When combined with the type of material associations described by Treherne, these studies have the capacity to break the symbolic/utilitarian interpretive equifinality implicit in apparently socially-identifying objects. In short, a great corpus, made up of theory, historical precedent, and material cultural correlates, lacks a synthetic biological component, and we are thus left with the conundrum of whether elaborately interred individuals constitute an orchestrated symbolic, but in essence unreal or even misleading, representation, or a true reflection of the emergence of a socially differentiated group that contributes leaders, i.e. active social agents, wielding unequal power to influence social change. This question finds its correlate in the work of Härke (1990, 1992) on early medieval weapon burials, which are described by Steuer (1989) as also representing a 'warrior lifestyle' in the early medieval period. As suggested in Treherne's essay, the key to unpicking this knot of ambiguity—to break the equifinality implicit in the term 'weapon burial'—lies in the physical attributes of individuals buried in elaborate graves.

The emergence of warriors in the Bronze Age may go far to explain some of the population movements/mass migrations that are thought to have taken place on a grand scale in the period (Haak et al., 2015), but such an explanation may also be employed on a local or regional scale to account for the origin of warrior-leaders. This would also help resolve the question of whether individual cases represent true warriors—who had actually fought—and distinguish them from others who were non-combatants buried in ways which mimicked the warrior's beauty, in a manner that is similar to the transformation from warrior to courtier-aristocrat of the Later Middle Ages (see p. 130). This diachronic perspective, hinted at in the conclusion of Treherne's piece, speaks for what appears to be a recurrent and enduring phenomenon of a certain type of masculinity. It seems clear that by the advent of the European Bronze Age, if not before, the martial component of masculinity had emerged, and it continues to be present in a less personally active but increasingly powerful and deadly form in leadership today.

The 'Beautiful Warrior' Twenty-one Years After: Bronze Age Warfare and Warriors

Helle Vandkilde

The seminal article by Paul Treherne in the 1995 volume of this journal seems to have given rise to a mostly independent thread unrelated to the current surge in warfare research. The role of warfare and warrior aesthetics is briefly discussed against this background.

Warriors would seem topical to questions of prehistoric warfare, which until *c.* 1996 was a marginal subject area in archaeology. Since then, war has gained considerable momentum as a research theme and today the archaeology of warfare is firmly placed in the suite of archaeologies addressed. The brilliant 'Warrior's Beauty' paper by Paul Treherne, published in 1995 in the *European Journal of Archaeology* (then the *Journal of European Archaeology*) can, given its many citations, be categorized as a high-impact article; it is a frequently accessed article on the journal's website. Against this background, it is pertinent to ask if the study has had a role in driving the current interest in war and, hence, has influenced the new knowledge now emerging. Are the visual appearance and bodily movements of the ancient warrior, *sensu* Treherne, at all present in the archaeology of warfare now blooming?

Table 1 *Citations of Treherne 1995.*

Treherne 1995		
Archaeological themes	***Citations***	***Year span***
Overviews	28	1999–2015
Identity-gender	36	1997–2016
Rituals-death-burial	23	2002–2015
Body-agency	17	2005–2013
Theory, e.g. mind-matter	13	1999–2014
Emotion-senses-art	12	2000–2014
Weapons	6	2003–2015
Warriors	9	1999–2016
Warfare	9	2003–2013
Sum	153	

Source: Google Scholar February 2016

it is surprising that warrior studies show up in such a low proportion in the statistics, but this may relate to warriors being rather marginal to the current rise in warfare studies. In fact, a handful of major warrior studies do recognize Treherne 1995 as central to the analysis of ancient warriors: Harrison (2004); Vandkilde (2006b); Harding (2007); Knöpke (2009); Schulting (2013). One could argue that it was Keeley's book (*War Before Civilization,* 1996) and the wars and genocide of the 1990s that heralded research in prehistoric warfare. Meanwhile Treherne's essay became one of the guiding threads in a parallel thrust to populate prehistory with able-bodied real people, but this comprised few analyses of warriors until recently. Treherne's article thus seems to have instigated an independent thread of research mostly disconnected from the surge of warfare studies from 1996 to the present.

While Treherne's article demonstrates a good knowledge of the archaeology outside the English-speaking world, the works quoting Treherne come predominantly from the latter. German archaeology has recently discovered war as a research area; this *Kriegsarchäologie* seems to largely be an independent development apparently little influenced by the global rise in war studies since 1996, as the few cross-references reveal (e.g. Meller & Schefzik, 2015). It may be that the interest in war now manifest in German archaeology is a logical continuation, or offshoot, of the strong *Kriegergräber* tradition, which was also a major source of inspiration for Treherne (p. 105). More broadly, weaponry is still an important research focus in Germany (as well as elsewhere), albeit the interest has shifted slightly more towards investigations of damage and wear on deadly weapons, such as swords and spears, as well as research on traumata (e.g. Peter-Röcher, 2007; Horn, 2013). Furthermore, recent discoveries have been influential too, notably the Corded Ware multiple burial at Eulau in central Germany (Meyer et al., 2009) and two early Urnfield sites, the battlefield of Tollense (Jantzen et al., 2011) and the Neckarsulm warrior cemetery (Knöpke, 2009; Wahl & Price, 2013) in north-eastern and southern Germany, respectively.

In sum, the growing field of the archaeology of warfare follows several research directions which have so far been little concerned with the beautifully-bodied warrior, despite his implicit capacity for violence. It may well be that the warrior needs to be instated as an instrumental agent in the sometimes war-like reality of prehistoric society.

The Bronze Age warrior: epic hero or militant professional?

Treherne used as a springboard, firstly, the ostentatious panoplies of weapons deposited in the so-called *Kriegergräber* and, secondly, Homer's warrior tales and their reinterpretations in Classical studies traditionally favouring masculine bodily aesthetics. The association of both these categories with grooming tools, dress and accessories,

In the twentieth century, the warrior was considered a heroic stereotype at the head of an ancient society that was deemed essentially peaceful. But, after the 'discovery' of the war-like reality of societies in the late 1990s, warriors have paradoxically fallen out of the Bronze Age research limelight, although warrior elites sometimes figure in interpretations (Vandkilde, 2016). It is, therefore, timely to assess the value of Treherne's contribution.

An impactful essay ahead of its time

Treherne's essay contains a number of observations and theory-driven hypotheses, which have the potential to throw light on the main strands of change in Neolithic and Bronze Age Europe and increase our understanding of the role of the warrior in these societies. In addition, it is a manifesto replete with theoretical insights: classic, mainstream, and scholarly. The position taken is not easily slotted in to any theoretical school or paradigm; the article works equally well as a grand history on an Eurasian scale, and, by contrast, as an examination of the male body and equipment as both unique and reiterated materiality in life and death. This epistemological stance embedded in Classical history may explain the immediate success of Treherne's article, not least in the mid-1990s when much energy was invested in aligning with processual, post-processual, or post-structural persuasions.

Characteristically, the essay works with dualities rather than dichotomies. In fact, the inseparability of ideology and reality on the one hand, and of the body, identity, and personhood on the other, may have been an eye-opener for many archaeologists struggling to make sense of specific archaeological remains, in particular burials: it became clearer that people's beliefs were lived through their social interactions and affiliations, and that concepts such as 'false consciousness' tends to victimize, especially, those people 'without history' and thence to simplify complex prehistoric realities. People live out their ideologies and form their identities through their bodies in an entanglement where power is an inherent element. In providing a simultaneously sophisticated and straightforward framework for thinking theoretically about archaeological things, data, culture, and change, Treherne was well ahead of his time. First, the essay can be read as a critique of archaeology rooted in philosophy, while at the same time promoting body, gender, identity, agency, the senses, and even history as an interleaved package central to the interpretive agenda. Second, the essay can be taken to be an innovative framework for better understanding the numerous weapons recovered in burials and hoards from around 3000 BC onwards, and here Classical studies and early written sources support the argument well. The immediate impression is nevertheless that this second aspect has not been invigorated to any significant extent by the general academic turn set out by Treherne's essay.

Internet data may confirm this broad canvas. Even if the number of citations is likely to be an underestimate, the statistics in Table 1 show that Treherne's article has contributed more significantly to other subject areas (eighty-four per cent) than to warfare, weapons, and warriorhood (sixteen per cent). Its main impact is on questions of identity and gender, body and agency, emotion, art, and the senses, in addition to general theory and overviews. Its low impact (very few, if any, references) on the otherwise thriving genre of war studies is illustrated when leafing through a number of anthologies: e.g. those of Carman & Harding (1999); Osgood et al. (2000); Otto et al. (2006); Ralph (2013). Given this essay's heading and principal message,

drinking equipment, and wheeled vehicles may be a convincing argument that they represent the shared characteristics of warrior elites—centred on both the living and the dead masculine body: common life/death style and norms, beliefs, appearance, as well as inbred social superiority and habits of cultural consumption. This ideology is accordingly lived through individualizing and communal action in the group of warriors among which courtly conduct is pre-eminent, not least during the funerals of companions. It is, indeed, the Weberian notion of the status group which permeates the analysis and which is similar to van Wees' status warriors in the setting of Homer's epics (1992), or for that matter Kristiansen's warrior aristocracies in the Bronze Age (1984, 1999). Treherne does not use the word 'hero', which is nevertheless implicit throughout his article, in which, furthermore, the concept of warrior elites is not criticized and becomes a static component of Bronze Age society.

Today we know that prehistoric warfare cannot be reduced to rituals such as Treherne erroneously contends (pp. 109), extending the paradigmatic absence of war and violence prevalent in much earlier archaeological interpretation, which also venerated the gallant warrior as the head of society. Homeric warfare is, to put it simply, about prowess and honour, and about fame and glory on an epic scale; but bloody raids and piracy represent the reverse of the gleaming coin. Van Wees (1992) shows that Homer's epics narrate a social world in which rivalry thrived, and where power and leadership were constantly under pressure rather than making an undisputed, stable warrior hierarchy. Ugly violence and brutal assaults, such as plundering cities for revenue and taking captives for slavery, are present as subtexts to the dominant narrative of heroic conduct, which also tends to evaporate when the fallen heroes are left unburied and mutilated on the battlefield, in danger of losing their social status.

These are important nuances to consider in regard to Bronze Age archaeology too; the interface between heroic and violent realities is becoming clearer, but still needs further study. Van Wees' findings can be said to parallel the duality present in the archaeological sources for the Bronze Age:

There can, first of all, be no doubt that *a heroic logic is embedded within much Bronze Age materiality* in the same way as it is at the core of Homeric society, reflected in particular in the *Iliad*. This implies that heroization formed part of the social reality in both these connected worlds and later gave rise to the varied and probably quite widespread practice of hero cults (Whitley, 1995; Vandkilde, 2013a), echoed in Hesiod's men of bronze and his notion of an age of heroes. Against this background, it becomes problematic merely to dismiss the hypothesis of warrior aristocracies, even though this institution needs to be nuanced in Bronze Age settings. Treherne is not overmuch concerned with bodily techniques as physical action, *sensu* Mauss (1936), and is more in line with Vernant's (1991a) aesthetic body perspective. Aesthetics on its own is, however, inadequate: through a more complete body perspective, Warnier (2011) contends that warfare always involves the fighter's subjectivity and that warriors are the professional agents specifically trained in the techniques of warfare. The movements of both body and weapons have to be synchronized to effectively overcome the innate fear, as mentality is clearly important for survival.

Secondly, new data strongly suggest that prehistoric *warfare was quite widespread and often deadly*: there is now substantial skeletal evidence for war-related violence (e.g. Schulting, 2013). *Kriegergräber* have so far not revealed skeletal trauma—probably not

because it did not exist, but because the skeletons are generally badly preserved and often cremated. The social status of the warrior as sword carrier or as charioteer is effectively commemorated in the burial rites (e.g. Clausing, 1999; Winghart, 1999), and there is nothing to suggest that this did not have a bearing on conflict and war. A violent reality at the transition to the Urnfield period emerges clearly from two recently excavated sites. Around 1250 BC in the Tollense river valley, numerous plundered corpses of warriors with projectiles often still embedded in their bodies were left on the battlefield by the victors (Jantzen et al., 2011). This is paralleled at the cemetery of Neckarsulm, dated to the early Urnfield period (Ha A1) (Knöpke, 2009). Both sites contain almost exclusively young male warriors, many of them foreigners and probably mounted (Wahl & Price, 2013; Brinker et al., 2015). This matches well the quantification of weapon burials calculated by Clausing (1999: 392) with peaks at the beginning and end of this long period. Earlier evidence, such as the Corded Ware burials at Gjerrild and Eulau, and the Wassenar and Over-Vindinge burials dated to the transition to the Middle Bronze Age, clearly show that war-related violence occurred, if not throughout the period then definitely at the thresholds of change (see Otto et al., 2006; Peter-Röcher, 2007; Vandkilde, 2013b). These datasets concur with the outcome of use-wear studies of Bronze Age weaponry (e.g. Kristiansen, 2002; Mörtz, 2010; Horn, 2013). In addition, weapons such as swords, spears, shields, and armour became more deadly, effective, and standardized over time, culminating in the Urnfield period. While bows and arrows are infrequent in burials and other deposits they are prominently attested across the periods in the data for skeletal trauma. This reveals that archery was instrumental in war, while it did not officially form part of the concept of heroic valour and of special codes of life/death style conducted in the companies of warrior peers.

Warriorhood can thus be defined as a social identity springing from militant bodily-material interaction, but also from heroic tales of men, war, and glory. Therefore, Treherne's warrior obsessed with his bodily appearance ought to be taken seriously when we add the violence that is *also* integral to the warrior's being and doing. Such an entwined reality for a Bronze Age warrior is in full agreement with the outcomes of the few warrior-focused studies mentioned in the introduction. If the identity of the warrior is disconnected from the activity of warfare, there is a risk that the many data obtained, notably for weaponry and trauma, will not further our knowledge of how war and its agents influenced history and vice versa. Quantitative variations over time in trauma and weaponry already hint that warriors and their actions were placed centrally in the historical web of causes and effects with major thresholds at around 3000 BC, 1600 BC, and 1200 BC.

The Beauty of the Chalk Warrior: A Reflection on Treherne's Contribution to Prehistoric Martial Culture

Melanie Giles

Introduction

In 1995, archaeologists from the University of Sheffield were excavating a Late Iron Age-early Roman farmstead—a so-called 'ladder' or 'droveway' enclosure—on the High Wolds of East Yorkshire (Giles, 2007). Among the objects in the box of finds that has made its way into my care, is a small, broken tablet of hard chalk with an almost translucent or bony quality. It is

side, rather than as passive reflections of one another, the Sutton Hoo ship burial and funeral passages in *Beowulf* offer a rich and complex picture of the colliding worldviews and different 'psychic fabrics', as Seamus Heaney put it, that are woven into the Anglo-Saxon poem—a piece of narrative that speaks more than ever to us, living as we do, '[i]n an age when "the instability of the human subject" is constantly argued for if not presumed' (Heaney, 2001: xvii).

One of the challenges for those studying the past is the way in which we inevitably look at the body or masculinity, as we do with everything else, through the lens of modern values, preoccupations, and concerns. I shall never forget one evening in a pub in Cambridge shortly after my article was published when a fellow student enthused that I had discovered 'queens in the Bronze Age'.

It is gratifying to know that the article continues to inspire debate.

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