000, 208; Goodman and Armelagos 1989, 227). Despite ethnographic evidence that suggests that in some circumstances 'adult care-giving varies in response to perceived risks of childhood mortality' (Chamberlain 2000, 208) we should not fall back on this as an excuse to justify a lack of understanding of children at this time.

Methods and Approach

My initial methods start back at the original reports – the local (e.g. Thanet Archaeological Trust publications), regional (e.g. Sussex Archaeological Collections, Surrey Archaeological Collection and Archaeologia Cantiana) and national. A total of seventy children's burials have been identified from South East England, from the counties of Sussex, Surrey and Kent. Each county will be considered separately below to determine whether any general trends can be identified.

Sussex

Leslie Grinsell's 1931 study of the Sussex barrows forms the foundation for analysis of burial traditions. Grinsell noted approximately 1000 round barrows, in similar concentrations to that seen in Wessex (1931; 1934a, 229). Despite the large numbers of barrows less than 150 have been recorded and fewer than 50 have been excavated to modern standards. Garwood's Sussex Barrows Project has highlighted the systematic destruction of round barrow sites as a result of local land use and he estimates that 70% of the barrows recorded in Grinsell's study have now been destroyed (Garwood 2002).

But the problem is not just due to the modern plough. Antiquarian activity has also had a severe impact on barrow study in Sussex. Rev. H. Smith observed in 1870 the problem with unstructured, unscientific exploration noting that 'many barrows have been dug through, and all that can now be learned…is that several urns were found of rude character'. Despite these limitations, spatial patterning of burial traditions can be observed with concentrations of Beaker burials on the fringes of the central chalk lands. Rich Earlier Bronze Age burials cluster in this area and include impressive grave assemblages such as those at Pycombe (Butler 1991) and Hove (Phillips 1857).

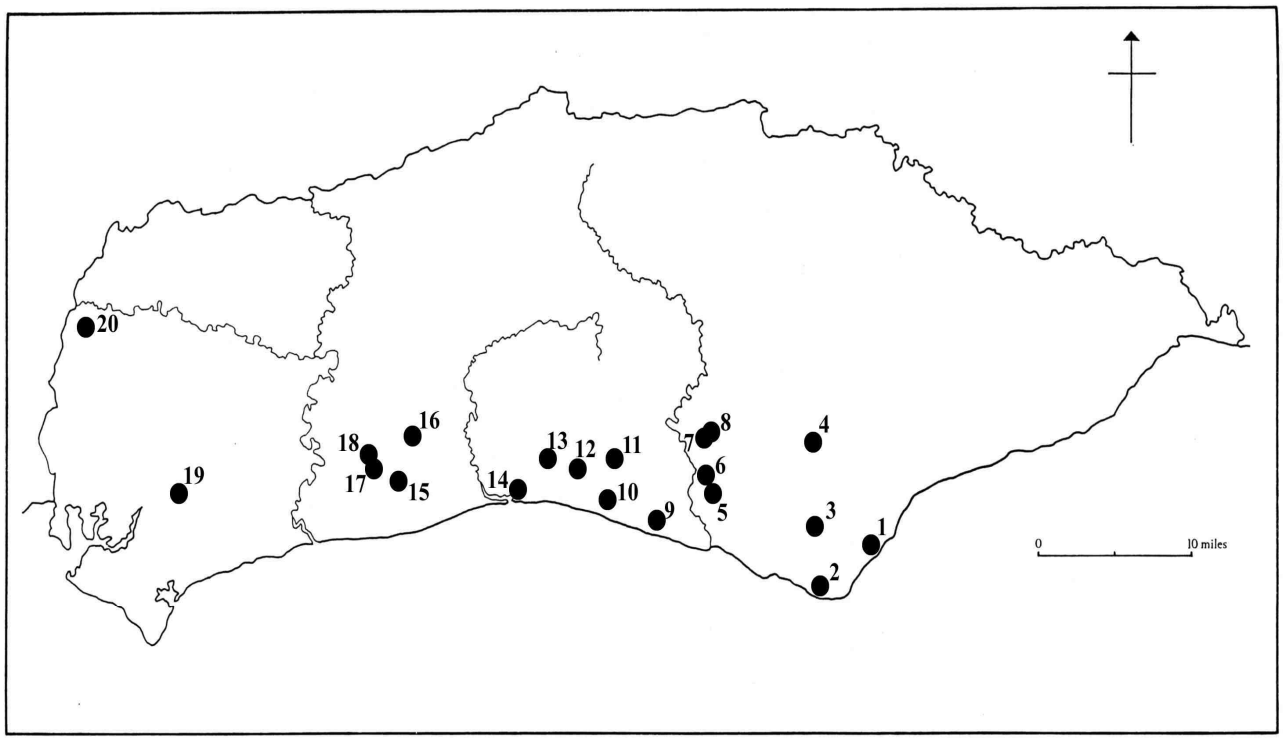


Fig. 2: Distribution of Bronze Age children's burials in Sussex (1.Eastbourne, 2.Baily's Hill cairn, 3.Alfriston barrow, 4. Bostle ring ditch, 5.Itford Hill, 6.Beddingham barrow, 7. Cliffe Hill barrow, 8. South Malling Barrow, 9. Looe's Barn Tumulus, 10.London Road cemetery, 11.Ditchling Field, Cold Dean, 12. Ladies Mile Barrow, 13. Hove (isolated burial), 14. Slonk Hill barrow, 15.Church Hill, 16. Chactonbury, 17, Blackpatch, 18. Cock Hill, 19. Claypit ring ditch, 20. West Heath barrow)

Forty-nine children below fifteen years of age and a further five tentative children's burials of Bronze Age date are known from Sussex (fig. 2). These include twenty inhumation burials and 34 burials after cremation from a total of twenty-four sites. All ages of children are represented; from foetus to adolescent but neonates, perinates and foetuses are only observed as unburnt skeletons and are absent amongst the burials after cremation.

If we look first at the inhumation burials in this county it is possible to demonstrate that most are formal burials within barrow and cairns (75%). There are also small quantities of children's graves within Later Bronze Age settlements (16%) and a single isolated example from Hove (Rudling 2000, 11). Only four burials are confidently assigned to the Earlier Bronze Age through associated material culture (such as the two beaker vessels found with an adult and child at Church Hill Barrow: Curwen and Curwen 1935) or direct dating, such as that from Blackpatch barrow 3 (Drewett 1982, 352). Six children's graves can be fairly confidently dated to the Later Bronze Age: one, from Cock Hill settlement site by associated vessel sherds and another from Bostle barrow directly dated to 970-790 cal. BC (McKinley 2004, 30). A further nine graves are not closely dated.

Only two children's graves were recognised as forming the principal burial on barrow sites. These comprise a beaker associated adult and child burial from Church Hill (Curwen and Curwen 1935), which will be discussed in more detail later, and the burial of an adult female and child at South Maling barrow (Grinsell 1934a, 261). The majority of child inhumations are secondary burials within mounds (53%). The position of the grave within the mound is unknown in a further five cases.

The placement of the body has only been noted in seven graves; all were crouched. These include three children from Ladies Mile barrow (Holleyman and Yeats 1960, 136-43) and an infant from Hove (Rudling 2000, 11) whose bodies had been placed on their left sides. Only one body was noted as having been placed on their left side: that of a two- to three-year-old child from Ladies Mile barrow (Holleyman and Yeats 1960, 138). In addition to the formal burials within barrows, some more unusual deposits have been noted

Three possible ritual burials have been identified within the assemblage. One example came from Ditchling Field barrow (Holleyman and Yeates 1960, 133-6). Whilst two child cremations conform to other burials within this mound, one further deposit, consisting of the teeth of a young child and an adult skull fragment, was placed underneath an inverted collared urn. This is very unusual and atypical child burial; it has more affinities with a special, ritual deposit than a deliberate formal grave, perhaps representing the deposition of deliberately curated human bone. Similar possible relic interments are observed elsewhere, such as that from Ampleforth barrow 4,

Yorkshire (Smith 1994, 101-2) and it is likely to be a more widespread practice than previously recognised.

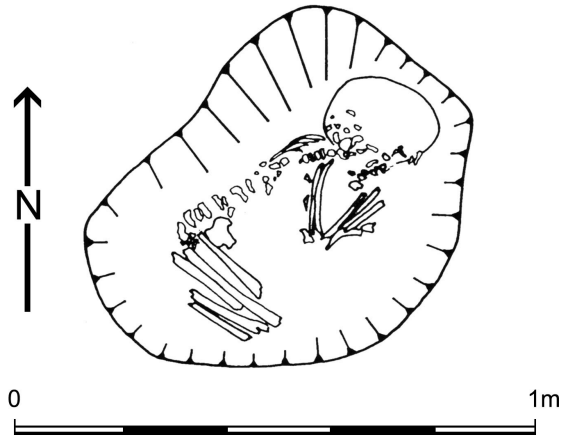


Fig. 3: Infant burial from Hove, Sussex (after Rudling 2000, 11)

The burial of a four- to six-year-old child from a pit at Hove (fig. 3) (Rudling 2000, 11) was situated near to two large flat-bottomed pits, containing special deposits of red deer antler. Although the burial itself is typical in terms of the position of the body and the paucity of grave goods, its proximity to two ritual features makes it unusual. A similar unusual deposit comes from a Late Bronze Age settlement at Itford Hill where a storage pit was found to contain sherds of Beaker, fragments of animal bone, human bone from child, quern fragments and a hammerstone (Burstow and Holleyman 1957, 175). A final possible ritual burial of an infant skeleton comes from the Later Bronze Age ceremonial and occupation site at Eastbourne where several disarticulated human remains have been discovered (Denison 1995, 4).

On 25% of the children considered here were associated with another individual. In two instances, from South Maling and Church Hill, was the child accompanied by a single adult and at Bostle, two foetuses or neonates were buried together (Grinsell 1934a, 261, Curwen and Curwen 1935; McKinley 2004, 30). At Eastbourne, the recovered unburnt human bones were found to represent at least three adults and a child.

The round barrow at Ladies Mile contained five child inhumation burials from two to eight years of age (Holleyman and Yates 1960, 136-143). The oldest child, identified as seven to eight years at death, shares dental characteristics with an adult male inhumation within the barrow and these two individuals may be biologically related. The excavator suggests that this may have been a 'family' barrow (1960, 143) but these are secondary burials inserted into the mound on successive occasions making this assertion difficult to substantiate.

Grave goods are rare in association with child burials in this county. The most common accompanying artefacts are ceramic vessels which are found in 25% of children's graves. Such vessels include Earlier Bronze Age Beaker fragments from the grave of a two- to three-year-old child at Ladies Mile barrow (Holleyman and Yeats 1960, 138), beaker sherds with a child at Itford Hill (Burstow and Holleyman 1957, 175), an inverted collared urn at Ditchling Field barrow (Holleyman and Yeates 1960, 133-6; Longworth 1984, 195) and Deverel-Rimbury urn sherds associated with a child burial at Cock Hill settlement (Ratcliffe-Densham *et al.* 1961, 89).

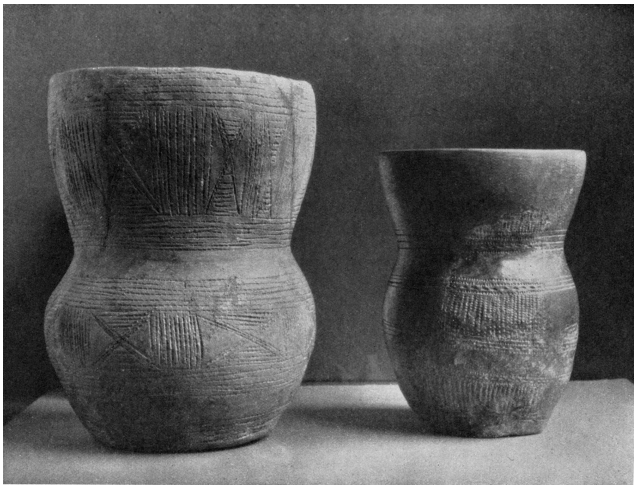


Fig. 4: Full-sized and small Beaker from Church Hill Barrow, Sussex (Curwen and Curwen, 1935).

Inhumations of an adult and child each provided with a Beaker comes from Church Hill barrow (Curwen & Curwen 1935); the adult with a full-sized pot, the child with smaller version (fig.4). This association has affinities with many Scottish burials such as Broomend of Crichie (Davidson 1868) and Nether Criggie (Kirk and McKenzie 1955, 3) in Aberdeenshire (fig.5). The placement of the small sized Beaker beside the body of the child implies the selection of a small pot was a deliberate choice. It is too simple to assume that the small pots found in the graves are children's toys as this fails to take into consideration why they were interred within the graves of some adults. Their common occurrence within the graves of children does suggest that the adult community selected them specifically because of their small size, perhaps recognising different levels of consumption between adult and child. Although funerary practice was clearly comparable to that of the adult, we can see that some consideration of the needs of a child, as distinct from that of an adult, were acknowledged with the inclusion of this category of small scale item.

In only one cases had the burial been provided with another form of grave good: the inclusion of shells of snail and limpet with an infant burial at Alfriston (Smith 1870, 70). It is unlikely that the limpet shells, a deliberate deposition, represent feasting and may have been included in the grave as amulets or as the child's collection of precious trinkets.

If we turn now to look more closely at the deposits of burnt children's bones we can observe that the apparent bias towards burial after cremation can be explained by the acidic quality of the soil in some areas of Sussex. In these

soils, unburnt bone is less likely to survive. The bias towards child cremations is consistent with the pattern observed in adult burials of this period.

Children from two to sixteen years of age are present within these burials and it is significant to note that no foetus', neonates or children under one year of age are represented. It is unclear if this is due to a lack of recognition of the small, delicate bones of particularly young children or whether this reflects a genuine absence in the burial record.

A greater proportion of the cremation deposits than inhumation burials can be closely dated due to the frequent association of chronological distinctive ceramic vessels. Eight burnt bone deposits are associated with Collared Urns, such as that from Looe's Barn cairn (Holdgate 1987, 230), indicating an Earlier Bronze Age date. A further two possible Earlier Bronze Age child cremations are present at Bostle Barrow (McKinley 2004, 28-29, table 1). The majority of these cremations are Later Bronze Age in date (18 examples, representing 42% of the dataset). Twelve, such as three from Claypit Lane ring ditch (Chadwick 2006, 13-15) are dated by direct association with Later Bronze Age Deverel-Rimbury-style pots. The remaining eleven interments are not closely dateable.

Like the inhumation burials, deposits burnt children's bones are mostly associated with barrow, cairns and cemetery-barrows, the majority as secondary burials (39%) and are more frequently associated with those of adults within deposits of cremated bone than in unburnt burials (over 25%). Five such deposits are associated with settlements of Later Bronze Age date and will be discussed further below.

In Sussex, it was more common for a burial by cremation to be provided with grave goods and in seven cases these included flint flakes that had passed through the pyre with the deceased. This is entirely consistent with the adult burials, few of which were provided with any accompanying items and where rich grave assemblages are rare. Finlay (1997) and Grimm's (2000) recent studies of flint knapping techniques suggest that 'knapping practice begins…during childhood or adolescence' (Grimm 2000, 54), introducing the possibility that the flints interred within the graves of children were not just made for them but by them.

A significant assemblage of flint tools came from a child's grave at Blackpatch barrow 1 which included two flint axes (one a roughout), a purposefully broken oval flint knife and a segmented tool (Pull 1932, 65).

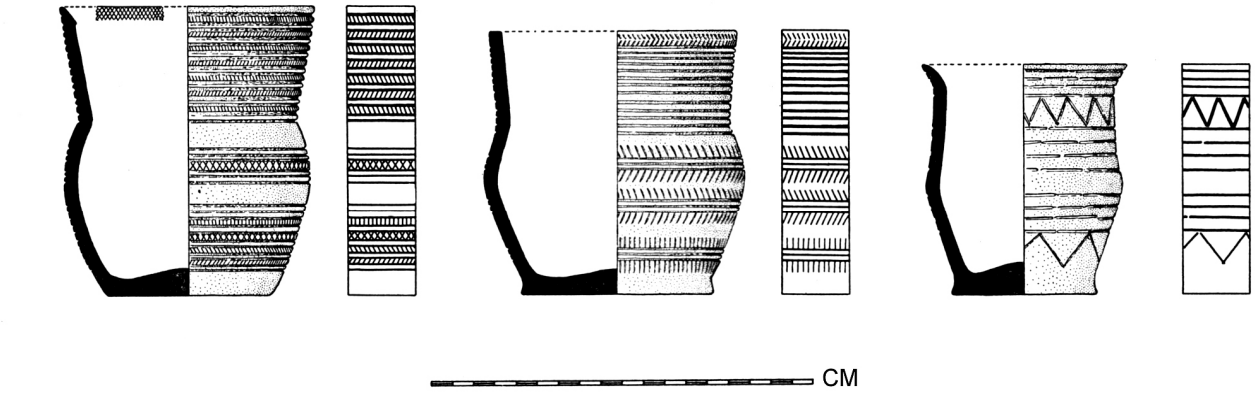


Fig. 5: The Beakers from Nether Criggie, Aberdeenshire (after Kirk and McKenzie 1955, 6).

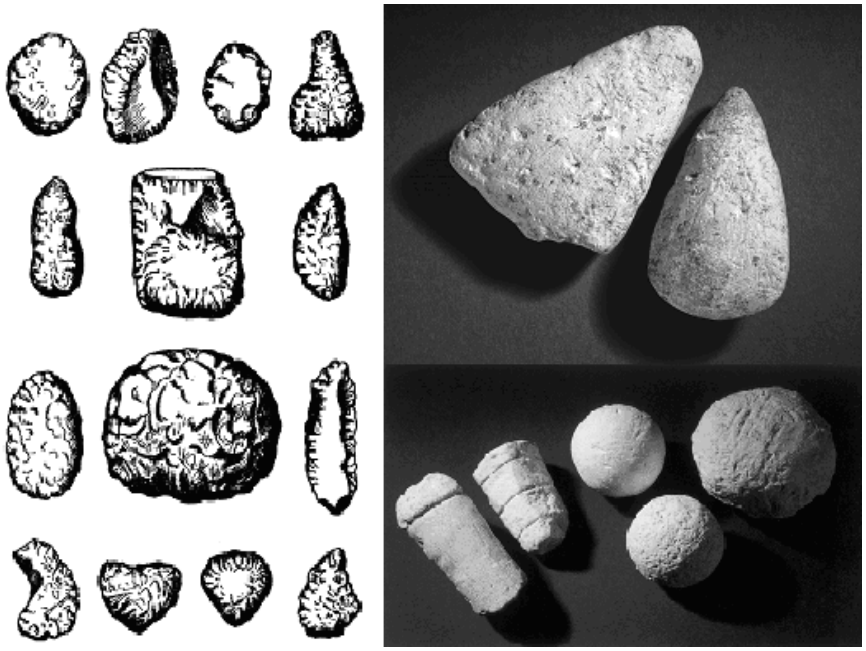


Fig. 6: (left) 'chalk charms' from Blackpatch Barrows, Sussex (after Pull 1932, 66); top right: chalk axes, Wiltshire (Copyright trustees of the National Museums of Scotland); bottom right: chalk balls from Stonehenge Bottom (©Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

This barrow at Blackpatch was built directly over an early Neolithic mining shaft (Pull 1932), perhaps indicating a desire to connect with the past. Pull comments that 'the sole interment for which this mound was raised consisted of the remains of a child, presumably that of some person of very high rank (1932, 65). In addition to the accompanying flint items already listed, the child's cremated bones were also associated with unburnt bones of a domestic pig and 'chalk charms' (fig. 6 left, no. 7 & 8). The recoveries of pig bones, often the remains of joints of meat, are characteristic of Earlier Bronze Age inhumations. Although Russell (2001, 53) later dismissed these charms, it was noted by Pull that similar objects were recovered from other barrows in the area and from the early Neolithic flint mines themselves (Pull 1932, 74). They may have been specifically selected for inclusion within the burial because of this connection with the past. Worked chalk objects are well known, including the chalk axes from Woodhenge, Amesbury (Cunnington 1929, 112, 113, pl 22.1-2), chalk balls from Mount Pleasant, Dorset (Wainwright 1979, 167, fig 75-77) and perhaps, most impressively, are the Folkton Drums associated with the burial of a child in Yorkshire (Greenwell 1890, 14-16). The loss of the objects from the Blackpatch burials makes their significance unclear.

Six children's burials are directly associated with settlements in Sussex; at Blackpatch (Rudling 2001, 201), Cock Hill (Ratcliffe-Densham *et al* 1961) and Itford Hill (Burstow and Holleyman 1958, 175). These include six cremation deposits and three inhumations. All ages of child are represented from foetus to fifteen years. Four are associated with fragments of pottery and at least one was marked by a post associated with a structure (Ratcliffe-Densham *et al* 1961, 87-88). The Cock Hill settlement is of particular interest as several human burials, both adults and children, were associated with it. In Brück's review of late Bronze Age burial practices she notes that human remains were found on only forty three settlement sites and 72% were from adults making these child burials very unusual (fig. 7) (Brück 1995, 249).

Many aspects of the mortuary treatment of children in Sussex are unlike that seen in Scotland, where preliminary research has been carried out by the author. There is a more diverse suite of practices including the occurrence of burials within settlements and ritual contexts. These are exceptional and are not representative of the general pattern of burial treatment. Most of the burials seem to conform to practices associated with adult burials and few were associated with grave goods.

Although there are some unusual burials in Sussex involving children, it is clear that sites such as Cock Hill settlement and the Ditching Field deposit are particularly unusual and should be considered separately. With the exception of the burial at Hove, the burials from ritual or settlement contexts have all been dated to the late Bronze Age and are likely to indicate that comparing funerary rites from this period to those of the earlier Bronze Age may not be appropriate for identifying general trends.

Surrey

Only five possible child burials have been recovered from previously recorded excavations in Surrey (fig.8). Two child inhumation and three possible cremation burials are recorded, most are unaccompanied and only one is provided with a pottery vessel. This corresponds with adult burials in the region which are also few and far between, and where the provision of grave goods is also limited.

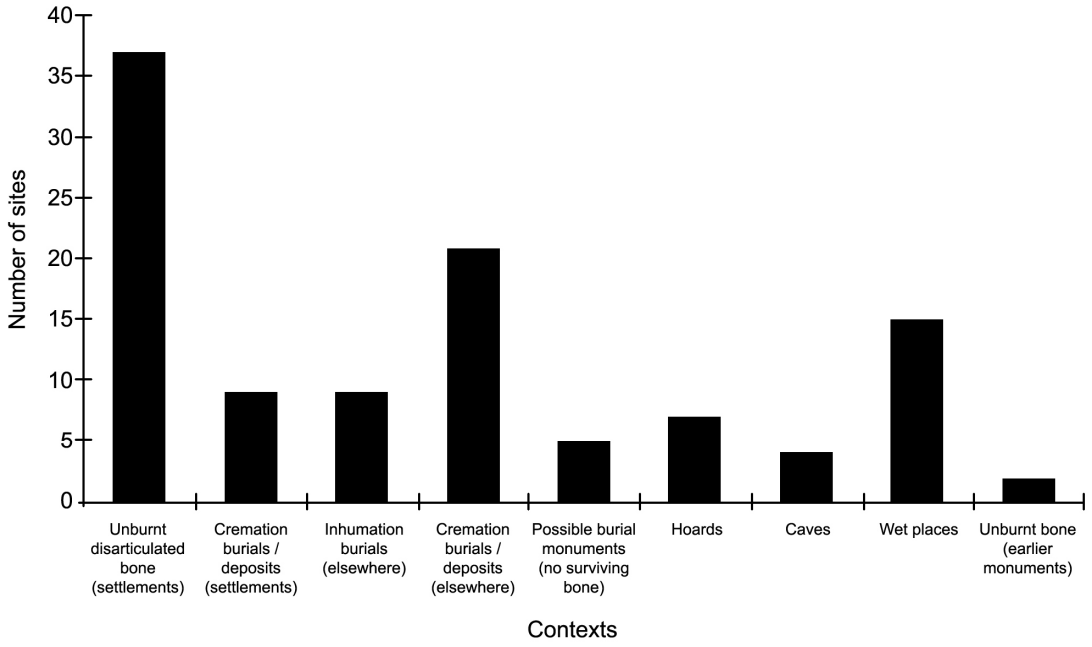


Fig. 7: Table showing the distribution of human remains within late Bronze Age contexts (after Brück 1995, 248).

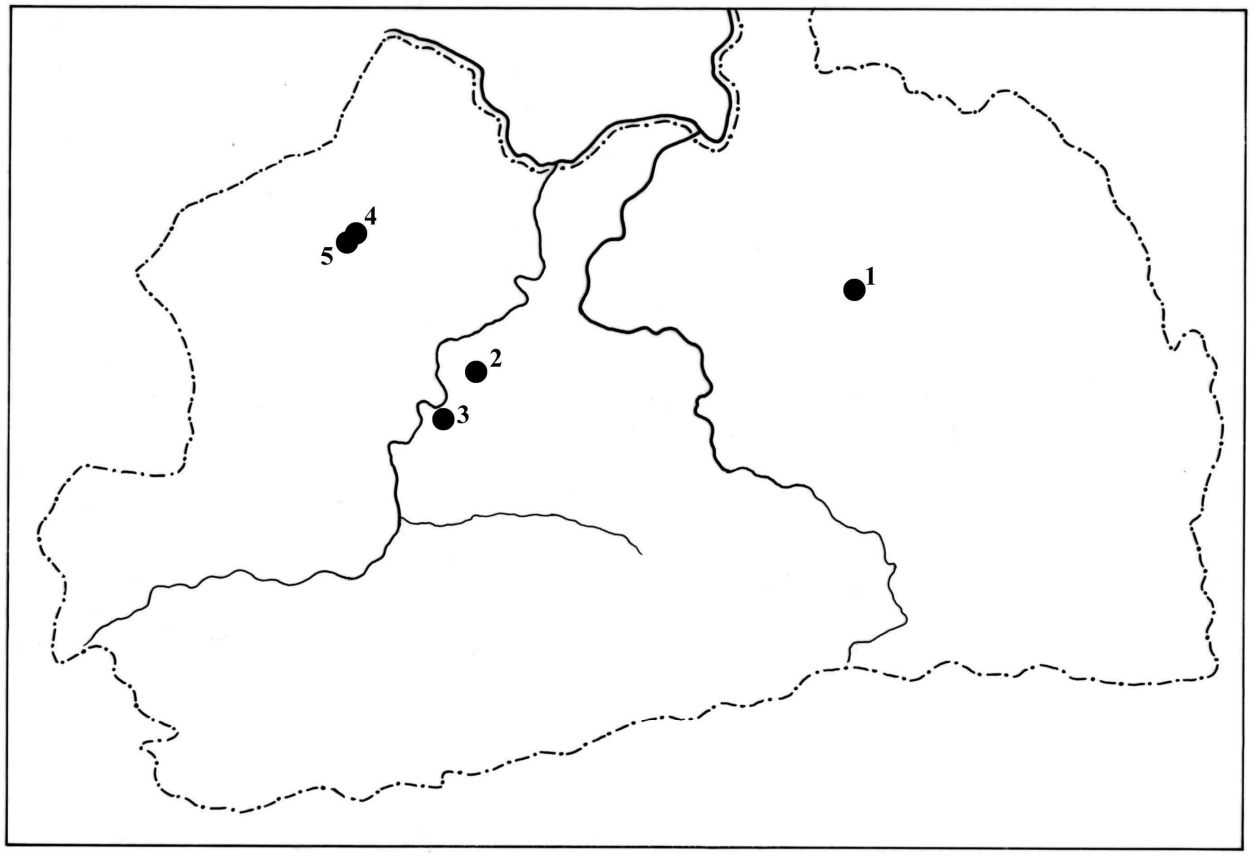


Fig. 8: Distribution of Bronze Age children's burials in Surrey (1. Queen Mary's Hospital, 2. Hengrove, 3. Merrow, 4. Runneymede, 5. Sunningdale).

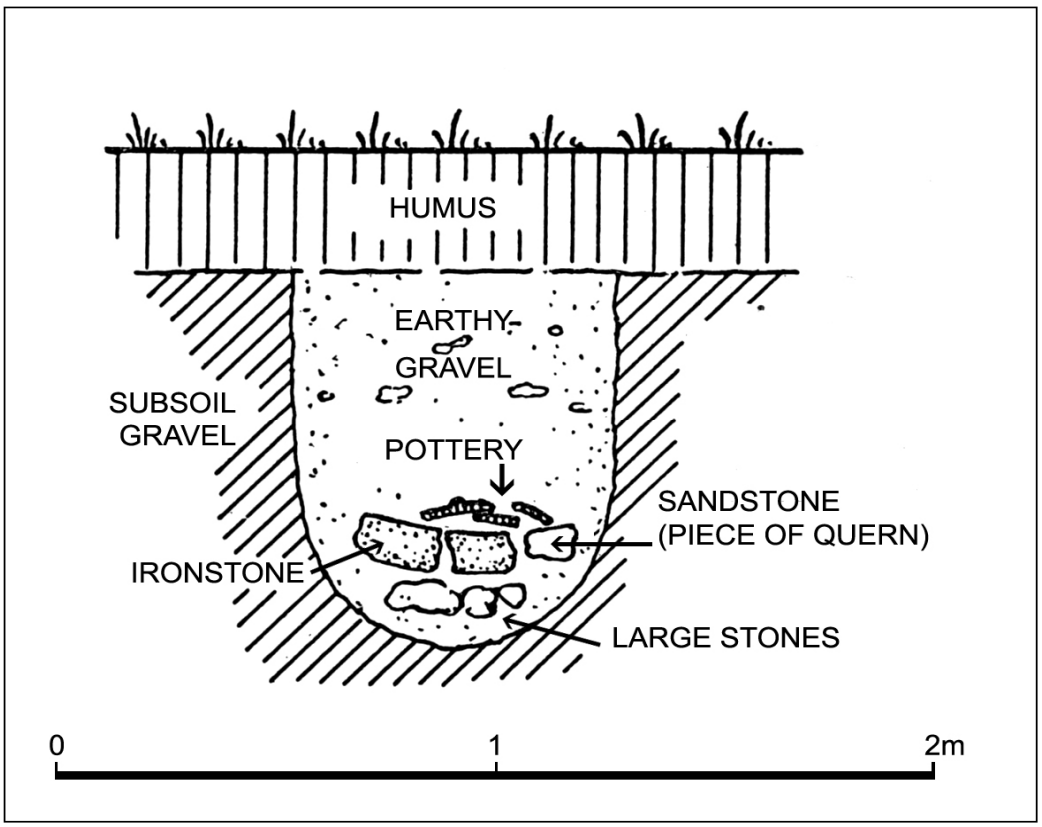


Fig. 9: Stoneyfield cremation burial with reused saddle quern fragment (after Oakley et al. 1939, 176).

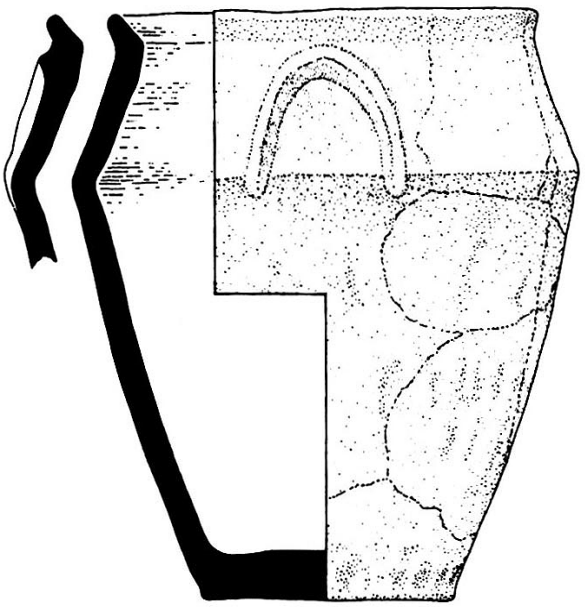


Fig. 10: Biconical urn from Guildford, Surrey, associated with the cremated remains of a child (Needham 1987, 102).

Most of the records of child burials in this county are late Bronze Age in date and derive from both cemetery sites and settlements.

Two possible children's cremations were observed from a barrow at Sunningdale (Gardner 1924, 21). This barrow was associated with a series of late Bronze Age cremations, the majority contained within coarse pottery vessels. Two un-urned deposits were recovered which the excavator interpreted as the cremated bones of children. Yet, the recognition of the bones as those of children appears to be based on the poverty of the burials in relation to others from the site rather than on osteological identification of the skeletal remains. As such, the presence of child cremations at this site cannot be confirmed and should be treated with caution.

Two children's burials have been recovered in association with late Bronze Age occupation sites in Surrey; from a late Bronze Age midden at Runneymede (Needham 1992, 61) and an occupation site at Queen Mary's Hospital (Adkins and Needham 1985, 17). Here, the child had been placed in a crouched position on a saddle quern and burnt in situ. This was not a straightforward cremation burial and sets this example apart from the rest of the unurned cremations associated with the site. Not only does this not conform to inter-site burial traditions but it is an unusual form of burial for a child in general. Burning bodies *in situ* is paralleled in Yorkshire (i.e. cremation of an adult male at Ganton: Greenwell 1877, 179) but no further examples involving either adult or child is known in Surrey.

The unusual association of a burial with a saddle quern is difficult to explain but a similar association is known from Stoneyfield (fig. 9) (Oakley et al. 1939, 175) where a cremation was placed on a broken quern stone. Was this simple reuse of a broken tool or a symbolic link between life and death? The juxtaposition of production and fertility, which querns are symbols of, and consumption and death is a common theme in ethnographic examples of complex burial rituals. The broken quern stone may have been used to symbolise death itself (Brück 2001, 152; Heslop 2008, 73-5).

Evidence of Bronze Age activity is not as dense as that seen in the surrounding areas and much of the evidence has been destroyed. Although Earlier Bronze Age beakers, from burials, are present in Surrey, the majority are unprovenanced. Common artefact associations with Earlier Bronze Age activity found elsewhere, such as battle axes, axed-hammers, flint knives and bronze implements are known from the county but most are stray finds (Needham 1987). The distribution pattern of these artefacts is overwhelmingly concentrated along the Thames. Collared urn distribution overlaps that of beaker associated objects but are also found across central and western Surrey where Beaker finds are rare. Food vessels and Biconical Urns, pottery types well represented in Wessex, are restricted to West Surrey, completely exclusive to the Beaker zone of influence.

A possible child cremation burial at Merrow in Guildford (Cruse & Harrison 1984, 104) associated with a biconical urn (fig. 10) is therefore significant and illustrates that elements of 'Wessex' burial traditions, present in Surrey, were considered appropriate in regards to some adults and children alike. This represents the only Earlier Bronze Age child burial known to the writer to date.

This review has highlighted significant problems with the burial record in this county. As Whimster observed in the 1930's: 'no period of Surrey archaeology has suffered more from neglect and lack of scientific investigation than the Bronze Age' (1931, 62). Surrey's burial mounds have never been subjected to a concerted campaign of investigation with Grinsell's 1930s survey forming the foundation of our knowledge (1934b). Although they were subject to antiquarian investigation, few records exist to attest to any findings. Understanding Surrey's burial traditions is hampered by both natural mound formation and the presence of Saxon burial mounds and it is estimated that very few of the original numbers have survived, due to agricultural intensification and urban expansion, especially along the gravel terraces of the Thames.

Perhaps the most significant factor is that, even in relatively recent reports of burials from this area, it is very rare for the skeletal or cremated remains to be analysed. It has been hard to find children within the records in Surrey but it is equally difficult to find records of adult burials. Despite the small numbers of children identified from within the published records, the similar lack of identified adults suggests that the paucity of such burials is a result of a modern bias in the record rather than a reflection of past funerary practices.



Fig. 11: Distribution of Bronze Age children's burials in Kent (1.North Foreland barrow, 2.South Dumpton, 3. Bradstow barrow, 4. Ramsgate Harbour, 5., St.Margaret's Bay barrow, 6.West Cliff ring ditch,7. Lord of the Manor barrow 1, 8. Lord of the Manor barrow 3, 9. Minster barrow, 10. Ringwould-on-Kingsdown, 11.Eastling Down barrow, 12. Barham Downs barrow, 13. Boughton Aluph, 14. Shrubsoles cemetery, 15. Kingsmead Park, 16. Whiteheath barrow, 17. Great Bargrave barrow).

Kent

Moving into the county of Kent we are again faced with similar problems of preservation and recording. Champion (1982, 31) notes that 'if the prehistory of Kent has been neglected in favour of later periods of its archaeology, the Bronze Age has perhaps suffered worst…There are…no major field monuments, no important ceremonial centres, little pottery and few settlements.' Unlike Yorkshire and Wessex, there is no core assemblage of prehistoric material from 18th and 19th century barrow exploration with which to compare the data from more recent archaeological investigations. The presence of later Saxon mounds has only confused the matter further.

The area known today as Thanet, in the north east of the county, was an island in the Bronze Age and has a large concentration of over 300 barrows (Jay 1994, 418) (fig. 11). Grinsell's 1930's survey noted approximately 170 barrows from the rest of the county (Grinsell 1992) and very few of these have been examined to any scientific extent. It is estimated that only 16 barrows in the Thanet area have been excavated since 1743 (Jay 1994, 418).

Bronze Age round barrows in Kent are predominately of Bowl Barrow form (Grinsell 1992). Very few of the barrow burials were accompanied by any form of grave good but, where included, the most common association was a pottery vessel. Rich burials are more common in Kent than they are in Sussex and Surrey but are more commonly associated with flat graves than barrow sites. The general lack of grave goods is reflected in the children's burials, with only five being accompanied. Although not rich in comparison to Wessex or Yorkshire graves, or even the richest graves in the county, children's burials from Kent are generally richer than those from Sussex and Surrey.

The remains of thirty-four children have been identified within the excavation records in Kent involving both inhumations and burials after cremation. If we look first at the rites afforded to children buried by inhumation (twenty examples) we can start to draw together a general picture.

Only 50% of the burials have been examined by an osteologist, allowing estimates of age to be determined. These children vary in age from foetus' and neonates through to individuals of twelve to fifteen years of age. Most burials are unaccompanied and are only broadly datable to the Bronze Age by their context within diagnostic funerary sites of this date (e.g. barrows).

Only two children's graves have been furnished with grave goods, none of which are chronologically distinctive. These comprise an ironstone pebble and marine shells associated with a 'young person' at St Margaret's Bay barrow (Rawlins 1872; Woodruff 1874; Grinsell 1992, 369) and a large fragment of cetacean bone which covered the crouched inhumation of a child at North Foreland barrow

(Diack *et al.* 2000, 472-3). The inclusion of specifically selected pebbles such as that at St Margaret's Bay barrow is a recurring feature of children's burials elsewhere, like that of a three-to-five year old child at West Water Reservoir, in the Scottish Borders (Hunter 2000, 125-126). Rather than being accidental inclusions these pebbles are likely to have specifically selected for inclusion in the grave, perhaps because of perceived amuletic quality.

The presence of a large cetacean bone fragment at North Foreland is more difficult to parallel but the practice of placing large slabs or nodules of flint or chalk over the deceased is known from elsewhere, for example Blackpatch, Sussex (Pull 1932, 71) and Godmersham, Kent (Bradshaw 1968, 253). The closing of the grave can be seen as part of the final act of a funerary rite. The physical act of separation between the living and the dead can be seen as a metaphor for the end of the life of the individual and the separation of the deceased from the living community.

All of the child inhumation burials have been recovered from barrows. Where the placement of the body in the grave has been recorded, most have been carefully arranged into a crouched or flexed position, consistent with the placement of adult burials. Only one primary phase burial of a child has been noted in Kent, from St Margaret's Bay barrow, comprising the crouched body of a 'young person' (Rawlins 1872; Woodruff 1874, 26). All other child burials appear to be secondary burials associated with barrow mounds (such as those from Lord of the Manor barrow 1: MacPherson-Grant 1977) or within ditch fills (e.g. the disarticulated remains of three individuals, including two children from Lord of the Manor barrow 1, MacPherson-Grant 1977; Grinsell 1992).

Most of the graves contain only a single immature individual. Notable exceptions to this come from Ramsgate Harbour barrow where a child and a neonate had been placed within the same grave (Shand 1999, 20). Similarly a grave associated with a barrow at Eastling Down barrow contained sequential interments of the body of a five-year-old child and foetus or newborn baby (Bennett 1997, 319; Anderson, unpublished).

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This barrow, investigated as part of the Whitfield-Eastry bypass excavations, revealed an exceptional series of child graves (Bennett 1997, 319; Anderson, unpublished). Much of the northern half of the barrow had already been lost at the time of excavation but a spread of seven graves containing articulated skeletons and five deposits of cremated human bone were recovered from the southern half of the barrow (Anderson, unpublished; Bennett, forthcoming). Six of the inhumations were identified as children ranging from a foetus/neonate to eleven-to-twelve years of age and two of the deposits of cremated bone were from infants (Anderson, unpublished). The dominance of children's burials within this barrow is of interest as such a practice cannot be paralleled within the counties under consideration here, but it is similar to others from the south west such as West Overton G.6, Wiltshire (Smith & Simpson 1966). The number of children and the paucity of contemporary adult burials makes it similar to the more recent Irish *cillini* sites, which were burial grounds often reserved only for children (Finlay 2000).

The children from the Eastling Down barrow are of particular interest, not only for the quantity of immature individuals present, but also for the pathological indicators recognised during examination of the skeletal remains. In most case, no pathological indicators are present to indicate the cause of death but one skeleton (skeleton 558), that of an eleven-to-twelve year old had a localised defect of the upper right incisor, interpreted by the osteologists as the result of facial trauma during infancy. An eight-month-old child (skeleton 639) had noticeable pitting within the eye sockets indicative of a condition known as *cribra orbitalia* which has been linked to iron deficiency but could also be the result of other factors not linked to diet (Anderson, unpublished). Further evidence of ill-health was indicated in the teeth of a five-year-old (skeleton 623) where the lack of wear implied that the child had been consuming a soft diet for a prolonged period of time (Anderson, unpublished).

The burial of a possible pregnant female was observed within a multiple burial deposit at South Dumpton Down. Here the bones of a very small child were found in the area of the pelvic girdle of the adult, implying the burial of a pregnant female who may have died from complications relating to pregnancy or childbirth (Perkins 1992, 9). It is unclear whether the child's body was *in utero*.

An unusual example of possible dwarfism was noted in the skull of a twelve-to-fifteen year old from Lord of the Manor barrow 3 (Perkins 1980). Although believed to be Bronze Age because of its discovery within the ditch of this barrow, it cannot be closely dated.

Only thirteen deposits of cremated human bone have been found to contain skeletal elements belonging to immature individuals in Kent. Osteological information and, in particular, assessment of the age of the individuals is limited but the recorded burials include neonates through to children below seventeen years of age. Like the child inhumation burials from this area, few are reliably dated. Only three are Earlier Bronze Age, dated by reference to associated diagnostic pottery types and are discussed in more detail below.

At Ringwould-on-Kingsdown, cremated infant bones were found in association with a small cup (a miniature collared urn?) and a larger cinerary urn, probably a Biconical Urn (Woodruff 1874, 54). Although accessory cups are not uncommon (Longworth 1984, 50), the relationship between the burial of a child and a small pot is interesting and has been a reoccurring them throughout this paper.

A second Earlier Bronze Age example comes from Lord of the Manor barrow 1 where a grave pit was found to contain burnt bones of a child of only a few months of age accompanied by a food vessel and a barbed and tanged arrowhead (MacPherson-Grant 1977). A third possible burial of cremated remains of an immature individual comes from Whiteheath barrow where burnt bones belonging to a very young person or female were protected by an inverted collared urn (Poste 1953, 165, fig. 1:7). A further collection of cremated bone, identified as that of two children, was associated with a single burnt flint tool at Boughton Aluph bowl barrow (Bradshaw 1966, 258). This deposit was recovered from the central, principal grave and may also be Earlier Bronze Age in date.

The general lack of grave goods associated with child burials in Kent is reflective of broader patterns observed in funerary rites afforded to children during this period. In contrast with graves containing cremated bone, none of the child inhumations were accompanied by ceramic vessels. A total of six of the graves associated with cremated human bone are associated with vessels comprising typical forms for the region including a collared urn, a food vessel, Ardleigh urns and Deverel-Rimbury vessels. A less typical form of accompanying vessel comes from Ringwould-on-Kingsdown where a Biconical Urn, now lost, was associated with a small cup and an infant cremation (Woodruff 1874, 54). In an adjacent barrow was a rich grave containing a Biconical Urn, faience beads and a slotted incense cup (Woodruff, 1874, 55) none of which would be out of place in a Wessex Series burial. The description of the infant burial urn suggests it was just as elaborate as the latter example and indicates that elements of Wessex burial traditions adopted in Kent were considered applicable to the burial of a child.

Burials with Wessex-type elements are restricted to the east of the county which is in marked contrast to that of the other contemporary prestige items, such as metalwork, which was limited to the valleys and the northern plain (Champion 1982, 34). The Ringwould burial conforms to this pattern of distribution and illustrates that it was appropriate for children to be afforded prestige-type burials in a county where rich burials were not the norm.

Most of the cremation deposits involving the burnt bones of children are Later Bronze Age in date: three dated by direct association with chronologically distinctive ceramic vessels and a further three by their proximity to other Later Bronze Age graves. These include the burnt bones of an immature individual and a five-year-old child which were both interred within inverted Ardleigh-type urns at Barham Downs barrow 2 (MacPherson-Grant 1981, 171-2, table 1) and a collection of cremated bone of a child no more than ten years of age within a Deverel-Rimbury pot at West Cliff, Ramsgate (Moody *et al.* 2010, 155, 162-3).

A further three graves, two from Eastling Down barrow (Bennett 1997, 319) and one from Kingsmead Park (McKinley 2005, 77) containing cremated bone of infants/juveniles are not closely datable.

Like the inhumation burials from Kent, the majority of cremation burials are associated with barrows. Only two, from Whiteheath barrow (Poste 1953, 165) and Boughton Aluph (Bradshaw 1966, 258) are associated with the earliest phase of funerary activity on the site; the rest are all secondary burials. Also consistent with the inhumations is the general lack of associations in terms of both associated grave goods and accompanying individuals. In only one grave, from Kingsmead, were the burnt bones of a child associated with an adult, in this case a possible adult female (McKinley 2005). Only one grave, from Boughton Aluph, contained the burnt bones of two children probably cremated together on the same pyre.

Burials associated with late Bronze Age settlements or occupation deposits, a major component of the assemblage in Sussex and Surrey, are also present in Kent. A deposit of cremated bone from an infant/juvenile and an adult female at Kingsmead Park, Allhallows, was discovered in a ditch feature associated with a Late Bronze Age occupation site (McKinley 2005, 77). The burnt bone was unaccompanied and in most respects appeared typical of Bronze Age cremation deposits except for its context within an area of settlement, which makes it exceptional.

Discussion

The examination of the burial record from south east England has highlighted three major points. First, it has underlined the importance of associated material culture. The inclusion of a pot was an important part of the adult burial tradition during this period. It is interesting to note how few of the child inhumation burials were provided with a pottery vessel. On the other hand, an association with child cremation burials is common, with eighteen out of thirty four being provided with either a pot or associated with sherds. This is most obvious in Sussex, where it was also more common for children to be provided with flint tools than in the other counties examined. Provisions of other forms of grave goods, such as possible amulets in the form of specially selected pebbles, are more common in Kent.

The burial at Church Hill, Sussex, has wider implications suggesting that, despite being buried with an adult, the child was still recognised and treated as an individual in its own right, through the provision of separate and specifically chose grave goods. This aspect is echoed in the presence of a cemetery-barrow dominated by the burials of children at Eastling Down barrow in Kent (Bennett 1997, 319) and Ladies Mile barrow in Sussex (Holleyman & Yates 1960, 136-143).

Secondly, the high infant mortality rate does not appear to have prevented parents from thinking about their children's immediate or future needs. The care taken over the construction of the burials, the children's central, primary position beneath some significant barrows, i.e. Blackpatch barrow 1, Sussex (Pull 1932, 65) and Boughton Aluph, Kent (Bradshaw 1966, 258); and the specific selection of grave goods such as small vessels and possible amulets, all suggest that the adult community considered these children as individuals worthy of respect and reverence. The state of childhood during prehistory would have been characterised differently from today, with no toys or child-specific items of material culture being present.

And finally, to answer the question posed in the title 'where have all the flowers gone?' this study has shown that children are under-represented in Bronze Age funerary rites in this area but that not all are missing. Analysis of wider burial traditions in these regions has indicated that this apparent invisibility of children's burials has more complex reasons than are immediately apparent. Local land-use, lack of scientific, systematic investigation and the paucity of detailed records have restricted information about burial traditions during this period. In Surrey, in particular, where the sphere of Bronze Age activity appears to be limited, the lack of detailed analysis of skeletal remains makes it almost impossible to identify children within the archaeological record. This is a bias formed by the limitations of archaeological investigation rather than reflecting a genuine trend in burial practice.

Most burials within this region conform to a basic burial tradition in which adults and children were treated in a very similar manner, indicating that children, in death if not in life, were considered part of the wider community. Analysis of associated material culture has shown that regional and inter-regional variations in burial practices existed and extended to the burial of children. Rich burials in this area are not common but can be seen to extend to funerary traditions involving children. Several of these 'richer' burials can be seen to involve elements of 'Wessex' burial traditions and indicate that these rites were also considered appropriate for children in some circumstances. A small number of burials, associated material culture, such as the provision of a small pot, indicates that some understanding of childhood as a separate life-stage was acknowledged and understood within Bronze Age society. Despite this, there is significant under-representation of children in the burial record in this area and it is hoped that this analysis will go some way to explaining why.

Attempts to understand the position of children in a community using burial evidence must be looked at critically but it is hoped that once a general understanding of children's position within Bronze Age society in Britain is better understood, it will give us the opportunity to apply this knowledge in other archaeological contexts.

Despite patterns shown from this area being patchy, due to the limited data set available, they are valid as similar patterns, such as the inclusion of small pots in children's graves which can be seen in Scotland, where a larger dataset has enabled general trends to be identified. This systematic search for Bronze Age children's burials in south east England has revealed that the child's world is far from invisible.

Acknowledgements

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