



# CONNECTING ELITES AND REGIONS

Perspectives on contacts, relations and differentiation during the  
Early Iron Age Hallstatt C period in Northwest and Central Europe



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# Differentiation and globalization in Early Iron Age Europe

## Reintegrating the early Hallstatt period (Ha C) into the debate

Sasja van der Vaart-Verschoof  
and Robert Schumann

### Abstract

*This paper discusses aspects of social structures of Early Iron Age societies and large-scale interaction in the early Hallstatt period between the Low Countries and the Hallstatt culture. In contrast to the later Hallstatt period and the Late Bronze Age, such contacts and societal differentiation are seldom discussed for the early Hallstatt period. Even though this period may have been organized on a more regional level in terms of culture groups and archaeologically traceable remnants of social interaction, underlying large-scale interactions are still visible as is evidence of social differentiation, especially in the burial practice. The burials of Oss in the Netherlands are the starting point to illustrate such interactions throughout Europe using the well-known Hallstatt imports in these burials as the first indicator of large-scale interactions. Furthermore, current research on burials both in the Low Countries and Central Europe allow more detailed insights into these burials and a comparison of the burial practices in these regions shows – among expected differences due to the regional embedment of burial rites – clear similarities in these, e.g. in the reuse of burial mounds, pars pro toto depositions and the wrapping of grave goods. These similarities indicate that it is more than just the objects that were traded throughout Europe and that there were shared underlying ideas of how these people were to be buried.*

### Zusammenfassung

*In diesem Beitrag werden Aspekte der sozialen Strukturierung ältereisenzeitlicher Gesellschaften angesprochen und die älterhallstattzeitlichen Kontakte zwischen den Benelux-Ländern und der Hallstattkultur in Zentraleuropa thematisiert. Im Gegensatz zur jüngeren Hallstattzeit und zur späten Bronzezeit werden großräumige Kontakte und soziale Differenzierung für die ältere Hallstattzeit (Ha C) nur selten diskutiert. Auch wenn die ältere Hallstattzeit im Hinblick auf kulturelle Gruppierungen und archäologisch nachweisbare Interaktionen sozialer Gruppen deutlich regionaler organisiert sein dürfte, zeigen sich großräumige Interaktionen ebenso wie Nachweise sozialer Differenzierung, insbesondere in den Bestattungssitten. Die Bestattungen von Oss in den Niederlanden werden dabei als Ausgangspunkt genommen, derartige Kontakte in Europa zu thematisieren, wobei die bekannten wohl aus der Hallstattkultur importierten Grabbeigaben den ersten Hinweis auf entsprechende Interaktionen darstellen. Zudem erlauben aktuelle Forschungen zu ältereisenzeitlichen Bestattungen in den Benelux-Ländern ebenso wie in Zentraleuropa deutlich intensivere Einblicke in das Bestattungswesen und der Vergleich der Bestattungssitten zwischen diesen Regionen zeigt – neben den zu erwartenden Unterschieden aufgrund der regionalen Einbindung der jeweiligen Bestattungssitten – deutliche Gemeinsamkeiten. Diese*

*offenbaren sich beispielsweise in der Nachnutzung von älteren Grabhügeln, pars pro toto-Beigaben oder dem Verhüllen und Einwickeln von Grabbeigaben in Textil. Diese Gemeinsamkeiten deuten darauf hin, dass in der älteren Hallstattzeit nicht nur die Objekte durch Europa verhandelt wurden, sondern dass diesen Bestattungen gemeinsame Ideen zugrunde liegen, wie derartige Personen bestattet werden sollten.*

## **Social differentiation in the Early Iron Age**

The Early Iron Age of southern Central Europe is one of the best-known prehistoric periods in Europe when it comes to the themes of social differentiation and large-scale contacts. This is mostly due to the prominent position the princely seats and elite burials of the Later Hallstatt period (Ha D) take in research on later Prehistory in temperate Europe. The residents and assumed leaders of the communities of those princely seats – *i.e.* the people buried in the ostentatious graves – are seen as elites representing social differentiation on a scale unknown in earlier times (Brun 1987; Krause 2006).

Concepts of inherited status and early dynastic systems are frequently discussed for the later 7<sup>th</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. These reconstructions of social systems, however, have been debated and criticized and a consensus on the nature of Hallstatt societies seems out of reach (see Schier 2010). The ideas presented in this paper – and mostly throughout this volume – are based on the assumption that certain differences in the burial ritual and especially in the composition of grave goods can indicate social distinction and can therefore be a starting point for reconstructions of social differentiation. For the later Hallstatt period the increasing contact with the Mediterranean plays a key role in the debate on large-scale communication. The foundation of the Greek colony of Massalia marks a starting point for an increasing distribution of associated finds in the western Hallstatt culture. In the research tradition of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century this contact was seen as a major catalyst for increasing social differentiation in Early Iron Age communities north of the Alps (*e.g.* Kimmig 1983), although this interpretation has been debated in the last few decades (*e.g.* Eggert 1991). Nowadays indigenous developments are emphasized, rather than the importance of contact with the Mediterranean (Krause 2006). In short, the Later Hallstatt period is a well-known example of social differentiation and large-scale contacts in European Prehistory.

This, however, does not hold true for the early Hallstatt period (Ha C), roughly the 8<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. The early Hallstatt period is often only seen as the phase leading up the Later Hallstatt period and is rarely analyzed on its own. Large-scale contacts and social differentiation in southern Central Europe during this time in particular are seldom discussed (see *e.g.* Schußmann 2012; Schumann 2015 for exceptions). In those instances where research into this period is conducted, it is done so mostly on a regional level, dominated by single site analyses and other regionally focused projects. A number of factors may explain the difference, such as the less developed contacts with the Mediterranean world or the nature of the burial rituals – including the composition of the grave goods – during the early Hallstatt period that make social analyses far more difficult than during the Later Hallstatt period. The poor state of research on settlements from the Ha C period, which never seem to match the later so-called princely seats in terms of size and structures, likely also plays a role. Nevertheless, social differentiation can be observed in the burials, finds and settlements (*e.g.*



Parzinger 1992; Schußmann 2012) and shows a clear continuity throughout the Hallstatt period in the western Hallstatt circle, especially in the burial sphere. These were recently interpreted as continuities in the system of status symbols and social organization (Schumann 2015). So if the nature of the burial data is used for concepts of social distinction and differentiation in the later Hallstatt period in the western Hallstatt circle, then shared aspects in the burial rituals from the Early to the Late Hallstatt period – like the use of wagons, weapons and drinking vessels as grave goods – justify the argument that early Hallstatt communities were differentiated in similar ways as well. Still the settlement structures in the later Hallstatt period with the princely seats indicate a far more distinct social differentiation than in the early Hallstatt period. So the depth of the differentiation might be up for discussion, but we still find shared concepts of social distinction in the burials that indicate shared ideas of social systems.

If we look further to the east, urbanization processes and high social hierarchies can be observed in the eastern parts of the early Hallstatt culture, especially in the Dolenjska region in Slovenia, testified by large hillforts and burial mounds with ostentatious burials like in Stična (see Teržan 2008 for several aspects of Early Iron Age Stična). Interestingly, similar concepts of social differentiation are discussed here as in the later western Hallstatt culture (see Dular/Tecco Hvala 2007 for an opposing view to Teržan 2008), so again one must discuss the nature of early Hallstatt societies here.

Yet still the earlier Hallstatt period plays only a minor role in discussions on social differentiation and large-scale contacts throughout Europe. In this paper we aim to reemphasize and refocus the debate on these topics in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC by considering concepts of distinction and ancient globalization as exemplified by ostentatious burials from the Low Countries (see also Bourgeois/Van der Vaart-Verschoof, De Mulder, Jansen/Van der Vaart-Verschoof and Warmenbol, all in this volume) to southern Germany (see also Fernandez-Götz/Arnold in this volume), Austria (see also Egg in this volume) and Bohemia (see also Trefný in this volume). The case study presented exemplifies the need for a focused debate on early Hallstatt societies, but the themes discussed and arguments given can also be applied on a larger scale and to other areas of Early Iron Age Europe (as is also done in the course of this volume).

In the following we argue that these graves indicate shared concepts and meanings underlying the material culture that connect them. For it is our opinion that the reintegration of the early Hallstatt period into the debate on social distinction and large-scale contacts will not only lead to a better understanding of the early Hallstatt period itself but also advance our understanding of long-term developments in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages.

## **Large-scale contacts as ancient globalization**

In archaeology large-scale contacts are generally and most frequently recognized by a shared material culture and through the identification of imports from far-flung reaches. While researchers may speculate whether such communities shared more than material culture or whether there were common customs, practices and ideas over large parts of Europe, it is notoriously difficult to empirically establish such things. Elsewhere one of us argued that globalization theory could offer insights into how one may tackle this problem.

D. Fontijn and S. van der Vaart-Verschoof (2016) argue that if it can be established that there is coherence in the treatment of objects between distant communities that this could help determine whether elite identities (believed to be represented in the elaborate Ha C burials) were globalized. Within the globalization debate it is ‘networks of practices’ (Brown/Duguid 2000) rather than ‘networks of objects’ that matter. Determining whether there were shared practices would be an empirically verifiable method to recognize the ‘shared codes of conduct’ that J. Jennings (2016) for example recently recognized as one of the characteristics of globalized behavior.

Connected communities must have a cultural conceptualization of the non-local other and an awareness of the distant people and communities that they have affinities with in order to be considered ‘globalized’ (*cf.* Steger 2003, 13). For as M. Helms (1993, 13-27) argued, ‘distance’ is primarily a ‘cultural creation’. She furthermore demonstrates how conceptualizations of the foreign sometimes can be traced back to narratives and cosmologies based on or influenced by the travels of real people (Helms 1993, 28-51), although she also notes that imported objects can form the basis for the perception of the far-off societies (Helms 1993, 114). Objects ‘do things’ to people through their material and visual characteristics (Garrow/Gosden 2012, 25) and have, to a certain extent, agency within society (Gell 1992, 43).

However, it is not only what objects ‘were made to be’ that is important, it is also ‘what they have become’ (Thomas 1991, 84; also Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 12). The cultural valuation of objects is not solely based on their physical and visual qualities. The way they are treated is also of importance as value and meaning “emerge in action” (Graeber 2001, 45). The manner in which people treat and interact with objects is important and may be fundamental to how they came to understand them (*cf.* Schatzki 1996). For this reason we discuss the similarities both in grave goods and the treatment of them and the dead in a number of distant, but in our opinion connected, elite burials.

## **From Oss to Otzing: connecting early Hallstatt ostentatious burials**

When it comes to social differentiation and large-scale contacts during the early Hallstatt period several sites and regions can be discussed (and many are in the following chapters). Apart from the sites in the southeastern Alpine area already mentioned, like the Dolenjska region or Carinthia, Hallstatt itself is of course a major site offering insights into large-scale contacts during the early Hallstatt period and into social differentiation of a burial community (see also Glunz-Hüsken in this volume). O. Dörner (2002), for example, discussed possible connections to the northeastern Alpine region based on observations of a burial inventory in Hallstatt that point towards the organization of the prehistoric salt trade from Hallstatt. Several distribution maps of distinctive finds also hint at such things, as clearly illustrated for example by the distribution of early Hallstatt helmets in the eastern Hallstatt regions (Egg *et al.* 1998). New integrated research approaches will add further nuance to the picture we can draw in Hallstatt on the topics mentioned here and will clearly reemphasize the role of Hallstatt in the debate.

In the following we focus on a number of elite burials of the early Hallstatt period covering a large geographical area from the Low Countries to Central Europe, where we focus primarily on southern Germany, but also consider finds from the Czech Republic and Austria. Thereby we want to show the interactions between these burials and regions by considering both the grave goods and the burial rituals. The graves of the Low Countries make a good starting point and case study in this respect for they are seldom discussed in large-scale interactions in Iron Age Europe at least from a Central European perspective, despite the clear connection that the burial goods represent.

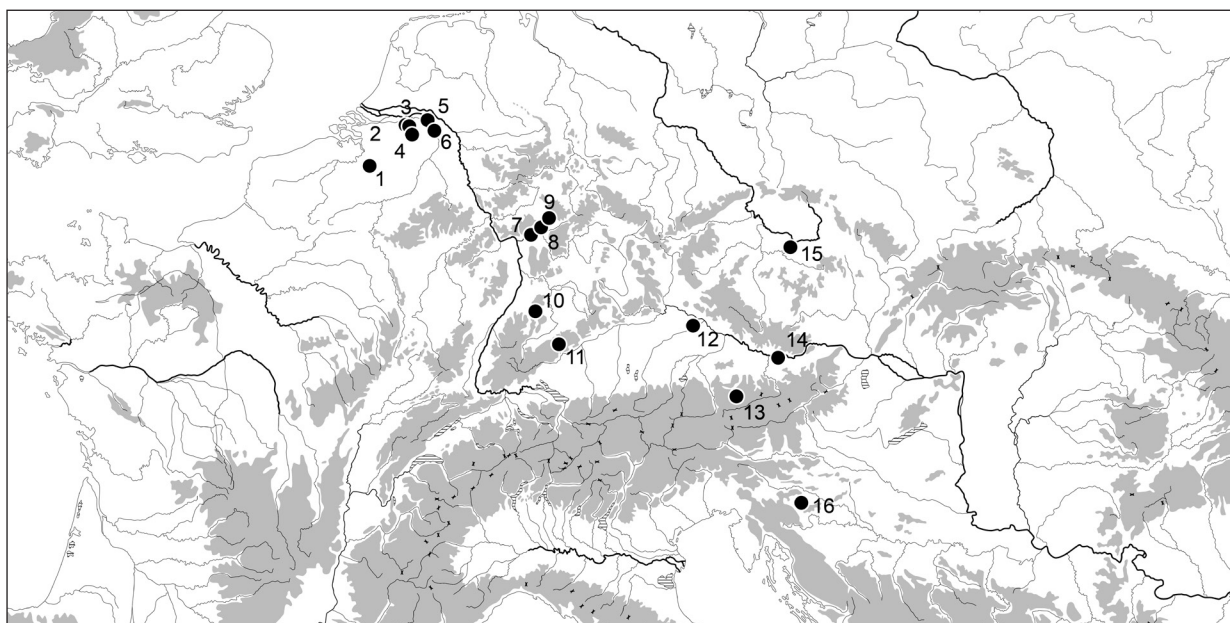
This concentration of graves with Hallstatt culture imports in the Low Countries are not only an interesting case study in their own right (see Bourgeois/Van der Vaart-Verschoof in this volume; Jansen/Van der Vaart-Verschoof in this volume; Van der Vaart-Verschoof forthcoming), they also offer a unique research opportunity with regard to considerations of large-scale contact and social differentiation in the Hallstatt C period. For these burials form a distinct concentration of elite graves that not only contain grave goods imported from the Hallstatt culture, we argue that they also appear to share some customs and practices with Hallstatt culture elite burials found in the regions north of the Alps. We primarily focus on the Chieftain's burial of Oss due to its outstanding role in the Early Iron Age of the Low Countries (see also Jansen/Van der Vaart-Verschoof this volume), and as it is the best suited to discuss large-scale interactions in comparison to two burials in southern Germany both in respect to the objects themselves as well as for the practices. As discussed above, this implies that more than objects were traveling to the Low Countries, and that we may be dealing with 'globalized' communities. Importantly, the lack of Hallstatt culture finds in the area between the Low Countries and the Hallstatt culture region implies there was likely direct contact between these regions, rather than down-the-line exchange (Van der Vaart-Verschoof forthcoming). Figure 1 shows the (burial) sites discussed in this paper.

## Oss

The Chieftain's burial of Oss is an iconic archaeological find from the Prehistory of the Netherlands and one of the most elaborate burials with Hallstatt culture imports in the Low Countries. Not only has it repeatedly triggered archaeological investigations in the 80 years since its discovery (Fokkens/Jansen 2004; Holwerda 1934; Jansen/Fokkens 2007; Modderman 1964; Fokkens *et al.* 2012; Van der Vaart-Verschoof forthcoming), it remains a site (known as Oss-Vorstengraf) of local significance to both the Dutch people and residents of the Oss area in particular. Recent art projects, such as the creation of a sand sculpture of the Chieftain at a sand sculpture festival or a recreation of the Chieftain's burial by local D. Beelen in Lego (available on YouTube) testify to the significance this find still holds (Fig. 2).

The Chieftain of Oss was a man in his 30s or 40s when he died. His remains were cremated and placed in a bronze situla together with the dismantled bronze and iron remains of a yoke, two bridles with iron horse-bits and bronze trappings, an iron knife and axe, dress pins, a ribbed wooden bowl, two razors, precious textiles, animal bones from food offerings and a Mindelheim sword with gold-inlaid hilt that was intentionally bent round (Fig. 3). The cinerary urn thus





created was buried in a Bronze Age barrow in an existing cemetery (see fig. 2 in Jansen/Van der Vaart-Verschoof in this volume) and covered with the largest barrow in this part of Europe, some 53 m in diameter (see Van der Vaart-Verschoof forthcoming for more details).

While some of the Chieftain's grave goods were likely locally created, such as the axe and dress pins, others are interpreted as imports from the Hallstatt culture area. The famous sword, for example, has its closest parallels in the swords found at Gomadingen (Baden-Württemberg, Germany; see also Fernandez-Götz/Arnold this volume) and one of the swords from Hallstatt grave 573 (Upper Austria; Kromer 1959). They may even all have been made by the same master smith or workshop which was likely located in southern Germany or Upper Austria (Van der Vaart-Verschoof forthcoming). The situla and ribbed bowl have close parallels in finds from Frankfurt-Stadtwald discussed below. The extraordinary textiles that were used both to wrap grave goods and were also deposited as a grave good in their own right have close parallels in textiles from Central Europe and Italy and are likely imports from one of these regions (see Grömer in this volume and Grömer in Van der Vaart-Verschoof forthcoming). The horse-gear and yoke components would not look out of place in any Hallstatt culture grave.

The Chieftain of Oss, however, is not the only elite individual to be buried at Oss. A second Ha C elite burial was found not 500 m away in Mound 7 of Oss-Zevenbergen. Here a young man was cremated on top of a rounded dune. This natural mound was located in an existing barrow row and may have been interpreted as an ancestral barrow by the Early Iron Age mourners (see fig. 3 in Jansen/Van der Vaart-Verschoof in this volume). A dismantled bronze-studded yoke lay by the pyre as it burned. Following cremation, the burned out pyre was searched through. The majority of the man's cremated remains were collected and buried in an urn by the pyre, with some cremation remains being intentionally left behind in the pyre. The leather yoke panels with bronze decorations were pushed to one side and left there. At least one bronze ring, likely from the yoke, was broken and one fragment placed back among the burned out pyre, while the

*Fig. 1. Hallstatt period sites discussed in this paper.*

- 1: Court-St.-Etienne. –
- 2: Oss-Vorstengraf. –
- 3: Oss-Zevenbergen. –
- 4: Uden-Slabroek. –
- 5: Wijchen. – 6: Haps. –
- 7: Frankfurt-Stadtwald. –
- 8: Nidderau. – 9: Glauberg. –
- 10: Hochdorf. –
- 11: Gomadingen. –
- 12: Oßing. – 13: Hallstatt. –
- 14: Mitterkirchen. –
- 15: Hradenín. – 16: Stična.

*Fig. 2. Sand sculpture created in Oss (photograph by S. van der Vaart-Verschoof).*



*Fig. 3. (Most of) the grave goods from the Chieftain's burial of Oss (photograph kindly provided by the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden).*





Fig. 4. The horse-gear and yoke from the Oss burials in (a romantic) reconstruction. Note that the stud-decorated chest-strap was found in Oss-Zevenbergen Mound 7 while the other metal components were found in the Chieftain's burial at Oss-Vorstengraf (drawing by I. Gelman).

other was removed (Fig. 4; see also fig. 3 in Jansen/Van der Vaart-Verschoof in this volume). The whole assemblage was then covered with a large barrow, 36 m in diameter (see Fontijn *et al.* 2013 for more details).

The bronze studs recovered here once decorated a wooden yoke and leather yoke panels that would have looked extremely similar to yokes in Hallstatt culture burials. In fact, it was viewing the yokes from Frankfurt-Stadtwald and Otzing that helped confirm the interpretation of the Zevenbergen Mound 7 bronze studs as the remains of a yoke (Fontijn/Van der Vaart 2013; see also Fernandez-Götz/Arnold in this volume).

At present the finds from both burials can be viewed in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden where they take center-stage in the permanent exhibition on the Archaeology of the Netherlands.

### Frankfurt-Stadtwald

The well-known *Fürstengrab* of Frankfurt-Stadtwald is not only geographically one of the closest Ha C elite burials to the Oss graves, it is also one of the closest parallels in terms of grave goods. This early Hallstatt ostentatious burial was excavated in the 1960s and became famous in the archaeology of the Early Iron Age due to its outstanding grave goods and good preservation (Fischer 1979;



Willms 2002). The deceased was buried in a Bronze Age burial mound that was enlarged to 36 m in diameter in the course of the Early Iron Age burial (Fischer 1979, 45). The inhumed individual was given a large set of exceptional grave goods, including a large bronze Mindelheim sword with a chape, bronze and pottery vessels (including a bronze ribbed bowl), a richly decorated yoke and horse-gear for two horses, animal bones as the remnants of food along with a large knife, clothing pins and a set of toiletry items in a leather pouch with an amber bead (Fig. 5).

As discussed above, this burial has many similarities to the Chieftain's burial of Oss. They both yielded bronze situlae, ribbed drinking bowls, Mindelheim swords, butchering knives, animal bones from food offerings, similar horse-gear and yokes, as well as textile. The yokes from Frankfurt-Stadtwald and Oss-Zevenbergen were both decorated with bronze studs (though of a different type). Moreover, a similar toilet kit and amber bead and dress pin with ring was found in the Dutch burial of Uden-Slabroek (Jansen *et al.* 2011; Bourgeois/Van der Vaart-Verschoof and Jansen/Van der Vaart-Verschoof, both in this volume). The chape from Frankfurt-Stadtwald matches a fragment found at Court-St-Etienne in Belgium. So overall there are many similarities in grave goods between this *Fürstengrab* and the burials of the Low Countries.

## Otzing

A recently excavated burial located even further into Hallstatt culture territory is our last example. The burial of Otzing in Lower Bavaria was investigated in rescue excavations in 2010. In the course of the excavation it became evident that the burial was exceptional in several regards and a block lifting was conducted by the Archaeological State Collection Munich (*Archäologische Staatssammlung München*) in 2011 (Claßen *et al.* 2013; Gebhard *et al.* 2015). The burial block (Fig. 6) has been under investigation in the Museum laboratories in Munich ever since. This work has revealed a truly astonishing early Hallstatt period ensemble that will not only stimulate research on Ha C burials but will also form an important exhibition piece for the museum.

In the burial chamber (ca. 3.6 x 3.6 m) the inhumated remains of a man were found lying on a wooden furniture richly decorated with bronze studs (probably a wagon box). His other grave goods included a large set of pottery, one bronze vessel, a yoke and leather horse-gear panels all decorated with bronze studs and plaques, an iron dagger with decorated sheath and belt, two iron spearheads, animal bones, several tools and pins as parts of the costume.

Again the burial of Otzing can be seen in a large regional context concerning the analyses of the finds. The furniture finds its best comparison in a similar find from Mitterkirchen in Upper Austria (Pertlwieser 1987, 60). The weaponry already resembles typical weapon sets of the Later Hallstatt period in the western Hallstatt circle and beyond, with a similar dagger for example being found in the Dutch burial of Haps. And again, of course, the yoke warrants discussion in the context of other ostentatious burials of the earlier Hallstatt period. Besides the already mentioned burial of Frankfurt-Stadtwald and Oss-Zevenbergen, the best parallels come from Bohemia. Here, several well-known graves of the Bylany group were excavated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Dvořák 1938), some of which yielded yokes with bronze studs and plates in geometrical patterns. Especially the

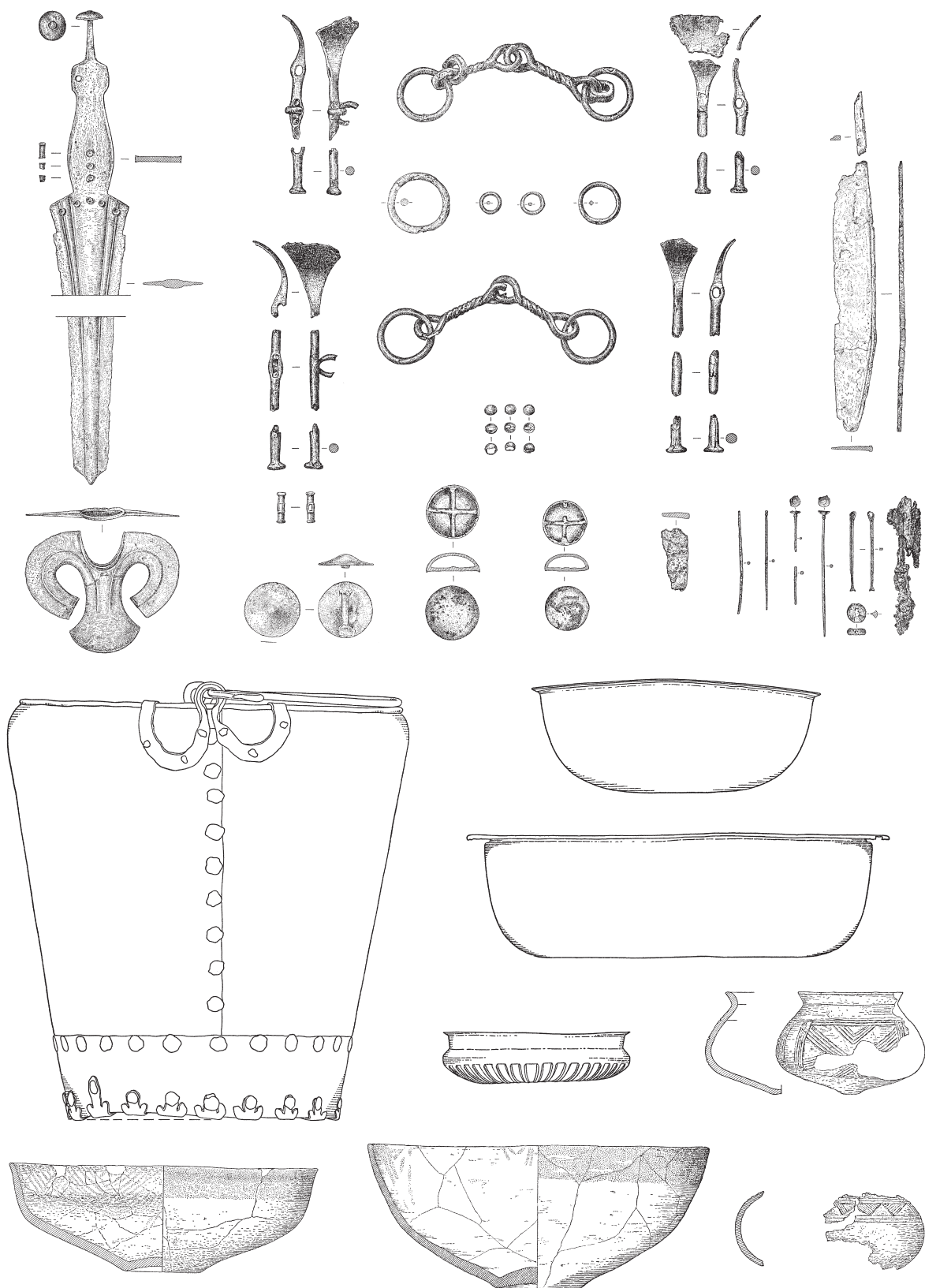


Fig. 5. The grave goods of the Fürstengrab of Frankfurt-Stadtwald (after Fischer 1979, pl. 7-12; Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt).

decorated leather straps of Otzing match the finds of those sites, of which the slightly later Hradenín is probably the best known (Fig. 7).

### Similarities in grave goods

The similarities in grave goods between the burials of Oss, Frankfurt-Stadtswald and Otzing discussed above are striking, and they are only the tip of the iceberg. They all (as well as many other burials both in the Low Countries and the Hallstatt culture area) yielded drinking and feasting vessels, weaponry, horse-gear and wagons (or components thereof), tools, ornaments and toiletries, with a number of objects appearing virtually identical. The situlae from Oss and Frankfurt-Stadtswald, for example, are very similar and both were accompanied by ribbed bowls. Both graves also contained Mindelheim type swords. The decoration on the Otzing and Oss yokes is also extremely similar.



Fig. 6. The Otzing burial  
(St. Friedrich, Archäologische  
Staatssammlung München).



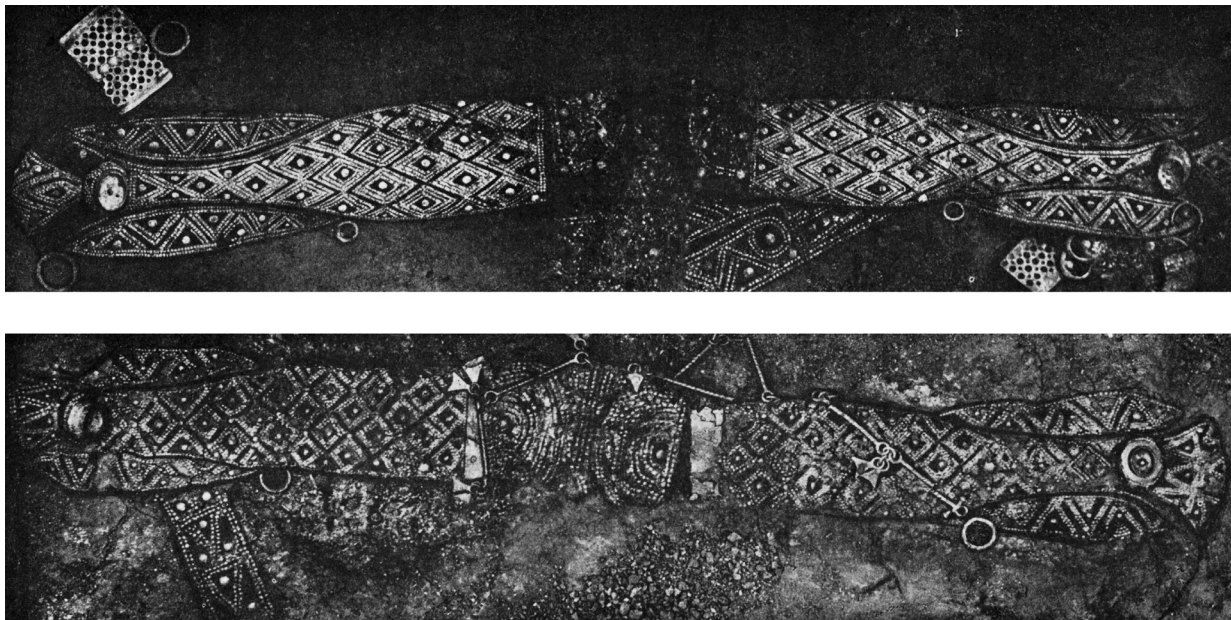


Fig. 7. The yokes from Hradenín (after Dvořák 1938, 23 fig. 20-21).

The similarity in horse-gear and yokes in particular has long since been recognized, as indicated by their presence on distribution maps of wagon, yoke and horse-gear components (Koch 2006; Pare 1992; Trachsel 2004). Their presence testifies to an area of communication mostly between Bohemia and Southern Germany in Ha C/D1, sometimes extending into remote areas such as the Low Countries. This area of communication is naturally situated in other, partly overlapping communication axes and the finds from the Low Countries illustrate this.

### More than objects: similarities (and differences) in burial practice

Whereas the similarities in the objects have been long documented in different distribution maps and typological analyses, discussions of the burial rituals through which these burials were created offer interesting insights, for among several differences, there are also similarities in practice.

Firstly, for example, both the Chieftain of Oss and the deceased of Frankfurt were buried in older barrows with new mound phases added (and it is possible the mourners at Oss-Zevenbergen Mound 7 thought they were doing the same thing). Even though the reuse of ancient tumuli is a well-known habit in the Early Iron Age (see *e.g.* Müller-Schaeßel 2013 for Southern Germany), the similarity between Oss and Frankfurt-Stadtwald in this respect may not be a pure coincidence (as already noted by Roymans 1991, 57). In every case an ancient mound was reused to bury the elite dead and create impressive new Early Iron Age barrows (36-53 m in diameter).

Another similarity in practice is the placing of a toilet kit in some kind of pouch on the chest of the deceased. This was the case at the Dutch burial of Slabroek (Jansen *et al.* 2011; Bourgeois/Van der Vaart-Verschoof and Jansen/ Van der Vaart-Verschoof both in this volume), Frankfurt, Otzing and the later example

of Hochdorf. In the case of Frankfurt, Slabroek and Otzing the toilet kits all appear to have been located in pouches that closed with an amber bead.

The use of textile during the burial ritual is also a shared practice. In the Chieftain's burial of Oss a number of objects were wrapped in high quality cloths (that themselves were most likely imports from Central Europe) during the burial ritual, like the sword, some horse-gear and the knife (Grömer in Van der Vaart-Verschoof forthcoming; see also Grömer in this volume). The use of textile to wrap grave goods is a known feature of Hallstatt culture burials, with wrapped swords for example known from early Hallstatt burials in Southern Germany; of which a find from Nidderau, where the sword was wrapped in at least three layers of textile, is probably the best example (Riedel 2012, 174-176; see Ney in this volume on the sword burials of Nidderau). The best-known example of this burial custom of wrapping the dead and grave goods in textile is probably the *Fürstengrab* of Hochdorf (though it dates later; Banck-Burgess 2014). The same custom is known from the Early La Tène princely burial from the Glauberg (Bartel *et al.* 2002, 163-166). The evidence of this practice in the burial of Oss and the mentioned wrapping of a sword in Nidderau (and other swords from Hallstatt culture burials) adds a diachronic perspective to that phenomenon and connects this burial of the Low Countries to Southern Germany in another respect. Due to the state of research and the burial customs in the early Hallstatt period in Southern Germany this custom is hardly known from Ha C. In the burial of Otzing fragments of textile were recorded (Claßen *et al.* 2013, 207-209) that might hint in this direction, though more research is needed. So again we see aspects of shared burial rites between the burials of the Hallstatt culture and the Low Countries.

There are, however, also differences in practice that demonstrate that the burials were also embedded within the local funerary practices. In the Low Countries the imported grave goods appear to have been re-contextualized in a regionally specific manner through a destructive burial practice that involved the transformation of both the dead and their grave goods through fire, manipulation and fragmentation, as well as placing a greater emphasis on *pars pro toto* depositions (see also Bourgeois/Van der Vaart-Verschoof in this volume). Not only were swords broken, a habit known in early Hallstatt culture burials that can be traced back to the Urnfield period (see *e.g.* Von Quillfeldt 1995, 19; Trachsel 2005, 67-69), they were frequently also bent and folded. In the Low Countries also other objects, like horse-gear, wagon components, tools, ornaments and vessels were intentionally bent and broken, and often burned as well.

The Dutch and Belgian graves also emphasize *pars pro toto* depositions to a much greater degree. While Ch. Pare (1992, 122-123) already noted that linchpins were interred as a *pars pro toto* depositions in several graves in the Hallstatt culture area as well as only parts of wagons being interred, in the Low Countries the dismantled wagon components were frequently bent and broken as well, with only some fragments being interred (and also deliberately keeping certain fragments out of the grave). This is the case also for the other grave goods categories. Fragments from all the important grave goods were selected for burial, while fragments were also frequently taken away.

These differences in treating the objects between the burials in the Low Countries and the Hallstatt culture still show some similarities. While swords were bent and folded in the Low Countries and broken in the Hallstatt culture,

the objects in both regions were still intentionally changed and made unusable for the living. The same can be taken into account for the *pars pro toto* depositions. While they differ strongly in the degree of the *pars pro toto* and the execution of this practice, we still can observe the idea of substituting a part for a whole in both regions. So despite the differences in the practices, fragmentation, manipulation and *pars pro toto* still indicate similarities in the burial rituals, even though they were executed in a regional way. It is the similarities in practices that indicate that it was not only objects that moved and were traded between the Hallstatt culture and the Low Countries in the Early Iron Age. The similarities in practices show interactions on a larger scale, which might indicate shared ideas, a knowing of how objects were to be treated in the burial ritual as well as a shared identity of the burying communities and the buried in the mentioned burials.

## Outlook

The case studies presented in this paper are some of the most striking examples of large-scale interactions in Ha C Europe from the Low Countries to the northern fringes of the Alps, though there are numerous other groups of finds, parts of the burial rituals or sites that could be discussed. The burials of Oss, Frankfurt, Otzing and Hradenín illustrate large-scale interactions throughout temperate Europe and beyond. We discussed similarities in the finds themselves, such as the comparable decoration of the yokes or the swords, and looked at aspects of the burial practice to show that while the burial rituals are rooted in local traditions, there are also clear similarities. These include the reuse of ancient monuments as the burial site, the wrapping of the grave goods in textiles, the custom of laying toiletries in a bag closed by an amber bead on the chest of the deceased and *pars pro toto* deposition of grave goods.

The scope could easily be widened by looking at other axes of interaction and other regions. This is clearly illustrated by Mediterranean influences in the regions north of the Alps as testified among other finds by the linchpins of Wijchen with Etruscan-style protomes (Pare 1992, 170-171) or the spit from a burial in Beilngries (Torbrügge 1965; Schußmann 2012, 202). The burial practices of the early Hallstatt period also offer insights into several aspects of social distinction that can be interpreted as expressions of social differentiation. As those aspects clearly resemble the distinction in the burials of the later Hallstatt period, we might see hierarchically structured societies in the earlier Hallstatt period as well (Schumann 2015).

All these aspects illustrate that it was not only objects that were distributed over widespread regions throughout Europe but that ideas associated with such items were shared as well. These ideas were fossilized in the burial rituals and indicate some ancient globalization in the definition given above, by which communities from the Low Countries to the circumalpine region shared ideas of ritual behavior, the manner of social distinction and probably a similar self-awareness and identity as elites (see also Fontijn/Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2016).

Therefore a fruitful debate on social differentiation and large-scale interactions seems warranted and desirable. Between the well-known Late Bronze Age, in which contacts on a European scale have stimulated research ever since, and the Late Hallstatt period, in which the so-called princely seats as symbols for increasing urbanization and differentiation and the increasing contacts with

the Mediterranean testify large-scale connections throughout Europe, the early Hallstatt period lived a shadowy existence in the archaeological community. But both in terms of a *longue durée* in later Prehistory and for the sake of Ha C itself, it seems warranted to reintegrate the earlier Hallstatt period into the debate about differentiation and globalization. The mentioned sites testify the eligibility of approaches as presented in this volume.

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## CONNECTING ELITES AND REGIONS

The Early Iron Age Hallstatt C period in Northwest and Central Europe is marked by the emergence of monumental tumuli with lavish burials, some of which are known as chieftain's or princely graves. This new burial rite reflects one of the most noteworthy developments in Early Iron Age Europe: the rise of a new and elaborate way of elite representation north of the Alps.

These sumptuous burials contain beautiful weaponry, bronze vessels and extravagantly decorated wagons and horse-gear. They reflect long-distance connections in material culture and elite (burial) practices across the breadth of Northwest and Central Europe. Research into this period, however, tends to be regionally focused and poorly accessible to scholars from other areas – language barriers in particular are a hindering factor.

In an attempt to overcome this, *Connecting Elites and Regions* brings together scholars from several research traditions and nations who present regional overviews and discussions of elite burials and material culture from all over Northwest and Central Europe. In many cases these are the first overviews available in English and together they make regional research accessible to a wider audience. As such this volume contributes to and hopes to stimulate research on the Early Iron Age Hallstatt C period on a European scale.



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