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Edited by
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Burials of Martial Character in the British Iron Age

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Introduction

The significance of the decision to bury an individual with martial objects during the British Iron Age cannot be overstated. It is a rare subset of funerary practice, conferred upon select individuals. This article examines martial burials, firstly summarising past research, then presenting an overview of martial object classes, and their treatments in funerary practice. There is a particular focus on the Arras Culture of East Yorkshire, which dominates the data due to the highly unusual, almost unique, ritual in which spears appear to have been thrown at the corpse as part of the funeral. The analysis presented here highlights the importance of non-offensive martial objects, and demonstrates that there is much greater diversity in Iron Age martial burial practice than previously recognised.

Past Research

In one of the most prominent analyses of British Iron Age martial burials, Collis (1973) catalogued 17 examples. Whimster’s (1981: 129-146) survey of burial practices noted a sub-group of burials with swords. Johns (2002: 64-68) listed 36 British burials, which included swords or spears. Stevenson (2013) suggested there were 39 burials with weapons, and Sealy (2007: 33) stated that fewer than 25 warrior burials are known for England and Wales, excluding those with solely defensive equipment. These accounts reflect modern concepts relating to the importance of weaponry, especially offensive weapons, obscuring the nature and diversity of burials with martial objects for the British Iron Age.

Hunter’s (2005) contextual exploration of warrior iconography on British Iron Age coinage rightly acknowledged the need to look beyond offensive weaponry, and expanded the corpus to 63 burials. Any truly comprehensive account must embrace all martial objects. This allows for a more nuanced exploration of the nature of these practices, possibly revealing expressions of social status and identity construction, which have previously gone unnoticed.

New finds have come to light since Hunter’s review so that there would now appear to be at least 80 burials with martial objects confidently datable to the British Iron Age, a further 22 may have an Iron Age date (Figure 1). The full list of burials is included in a supplemental file for this paper. Giles (in preparation), exploring an entwined biographical perspective on the lives of individuals and weapons, will also provide an updated list. More than half of the positively identifiable Iron Age martial burials were discovered in East Yorkshire (Figure 2). The dominance of Yorkshire in the raw count of martial burials is largely attributable to the Arras Culture (Figure 3). Consequently, due to the Arras Culture’s particular practice of burial as a majority funerary rite, a greater number of Iron Age burials have been recorded in East Yorkshire than anywhere else in Britain.

‘Warrior’ Burials with shield, sword and spear

Nine individuals were buried with the full complement of sword, spear and shield in Iron Age Britain. Five of these were Arras Culture burials. Elsewhere, two martial burials from Brisley Farm, the Owslebury Warrior and the Kelvedon Warrior round out the coterie of Britain’s most equipped martial burials (Figure 4). The well-equipped double-inhumation cist burial from Camelon, Falkirk in Scotland, close to the Roman Fort (Breeze et al. 1976: 75) may be Romano-British.
Figure 1: Sites with Martial Burials confidently dated to the Iron Age.
Similarities can be observed in the layout of these nine Iron Age ‘warrior’ burials. All are located in regions with close connections with the Continent via maritime and riverine routes (Cunliffe 2005). Five burials, Rudston R154, and R174, the two from Brisley Farm and the Owslebury Warrior, were extended, distinct from the usual crouched position. Grimthorpe was a supine flexed burial (Mortimer 1905: 150-152). Garton Station GS10 and Wetwang Cart Burial 1 were contracted with the head to the north (the normative Arras Culture rite). Unfortunately, it was not possible to identify the funerary rite or body position of the Kelvedon Warrior (Sealy 2007: 1-4).

Placement in an extended position may signify that these individuals were somehow different, perhaps holding a special position within their communities. Different performative aspects of the funerary rites associated with spears may also have highlighted special roles in the community, or represented something different about the way in which these individuals lived or died.
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| Rudston Burial R154    | East Yorkshire | Arras Culture            | MIA    | 1 Shield  
|                        |             |                          |        | 2 Iron spearheads  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron sword  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron hammerhead  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Pair iron tongs  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron coupler  |
| Rudston Burial R174*   | East Yorkshire | Arras Culture            | MIA    | 1 Shield  
|                        |             |                          |        | 7 Iron spearheads  
|                        |             |                          |        | 2 Bone spearheads  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron sword  
|                        |             |                          |        | 2 Bone toggles  |
| Garton Station GS10*   | East Yorkshire | Arras Culture            | MIA    | 1 Shield  
|                        |             |                          |        | 14 Iron spearheads  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron sword  |
| Wetwang Cart Burial 1* | East Yorkshire | Arras Culture            | MIA    | 1 Shield  
|                        |             |                          |        | 7 Iron spearheads  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron sword  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Dismantled two-wheeled vehicle with associated fittings  
|                        |             |                          |        | Forequarter of a pig  |
| Grimthorpe*            | East Yorkshire | Arras Culture            | MIA    | 1 Shield  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron spearhead  
|                        |             |                          |        | 16 Bone spearheads  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron sword  
|                        |             |                          |        | Animal bone  
|                        |             |                          |        | Pottery fragments  |
| Owlsbury Warrior*      | Hampshire    | Extended Inhumation      | LIA    | 1 Shield  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron spearhead  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron sword  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron ferrule  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Copper alloy belt hook  
|                        |             |                          |        | Charred grain  |
| Brisley Farm Burial 19 | Kent         | Extended Inhumation      | LIA    | 1 Shield  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron spearhead  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron sword  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Platter  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Butt-beaker  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Cup  
|                        |             |                          |        | Half pig’s head  |
| Brisley Farm Burial 20*| Kent         | Extended Inhumation      | LIA    | 1 Shield  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron spearhead  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron sword  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Butt-beaker  |
| Kelvedon Warrior       | Essex        | Unknown                  | LIA    | 1 Shield  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron spearhead  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron Ferrule  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron sword  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Iron dagger  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Tankard  
|                        |             |                          |        | 1 Roman copper alloy bowl  
|                        |             |                          |        | Iron fittings of uncertain function  
|                        |             |                          |        | 2 Pedestal urns  |

**Figure 4: Iron Age burials including shield, sword and iron spearhead (* indicates a ‘speared-corpse’ burial).**
Figure 5: Map showing Iron Age burials with shield, sword and one or more iron spearhead/s.
The spears in the Owslebury Warrior burial and Brisley Farm burial 20 had been thrust into the wall of the grave, and their shafts broken (Collis 1973: 126; Stevenson 2013: 152-158, 2014: 40-41). R174, GS10 and Wetwang Cart Burial 1 appear to have been subjected to the ‘speared-corpse’ rite, discussed below.

**Offensive Weapons**

Few Iron Age burials include the full panoply of sword, shield and spear. A greater number of burials included one or more martial objects. These often appear in isolation, or in association with just one other class of martial object (Figure 6). Other martial objects include daggers, ferrules, sling-stones, body armour and helmets. Each class of martial object recorded from the major burial traditions observed in Iron Age Britain is discussed below.

**Spears and ‘Speared-corpse’ Burials**

The spear, noted in 36 burials, is the most frequently recorded martial object. Spearheads were most commonly found in isolation, but occasionally with shields, swords or both (Figure 6). Spearhead forms vary considerably, and include iron and bone examples. The long, angular spearhead form represented in the Brisley Farm burials and the Kelvedon Warrior burial, resemble Swanton’s Anglo-Saxon Type E3, which was originally thought to be an insular development during the sixth and seventh centuries AD: this is clearly erroneous (Swanton 1974: 14).

Burials of martial character occurred most frequently within the Arras Culture of Iron Age East Yorkshire. Of particular note and unparalleled throughout Iron Age Europe is the ‘speared-corpse’. This practice can be identified in 22 burials across several Arras Culture sites, and perhaps two outside East Yorkshire (Collis 1973: 126; Dent 1985: 88; Giles 2012: 1-2; Stead 1991a: 33-35; Stevenson 2014: 40). Fifteen ‘speared-corpse’ burials can be identified with confidence, from Grimthorpe, Wetwang, Garton Station, Kirkburn and Rudston, the remainder with varying degrees of confidence (Mortimer 1905: 237; Stead 1991a: 33-35). The rite can be described as follows: the deceased was placed into the grave and then one or more spears were thrust or thrown into the grave, sometimes piercing the corpse. The number of spears deployed in this manner varies from one (e.g. R50 and R140) to 17 at Grimthorpe (Mortimer 1905: 150). The stratigraphy suggests that the rite may have continued as the grave was being filled, with some spearheads found in the fill, the tips pointed down into the grave (Stead 1991a: 33). Many of the iron and bone spearheads appear to have suffered damage as a result of the force with which they were hurled into the grave (Stead 1991a: 75).

![Martial Object Associations in Iron Age Burials](image)

**Figure 6: Associations between martial objects in Iron Age burials in Britain, burials of confident Iron Age date.**
For extended or flexed burials, not subjected to the ‘speared-corpse’ rite, the normative position of spearheads was by the left foot with the tip pointing towards the foot of the grave (including R24, R54 and BF63). Placement of spearheads pointed to the foot of the grave was also the normative practice in the Champagne region during the La Tène I period (Stead et al. 2006: 75). In La Tène burials from Pottenbrun, and Mannersdorf, Austria, the placement of spears was close to the skull, by the shoulder with the tip pointed to the head of the grave (Ramsl 2011: 23-28, 2012). The final position of the spearhead at Owslebury was close to the skull, above the left shoulder, consistent with this practice (Collis 1973: 126-129). Spearhead placement, combined with other elements discussed below, suggest strong affiliations with Continental practice for this individual.

Beyond East Yorkshire, Owslebury and Brisley Farm 20 closely resemble the ‘speared-corpse’ ritual. Both burials show evidence that the spearheads had been either hurled or thrust into the grave and each was sited within a square enclosure, and Brisley Farm burial 20 may also have been covered with a barrow, similar to the Arras Culture rite (Collis 1968: 25-27; Stevenson 2013: 152-158, 2014: 16-17).

The reasons for the performance of such a ritual are unclear. Aldhouse Green and Giles have suggested the practice ensured the deceased would not rise from the grave (Giles 2012; Aldhouse Green 2002: 35). Individuals subjected to such aberrant acts elsewhere were often buried away from the communal cemetery and were not accorded the usual funerary rites (Müldner et al. 2011). However, the speared-corpse burials were not isolated and were accorded funerary rites in line with Arras Culture tradition. Further, it appears that Owslebury became a focal point for later burials, and Brisley Farm 20 is associated with acts of veneration (Collis 1973; Stevenson 2013: 179). Kristoffersen and Oestigaard (2008: 127-128) argue that variation in funerary practice may represent special rites undertaken when the deceased has “died in the wrong way or place,” necessitating additional steps to ensure their safe passage.

**Swords, ‘Sword Burials’ and daggers**

Swords have been recorded from 34 burials confidently dated to the Iron Age (see supplemental file, and Figure 6 for object associations). Three burials – Rudston R87 and R153, and an Aylesford-type cremation burial from Ham Hill – included iron daggers. The swords are insular La Tène forms, assignable to Stead’s Groups B-G (Stead 2006). The sword groups have distinctive geographic distributions. Groups A-D have been found in the south (apart from the outlier Group C longsword from North Grimston) and Groups E-F in the North. Group G short-swords were found in both the North and South of Britain. Northern swords never reached the lengths observed in southern examples (Figure 7), none exceeding 800mm. Swords in northern burials were medium-length swords of Stead’s Groups E-F (Stead 2006: 55-70).

The only Group B example comes from the inhumation burial at Deal, dated to the late third century or first half of the second century BC (Garrow et al., 2009; Stead 2006: 166, fig.59). Medium-length Group A-B swords go out of circulation in the South in the second half of the first century BC, replaced by Group C longswords, represented in two burials (Stead 2006: 37-38). Both burials are unusual. North Grimston is the only British burial to include two swords; the second is an anthropoid-hilted short-sword with comparanda across Europe (Halkon 2013: 118). The cist burial from Bryher is the only insular burial known to include a mirror and martial objects in association (Johns 2002: 15-20). Other burials to include mirrors, such as Birdlip and Wetwang were found in close proximity to martial burials, and the association between mirrors, gender and social status remains problematic and uncertain (Joy 2011, Pope and Ralston 2011).

It is during the floruit of Group D longswords (first century BC and first century AD) that we have the greatest number of southern burials with swords (Stead 2006: 53). These eight burials include the Owslebury
and Kelvedon Warrior, and the two Brisley Farm burials – some of the best equipped martial burials for all of Iron Age Britain (Collis 1973: 126-129; Johnson 2002; Sealy 2007: 5-8; Stead 2006: Nos.105, 115, 116, 146; Stevenson 2013: 151-179). In addition to these are the Whitcombe Warrior, a Durotrigian inhumation in Dorset, St Lawrence, Isle of Wight, and Coleford, Gloucestershire, and, possibly a cist burial at Gelliniog Wen, Anglesey (Stead 2006: Nos.114, 117, 128 & 142).

A small number burials contained short-swords of Stead’s Group G: Birdlip, Gloucestershire and Shouldham, Norfolk in the south and, in the north, the anthropoid-hilted short-sword from North Grimston, and two cist burials from Camelon, Falkirk, their length suggestive of close-quarter fighting (Stead 2006: 197-198).

Swords within burials are usually found on the right side of the body, along the back, or overlying the torso. In Arras Culture burials seven of 23 burials with swords had the sword placed either along the spine, or wholly or partially over the torso. Grimthorpe, Rudston R139 and R163 have the sword placed by the left arm. In all but two instances the hilt is oriented toward the head of the grave. Kirkburn burial 3, placed behind the back, has the hilt oriented to the foot of the grave (Stead 1991a: 224-225). Brisley Farm burial 19 has the sword placed by the left leg, with the hilt pointed towards the feet (Johnson 2002: 17).

The burials with swords placed along the spine may demonstrate the way they were worn in life, matching the chalk figurines of Iron Age East Yorkshire, depicting males wearing a sword strapped vertically to their back (Stead 1988: 13). Anthoons (2011: 38-39) observed that the suspension loop on northern sword scabbards was half way along, further from the mouth of the scabbard than southern scabbards. By contrast she argues that in the south swords were worn about the waist (Stead 2006: 52, Anthoons 2011: 38). The decision to wear swords strapped along the back may explain the preference for medium-length swords in the north. Osteoarchaeological analyses from Rudston/Burton Fleming, Kirkburn and Garton Station suggest average stature for males in the region was 1.7m (Stead 1991a: 128) and swords in excess of 800mm length would not have been easily worn in this manner.
**Arrowheads and Sling-stones in burials**

Sling-stones and arrowheads were noted from the poorly recorded Durotrigian cemetery at Jordan Hill (Whimster 1981: 40). At Maiden Castle two burials each included two sling-stones (Whimster 1981: 269-270). Finney (2006) assessed the martial role of sling-stones in the southern hillfort dominated zone, and excavations at Danebury revealed caches of sling-stones in proximity to site entrances from Middle and Late Iron Age contexts (Cunliffe 2003: 171). At Bredon Hill, Hencken (1939: 47) noted a number of sling-stones embedded in the roadway running through the inner entrance. It is possible that this represents an expression of martial identity particular to the region.

One arrowhead was noted amongst the grave goods in an Aylesford cremation burial from Ham Hill, associated with an anthropoid-hilted dagger (Walter 1923). This is the only burial in which it is certain that the arrowhead was deliberately deposited as part of the grave good assemblage.

**Non-Offensive Martial Objects**

While there has been a strong research focus on martial burials furnished with offensive weapons, the importance of non-offensive martial objects must not be overlooked. Shields, armour and helmets have been recorded from 32 Iron Age burials, 12 of which did not include any offensive weapons.

**Shields**

Shields have been identified in 28 burials (see Figure 5 for object associations). Most examples are only identifiable from their metal fixtures, although Stead (1991a: 63-64) has noted four wholly organic shields (R154, R174, GS5 and GS10), and Hunter (2005: 52) suggests shields are underrepresented due to their poor survivability. Beyond the nine well-equipped ‘warrior’ burials, a further 11 Arras Culture burials included a shield. Collis (1973: 123-124) identified three shield bosses from Aylesford-type cremation burials. Other Iron Age burials with shields comprise a cremation burial from Stanway, Essex, the cist burial from Bryher, Isles of Scilly, an extended inhumation from Deal, Kent, and an inhumation from North Bersted, West Sussex (Crummy et al. 2007; Farley et al. 2014; Johns 2002).

The placement of shields within the grave was noted for 20 of the 28 burials, eleven were placed covering the torso:

- The Owslebury Warrior,
- Brisley Farm burial 20,
- Garton Station GS4, GS5, and GS10,
- Rudston R148 and R174
- Wetwang Cart Burials 1 and 3, and burial 98
- Grimthorpe

In Burial 19 at Brisley Farm the shield was placed over the legs and lower torso (Johnson 2002). These burials suggest that the normative placement for shields was partially or wholly over the body. Exceptions to this practice are observed in the Bryher cist burial, Deal and in the Aylesford-type cremation burials, where the shields were placed to one side in the grave (Johns 2002: 18). The shields in Rudston R154 and North Bersted appear to have been placed to the left of the body (Stead 1991a: 63, fig.112, 1991b; Taylor, 2014). At Stanway, the shield was placed boss-down towards the southwest corner of the grave, its concave interior serving as a cinerary vessel (Crummy et al. 2007: 170-196).

Shield forms appear to have been oval, rectangular, or hide-shaped. Stead et al (1968: 173) argued that British shield types differed from Continental forms, expressing a distinctly insular identity. By contrast,
the shield bosses from Owslebury and Kelvedon do not correspond with other insular examples. The bosses fit well with Brunaux and Rapin’s Type V, suggestive of Continental connections (Brunaux and Rapin, 1988: 81; Collis 1973: fig.4, Sealy 2007: 11-12).

While the shield is often considered as primarily defensive its offensive potential must not be overlooked. Brunaux and Rapin (1988: 17, 21-27) interpreted the shield as providing “une défense essentiellement dynamique”. Likewise, Warry (2006: 148) has argued that the *umbo* (boss) of the early Roman *scutum*, from which Celtic shield forms evolved, was employed as a weapon. *The Táin* also suggests an offensive role for the shield, Cú Chulainn described as arming himself with a shield featuring a rim that could “slice as keenly as with sword or spear” (Carson 2007: 108).

**Armour and Helmets**

Armour and helmets have not been found in association with offensive weapons in British Iron Age burials. The Kirkburn vehicle burial K5 includes the earliest complete find of mail armour in Britain, other fragmentary examples are recorded from cremation burials at Lexden, Essex and Baldock and St. Albans, Hertfordshire (Niblett 1999: 159-167). In addition, two helmets have been noted from a cremation burial at Canterbury and an inhumation burial from North Bersted, West Sussex. Both helmets, respectively typed as Coolus ‘A’ and Coolus-Mannheim examples, are datable to the first century BC (Farley *et al.* 2014). The forms were worn by Gallic and Roman warriors of the period, and the nearest comparable helmets are Gallic examples (Farley 2013: 5). These burials may represent the remains of locals who had travelled to the Continent and acquired their helmets during mercenary service, though the possibility that they were acquired locally via exotic gift exchange or trade must also be considered (Farley, 2013: 7; Richardson 2013).

**Ritual Destruction and Inverted Placement of Martial Objects**

**Ritual Destruction**

A distinct difference between British and Continental burial practices is the almost total absence of ritual destruction of weapons. However, rare instances did occur. The Kelvedon Warrior’s sword and spearhead had both been deliberately manipulated prior to deposition, as had the swords from Acklam and Coleford (Sealy, 2007: 32; Stead 2006: 180-181). At Brisley Farm burial 19 the spearhead was subjected to a similar act of destruction, bent markedly out of shape. The destruction of these objects would appear to conform to Continental practice, where weapons were more frequently ritually ‘killed’ prior to deposition in votive or funerary contexts (Mândescu 2012; Rapin 1993).

**Alternative Placement of Martial Objects: Rites of reversal**

Several martial burials show unusual object placements. These burials seem to express what Parker Pearson (1999: 26) has termed “rites of reversal.” Within the Arras Culture Stead (1991a) observed 15 prone, or partially prone, burials, three of which (R144, R148 and R182), included martial objects. Prone burials have not been noted at other Arras sites and prone burial may only have occurred at Rudston/ Burton Fleming and Kirkburn.

Rudston Burial R148 included an iron shield boss and fragments of the shield binding (Stead 1991a: 61). Burial R182 included an iron sword, placed behind the back, in accordance with the normative tradition (Stead 1991a: 208). Rudston burial R144 included an iron sword (in normative position) and an iron spearhead. It appears that care was taken to ensure the placement of the spearhead by the left foot, with the tip pointed toward the body, suggesting, along with the prone position, an inversion of the natural order.
At Brisley Farm, burial 19 shows a distinct expression of altered placement of the grave goods. Each of the martial objects deviates from the normative placement. The sword is placed by the left foot, and the orientation is inverted so that the hilt is at the foot of the grave. The spearhead is placed over the right shoulder in the position the sword would usually have been placed. The shield boss was placed over the knees rather than covering the torso. The position of the body, oriented to the south, is also slightly unusual.

In Kirkburn burial 3, the Kirkburn sword was placed with the finely decorated scabbard face-downward into the grave and the hilt oriented towards the foot of the grave. This facedown sword placement was also observed in the Owslebury Warrior burial. By contrast, sword placement in other burials prominently displayed the decorated scabbard faces.

In the Kirkburn vehicle burial, the mail shirt was placed in the grave with its sleeves close to hips and its opening close to the shoulders as if ready to put on (Stead 1991a: 54-55). The placement of the shirt in this manner is highly unusual, though there are ethnographic parallels for turning clothing inside out in funerary rituals (Goody 1962: 72-73, Okely 1983: 217-218).

The copper alloy helmet found at Bridge, near Canterbury may also echo this inverted placement of martial objects. The position may have been dictated by its function as a cremation vessel (Farley et al., 2014). However, the use of a face-down shield as a cinerary vessel at Stanway suggests the practice may have held greater significance (Crummy et al. 2007: 171). Wetwang Cart Burials 1 and 3 also included shields, placed boss-downwards into the grave (Dent 1985).

Conclusions

Martial burials are far greater in number and diversity than has previously been acknowledged for the Iron Age in Britain. The more inclusive assessment presented in this article, examining all classes of martial objects included in burials, allows for patterns to emerge. A range of martial associations formed an important part of the constructed funerary identity of select individuals within the Iron Age communities of Britain. Strong contacts with the Continent are indicated through the inclusion Continental shield forms observed at Kelvedon and Owslebury, and the helmets recovered from Canterbury and North Bersted, highlighting the exchange of ideas and equipment. The performance of acts of ritual destruction in a small number of martial burials, suggests Continental influences in the funerary rites accorded some individuals.

Performative aspects of burials including spearheads indicate that funerals could be dramatic spectacles, which sometimes, as at Brisley Farm and Owslebury, became foci for ongoing acts of veneration, such as feasting and later burial activity. The enactment of rights of reversal also appears to have been a much more prevalent part of martial burial rites than previously recognised. It is hoped that future research will continue to expand our understanding of martial burial practices during the British Iron Age.

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Burials of Martial Character in the British Iron Age


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Supplemental file: Full list of Burials
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iron Spear</th>
<th>Bone Spear</th>
<th>Ferrule</th>
<th>Sword</th>
<th>Dagger</th>
<th>Knife</th>
<th>Arrowhead</th>
<th>Ring Stones</th>
<th>Armour</th>
<th>Helmet</th>
<th>Other</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

1. 4 flaps.
2. Iron nails.
3. Suspension rings and ornaments.
4. Short axe.
5. Ornament. 2 horse brass.
6. Ornament. 2 horse brass.
7. 5 iron nails, ceramics.
Supplemental file bibliography


Sealy, P.R. 2007. *A Late Iron Age Warrior Burial from Kelvedon, Essex.* (East Anglian Archaeology Reports series 118).


