AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE LATE NEOLITHIC AND EARLY BRONZE AGE ROUND BARROW MONUMENTS IN THE WYLYE VALLEY, WILTSHIRE

by

SIMON MARK HOWARTH

A thesis submitted to
The University of Birmingham
for the degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

This thesis examines the significance of funerary practices and monuments dating to the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in and around the Wylye Valley to the west of Stonehenge. This has been conducted through the re-evaluation of the work of Sir Richard Colt Hoare and the production of a database and Geographical Information System using the Wiltshire Sites and Monuments Record. The motivation behind why the monuments were positioned where they were has been attempted through spatial analysis within the GIS. The critical examination of the primary excavation data is based on modern interpretive frameworks and the interpretations which have been formed are re-examined to meet new thinking. The results of the thesis indicate the concentration of barrows towards the top of the valley on the northern escarpment and the clustering of barrows around older features in the landscape. This is similar to the spatial patterns observed nationally, supporting previous research and the interpretations drawn, though there appears to be a higher concentration of primary cremations and more nucleated cemeteries in the Wylye Valley area which may indicate local trends.

For all my family, whose love and support throughout the course of this thesis will never be forgotten

My extreme gratitude goes to my thesis supervisor, Mr. Paul Garwood for his expertise, consideration and patience.

Your enthusiasm for prehistory has been an inspiration and will help me motivate others.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

1. Introduction

1.1 Aim of the thesis and selection of study area

This thesis aims to analyse the significance of funerary practices and monuments in and around the Wylye Valley to the west of Stonehenge, as shown on the next page (Figure 1). The premise of the work is an exploration of the spatial relationships between the monuments and the Wylye Valley landscape and discern the rationale behind the positioning and development of the funeral monuments and funerary complexes. This work will be conducted using a digital environment created in a geographical information system with accompanying database. This focus on the funerary practices and monuments in the study area is significant as the Wylye Valley has not been considered as a landscape unit by any previous research, though it includes some of the richest Early Bronze Age burial assemblages in Britain and is remarkably close to Stonehenge, which has benefited from many detailed studies, notably in *Stonehenge and its Environs* (RCHME: 1979), *The Stonehenge Environs Project* (Richards: 1990), *Stonehenge in its Landscape* (Cleal *et al*: 1995), *Stonehenge Landscapes* (Exon *et al*: 2000) and most recently *Stonehenge: The Biography of a Landscape* (Darvill: 2006).

These studies of the Stonehenge landscape, to the northeast of the Wylye Valley, focus specifically on the Stonehenge landscape and its archaeological context. The intention of this thesis is to investigate the spatial organisation and chronological development of the round barrow groups present in the Wylye Valley by examining both excavated funerary monuments and probable unexcavated funerary monuments (in the form of crop marks) that have been identified in the landscape. Antiquarians originally excavated a large proportion of the round barrows present within the Wylye Valley and very few have been re-excavated using modern archaeological methods.

Figure 1: **A map highlighting the Wylye Valley and the county of Wiltshire**

Perhaps the most famous and active of the antiquarians who excavated in and around the Wylye Valley were William Cunnington and Sir Richard Colt Hoare who investigated many of the ancient monuments at the beginning of the nineteenth century in an attempt to compile a history of Wiltshire (Colt Hoare 1812:viii) that was eventually published in two volumes titled *The Ancient History of Wiltshire* in 1812 and 1821.

The body of data generated by such antiquarians as Cunnington and Colt Hoare has been a foundation for research into the Neolithic and Bronze Age in Wiltshire. Colt Hoare opened his introduction to *The Ancient History of Wiltshire* with the words '*We speak from facts, not theory*' (Colt Hoare 1812:7) highlighting his attempt to provide a body of material evidence relating to Britain's prehistoric past. It is perhaps the lack of a theoretical framework that limits the interpretations present in the accounts of the barrow excavations Colt Hoare conducted. The emerging 'Three Age System' is not referred to in Colt Hoare's work, although Cunnington appears to have begun to consider the possibility in his own notes (Colt Hoare 1812:xv). This in turn has resulted in many of Colt Hoare's ideas regarding the dating and meaning of what was excavated now being discounted by modern archaeological thought.

The fact that much of the archaeological evidence relating to the Wylye Valley lacks modern theoretical analysis may be remedied through a re-evaluation of Colt Hoare's work with the use of modern archaeological theory and interpretive frameworks. The inconsistent nature of some of the older records relating to a number of the monuments may well mean that a detailed analysis of the chronological development of the round barrow groups is unachievable.

The placement of structures within the landscape is most often examined in relation to enclosed spaces (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994:3) but this usage is not exclusive. The

visual setting may well have been an important element in the design of prehistoric landscapes and the work of individuals such as Chris Tilley in *A Phenomenology of Landscape: places, paths and monuments* (1994) suggests (using carefully chosen examples) that the capacity to see earlier monuments and natural features was a significant factor in the positioning of monuments.

Attempts have been made to envisage the funerary landscape of the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age as being designed to follow set 'rules', for example Woodward and Woodward (1996:275) suggested that cemetery layouts in Bronze Age Wessex reflected the circular shape of the round barrows they contained. This idea of an unchanging structural 'blueprint' for an area is based upon an indistinct understanding of how barrow groups developed over time and may therefore be enhanced through a better understanding of the detailed chronologies of individual cemeteries.

This is what makes an investigation of the landscape placement of funerary monuments in and around the Wylye Valley so important. To better understand the cultural significance of round barrows and the role that they played in the Late Neolithic and early Bronze Age landscape, a clearer understanding of the relationship between monuments and their landscape is required at a regional (as opposed to national) level.

1.2 Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Periods in Britain and Burial Practices

The monumental architecture of the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (2500-1500 BC) is typically visible in the modern landscape as circular mounds. These tumuli, or burial mounds, are the most common prehistoric monuments in the British landscape (Ashbee 1998:6) and are separate from the wholly Neolithic funerary monuments known as long barrows. When Thurnam published his survey of British barrows from 1869 to 1872, long

and the round barrows were separated not only by their shapes but also by the nature of the funerary deposits that they contained (Barrett 1990:180). Long barrows were constructed as earthen or drystone mounds with flanking ditches and acted as funerary monuments between around 3800 and 3300 cal. BC (Whittle *et al* 2007:142). Long barrows often produced the disarticulated remains of more than one individual in a single deposit with few associated artefacts, whereas round barrows often covered primary graves containing single graves, sometimes with associated grave goods (Barrett 1990:180).

Round barrows can be divided into distinctive sub-categories by their shape, diameter, height and composition (Woodward 2000:16). There are two major classifications relating to monument composition. The term *barrow* means a mound of earth, whilst monuments constructed of stones are often referred to as *cairns* (Ashbee 1998:6). The material used was often the most readily available (Burgess 1980:305) and in chalkland landscapes the most common form of barrow is the bowl barrow (Woodward 2000:19). Often superficially similar, round barrows can differ widely in size; a review of the published accounts of twentieth-century excavations in the area around Stonehenge suggests that barrows range from as small as 3 metres in diameter up to a size of 26 metres (Lawson 2007:205). Bowl barrows exhibit regional variations both in form and in the diversity of burial practices and their construction commonly dates from the Late Neolithic period to the Late Bronze Age,

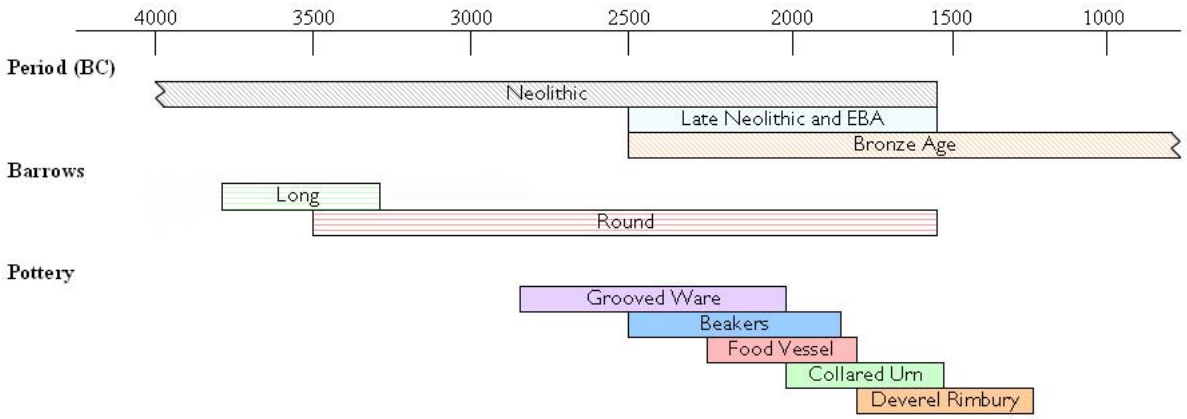

Figure 2: **Time chart for barrows and ceramics in Britain**

with most examples belonging to the period between 2400 and 1500 BC.

The main categories of Early Bronze Age pottery associated with the Wylye Valley round barrows begin with Beaker vessels. A speculative ceramic sequence places Beaker pottery and Grooved Ware as the earliest grave goods in the monuments dating to the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. Grooved Ware began to be deposited in around 2800 BC and ceased to be manufactured around 2000 BC (Gibson 2002:84), whereas Beaker vessels began to appear in the archaeological record in Britain around 2400 BC (Gibson 2002: 92). Collared Urns and Deverel Rimbury vessels signify later deposits within the chronological framework for prehistoric ceramics (Pearson in Hunter 81:1999) as reproduced in Figure 2.

Round barrows occur either in isolation or grouped as cemeteries and often acted as a focus for burials in later periods (in the form of inserted burials**)**. These round barrow cemeteries usually date to the Bronze Age (c.2500-700 BC). They developed over a considerable period of time, often many centuries, and can be investigated for spatial grouping of particular burial practices and funerary goods (Woodward 2000:73). They exhibit considerable diversity of burial rite, plan and form, frequently including several different types of round barrow and are occasionally associated with earlier monuments (Lawson 2007:207). Barrow cemeteries are usually divided into nucleated or linear (with barrows spaced less than 100 metres apart), dispersed (for barrows spaced out between 100 and 150 metres) or area cemeteries (for barrows spread over a distance of 200 to 400 metres) (Woodward 2000:73) but such classification can be considered subjective. Single cemeteries can contain their own internal groupings; for example a nucleated cemetery may display an internal linear element. The Wylye Valley contains a predominant number of dispersed cemeteries at the heads and sides of the main valley and the joining smaller valleys (Section 3).

The most common form of barrow in the Wylye Valley is the bowl barrow but other forms of 'fancy barrows' found in area include saucer, disc and bell barrows (Figure 3). Even a bowl barrow can show a variation in appearance by being ditched, ditchless or having an outer bank on the ditch. Saucer barrows feature a low, wide mound covering one or more burials, usually in a pit that is surrounded by a ditch that may be accompanied by an external bank (Ashbee 1960:27). Disc barrows tend to be small mounds separated from a ditch of much greater diameter. The ditch surrounding the barrow may be accompanied by an external or (occasionally) an internal bank. Bell barrows are an unusual form of barrow where the mound and ditch are separated from each other by a berm. Where a bell barrow also features a bank it is known by the compound term of a bell-disc barrow (Ashbee 1960:25).

As shown in Figure 3, round barrows vary in their exterior appearance greatly and the variation of internal construction can vary even more so (Burgess 1980:305) from simple heaps over 'flat' graves (which are almost impossible to detect archaeologically until excavated) to barrows that were successively modified over time to accommodate new

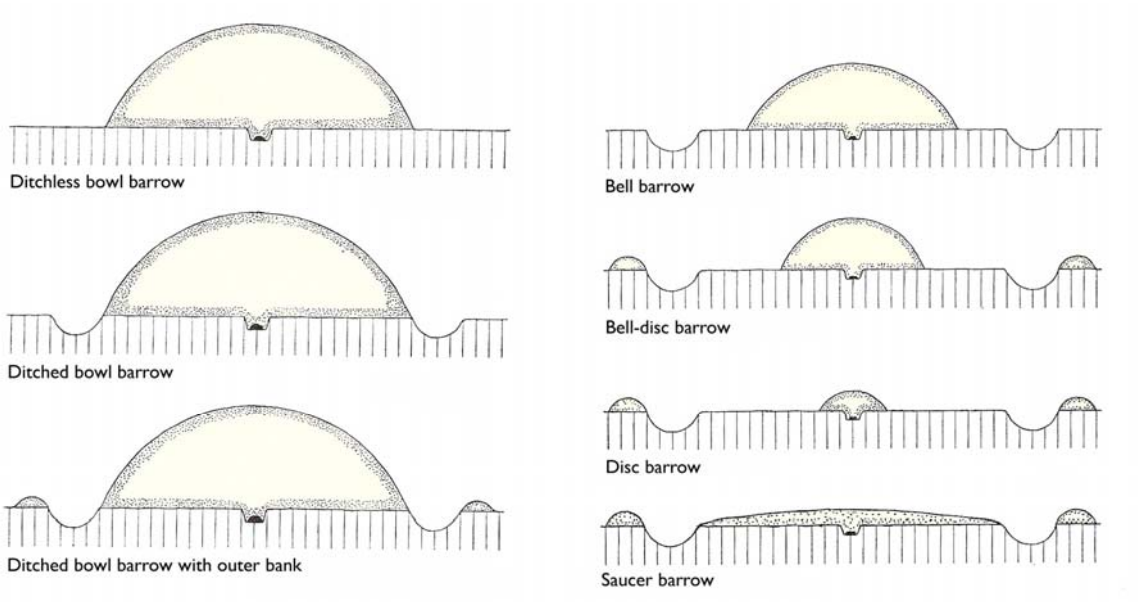

Figure 3: **Key forms of round barrow in the Wylye Valley (after Ashbee 1960)**

burials or innovative ceremonies (Burgess 1980:310). Some barrows appear to have undergone 'open periods' where grave pits were left unfilled after an interment was made, whereas others appear to have had pits or even barrows 're-cut' to insert further contemporary or later burials. Cist graves are present within the Wylye Valley, which was a popular form of burial in Ireland and northern Britain (Burgess 1980:312)

During the first half of the second millennium BC the richly furnished graves known as Wessex Series burials begin to appear. Wessex Series was a phrase developed from Stuart Piggott's attempts to describe a small proportion of the graves dating to the Early Bronze Age containing a higher frequency of valuable items (Burgess 1980:99). Today these grave deposits are interpreted with reference to '*processes of indigenous social change*' (Barrett 1990:180), rather than being perceived as an intrusive aristocratic minority being represented by the wide range of burial goods represented. These Wessex graves are now explained as almost an attempt to be eye-catching by the native elite who were concerned with how their own individual status would be remembered (Barrett 1990:181). This form of social display seems to have its roots in the rise of single grave traditions that are characterised by Beaker graves in the Late Neolithic (Barrett 1990:181).

Using dagger typologies, it appears that there were two successive phases of Wessex Series burials – Early Dagger Graves or Wessex I and Late Dagger Graves (known as Wessex II) (Lawson 2007:219). Typically Wessex I graves may contain either cremations or inhumations whereas Wessex II almost entirely contain cremation (Woodward 2000:103). Early Dagger Graves are typified by rich grave goods such as gold work and pendants and a lack of large urns and are generally considered to date between 2000 and 1750 BC (Lawson 2007:220). The wealth of such early grave assemblages may have been related to the arrangement of the funeral rites (Barrett 1990:184).

After 1750 BC Wessex II graves are dominated by cremations. Collared Urns, already well established by this date (Figure 2) are used to collect the cremated remains in many cases Lawson 2007:230). Cremation urns are rare in the Wessex II deposits (Barrett 1990:184), and daggers, bronze pins and beads rose in frequency along with the inclusion of bone tweezers (Woodward 2000:103). In many cases the ashes of the individual appear to have been deposited adjacent to the funeral pyre, and in some cases are buried beneath a single barrow mound (Ashbee 1960: 20).

It is easy to imagine that every barrow in the region contained a wealth of grave goods yet the majority of barrows that covered graves dating to the Wessex Series or Beaker rites cover cremations placed in small pits (Lawson 2007:238). This means that, with regard to this study it is important to define how 'rich' each grave is (in addition to its date where possible). With regards to the 'wealth' of Wessex Series graves, Exon *et al* (2000) used a simple but very effective system to classify each barrow that contained a Wessex grave according to the number of objects that it contained (Exon *et al* 2000:80-81), as reproduced in Figure 4. Each type of object associated with the interment is counted as one in terms of material (i.e. if a single item is made of more than one material it would be counted more than once) and the graves are grouped into three categories: one to two items is a 'Standard' Wessex grave, three to five items is a 'Rich' Wessex grave and a grave with six or more items would be considered a 'Wealthy' Wessex grave (Exon *et al*: 2000:81). This methodology has been utilised for Wessex Series graves encountered in the Wylye Valley study area.

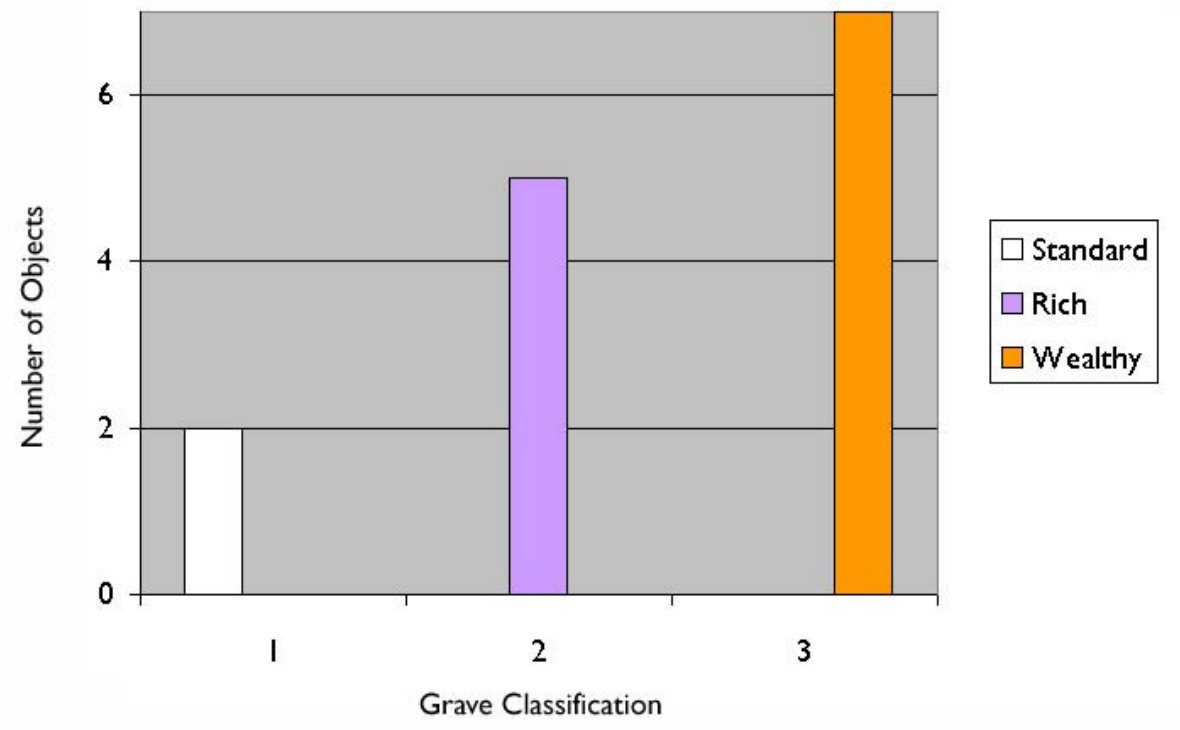

Figure 4: **Classification of the 'wealth' of Wessex Series graves according to the number of objects present (after Exon *et al* 2000)**

1.3 Archaeological and Historical Background of the Study Area

The Wylye Valley lies within the county of Wilshire in the south of England. Wiltshire is well known for its prehistoric landscape dating from as far back as the Mesolithic. The most complete and extensive survival of chalk downland archaeological remains in central southern England occurs on Salisbury Plain to the north of the study area with a number of the barrows included in the study being preserved on Ministry of Defence land. Salisbury Plain has been used by the British Army for training purposes and some arable farming since the land was first purchased for military training in 1897 and its primary use for military purposes has allowed the area to be largely unaffected by man during the past 110 years (McOrmish, Field & Brown 2002:2).

With fascinating monuments such as Stonehenge and Avebury visible in the county it is easy to understand why scholars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sought to visit and attempt to interpret the ancient remains of Wiltshire (Darvill 2006:41). This focus on

the history of the area around Stonehenge (including the Wylye Valley) led to the excavation of the barrows that were visible in the vicinity by a number of antiquarians, none more famous than William Cunnington and Sir Richard Colt Hoare.

Colt Hoare is perhaps the better known of the pair as he was a man of wealth whose fortune was able to fund the publication of *The Ancient History of Wiltshire* whereas Cunnington was a tradesman who helped to plan and collect material for the manuscript (Cunnington 1975:1). In all Colt Hoare and Cunnington opened no less than 465 barrows in Wiltshire (Colt Hoare 1975:xiv). It is unclear what first motivated William Cunnington (1754-1810) to excavate barrows other than that his poor health demanded outdoor pursuits (Annable and Simpson 1964:1). Cunnington's methods of excavating the barrows he investigated were, by modern standards, crude. In most cases a shaft was sunk from the centre of the mound to the base, or a trench was cut from the perimeter to its centre (Colt Hoare 1975:14). It is important to remember that standards of archaeological excavation are still improving to this day and that Cunnington and Colt Hoare's methods achieved the results that they set out to achieve, which at first was little more than to satisfy Cunnington's curiosity (Cunnington 1975:xv).

Richard Colt Hoare (1758-1838) became involved in the excavation of barrows as a patron to Cunnington, paying labourer's expenses (Cunnington 1975:47). When it came to writing the account of the excavations, Colt Hoare usually made it clear which barrows Cunnington had opened before he became involved. From 1804 onwards Colt Hoare used inclusive pronouns to describe the excavations yet often was not present and was merely informed of the results via letter (Cunnington 1975:53)

Colt Hoare appears to have modelled *The Ancient History of Wiltshire* on the report produced by Reverend Bryan Fausset and James Douglas on the barrow cemeteries of Kent

(Cunnington 1975:xiii) yet the work conducted by Colt Hoare Cunnington investigated far older remains over a larger area, making it the earliest example of a regional archaeological survey.

When attempting to interpret the finds that they discovered, both Cunnington and Colt Hoare were held back by the problem of dating the monuments they excavated. Bound to the biblical chronology of the day they were limited to the period between 500 and 100 BC (Colt Hoare 1975:15). Although Colt Hoare's workmen spent little time recording the structural details of the barrows they excavated, he himself was aware of relative chronology and made an effort to classify the barrows that he excavated. The work of Colt Hoare and Cunnington inspired others to investigate Wiltshire and the Wylye Valley, for example aerial photography (as a method of detecting monuments) initially focussed on the area. Archaeologists such as Paul Ashbee and Faith Vatcher contributed to archaeology's understanding of chalkland landscapes such as the Wylye Valley. Many of the reports for these investigations appeared in journals such as the *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* and have been consulted for this thesis.

The most comprehensive study of round barrows in Wylye Valley (and Wiltshire) was undertaken by Leslie Grinsell (1907-95), an amateur archaeologist who helped to shape field archaeology in Britain after the Second World War. In addition to his regional and national overviews Grinsell recorded and classified more or less all of the barrows in Southern England; during his career over 10,000 barrows were recorded (Woodward 2000:14). Grinsell produced the magisterial gazetteer volume of the *Victoria County History of Wiltshire* that was used extensively for the research of this thesis. This collection of monument information for the Victoria County History of Wiltshire identifies fourteen

different categories of barrow which serves to indicate the diversity of monuments in the county (Grinsell 1957:136).

Following the Second World War, the expansion of cultivated land and alterations to the road network led to the destruction of many earthworks in Wiltshire (primarily round barrows) and in turn resulted in 'rescue excavations' to record what was being destroyed. Once again, many of the interim reports for such sites have appeared in *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*.

1.4 Geology and Topography of the Study Area

The Wylye Valley is defined by its river, the Wylye, which is a tributary of the River Avon rising southwest of Warminster. The river flows in an easterly direction and meets the River Nadder (at Wilton), which in turn runs into the River Avon near Salisbury (Figure 5).

The valley lies in the southeast of the county of Wiltshire (itself named indirectly after the River Wylye). The former county town of Wilton gained its name from its location on the river and the town remained the administrative centre of Wiltshire until the 11th century.

Geologically, Wiltshire is characteristic of the lowlands of southeast England (Grinsell 1957:1). Most of the county, and indeed the Wylye Valley, stands on a system of chalk that runs diagonally across England from Devon in the south to Yorkshire in the north. The chalk of the Wylye Valley is characterised by its distinctive composition of clay with flints. Flint is formed as discontinuous layers within chalk and was exploited by the people of the area during the prehistoric era to make tools (Lawson 2007:4). Between the areas of chalk and limestone downland are clay valleys and vales. The clay element of this terrain allowed heavy soils to develop which were well suited to woodland in prehistoric times. Marked

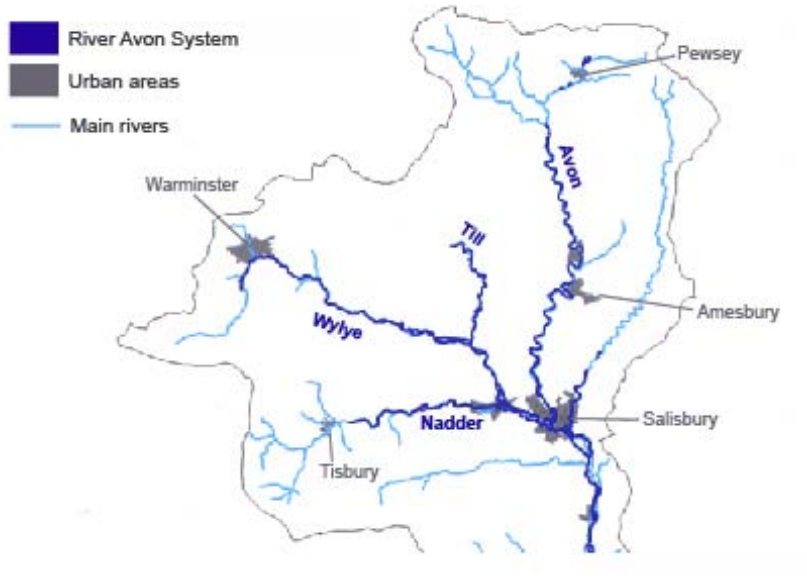

Figure 5: **River systems and settlements related to the Wylye Valley**

scarp slopes typify downland formations with one very steep slope on one side and a shallower dip slope on the other.

1.5 Research Objectives

As stated in Section 1.1, the principal aim of this thesis is to analyse the significance of funerary practices and monuments in the Wylye Valley and its surrounding area. The basic aim of the thesis is to explore the spatial relationships between the monuments and the Wylye Valley landscape in a digital environment with an aim to determine the reasoning behind the placement of the barrows (and on a larger scale the funerary complexes they form) over time. This will be undertaken with the following research objectives in mind:

1. **Produce a dynamic dataset for relevant and accurate information associated with the monuments of the study area by:**
    a) **Assessing the potential for more detailed investigation on individual monuments.** The potential of further spatial analysis and additional investigation

into the chronological development of each burial will be considered initially to make sure that the data will be detailed enough for the analytical and interpretive work to be conducted for the study. This will involve checking the accuracy of the SMR data in relation to excavation reports and the location of remains on the ground.

b) Creating a visual database of the information collated for the funerary monuments in the Wylye Valley. Information on each barrow within the study area will be input into a database and linked to a Geographical Information System. The design and implementation of both the database and GIS will be based on consideration of related work that has been conducted previously and with the research aims of the investigation in mind.

2. Use current interpretive frameworks to reanalyse the original explanations of the findings of previous excavations. Due to the age of much of the primary excavation data relating to the Wylye Valley (see Section 1.3) it is almost certain that further analysis of the original findings of excavators such as Colt Hoare using modern interpretative frameworks will allow further or more detailed interpretation of the data. Using a variety of different techniques it is hoped that new interpretations can be drawn and used to form a better understanding of the funerary practices of the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in the Wylye Valley, especially when compared to areas such as Salisbury Plain and the Avon Valley.

3. Consider the chronological development of 'cemeteries' within the Wylye Valley area internally and in relation to one another. Using up-to-date artefact sequences and chronologies to reassess the antiquated barrow data for the Wylye Valley it is hoped that it will be possible to comment on the development of the round barrow

groups during the Bronze Age. Where this is not achievable due to a lack of dateable information, it may be possible to indicate where further work should be targeted to increase the understanding of the sequence of construction of the funerary monuments of the area.

4. **Look for spatial patterns and attempt to interpret why funerary monuments were built where they were within the landscape.** A locational analysis of the barrows and cemeteries within the study area will be conducted. The siting of monuments will be analysed looking at the terrain and topography of the valley. This will be carried out using the GIS and any patterns observed in the chronological development of the study area. It is hoped that it will be possible to choose some key examples with a clear chronology to study in depth.
5. **Assess the meaning of the Wylye Valley in a larger geographical setting.** Once an interpretation of the data for the study area has been produced, its meaning within the wider context of Wiltshire will be investigated. In particular, the location of the study area to the west of Stonehenge will be considered. The current interpretation of the Stonehenge landscape will be explored to examine whether it supports or contradicts the interpretation of the Wylye Valley landscape.

1.6 Methodology

These research aims will be dealt with in four further sections within the thesis, with accompanying appendices for the spatial and relational databases.

Section 2, (Data Collection and Related Work) will discuss the method of collection for the data used and provide some opening thoughts and ideas for the direction of further investigation. The form that the database will take to facilitate the collation and presentation

of the information will be expanded upon with reference to the rationale behind the arrangement of the data and the construction of the database and geographical information system. Examples of related and similar work will also be considered in relation to the specific research questions that can be answered and the assumptions that can be made about the evidence based on previous studies.

Section 3 (Data and Analysis) will examine each of the barrows within the study area in turn for evidence of sequences and patterns by investigating previous archaeological work and the research of other archaeologists. The inspection of the data and reports relating to the barrows and the subsequent observations will draw on the analytical techniques discussed in the previous section and the statistical modelling capabilities of the spatial and relational databases.

The Interpretation (**Section 4**) aims to infer some meaning from the observed sequences and patterns in relation to the specific research questions and the assumptions made about the evidence based on previous studies. Here the influential ideas of authors such as John Barrett, Joanna Brück, David Field, Koji Mizoguchi etc will be assessed critically in relation to the sequences and patterns observed in the Wylye Valley. An explanation of the significance of the funerary practices and monuments in the study area will then be created.

The final section is the Conclusion (**Section 5**). Here a summary of results will be presented including the overall interpretation of the findings from Sections 3 and 4 with a review of the key outcomes of the thesis with reference to the research objectives discussed above. Along with a discussion of the problems encountered, suggestions for further work will be made.

2. Data Collection and Related Work

2.1 Data collection, methodology and initial reflections

Due to the large amount of data to be examined, the information on each barrow has been catalogued and input into a database and linked to a Geographic Information System (GIS) for spatial analysis. The initial source for information on the round barrows in the area was the Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) situated in the Archaeology Office, Trowbridge. The SMR contains a summary of all the known sites and finds for the Wylye Valley region. It includes references to the location of finds in local museums and other sources held in the same department. This includes census-year vertical aerial photography from 1971 to 2001 for the county and a large collection of oblique aerial photos of specific archaeological sites. A SMR 'data dump' of all monuments classified as Circular Feature or Round Barrow was acquired, comprising individual records for each site within 8 5km by 5km grid squares. Due to the restrictions of length and time on this study it was decided to limit the study area to this area (Figure 6) though the Wylye Valley itself extends further to the west.

Each SMR record also lists the sources used to compile it, such as excavation reports and the volumes of *Victoria County History of Wiltshire* that were consulted (Grinsell 1957). The raw SMR data was input into a Microsoft Access relational database to aid an initial examination of the dataset. Three tables were created to store information regarding each of the barrows within the dataset – Data (relating to the barrows themselves), Finds (containing information on grave goods) and Graves (holding information on the burials). The shared field was the SMR Number, allowing the data in each of the tables to be linked (Figure 7).

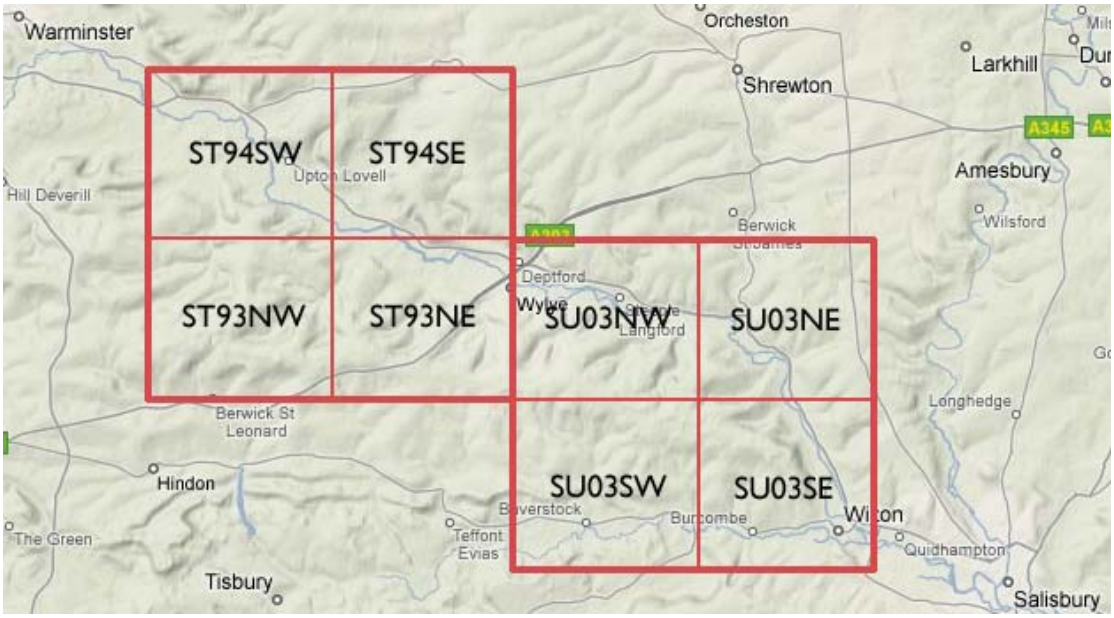

Figure 6: **Study area with OS grid references**

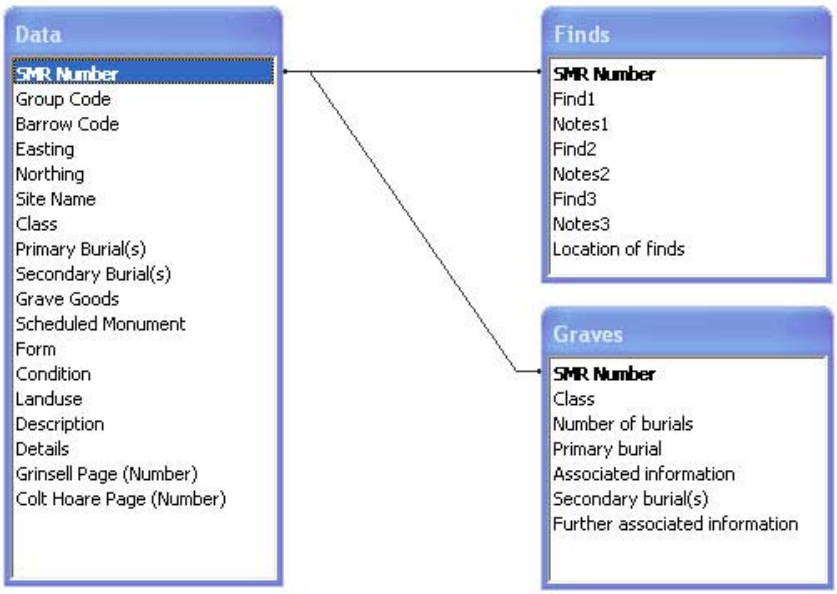

Figure 7: **Relationship diagram for Access database**

Preliminary reports were generated within Microsoft Access to gain an initial impression of the quality of the information gathered, for example how many barrows contained finds, etc. It was clear that the quantity and quality of information varied for each barrow but spatial data relating to the monuments was present for all but two barrows (later

labelled UB01 and UB02 or Unknown Barrow). The archaeological record for any area is known to be incomplete and this will always affect the results of any locational analysis of the distribution of sites and artefacts within a study area.

With an initial summary of each barrow created, it was then essential to return to primary sources such as Sir Richard Colt Hoare's work, *The Ancient History of Wiltshire*, aerial photography conducted in the area and more recent excavation reports to expand the information for each monument.

The information entered into the Access database was completed then linked to a Global Information System in ArcGIS (Version 9.2) via a series of queries, which were created in the Microsoft Access relational database and exported as .dbf files. This data formed a large part of the Data Entry for the GIS (see Figure 10) and was overlaid as points on a digital map of the area.

The map used for the purpose of overlaying the barrow data was the Ordnance Survey (or OS) 1:10,000 Scale Raster, a high resolution scanned image of the OS map downloaded from Edina Digimap (EDINA 2007). This resolution was very satisfactory for displaying the location of the monuments recorded. The topographical data used for producing the three-dimensional models of the landscape was created using OS Land-Form PROFILE, 1:10,000 contours and digital terrain model (or DTM) data that was also downloaded from Edina Digimap (EDINA 2007). The final version of the GIS can be found digitally on the attached CD-R as an interactive complement to the text in addition to the static images included in the Analysis and Interpretation sections that clarify the ideas and arguments put forward.

After an initial assessment of the Wylye Valley dataset in the created database and GIS it was clear that further investigation was likely to present a far clearer picture of the

'meaning' behind the monuments within the study area. The data on the excavated barrows within the study area had the potential for further spatial analysis as the position of the majority of the barrows was known and the SMR data appeared to be accurate. Investigation into the chronological development of both the funerary monuments and associated round barrow cemeteries also appeared to be possible with reinterpretation of original site accounts.

2.2 Global Information Systems

A Global Information System (or GIS) is most often used in an archaeological context as a data management tool or even as a methodology in itself (Chapman, 2006:9). Much of the data recovered by archaeologists is spatial in nature and a GIS is essentially a spatial database designed to allow the '*acquisition, manipulation, visualisation, management and display of spatially referenced (or geographic) data*' (Aldenderfer, 1996:4). This is undoubtedly true of the Wylye Valley dataset as much of the data amassed from the SMR and Victoria County History of Wiltshire is related to the position, size and composition of the barrows themselves.

Separate layers of data can be viewed together in a GIS due to the fact that each element within the spatial database shares a common coordinate system that is spatially referenced (Chapman, 2006:67) (Figure 8). The Ordnance Survey system used by Wiltshire County Council Archaeological Service required the alphabetical prefix used within the SMR records for each site to be converted to produce a 12-figure grid reference (accurate to one metre). For example ST93NE600 became 395150, 138490. The Projected Coordinate System for the spatial database was then set to British_National_Grid (Esri 2007) to ensure that all the data was overlaid using the correct coordinates (Wheatley and Gillings,

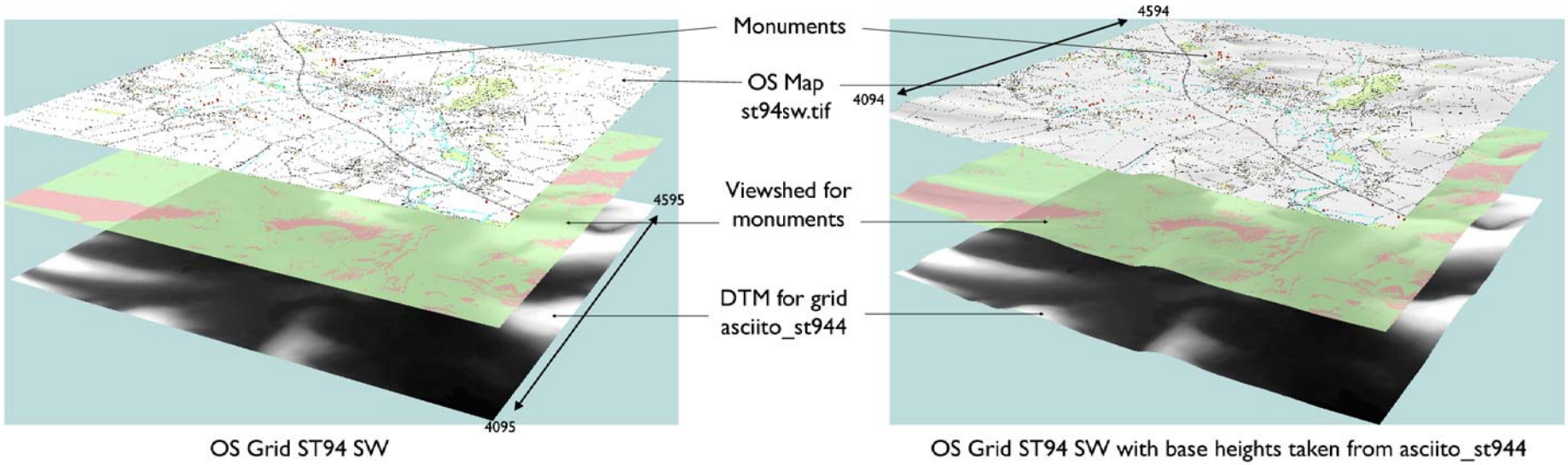

Figure 8: **Four separate spatially referenced layers supplied service.**

Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA

2002:32). Once this was completed, queries were generated to look at different sets of information within the relational database. These queries could be then be linked to the map of the study area to use in ArcGIS to analyse the data spatially. This was possible as they contained x (EASTING) and y (NORTHING) data that matched the National Grid coordinated specified for the map (Figure 9).

OID	SMR_NUMBER	GROUP_CODE	BARROW_COD	EASTING	NORTHING	SITE_NAME	Shape *
0	ST94SE686	WNW3	GB01	395010	140230	NW of Ashton Gifford	Point
1	ST94SW600	WNW1	MH04	390730	144730	Middle Hill	Point
2	ST94SW601	WNW1	MH03	390700	144750	Middle Hill	Point
3	ST94SW602	WNW1	MH02	390720	144780	Middle Hill	Point
4	ST94SW603	WNW1	MH01	390800	144920	Middle Hill	Point
5	ST94SW609	WNW2	T08	392570	141420	Heytesbury South Field	Point
6	ST94SW611	WNW4	KV01	393680	141300	S of Knook	Point
7	ST94SW612	WNW1	CH08	391790	143410	Chalk Quarries Group Cotley Hill	Point
8	ST94SW613	WNW1	CH07	391810	143400	Chalk Quarries Group Cotley Hill	Point
9	ST94SW614	WNW1	CH09	391720	143330	Chalk Quarries Group Cotley Hill	Point
10	ST94SW615	WNW1	CH05	391660	143450	Chalk Quarries Group Cotley Hill	Point

Figure 9: **Monument information in GIS with spatial information**

Archaeologists have utilised the spatial element of the archaeological record as far back as the eighteenth century in locating excavations and finds through the use of maps and plans. One of the pioneers of careful mapping was General Pitt-Rivers and his work at the Roman earthwork known as Bokerley Dyke (to the south of the Wylye Valley in Dorset) is a notable early example of the plotting of artefacts and features in three-dimensions (Wheatley and Gillings, 2002:3).

Pitt-Rivers' technique (and others based on cartographic analysis) can now be easily and quickly addressed using a GIS and further, more complex investigation can be performed using the mathematical functions, which is particularly important in modern archaeological research. It is important to go beyond an empirical approach of simply identifying and describing features within the landscape (as Colt Hoare and Grinsell did with their studies of Wiltshire) and explore the meaning behind the information presented (Exon *et al*: 2000:10). It is no longer sufficient simply to identify patterns and alignments

within a landscape without explaining why such arrangements exist. The rationalization as to why such a grouping exists is required to gain a fuller understanding of the past (Wheatley and Gillings, 2002:6).

2.3 The spatial database and analytical methods

The GIS created with the dataset was first used to produce a distribution map of the barrows within the study area, with separate layers relating to different information about each monument being created for the initial analysis. The majority of spatial archaeological data in the twentieth century was tabulated and plotted by hand and the formation of interpretive frameworks from these was restricted to looking for trends visually (Wheatley and Gillings, 2002:6). Distribution maps are no longer the sole piece of data upon which interpretations are based. The use of technology such as GIS within archaeology has enabled distribution maps to become the foundation upon which further analyses are based (Wheatley and Gillings, 2002:7). The use of a GIS allows the distribution of finds and burial types to be formed and analysed far more quickly and precisely.

Intervisibility and viewsheds have become commonplace outputs from GIS analysis but such analysis has been criticised for their simplicity in 'explaining' the location of a feature in terms of purely mathematical reasoning (Chapman, 2006:101). Conversely, the phenomenological approach to the study of landscape has been questioned for its emphasis on observations of social space without using statistical analysis (Exon *et al*: 2000:10). A balance between archaeological information, social theory and spatial frameworks needs to be found to provide the fullest possible interpretation of the practices and monuments in the Bronze Age Wylye Valley funerary landscape. A well-designed GIS is a means of exploring and demonstrating such theoretical thoughts (Chapman, 2006:130). Figure 10

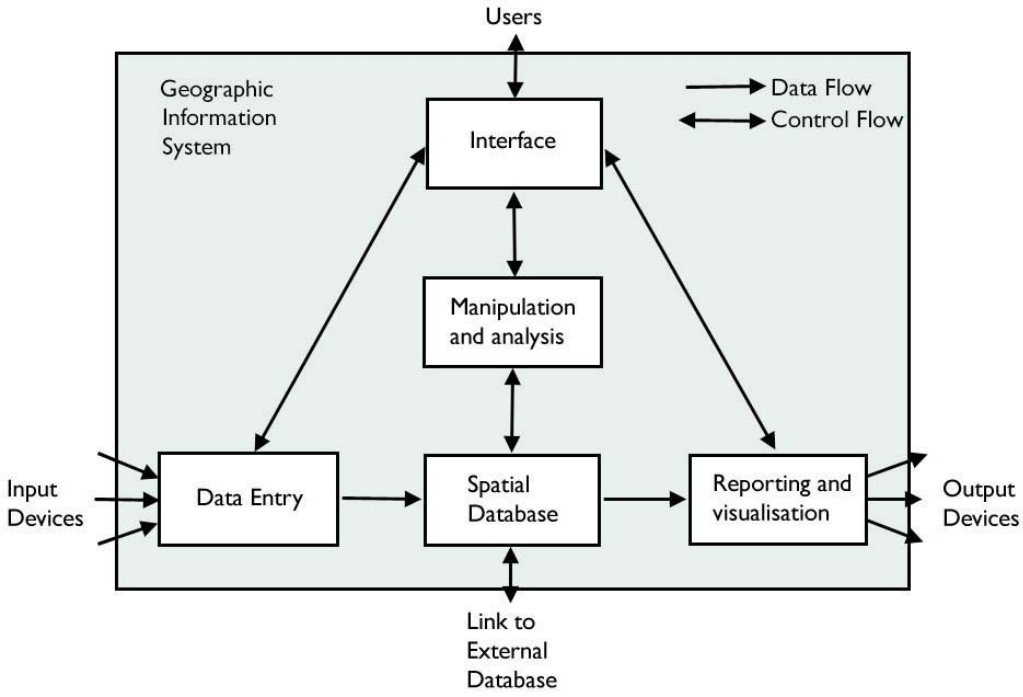

Figure 10: **The major elements of a GIS (after Wheatley and Gillings 2002)**

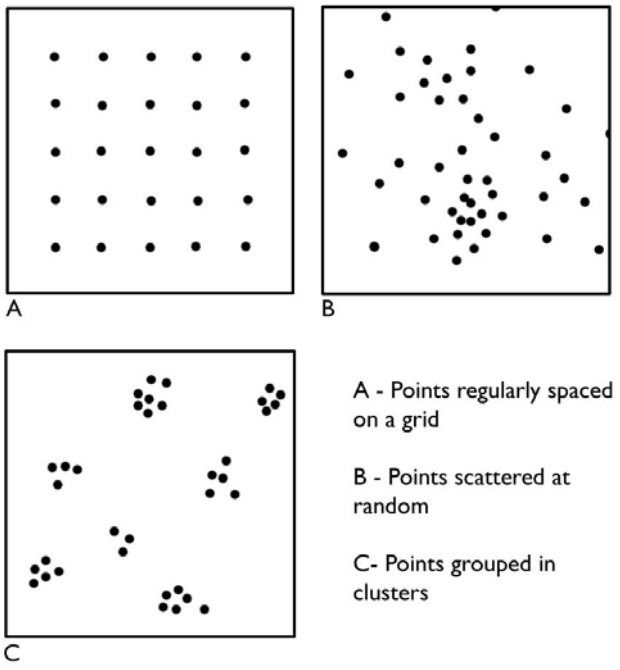

Figure 11: **Possible patterns of points on a map (after Hodder and Orton 1976)**

illustrates the flow of data with a GIS. The Wylye Valley GIS uses the same structure with data entry taking the form of queries from the Access database and cartographic sources from Digimap. The manipulation and analysis provides the stage where theoretical ideas can be tested such as spatial patterns and visibility studies.

When considering the study of spatial patterns with regard to monuments, point pattern analysis is an important analytical tool. The simpler methods of point pattern analysis (regular spaced, scattered at random or grouped in clusters) seen in Figure 11 are of particular use when studying the distribution of sites (Hodder and Orton 1976:32). It is an important point that numerous factors affect site survival and that the patterning of site distribution over large areas such as the Wylye Valley is likely to be the result of site erosion and destruction as the result of past activities (Hodder and Orton 1976:237). Three basic geometric forms can represent geographical data known as point, line and area. Point is the simplest way of representing geographical features (Wheatley and Gillings, 2002:34) and the most effective for defining round barrows. The only limitation is that the size of the point in the GIS that has been created is fixed. This will be discussed further in Section 5.1. This form of data is vector data and provides a flexible link with the external database (Figure 10). The maps on which the monument data is overlain are raster data. The characteristics of the two data formats are compared in the table below (Figure 12) and due to the fact that ArcMap can store both forms of data in the same spatial database, both forms of data have been utilised.

Vector	Raster
relatively low data volume	relatively high data volume
faster display	slower display
can also store attributes	has no attribute information
less pleasing to the eye	more pleasing to the eye
does not dictate how features should look in a GIS	inherently stores how features should look in a GIS

Figure 12: **Characteristics of vector and raster data (Ordnance Survey)**

In addition to investigating spatial patterns based upon point patterns, visibility analysis was also undertaken on the data. The level of visibility of single sites or the intervisibility of groups of sites is an important element of landscape archaeology (Wheatley and Gillings, 2002:201). The perception and interpretation of space as a social construct and the relationship of time and action have a direct influence over the analysis of visibility analysis (Exon *et al* 2000:8). The balance between simplification (and abstraction) and descriptive (and anecdotal) has shifted over the course of the last 30 years (Wheatley and Gillings, 2002:204) from the fixed points study of the 'territories' of Neolithic and Bronze Age Wessex of Renfrew in 1979 (in Wheatley and Gillings, 2002:203) to the observational study of the nature of space by Tilley in 1994 (Exon *et al* 2000:10). Neither method is without its limitations yet both provide interesting and insightful interpretations of the archaeological landscape.

Within the context of a GIS, visibility is analysed using a viewshed calculation. The calculation requires a Digital Elevation Model (DEM) and a layer with the location (or group of locations) you wish to establish the visibility from. In the Wylye Valley GIS these

took the form of queries relating to the position of barrows and barrow groups. For each viewshed calculation every cell in the raster image is interpolated between the location point or points and every other cell in the DEM and is returned as either positive 'Visible' or negative 'Not Visible'(Wheatley and Gillings, 2002:205). Figure 13 illustrates how the viewshed calculation is performed visually where the observer's height is *h* and *a* is the angle for visible grid cells.

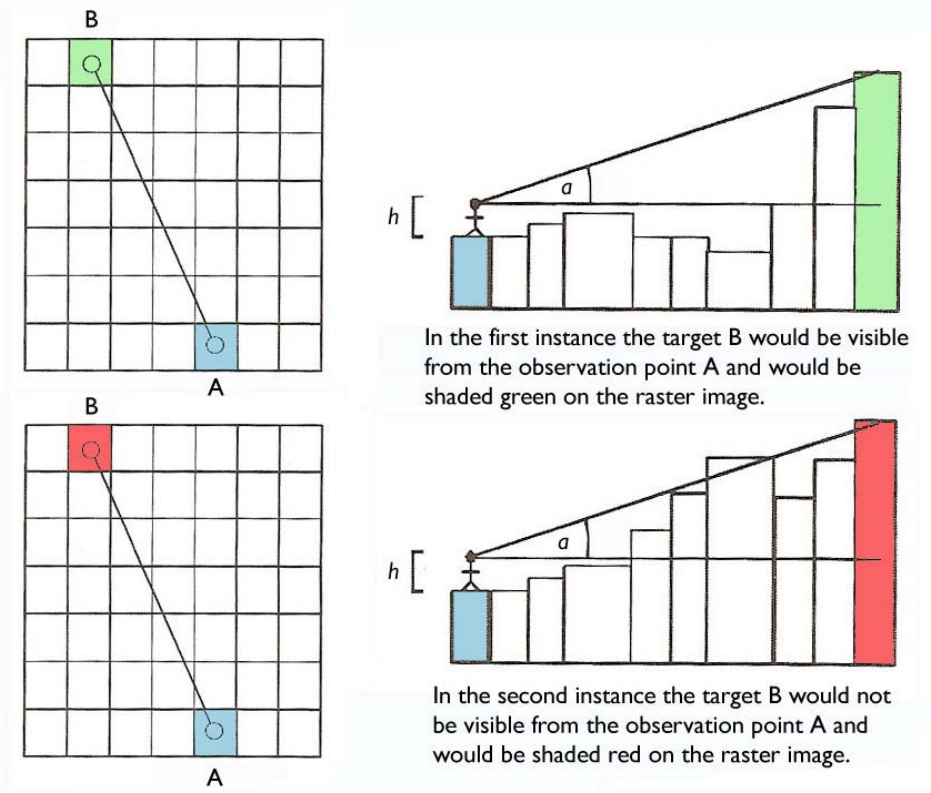

Figure 13**: Testing for intervisibility using viewshed analysis (after Wheatley and Gillings 2002)**

Whilst GIS-based analysis of visibility offers a dramatic methodological advancement from the paper-based mapping and observation of lines of sight available in the 1970s (Wheatley and Gillings 2000:2) there are limitations that must be acknowledged. The major criticism is the fact that visibility analyses produced using DEMs are based on the modern landscape. The obvious solution is the careful examination of the available palaeo-

environmental data for the study area. The 'denuded' DEM landscape can also be seen as a benefit as this topography results in modern vegetation being removed from the landscape in a way which physical observation cannot achieve in the field (Wheatley and Gillings 2000:6).

2.4 Related work in Britain

The aim of this study is to investigate the significance of funerary practices and monuments in and around the Wylye Valley to the west of Stonehenge. Many descriptions of the monuments across the chalkland of Wessex have been written, though not in recent years. The most appropriate is the work of Leslie Grinsell titled *The Archaeology of Wessex* (1958) that offered an excellent commentary on the monuments in chronological order but now suffers from some inaccuracies (due to the actions of agriculture on the monuments in the intervening fifty years) and monotony due to dealing with repetitive descriptions of similar monuments. Many works of synthesis have been produced which deal with specific areas of the chalkland, in a similar manner to this study of the Wylye Valley. For example *Landscape, Monuments and Society: The Prehistory of Cranborne Chase* by Barrett and Bradley (1991) whose study area of the chase covers the majority of the Wylye Valley and *The Field Archaeology of the Salisbury Plain Training Area* by McOmish *et al* 2002 which covers the area directly to the north of the study area. Where McOmish *et al* (2002) attempt to cover a time period from the Neolithic through to the creation of the military ranges on Salisbury Plain, Barrett and Bradley (1991) focus purely the time period from the end of the Mesolithic through the Iron Age. Neither study focuses on the Wylye Valley as a landscape unit and the lack of excavated data prevents detailed chronological understanding of the development of the prehistoric monuments discussed in most cases.

The location of the study area is very close to Stonehenge (within 20 kilometres) making the GIS work under taken by Exon *et al*. for *Stonehenge Landscapes* (2000) a significant related work to discuss with regards to the actual format and methodology of the thesis, if not the geographical content.

Stonehenge Landscapes was an archaeological project to analyse and interpret the spatial patterns of the monuments present within the area of Stonehenge in relation to the position of the major public monuments in the region using a GIS to explore the relationships between monument distribution and topographic variation (Exon *et al*: 2000:3). Unlike the Wylye Valley, the Stonehenge landscape has been the subject of various research projects in the past, many of which were interpretive (Darvill 1987, Richards 1990, Cleal *et al* 1995 etc).

Stonehenge Landscapes (2000) investigated changes in the landscape over a far longer period of time, ranging from the Mesolithic (c.8000 cal BC) through to the Early Bronze Age (c.1600 cal BC) and therefore had a wider range of research objectives to meet than this thesis that aims to investigate solely Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age monuments. The Stonehenge landscape also benefits from a good vegetation sequence allowing the use of palaeo-environmental data to reconstruct the vegetation patterns for the area over time (Exon *et al*: 2000:20).

Figure 14 is taken from Lawson's book *Chalkland: an archaeology of Stonehenge and its region* (2007), an archaeological perspective on Stonehenge's landscape and the wider chalkland it forms a part of. Focusing mainly on the prehistory of the Stonehenge area, Lawson aims to describe the archaeological evidence and provide a chronological description of the region. Although the Wylye Valley is not discussed directly, key sites such as Upton Lovell and Norton Bavant are discussed due to the importance of the finds

that were recovered. The diagram below (Figure 14) gives the distribution of all the barrows and ring ditches in central Southern England and the study area is highlighted in red to help draw attention to the concentration of monuments dating to the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in the Wylye Valley.

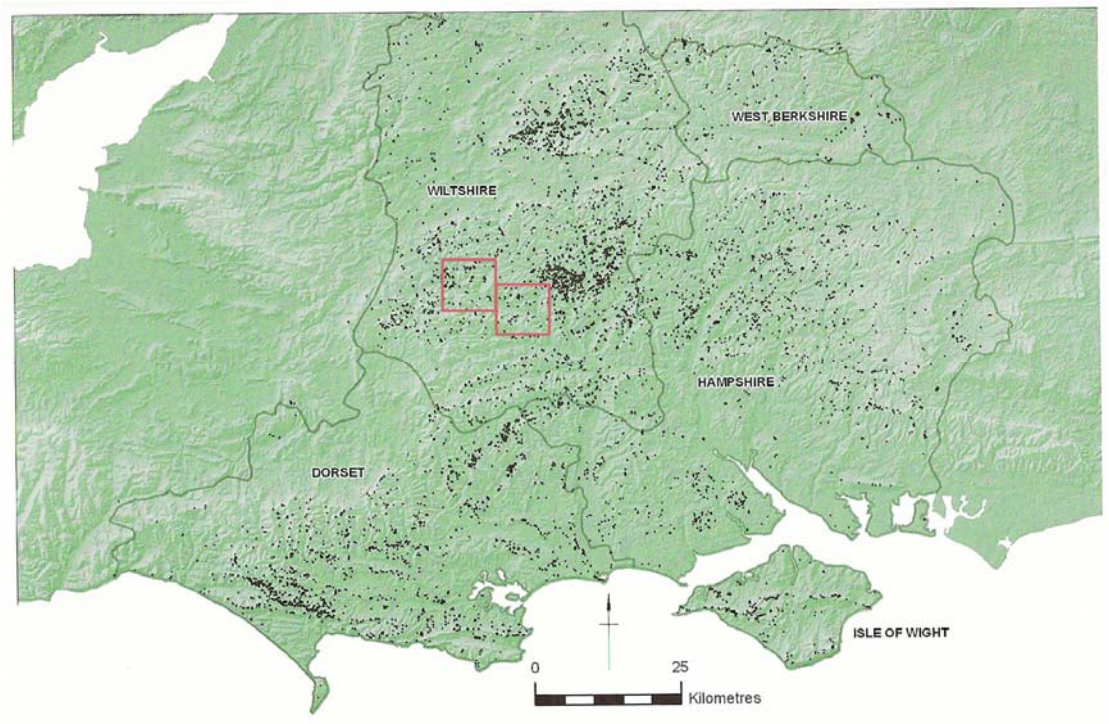

Figure 24: **Distribution of barrows and ring ditches in central Southern England (Lawson 2007)**

3. Data and Analysis

3.1 Arrangement of barrow data

In this analytical section the barrow data is predominantly discussed in terms of the 'cemetery' groups shown in Figure 15 (and discussed in more detail in Section 1.2). By using a 'cemetery' group to investigate each barrow in detail before looking at the cemetery groups in relation to the landscape (and other monuments) it is possible to avoid the replication of information in many cases. The overall order of the potential cemeteries in and surrounding the Wylye Valley was achieved subjectively through the systematic use of the conventional alphanumeric Ordnance Survey grid references as used at the start of each barrow's SMR number (Figure 6). For example *ST94SW* refers to the upper valley and contains 65 barrows, 4 clusters of barrow groups and 11 cemetery groups. The only exceptions to this system are where it was observed that a barrow cluster or cemetery appeared to overlap a modern grid square. In these cases the grid reference where the majority of the barrow group rested was chosen, for example The Knook Barrow Group.

3.2 Analysis of the barrow data in ST94SW

This area is the most northwesterly OS grid in the study area (Figure 6) and contains sixty-five of the possible barrows within the study area including thirty-two confirmed round barrows (twenty of which are scheduled monuments). To discuss the monuments situated in this part of the study area, the barrows (or potential barrows) have been split into four distinct clusters, as shown in Figure 16. This quadrate contains the highest proportion of barrows in the study area (37% of the overall total) and appears to include barrows both on the valley floor and escarpments.

<100m		100 – 150 m	200-400m	
Nucleated	**Linear**	**Dispersed**	**Area**	**Row**
** Nucleated with linear elements*	** Linear with nucleated elements*	** Linear or nucleated*	*(Barrows distributed in ones and twos)*	*(Separate linear elements)*

Figure 15: **Descriptions of the different forms of spatial patterns (after Woodward 2000)**

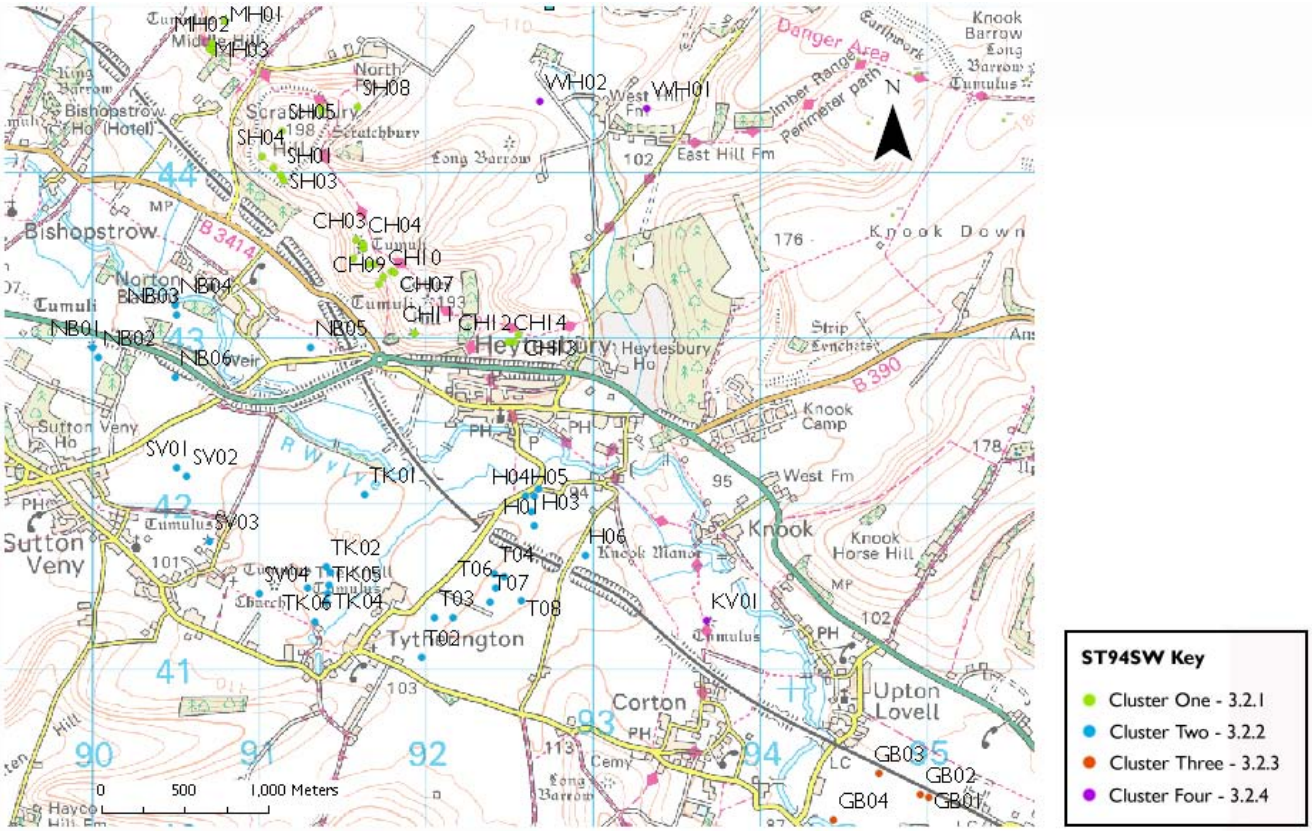

Figure 16: **The monuments of ST94SW Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.2.1.1Middle Hill (MH) Group

This group contains four barrows on the summit and southern slope of Middle Hill (Figure 17) on the northern scarp edge of the Wylye Valley. **MH01** (Middle Hill 01) was excavated by Colt Hoare in 1809 but the barrow was found to have been opened previously. He describes it as a '*large barrow*' on the summit of Middle Hill (Colt Hoare 1812:69). The

barrow is visually striking from a distance (see Figure 18) and was scheduled by English Heritage in 1965. Grinsell (1957:159) recorded that the barrow was covered in trees and indicated mutilation (confirming Colt Hoare's account). The English Heritage Record of Scheduled Monuments (EHRSM 10212:1990) records that the barrow is bowl in form and is presumed to have originally been circular. When the site of the barrow was visited in 2008 the barrow was oval in shape due to ploughing and the trees on the barrow that were mentioned by Grinsell were also still present (Figure 18).

MH02, MH03 and **MH04** originally lay on the slope of Middle Hill and are described in the VCH by Grinsell as destroyed (1957:159). Colt Hoare (1812:69) mentions opening two of these barrows and explains that they '*contained interments of burned bones*' (1812:69) indicating probably primary cremations. The SMR records for all three barrows list them as being opened by Colt Hoare which seems to be incorrect based on the

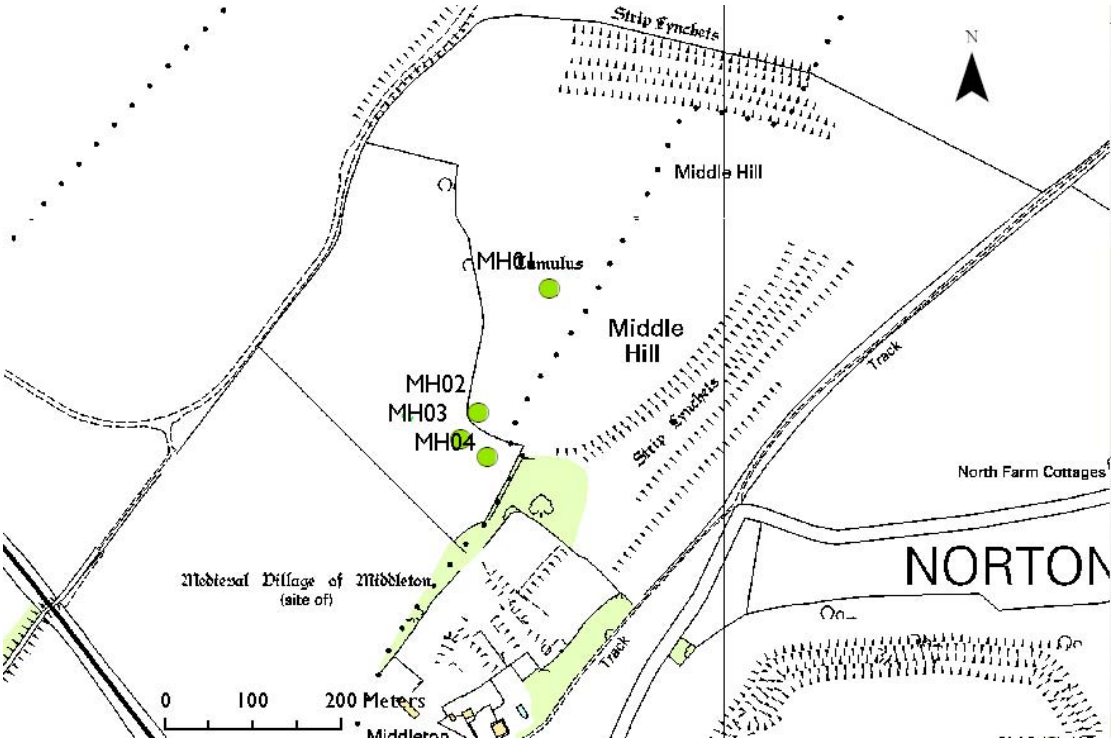

Figure 17: **Middle Hill Group** **Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

Figure 18: **MH01 seen from Scratchbury Hill**

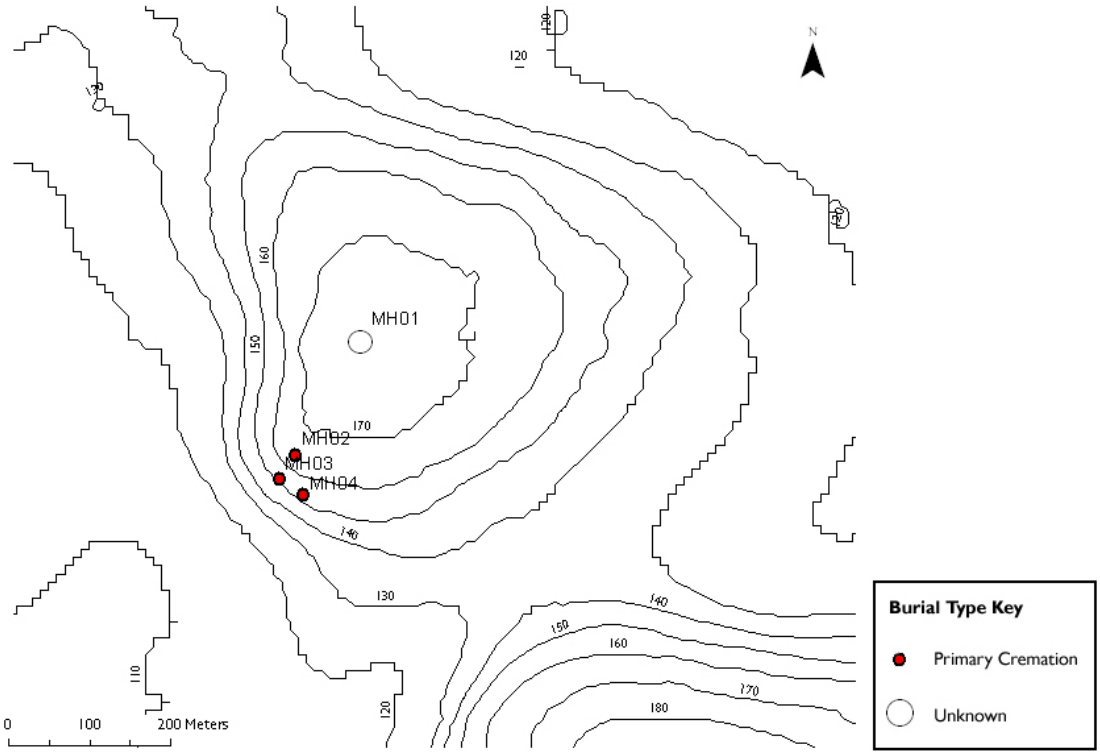

Figure 19: **Burial types present in Middle Hill group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

information above. The three destroyed barrows (MH02, MH03 and MH04) were all located by O.G.S. Crawford in his work *Air survey and archaeology* (1924) and this may have contributed to the error. As a barrow group the monuments appear to form a small linear cemetery (Figure 19). MH01 appears to have been larger than the other barrows in the cemetery (based on Colt Hoare's description) and lies on the summit of the hill and MH01 – MH02 –MH03 are aligned whilst MH03 – MH04 follow the contour of the hill. MH01 has inter-visibility with SH05 (see 3.2.1.2) but if intervisibility between the two cemeteries was intended, MH02 to 04 would have been better positioned on the eastern slope of Middle Hill. Only MH01 would have had a clear view of cemeteries to the east, such as the West Hill Pair (WH01 and 02) and Knook Barrow Group (KB01 to 10).

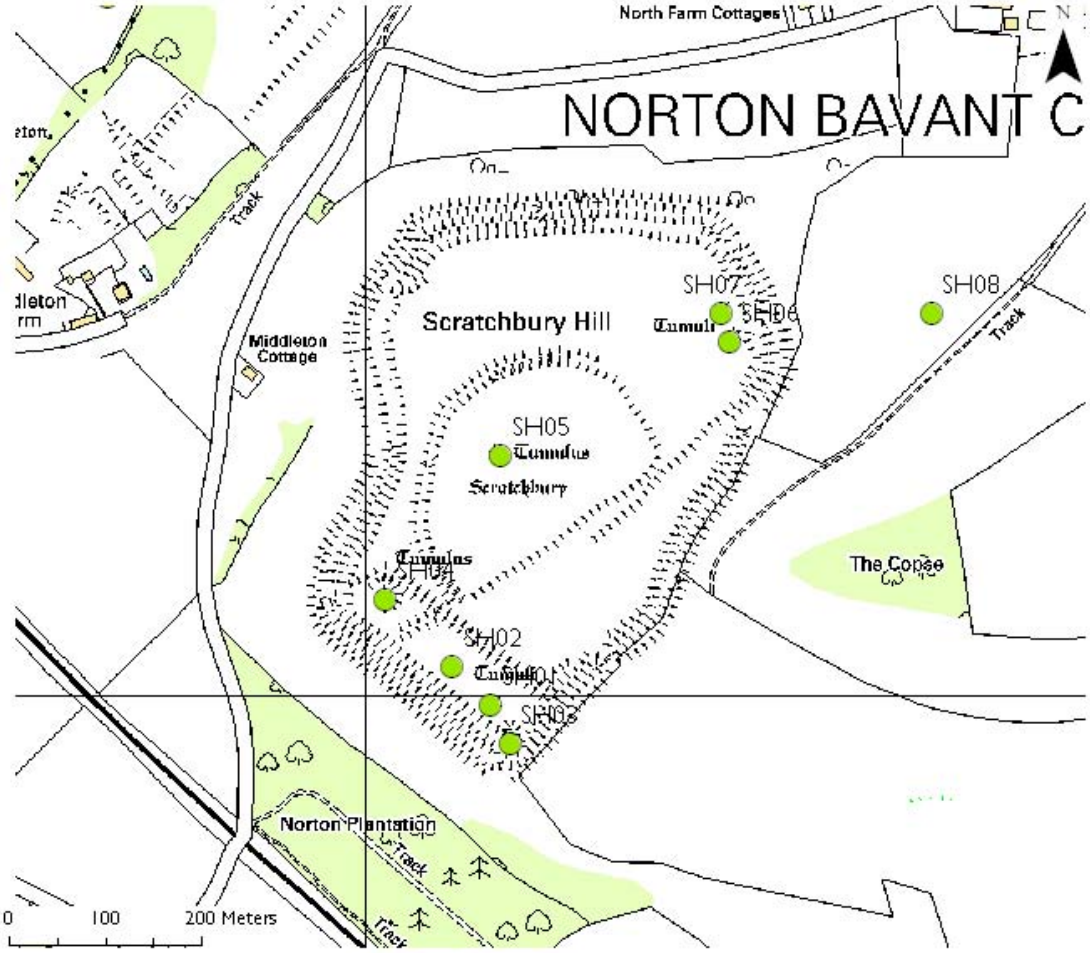

Figure 20: **Scratchbury Hill Group** **Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

Figure 19 also indicates that MH02 to 04 all appear to have contained primary cremations and are situated less than 50 metres apart.

3.2.1.2 Scratchbury Hill (SH) Group

The Scratchbury Hill Group lies within Scratchbury Hillfort (Figure 20), which spreads from the northern slope of the Wylye Valley to the scarp edge. Scratchbury is one of seven hillforts that are recorded within the Salisbury Plain Training Area by English Heritage (EHRSM 10213:1990) and dates to the Iron Age. **SH01** was an unproductive bowl barrow opened by Colt Hoare that survives at around 8 metres in diameter and 0.07 metres in height, making it one of the smallest barrows in Wiltshire (1957:185) (1812:70). **SH02** is an undated bowl barrow with '*a few burned bones at a considerable distance from the centre*' (Colt Hoare 1812:70) according to Colt Hoare. **SH03** is a bowl barrow which appears to have become buried on the edge of the of the Iron Age hillfort earthworks. Colt Hoare described the barrow as unproductive (1812:70).

SH04 is a large bowl barrow that was described by Colt Hoare as '*a very conspicuous object from the turnpike road below*' (1812:70). This is certainly still the case on approach from the B3414, situated as it is above the hillfort earthworks. Colt Hoare explains that much effort went into excavating SH04 and although no interment was found the finds associated with the barrow (wild boar's teeth, charcoal and burned stones) suggested that a cremation had been performed. **SH05** was in all probability a ditched saucer barrow originally located within Scratchbury Hillfort near its highest point. Partial excavation by Colt Hoare revealed a primary cremation and many associated items (Goddard 1913:296). **SH06** is a bowl barrow (Grinsell 1957:185) that featured a pit dug into the chalk beneath the mound that contained a cremation (Thomas 1954:313) and three bone objects. Figure 21

shows one of the bone plates (one has been lost) and the bone pin. The bone pin was probably worn in the hair whereas the plate appears to have been designed to attachment to another material (Thomas 1954:314).

Figure 21: **Two bone finds from SH06 (Thomas 1948)**

SH07 is a bowl barrow (Grinsell 1957:185) that was partially excavated by Colt Hoare who found it to be '*unproductive*' (1812:70). Slightly below the hillfort (to the north-east) lies **SH08**. This round mound was plotted in 1995 by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (now English Heritage) (RCHME 1995) and without further investigation appears to be another round barrow associated with the group.

The finds associated with the primary burial in SH05 are the tip of a small bronze dagger (probably a knife dagger which can be seen in Figure 22 [1]), a bronze pin with a disk head and ridged swelling (Figure 22 [2]), the bronze shank of a pin twisted like a screw (Figure 22 [3]), over 50 beads of amber and faience and a large amber ring (Moore and Rowlands 1972:49).

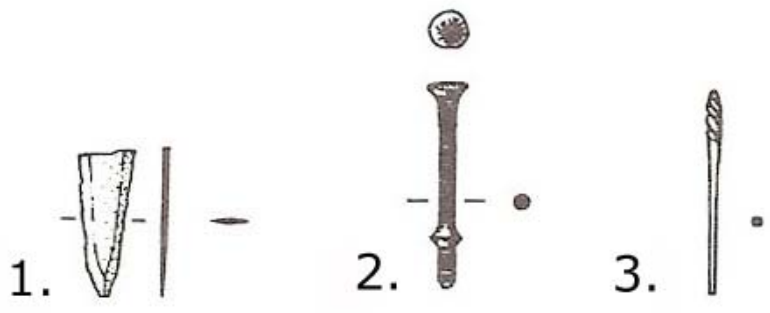

Figure 22: **Metal finds from SH05 (Moore and Rowlands 1972)**

This range of materials and large number of items represent a ‘rich Wessex grave’ based upon the classification of Exon *et al* (see 1.2). Exon *et al* (2000) found that the majority of Wessex graves in the Stonehenge survey area occurred most commonly in larger bowl barrows (Exon *et al* 2000:79) but SH05 was almost certainly a saucer barrow. It appears that the grave group was originally illustrated for *Ancient Wiltshire* but attempts to locate the drawing (referred to by Thurnam) have been unsuccessful (Moore and Rowlands 1972:49). The ribbed pin (Figures 22 and 23) has an incised criss-cross decoration on top and the ribbing appears to cease just before the break in the shank (Moore & Rowlands 1972: 50). The more fragmentary pin shank is of a similar date, showing parallels with Tumulus Culture pins found in Central Europe (Moore & Rowlands 1972: 50).

Figure 23**: Finds from SH05**

The Scratchbury Hill cemetery contains a high proportion of primary cremations in the barrows where remains were recovered (Figure 24). The occurrence of a non-central primary cremation in SH02 makes it less likely that the barrow group is early in date (Garwood 2007:40). A period of c.1800-1300 BC for the cemetery seems most likely. The

barrows SH01 to SH04 display a linear arrangement running gradually down the slope of Scratchbury Hill. A more dispersed linear arrangement runs northeast - southwest between SH08 and SH04. Looking from SH05 it is possible to see a large proportion of the barrows in the Cotley Hill group (Figure 25).

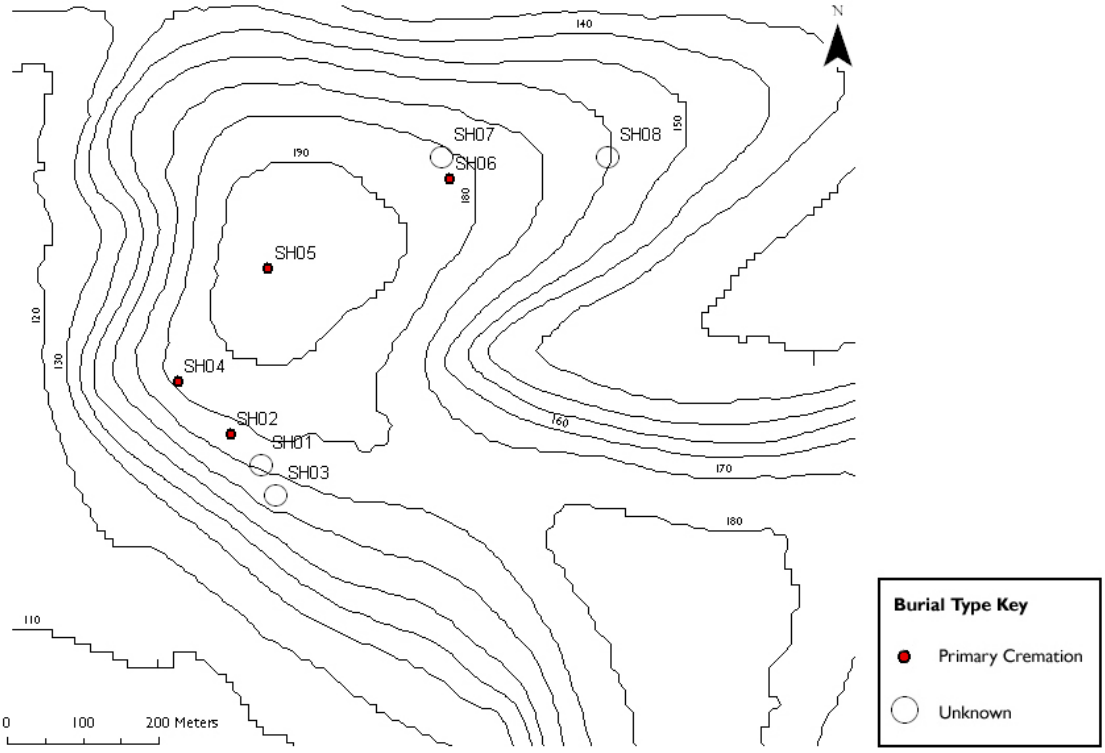

Figure 24: **Burial types present in Scratchbury Hill group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

Figure 25: **View towards Cotley Hill group from SH05**

3.2.1.3 Cotley Hill (CH) Group

This group of fourteen barrows (Figure 26) is situated on the slopes of Cotley Hill on the northern slope and scarp edge of the Wylye Valley. The barrows on the western slope of the hill were badly damaged in the nineteenth century and Colt Hoare summarised that there were '*several barrows of various sizes'* 1812:70) which produced '*no important discovery*' (1812:71).

On the western slope of Cotley Hill lies a group of six dispersed barrows (Goddard 1913:297) (EHRSM 10214:1990). Some of these barrows, opened by Cunnington contained '*interments of burned bones*' (Colt Hoare 1812:71) yet without further details regarding the finds within the barrows it is impossible to give more specific information. **CH01** is a bowl barrow with the slight trace of a ditch (EHRSM 10215:1990). Quarry dumping surrounds the barrow and Grinsell (1957:185) believed that it might be a chalk dump from an associated quarry. English Heritage scheduled the monument (along with a further six

barrows in the group) in 1990, indicating that the mound is most likely a barrow, especially as it is in line with associated barrows on the hill (CH05 and CH06). **CH02** is also a bowl barrow with indications of a ditch. Slightly larger, with an overall diameter of roughly 19 metres, the barrow appears to have been excavated, possibly by Cunnington (Colt Hoare 1812:71). **CH03** lies furthest to the north on the slopes of Cotley Hill and appears to have been partially excavated. It is almost certainly one of the barrows opened by Cunnington in the 19th century (Goddard 1917:400). **CH04** is a large bowl barrow (c. 22 metres diameter) with slight traces of a ditch that lies in close proximity to CH02 (30 metres) and CH03 (44 metres). **CH05** and **CH06** were situated close together (less than 30 metres from centre to centre based on cartographic analysis) on the western slope of the hill, close to the summit.

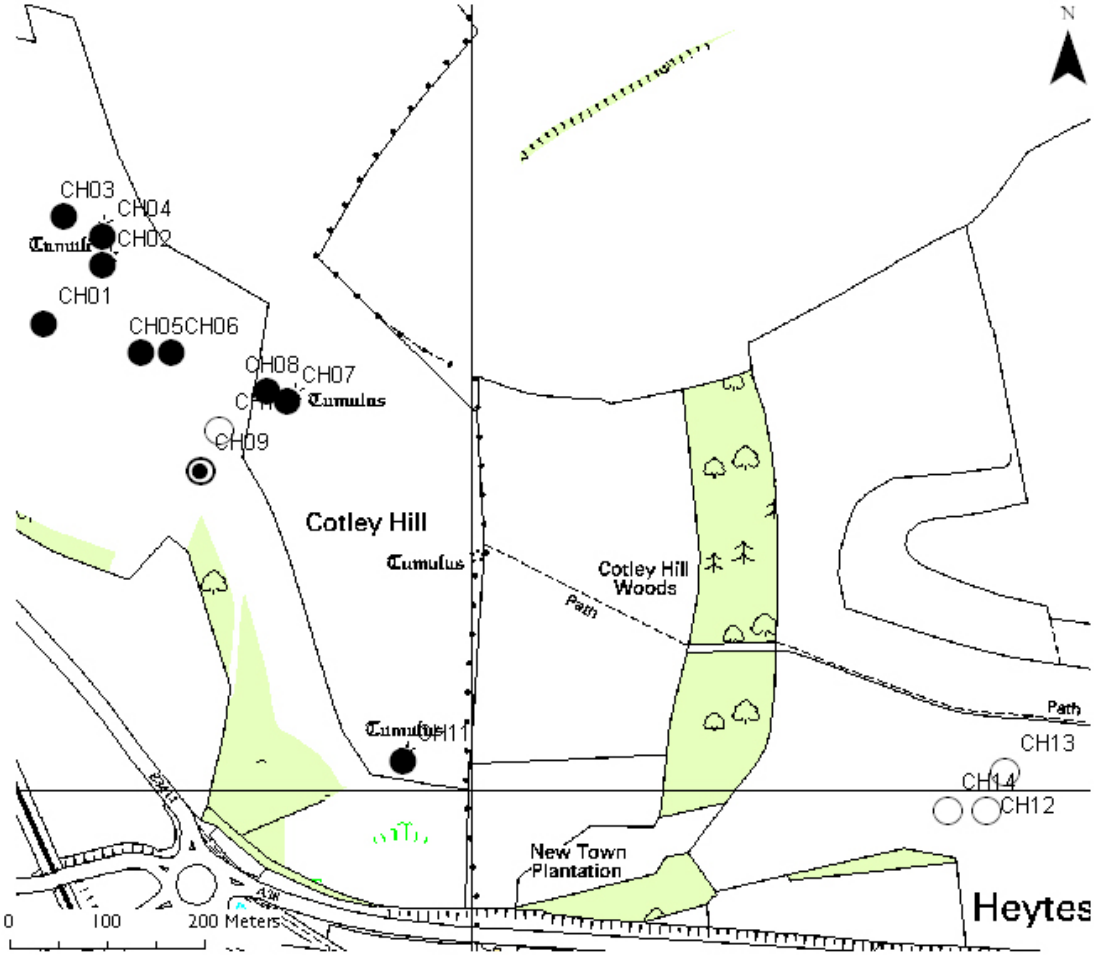

Figure 26: **Cotley Hill group** **Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

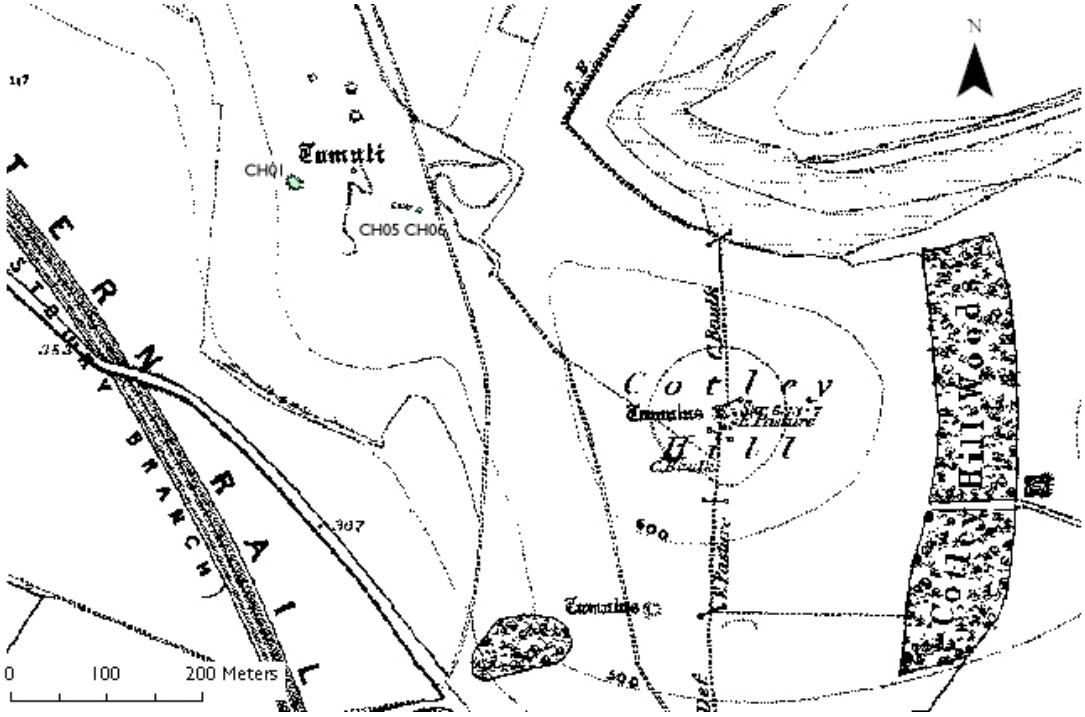

Figure 27: **Cotley Hill OS First Edition Map Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

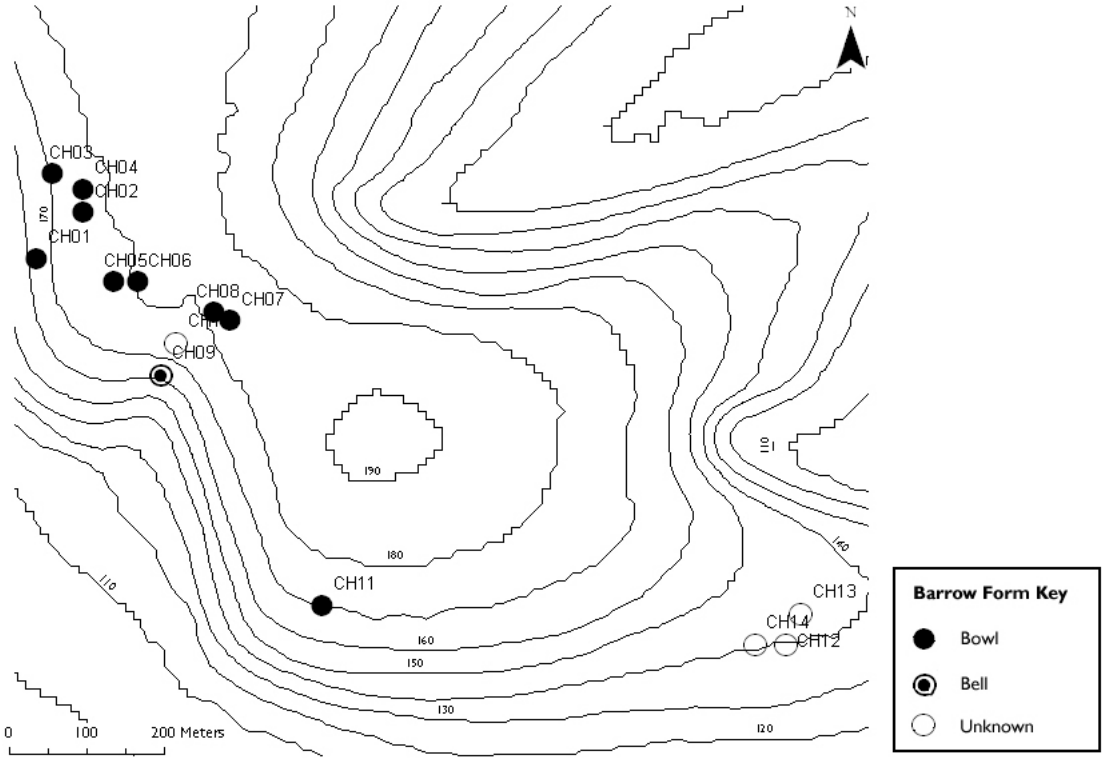

Figure 28: **Barrow forms present in Cotley Hill group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

They have been totally destroyed yet are visible on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey Map (Figure 27) in association with two further barrows not listed in the SMR (Grinsell 1957:185). All four round barrows are positioned in a straight line that may be associated with CH01 as a linear element in a nucleated barrow cemetery (Figure 28).

CH07 is an undated bowl barrow around 9.7 metres in diameter and 0.3 metres in height (Grinsell 1957:185) Based on its size, it is likely to be the barrow described in Colt Hoare's account which produced '*a large rude urn inverted, containing an interment of human bones very imperfectly burned*.' (Colt Hoare 1812:71). With this barrow identified, the cist containing a deposit of burned bones referred to in another '*small circular barrow about forty feet in diameter and two and a half feet in elevation*' (Colt Hoare 1812:71) has to be CH08. Cunnington in all probability excavated **CH08** in the 19th century. The barrow is bowl in form and is recorded as having had a flint platform (EHRSM 10219:1990). The barrow also contained a cremation around a metre to the south of its central point (Grinsell 1957:185). Further, it appears to be in line with barrows CH01, CH05, CH06 and CH07 spatially. **CH09** may have originally been a bell barrow that contained a primary cremation mixed with ashes in a cist with charred walls (Grinsell 1957:185). **CH10** is an undated ring ditch that lies between CH08 and CH09. Based on its close proximity to a number of round barrows within a nucleated barrow group, it is likely to be an unexcavated round barrow, forming a linear element with CH08 and CH09 (see Figure 28).

CH11 is a ditched bowl barrow on the southern slope of Cotley Hill. It shows signs of excavation via the central shaft method by an unknown antiquarian (Grinsell 1957:185). **CH12, CH13** and **CH14** are three undated ring ditches identified via aerial photography on the southeastern slope of Cotley Hill (1971:A10/220026). The features are lower than the

confirmed barrows in the area but have been included in the study, as their position on the valley side seems to fit with the pattern of barrow positioning observed elsewhere in the Wylye Valley.

There is a predominance of bowl barrows and cremation burials in the Cotley Hill cemetery. Unfortunately there is little dating evidence for the cemetery other than a '*large inverted urn*' (Grinsell 1957:185) that is neither illustrated nor available for study today.

3.2.2.1 Norton Bavant (NB) Group

The Norton Bavant group is an area cemetery located in the valley bottom with nucleated elements (Figure 29) such as NB01 and NB02 or NB03 and NB04. **NB01** is a

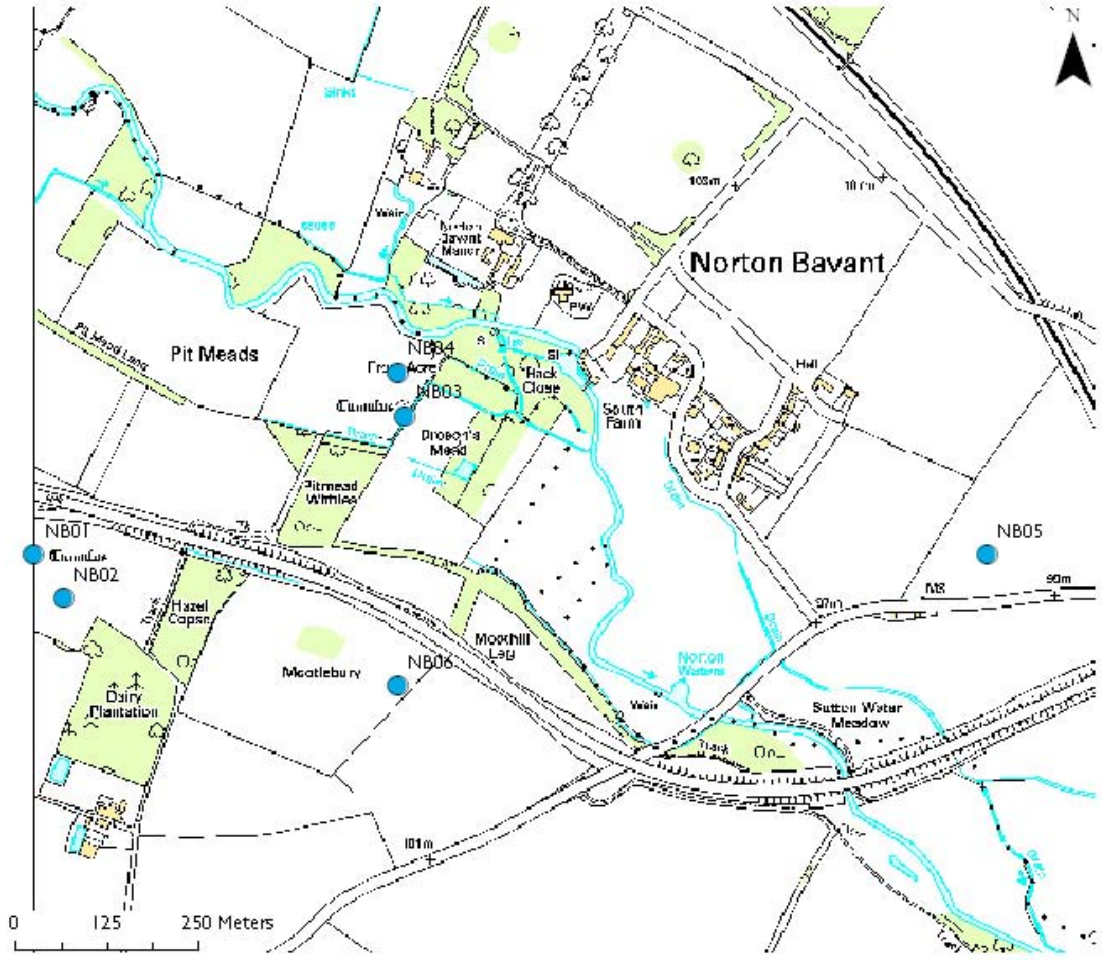

Figure 29: **Norton Bavant Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

damaged bowl barrow that Grinsell (1957) recorded was in the region of 22 metres in diameter and survived to around 1 metre in height (Figure 30). **NB02** is a ring ditch that lies to the southeast of NB01 that was plotted by the RCHME from an aerial photograph in 1995. The ring ditch is very close to the confirmed round barrow, making NB2 a probable ploughed out barrow. **NB03** and **NB04** are two bowl barrows that were opened in antiquity, possibly by Mrs Downs in 1787 (Grinsell 1957:192).

Figure 30: **NB01**

NB03 is a ditched bowl barrow (Figure 31) situated on the flood plain of the Wylye valley (EHRSM 34204:1990). A large urn (Grinsell 1957:192) of unbaked clay was found containing a cremation. NB04 is now a ploughed out barrow to the north of NB03 and was originally of a similar form with an additional cremation (Grinsell 1957:192).

NB05 is a circular feature to the north of Sutton Water Meadow close to the road. The site is visible from the Cotley Hill Group and is probably the ring ditch of a ploughed out round barrow. **NB06** is an excavated Early Bronze Age ditched barrow to the east of NB01 and NB02 and appears to be in a linear alignment with NB03 and NB04 also.

Figure 31: **NB03**

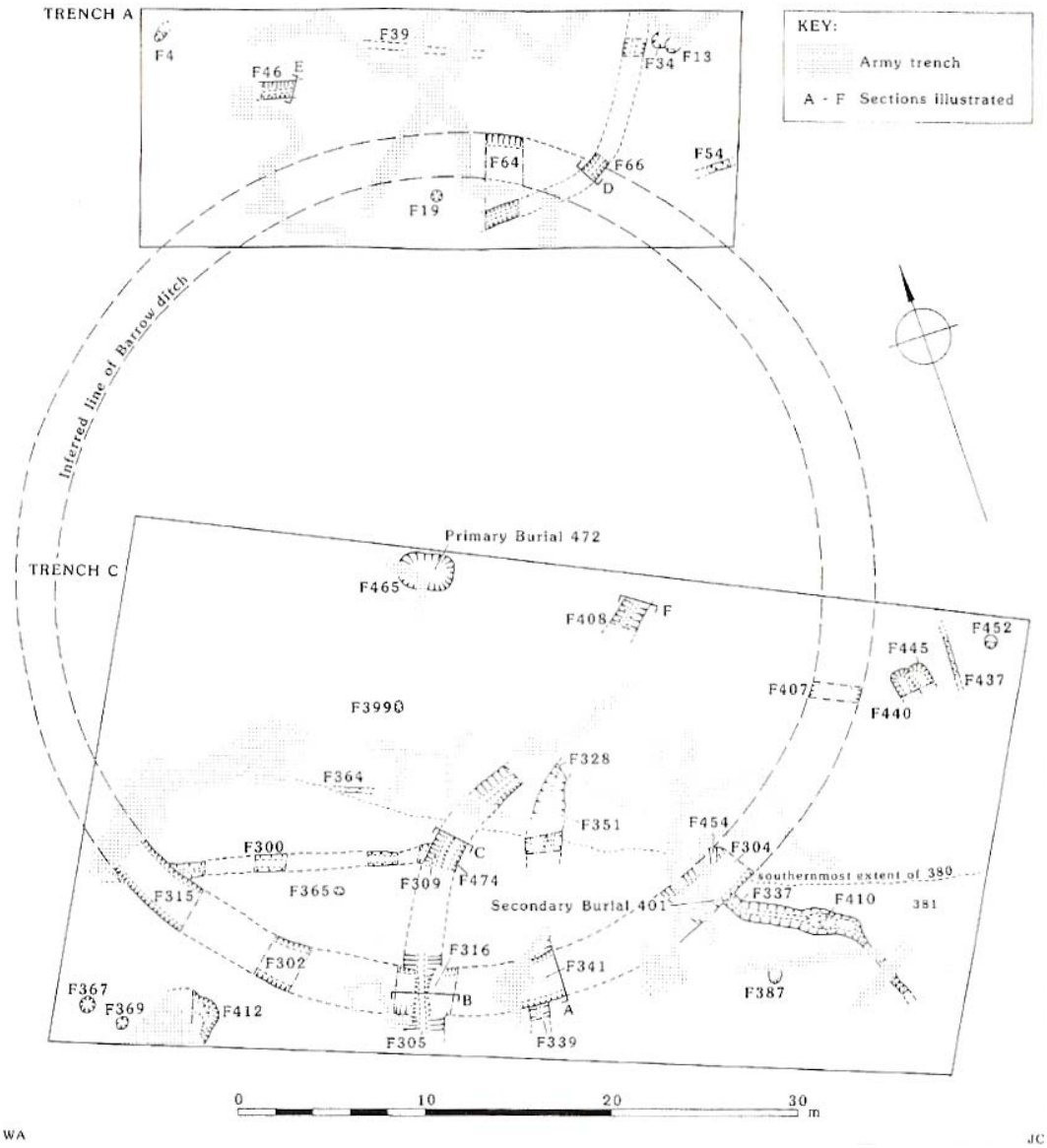

Figure 32: **NB06 Site plan with the excavated features from trenches A and C (Butterworth 1982)**

Wessex Archaeology excavated the barrow during the construction of the A36 Warminster by-pass during 1987 (Butterworth 1982:2) after being identified from crop marks present in aerial photographs. Figure 32 shows the location of the trenches cut to examine the barrow. There were four phases of activity on the site, the initial period dating to the Early Bronze Age (Butterworth 1982:9).

The original form of the barrow is not positively known due to its destruction in antiquity (Romano-British features cut the barrow area suggesting an absence of visible earthworks by this period) but the diameter suggests either a disc or bell barrow (around 47 metres) with the later more likely due to the presence of an almost complete primary inhumation in trench C (Figure 33), lacking feet and lower legs due to a later army trench. The flexed inhumation was lying on its right side facing southeast in a grave pit cut into the original land surface (Butterworth 1982:5). The examination of the human bone indicated that the inhumation was an elderly male (Butterworth 1982:17) who would have suffered from restrictive mobility prior to his death due to '*gross osteoarthritis*' (Butterworth 1982:18). This complaint implies that the male was both respected and supported by others within his social group (Butterworth 1982:8). A '*small, plain pottery vessel*' (Butterworth 1982:5) of a fabric associated with the pottery of Early Bronze Age burial groups (Butterworth 1982:14) had been placed in front of the burial and is shown in Figure 33 and 34 [6]. Pygmy cups such as this were prestige vessels and tended to be the only ceramic regularly included in Wessex Culture graves (Burgess 1980:97) though both Food Vessels and Collared Urns also occur. Further items placed behind the burial's head and shoulders indicate an Early Bronze Age date. These were a bronze dagger and knife dagger, a whetstone, bone needle (or perforated pin) and a belt hook. These items appear to have been held in some sort of wrapping (Butterworth 1982:5).

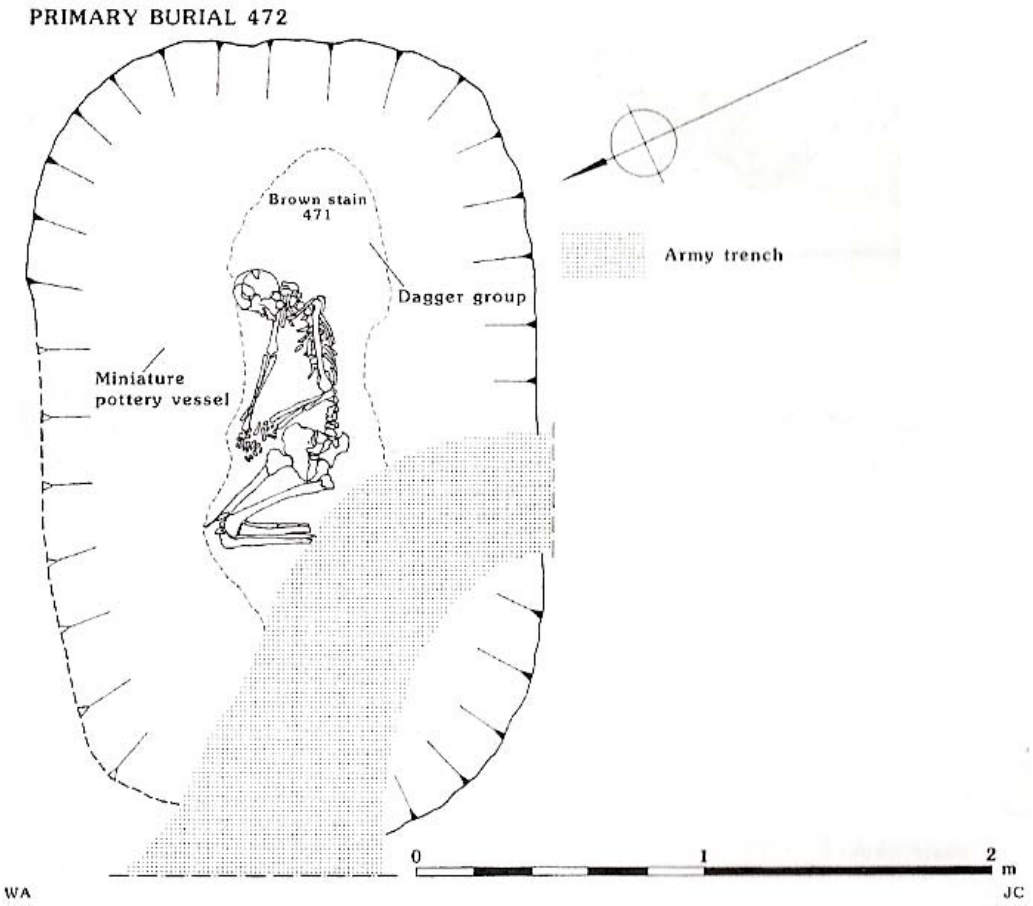

Figure 33: **NB06 Primary inhumation in trench C (Butterworth 1982)**

The burial contains six grave goods made of four different materials, classifying it as a 'wealthy Wessex grave' (Exon *et al*: 2000:81). The decorated dagger (Figure 34 [1]) dates to around the 1700 BC, survives to a length of 140 millimetres (Butterworth 1982:10), and probably had a hilt made of horn (Butterworth 1982:11). The knife dagger (Figure 34 [2]) survives to a length of 80 millimetres and was excavated above the dagger (both hilts pointed towards the head end of the grave) and the whetstone. The whetstone, needle and belt hook indicate a late Wessex I/Wessex II date (Butterworth 1982:14).

It appears that the barrow ditch was recut later in the Late Bronze Age and a secondary inhumation was placed in the ditch once it had begun to silt up once more (Butterworth 1982:9) indicative of the fact that the area was still actively used.

The Norton Bavant group contains barrows with both primary cremations and inhumations (Figure 35) and dates from at least 1700 BC based upon the dagger from NB06 and the predominance of cremation burials as the primary interment in the cemetery's barrows.

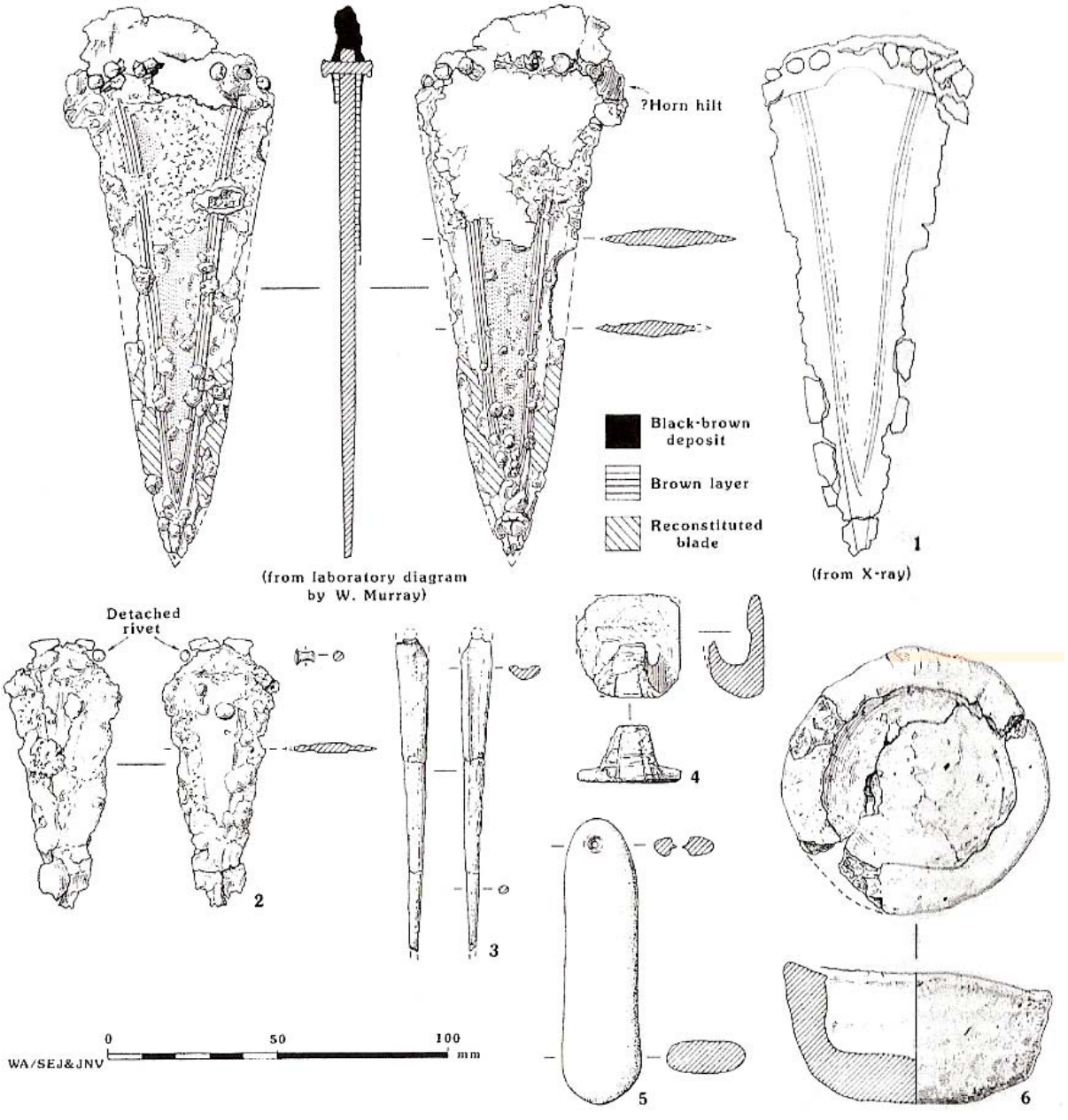

Figure 34: **NB06 Primary inhumation grave goods (Butterworth 1982)**

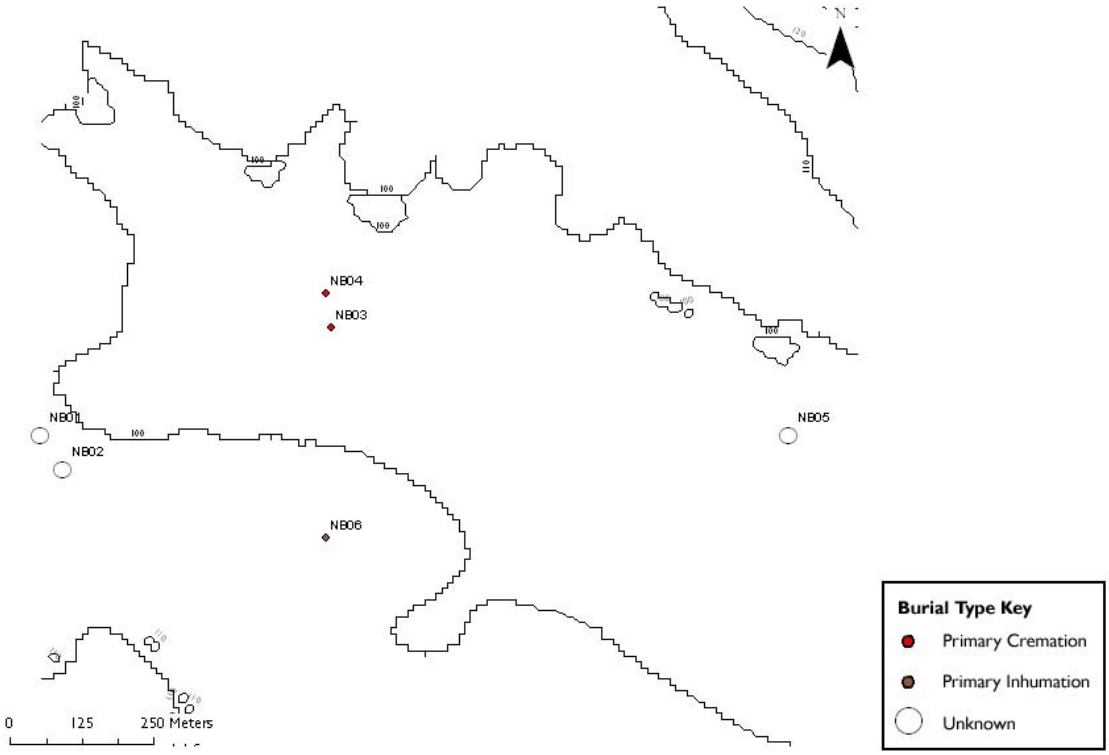

Figure 35: **Burial types present in Norton Bavant group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.2.2.2 Sutton Veny (SV) Group

SV01 and **SV02** are two ring ditches in the valley bottom that were identified from aerial photographs and may be associated with an area cemetery following the floodplain of the valley in a linear association with the Norton Bavant Group (NB4, NB3 and NB6). **SV03** is an undated scheduled bowl barrow. Colt Hoare indicated that the mound was a long barrow but it has since been classified by Grinsell and English Heritage as a round barrow set on level ground just above the floodplain of the Wylye Valley (EHRSM 12349:1992). **SV04** is a circular feature, most likely a ring ditch of a ploughed out round barrow.

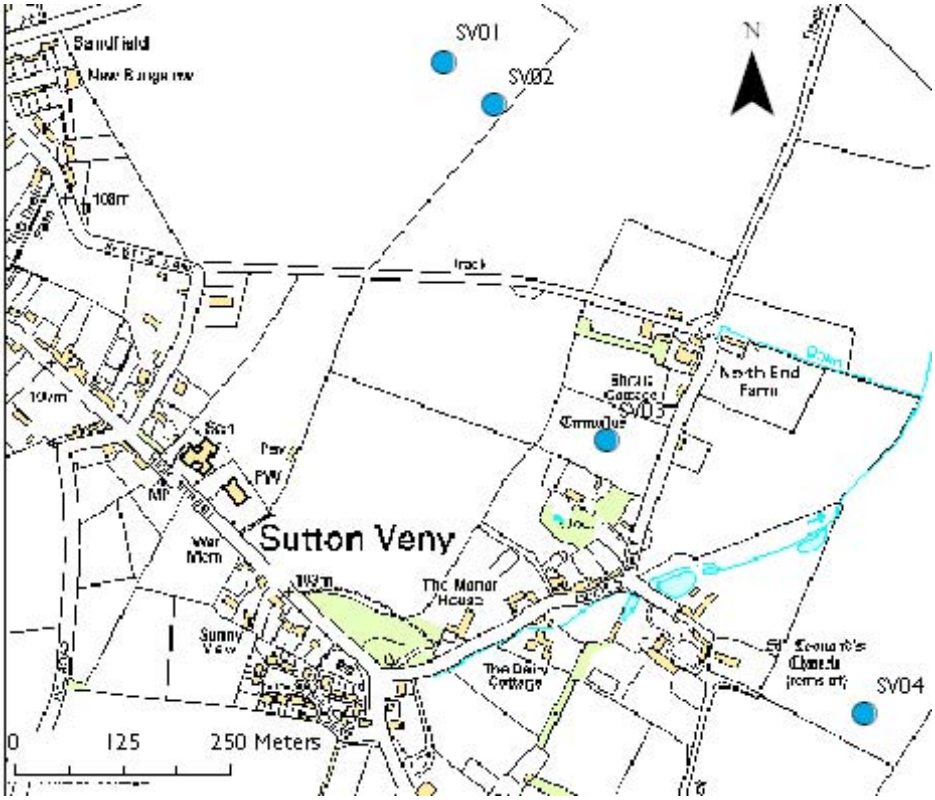

Figure 36: **Sutton Veny Group** **Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.2.2.3 The Knoll (TK) Group

The Knoll Group is situated on the valley bottom to the northwest of Tytherington. **TK01**, **TK02**, **TK03**, **TK04**, **TK05** and **TK06** are circular features plotted as undated ring ditches by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. Without further investigation their appearance would suggest that the features are ploughed out round barrows as they are in close proximity both to one another (less than 100 metres typically) and to two known round barrows (TK07 and TK08). TK02 and TK03 are listed as two associated ring ditches in the SMR that were investigated using a trial trenching method in 1981 by RW Smith. The results were inconclusive however, neither confirming the features as barrows nor refuting the possibility that either was a funeral monument.

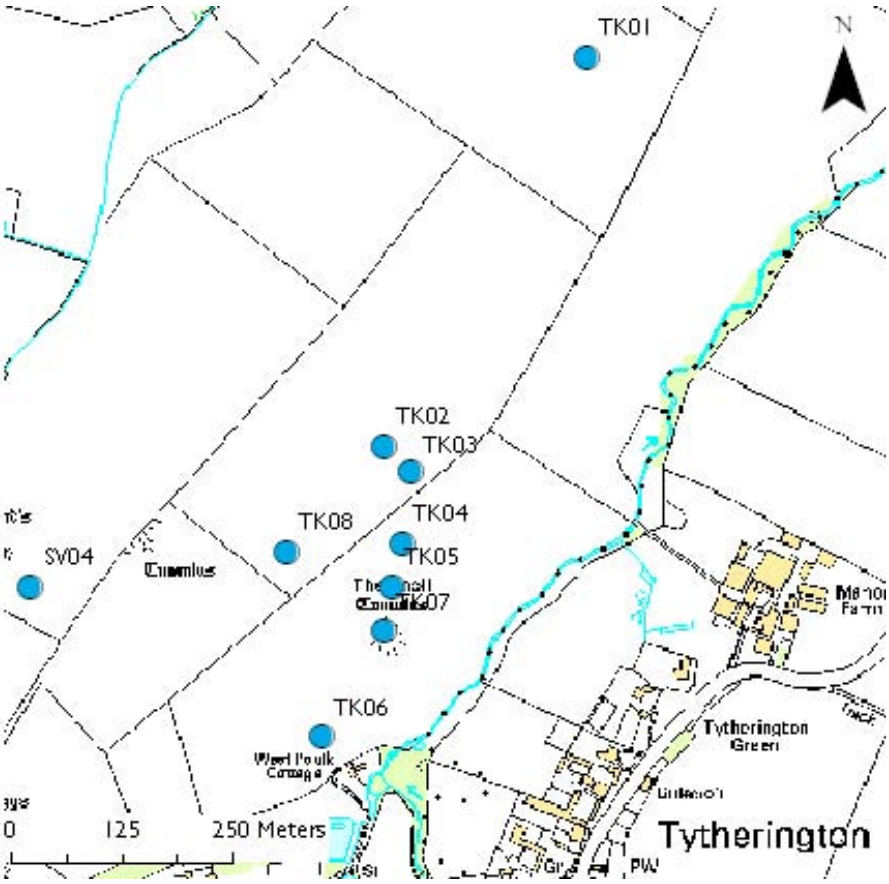

Figure 37: **The Knoll Group** **Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

TK07 is a scheduled bell barrow known as the Knoll. The berm and ditch surrounding the barrow are no longer visible although the ditch is still present as a buried feature 3 metres wide (EHRSM 12312:1992). The mound itself is around 26 metres in diameter at present and stands at 3 metres. The mound, berm and ditch have a maximum diameter of 52 metres (EHRSM 12312:1992), making the barrow a classic bell form which was confirmed through a series of borings with a soil auger by Johnston in 1964 whilst excavating nearby TK08 (Figure 38).

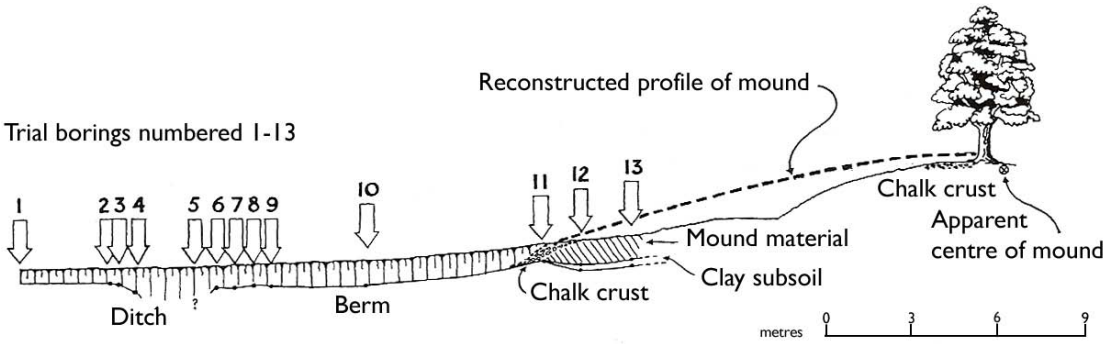

Figure 38: **TK07 trial borings (after Johnston 1980)**

TK08 is also a bell barrow set on level ground 1km south of the River Wylye and was excavated by Johnston in 1964 due to the threat of total destruction by plough damage (Johnston 1980:31). The barrow contained a central grave with the remains of a wooden coffin (Figure 39). The excavation showed that the site had been cleared and burned before the barrow was built and that a turf mound was erected over the open grave pit dug into the chalk (Johnston 1980:33). The environmental evidence suggests that the site may have been waterlogged in prehistory as the excavation of four narrow ditch sections demonstrated that it had smooth sides while the ditch-fill suggested it had been waterlogged in the past (Johnston 1980:29).

The grave is slightly to the south-west of the centre of the barrow and contained a wooden bier *in situ* below the coffin (which appears to have been lowered before the coffin) and the remains of an adult male aged between 28 and 35 years lying on its right side in a flexed position (Johnston 1980:35) shown in Figure 39. The body appears to have been dismembered before burial and systematically positioned within the coffin (Johnston 1980:36). The skeleton appears to have been healthy with only a '*slight arthritic change of the lumbar vertebrae*' (Johnston 1980:48).

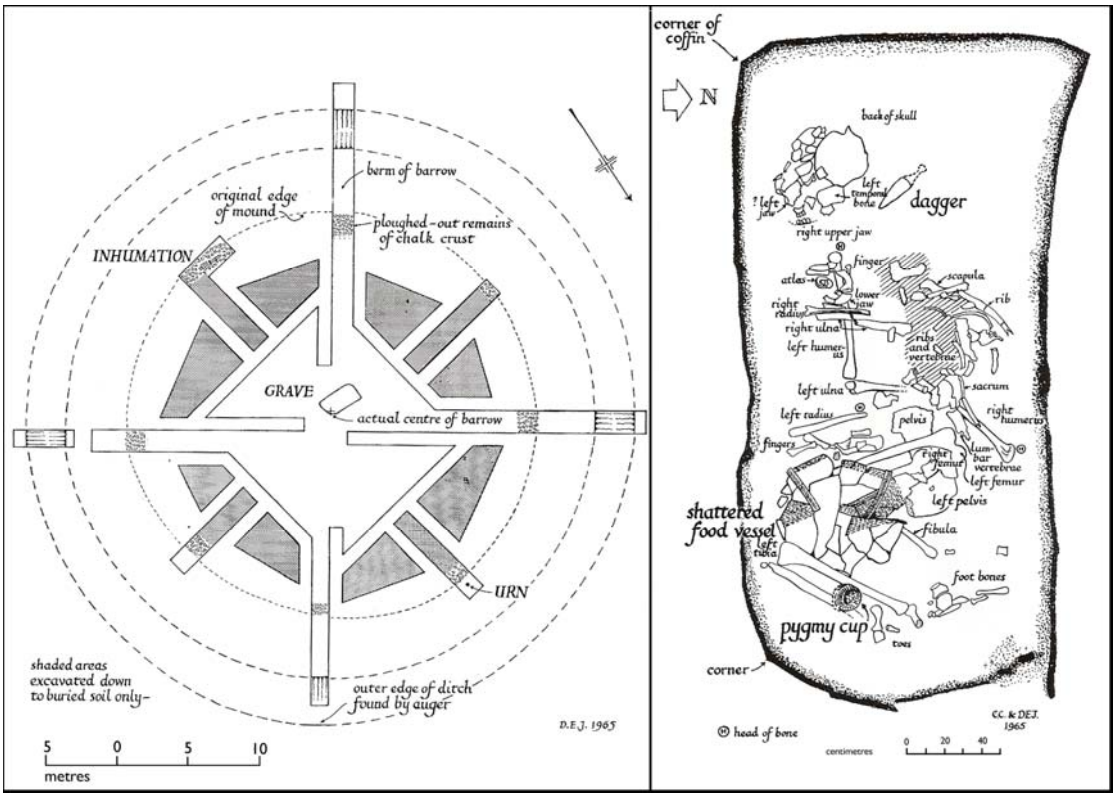

Figure 39: **TK08 Site plan and central grave (after Johnston 1980)**

The grave goods associated with the burial were a miniature accessory vessel (placed upright by the ankles), a large Food Vessel (placed on its side by the knees) and a bronze dagger (Johnston 1980:33). The Food Vessel (Figure 40) is exceptionally well finished, both in form and decoration, and the pattern is similar to the earlier ceramic tradition of Bell Beakers (Burgess 1980:67). The pot is approaching the size of an enlarged Food Vessel (often included with cremations) and the inclusion of the accessory vessel indicates a later date in the Early Bronze Age for the burial. The bronze dagger carried traces of a wooden hilt (Johnston 1980:41) and the point appears to have been ritually bent.

In the southeastern quadrant of the barrow there were the remains of a fragmentary collared urn with an adult female cremation *in situ* that was probably a secondary burial (Johnston 1980:38). A secondary inhumation with evidence of a head trauma appears to have been inserted into the barrow in the Late Bronze Age (Johnston 1980:120).

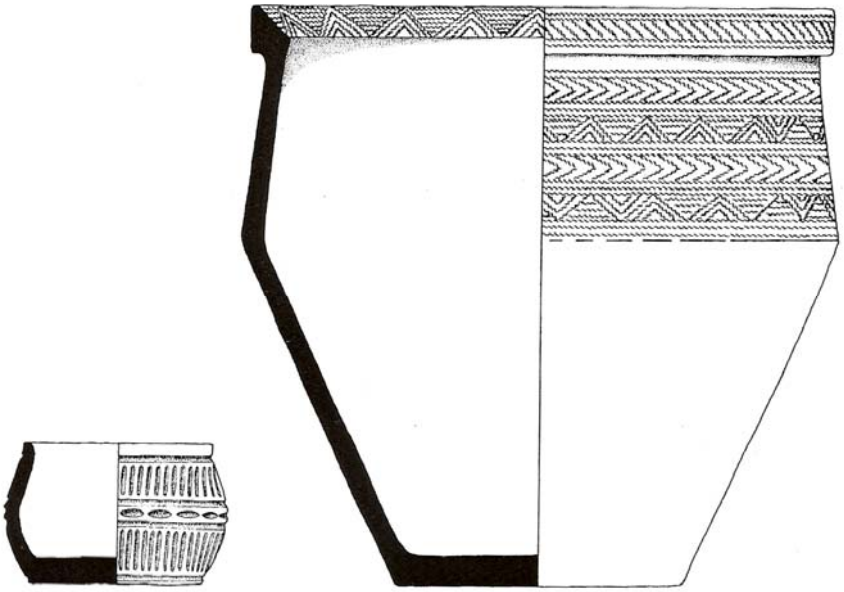

Figure 40**: TK08 Miniature vessel and food vessel (Johnston 1980)**

Despite partial excavation in 1964, the ditch and much of the old ground surface beneath the TK08 remains intact. The barrow is almost certainly part of a cemetery probably originating around the long barrow around 160 metres to the west of TK08 (and 140 metres northeast of SV04). The barrow is ovoid in plan, is around 50 metres long and 20 metres wide, and stands to a height of 1.5m. The Polebridge Farm barrow (as the long barrow is known) has potential for the recovery of archaeological remains and environmental evidence relating to the period in which the monument was constructed (EHRSM 12348:1992).

As a cemetery group The Knoll group is nucleated with linear elements (Figure 41). TK03, TK04, TK05 and TK07 are closely aligned and SV04, TK08 and TK04 are in a line but are not close together. TK07 and TK08 are both bell barrows in form and are only 150 metres apart and re-excavation of TK07 may allow more comparisons to be made between the two barrows.

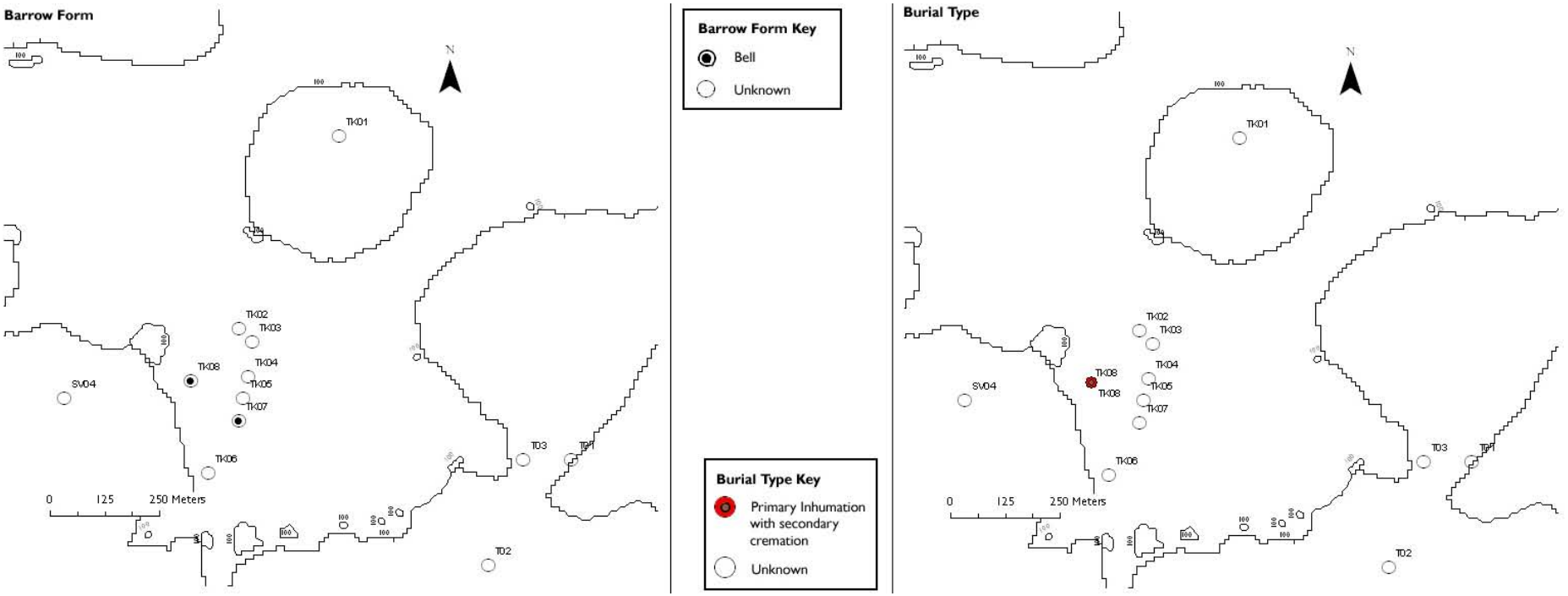

Figure 41: **The Knoll Group Barrow Form and Burial Type Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.2.2.4 Tytherington (T) Group

The Tytherington Group is situated to the east of Tytherington on the valley bottom**.** **T01**, **T02** and **T03** are circular features to the east of Tytherington visible on aerial photographs as cropmarks. The features were identified as ring ditches that are associated with ploughed out round barrows by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (1995). Based upon Fleming's definitions they would be classified as a dispersed cemetery or as a dispersed element of an area cemetery linked to the barrows T04 to T08 (Figure 42).

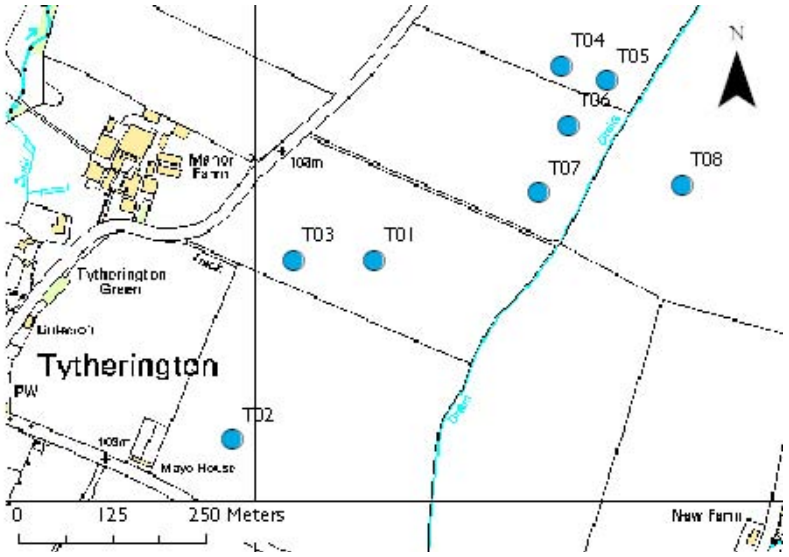

Figure 42: **Tytherington Group** **Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

T04, T05, T06 and **T07** are also listed in the SMR as ring ditches which form part of a linear barrow cemetery to the north east of Manor Farm in Tytherington. The only confirmed round barrow associated with the cemetery is **T08** that is positioned around 190 metres to the east of T07. Here Colt Hoare described T08 as '*nearly levelled by the plough*' and that it contained '*a skeleton, with a spear head of brass*' (1812:98). The barrow is now only traceable using aerial photography because nothing is visible on the ground (Grinsell 1957:177).

3.2.2.5 Heytesbury (H) Group

H01, H02, H03, H04, H05 and **H06** are all listed as undated ring ditches (located on the valley bottom) in the SMR that were plotted by RCHME in 1995. No more than 100 metres separate H01 to H05 from one another, making round barrows a likely explanation for the features (Figure 43). H06 is the circular feature furthest to the east in the Heytesbury Group. It is an undated ring ditch with concentric circles and a linear feature extending to the northeast, which suggests that there may be further associated features present below the surface.

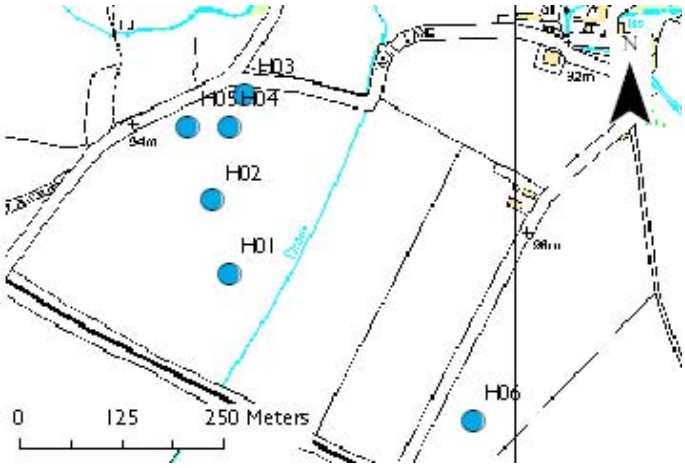

Figure 43: **Heytesbury Group** **Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.2.3 Golden Barrow (GB) Group

GB01, GB02 and **GB03** are three ring ditches located on the valley bottom that were plotted by RCHME in 1995 from aerial photographs. These circular features lie very close to the Great Western Railway (Salisbury and Westbury branch) line and may be associated with the construction of the railway (Figure 44). **GB04** was named 'Golden Barrow' by Colt Hoare due to '*the nature and richness of its contents*' (Colt Hoare 1812:98). At the very edge of the valley flood plain, GB04 was a considerably defaced Bronze Age bowl barrow (Meyrick 1948:217) that was first opened on the 28th of July 1803 by Cunnington

(Cunnington 1975:53) who discovered a primary cremation at a depth of around 0.6 metres in a '*shallow bason-like cist*' (Colt Hoare 1812:98).

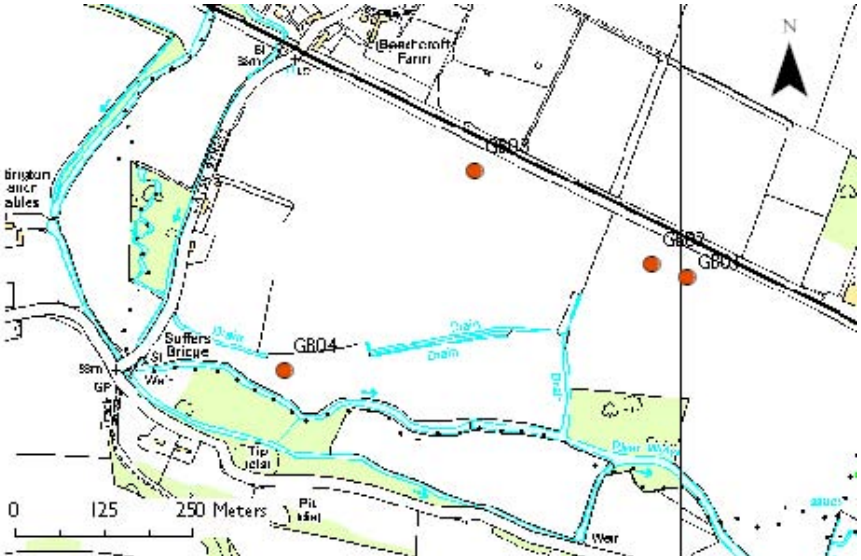

Figure 44: **Golden Barrow Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

A secondary cremation was discovered around 0.3 metres from the primary cremation with a great many items including a bronze awl, 13 drum-shaped gold beads (with unscrewable ends) that were perforated on the sides (probably for the purpose of stringing), an amber space-plate necklace with complex borings, a grape cup with incisions on upper part of body and rim bevel, a bronze dagger, a collared urn with stab marks on rim bevel, two gold cones with grooved ornament, one of which has a small triangular perforation through the side, a rectangular plate of sheet gold with grooved ornament and a shale button with gold cover. Photographs of the necklace, gold beads and gold plate can be seen in Figure 45 and an illustration of all the surviving items from the barrow can be seen in Figure 46.

The grooved ornament on the gold cover is repeated on the shale core, the decoration taking the form of 'zigzags'. The finds recovered from the barrow certainly justify the title

‘Golden Barrow’ and the temptation to be a part of the excavation proved too much for Colt Hoare as he includes himself in the description of an excavation that he was almost certainly not present at. Since the excavation two of the 13 gold beads have been lost and the remaining eleven are on loan at the British Museum. A second collared urn was not preserved (Annable and Simpson 1964:49). The barrow certainly falls into the category of Wealthy Wessex (with the presence of over five items of four different materials) and may even have been a ‘fancy barrow’. The description provided by Colt Hoare is unclear but the possibility of this barrow being a ‘cone’ barrow will be discussed further in Section Four.

Figure 45: **GB04 Amber necklace, gold beads and gold plate**

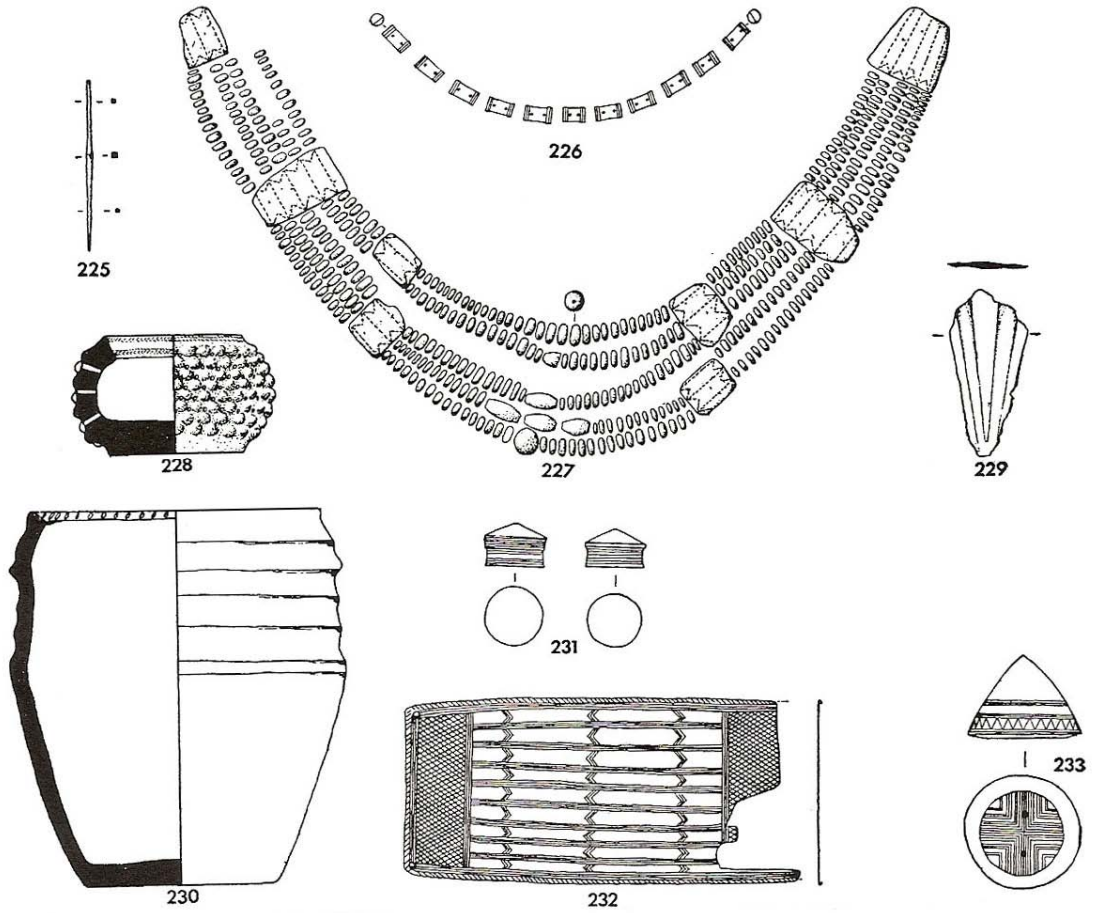

Figure 46: **GB04 Grave goods (Annable and Simpson 1964)**

3.2.4.1 West Hill (WH) Pair

WH01 and **WH02** are two undated ring ditches identified by the RCHME in 1995 that are located on the northern scarp edge of the valley. Both ring ditches lie between probable barrows (SH08 in the Scratchbury Hill Group and KB02 in the Knook Barrow Group) making it possible that they are ploughed out barrows. WH01 lies near the peak of West Hill and lies at the same height as the long barrow to the south west (Figure 47) but the lack of dating evidence for the features makes it hard to hypothesise about either 'barrow' any further when looking at them in isolation.

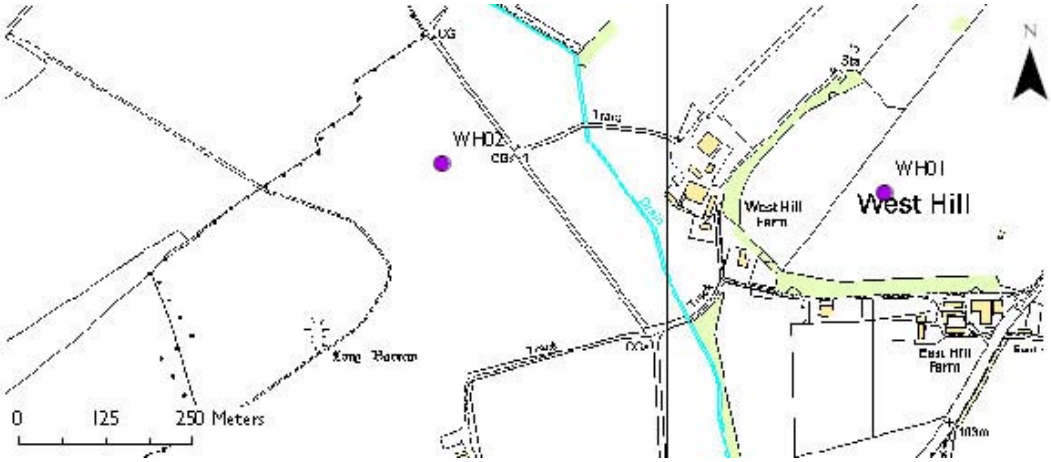

Figure 47: **West Hill Pair Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.2.4.2 Knook Village (KV) Barrow

KV01 is a scheduled bowl barrow 445 metres south west of East Farm on the flood plain of the River Wylye in the valley bottom. The barrow lies to the south of the village of Knook and 300 metres to the west of the river (EHRSM 34189:2001). The barrow is ditched, has a diameter of around 46 metres and stands to a height of around 1 metre (Grinsell 1957:180). The ditch has become covered by the spread of the ploughed mound (EHRSM 34189:2001). It lies in between the Golden Barrow and Heytesbury groups.

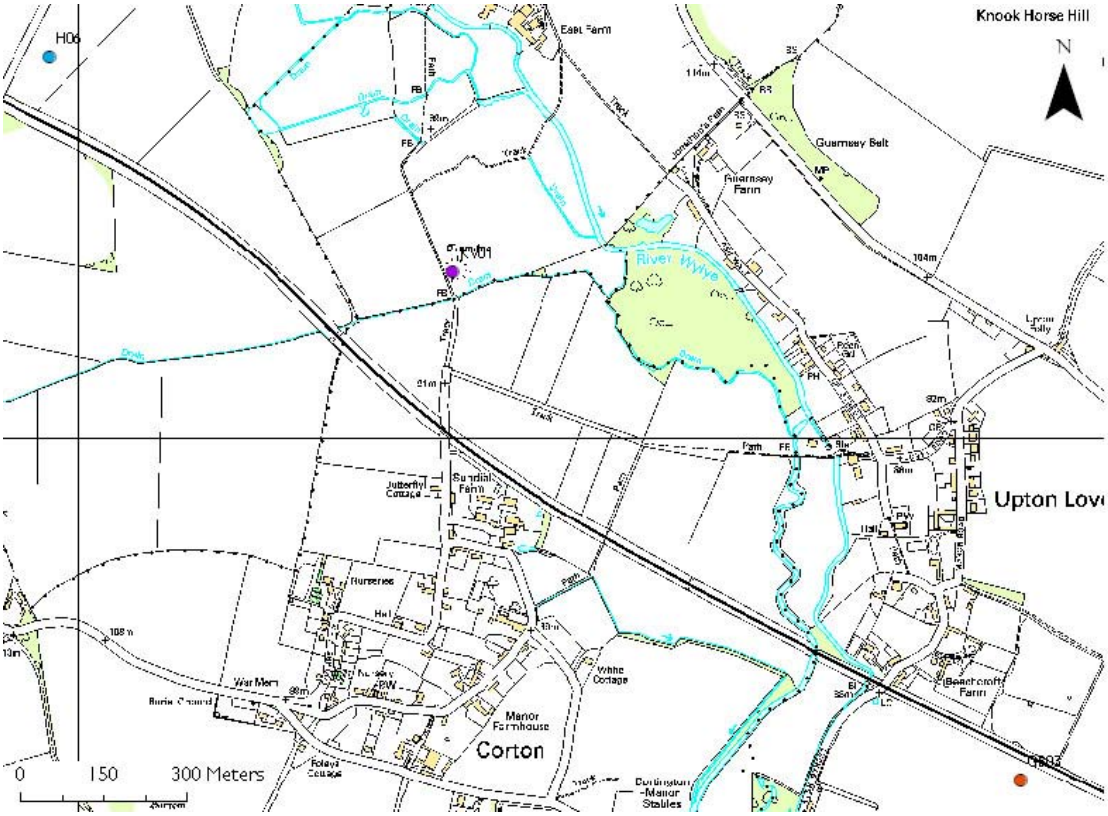

Figure 48: **Knook Village Barrow Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.3 Analysis of barrow data in ST94SE

This area contains thirty-four of the possible barrows within the study area including twenty-seven confirmed round barrows. Two of these barrows (UB01 and UB02) are unlocated within the SMR but have been included in the study as their essential location is known (i.e. Upton Lovell) and their contents are important to the analytical discussion.

The barrows (or potential barrows) have been split into three distinct clusters, as shown in Figure 49. This quadrate contains some of the most closely spaced nucleated cemetery groups in the study area, as well as some well known finds (such as those from UL03).

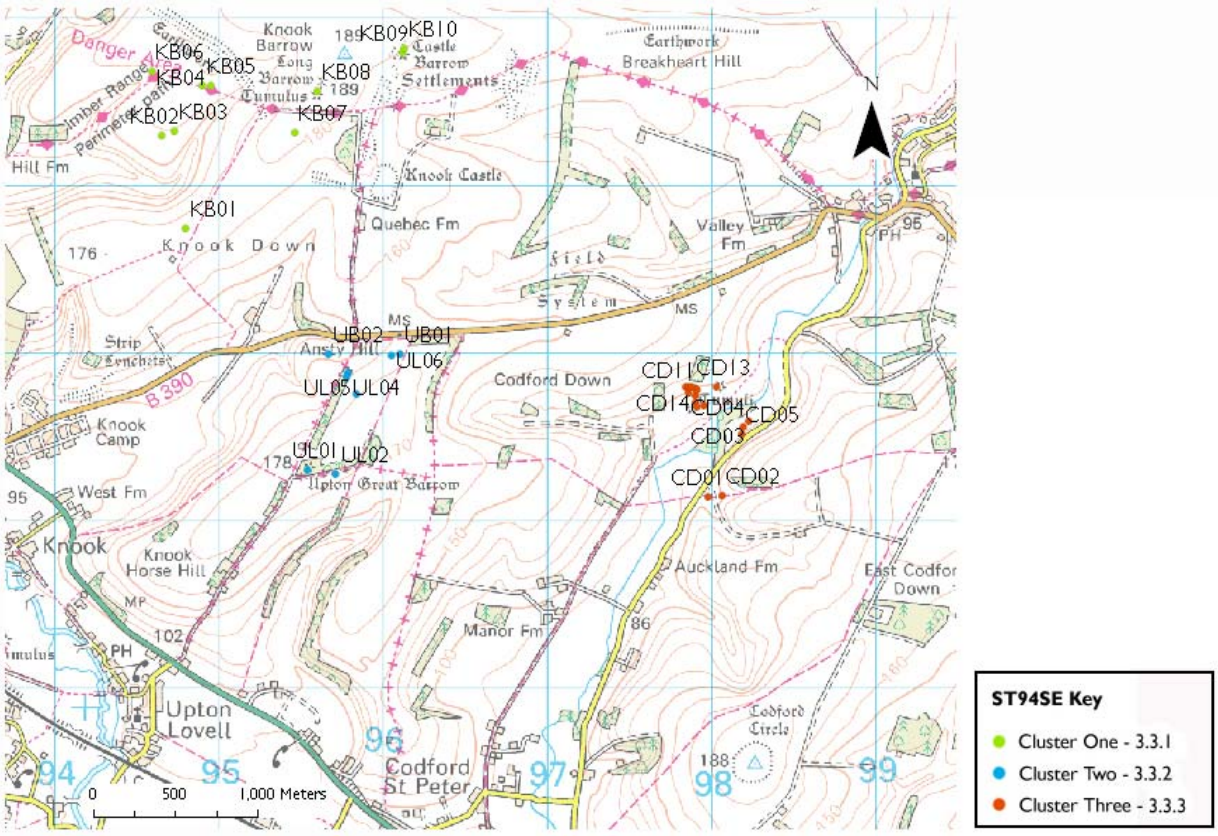

Figure 49: **Monuments of ST94SE Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.3.1 Knook Barrow (KB) Group

This set of six barrows is situated on Knook Down, to the west of Knook Barrow on the northern scarp edge of the Wylye Valley (Figure 50). **KB01** is the southern most of the barrows in the group and, when excavated, was enclosed within '*a slight earthen work, of an irregular shape with the vallum without*' (Colt Hoare 1812:81). The barrow was almost completely ploughed out by the nineteenth century and contained a primary crouched skeleton was excavated facing north (Grinsell 1957:180) at a depth of around 0.5 metres. Around a metre to the south of this burial was a secondary cremation within a circular cavity (Colt Hoare 1812:82). **KB02** is a possible bowl barrow identified by Willoughby (1975) with burned flints on the surface of the mound. **KB03** lies close to KB02 (approximately 80 metres northeast) and was identified by Willoughby as a possible disc barrow via aerial photography (1976). **KB04** and **KB05** were two adjoining bowl barrows

to the west of Knook Barrow. KB04 contained a crouched inhumation and '*an ivory or bone pin*' (Colt Hoare 1812:82) and KB05 contained a cremation within a cist (Colt Hoare 1812:82) at a depth of around 0.6 metres. A long brass pin or awl (Grinsell1957:177) was associated with the cremated remains. **KB06** is another probable bowl barrow identified by Willoughby in 1976 to the west of the down.

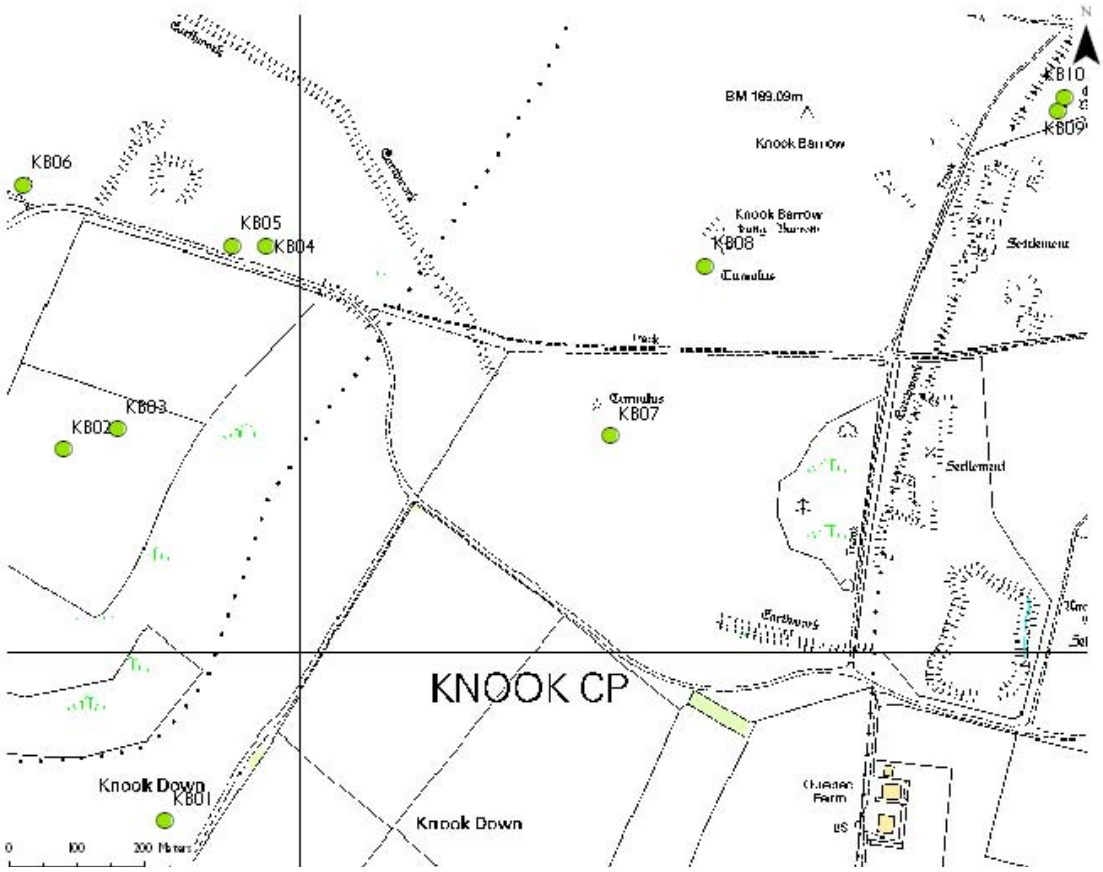

Figure 50: **Knook Barrow Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

A second nucleus of round barrows sited on Knook Down are focused around Knook Barrow, a long barrow 33.5 metres north-east/south-west by 19.5 metres wide, with side ditches 6 metres wide (EHRSM 10225:1990) which was found to contain the remains of around 8 cremations on a pavement of flints with associated animal bones (Colt Hoare 1812:83). **KB07** lies to the south of Knook Barrow and was the first barrow that William Cunnington opened. The barrow contained a cremation '*deposited within a rude sepulchral*

urn inverted' (Colt Hoare 1812:82). The burnt human bones were intermixed with black and red earth. Also found beneath the cinerary urn was a well-preserved bronze dagger that may have been ritually broken, with the larger piece being recovered around a year later when the barrow was re-examined (Thomas 1954:221). The urn has been lost but the dagger is housed at Devizes Museum (Annable and Simpson 1964:56) (Figure 51). It is clear that SMR numbers *ST94SE611* and *ST94SE670* refer to the same barrow with slightly varying National Grid References. The Ordnance Survey records a 'Tumulus' at the same grid reference as *ST94SE611* so this has been taken to be the correct position in the GIS for KB07.

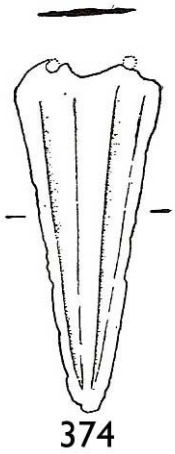

Figure 51: **KB07 Bronze knife dagger (Annable and Simpson 1964)**

KB08 is a scheduled bowl barrow (EHRSM 10226:1990) that was excavated by Colt Hoare in 1800, approximately 50 metres to the south of Knook Long Barrow (1812:83). It was found to contain a primary cremation with an Early Bronze Age collared urn (Grinsell 1957:180) and a small bronze dagger (Colt Hoare 1812:83). **KB09,** a ditched bowl barrow known as Castle Barrow, is located to the north east of the sub-rectangular bivallate hillfort known as Knook Castle and its associated Romano-British settlement (EHRSM 10227:1990). It was opened by Reverend F. G. Walker in the early twentieth century

(Cunnington 1939:189) who discovered a central primary cremation of a child in a cist around 1.2 metres below the mound. A badly crushed cinerary urn of coarse Bronze Age form was associated with the remains (Grinsell 1957:193). **KB10** is the site of an undated round barrow visible as a ring ditch in aerial photographs close to KB09. A large ring ditch (*ST94SE634*) has not been included as a possible round barrow as it seems more likely to be a feature associated with the later settlement to the west.

The Knook Barrow group is an area cemetery with nucleated elements (such as KB04 and KB05 and KB09 and KB10) that is centred on a much older feature in the landscape. There is a mix of interment rites present (Figure 52) and the ceramic and metallic evidence recovered from the barrows would suggest a later date in the Early Bronze Age.

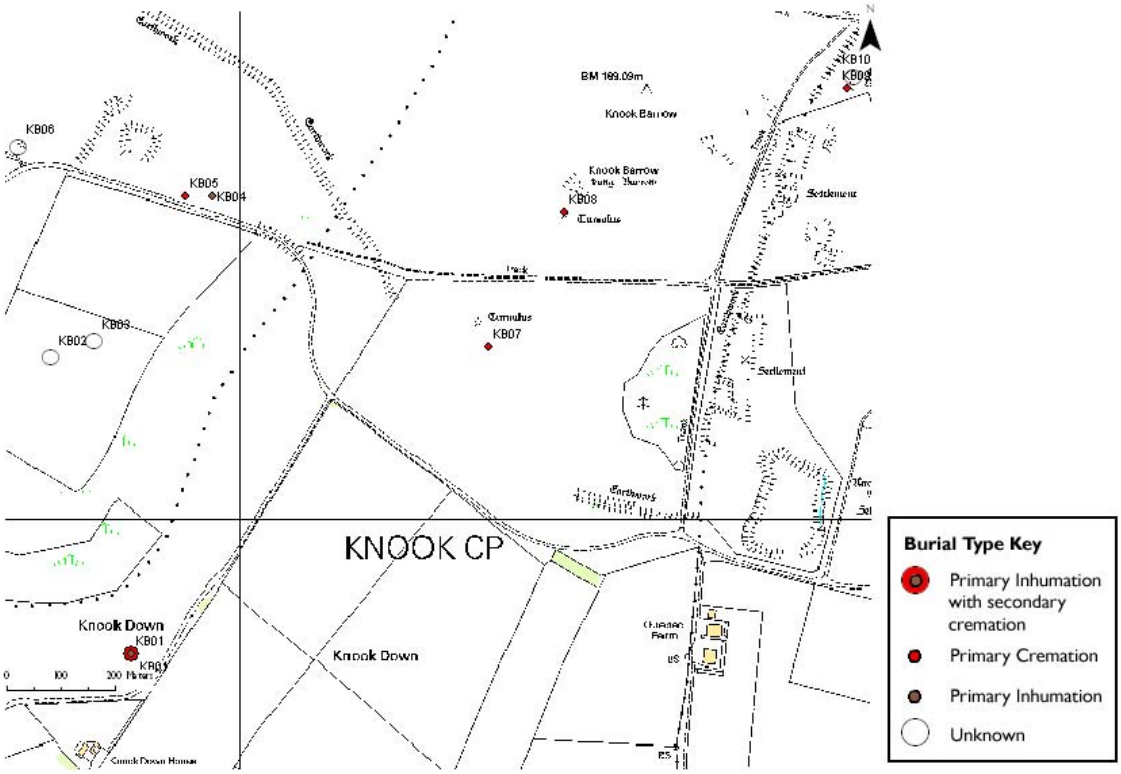

Figure 52: **Knook Barrow Group Burial Types Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

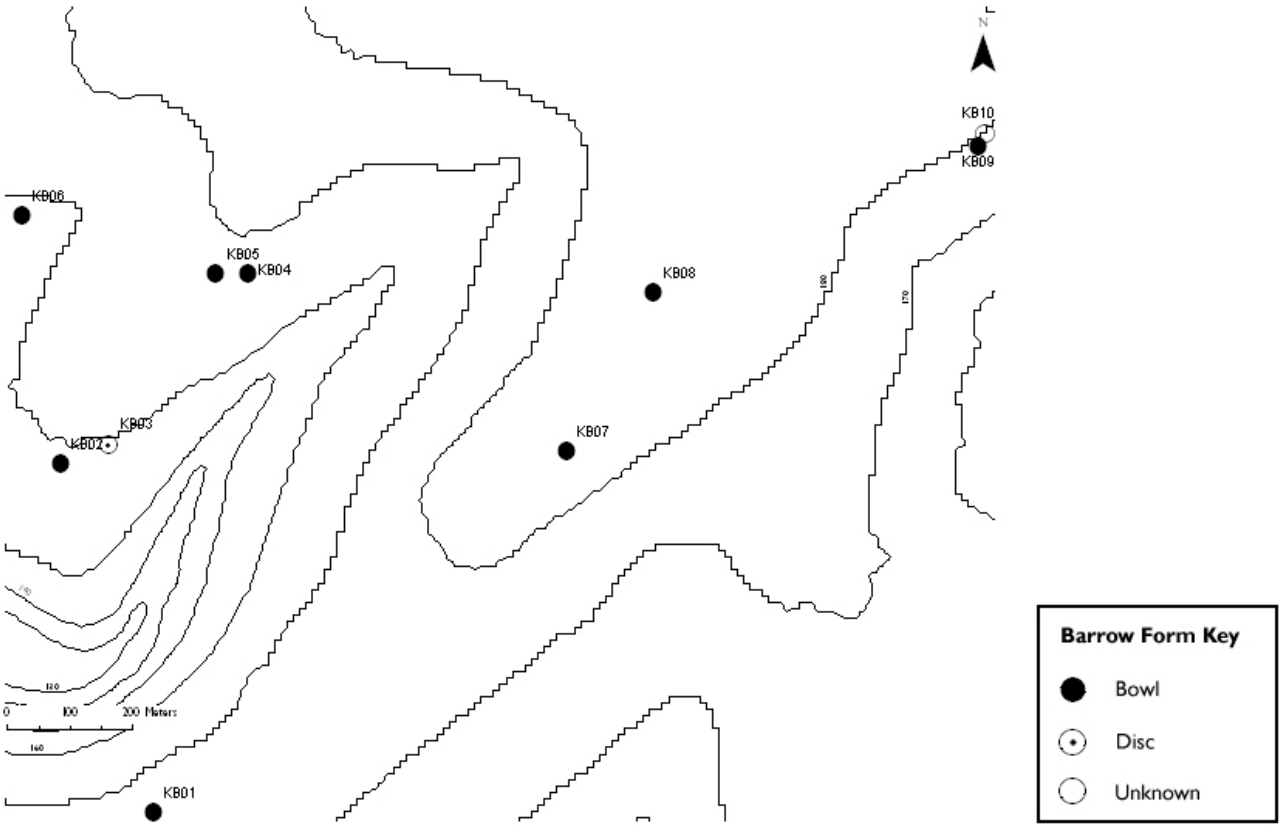

Figure 53: **Knook Barrow Group Barrow Forms Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.3.2 Upton Lovell (UL) Group

This group of barrows is on the slopes of Knook Horse Hill to the north of the River Wylye on the scarp edge (Figure 54). **UL01** is a bell barrow set on high ground above the Wylye Valley and is known as Upton Great Barrow (EHRSM 12304:1992). The mound is 34 metres in diameter and 2.5 metres high and is surrounded by a berm, ditch and outer bank, making it a clear feature in the landscape today. The barrow was excavated by Colt Hoare who discovered a primary cremation with a necklace he describes to consist of 27 amber, 5 shale, and 16 segmented faience beads (Grinsell1957:215). The necklace is housed at the Devizes Museum and is made up of 11 amber, 11 shale and ten segmented faience beads. The discrepancy between the quantities is unclear (Annable and Simpson 1964:54) and the original drawing of the necklace illustrates 10 amber, 8 shale (with 2 shale rings)

and 10 faience beads (Figure 55). There were also '*fragments of rude pottery, pieces of stags' horns, animal bones, and vast quantities of ashes and charred wood'* (Colt Hoare 1812:77) in the body of the mound. The barrow currently rests inside a pheasant run with a metal water reservoir sunk into the centre of the barrow (Figure 56). It is unclear what damage this will have caused and a disagreement between the farmer and English Heritage seems to have delayed its removal indefinitely (Mr Nevill, personal communication 2008).

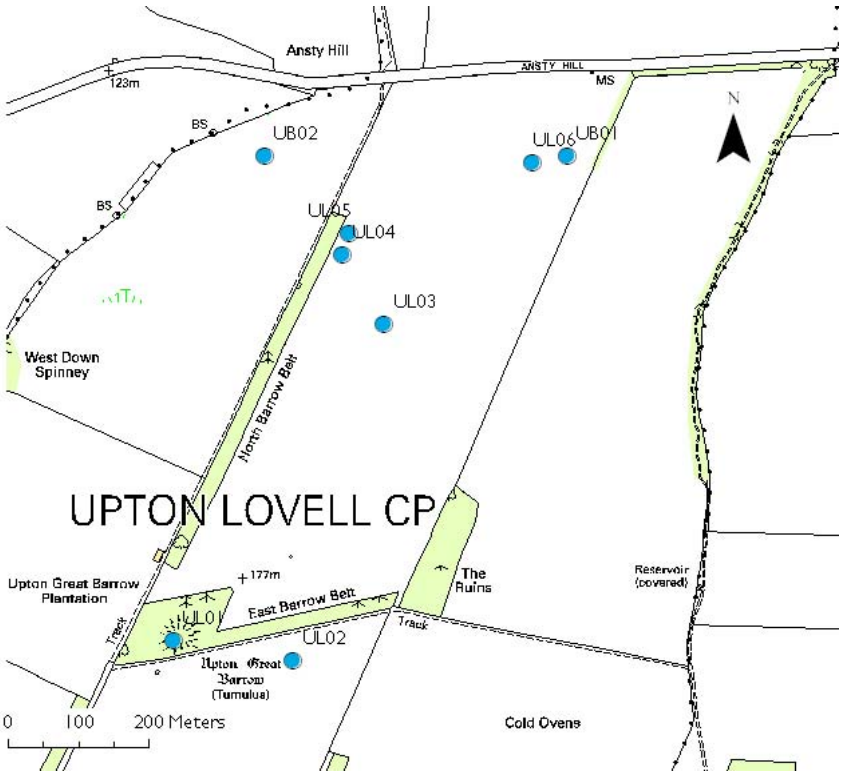

Figure 54: **Upton Lovell Group** **Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

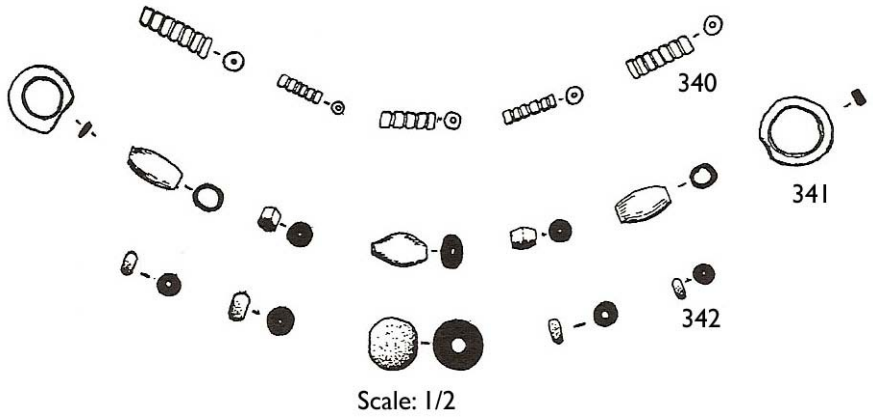

Figure 55: **UL01 Necklace (Annable and Simpson 1964)**

Figure 56: **UL01 Upton Great Barrow**

Around 30 metres to the east of Upton Great Barrow lays **UL02**. William Cunnington excavated this bowl barrow, which contained two cremations and associated finds. The primary cremation was associated with a bronze grooved dagger with pointillé ornament (Annable and Simpson 1964:54) (Figure 57). The secondary cremation (approximately 0.5 metres to the south of the primary cremation) had been placed beneath a large urn (Grinsell1957:193).

UL03 is a Bronze Age bowl barrow in the same field as UL04, UL05 and UL06 to the north of Upton Great Barrow. Cunnington opened UL03 in 1801 (Colt Hoare 1812:75)

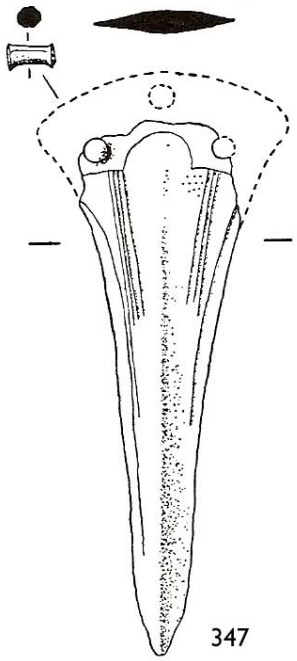

Figure 57: **UL02 Bronze dagger (Annable and Simpson 1964)**

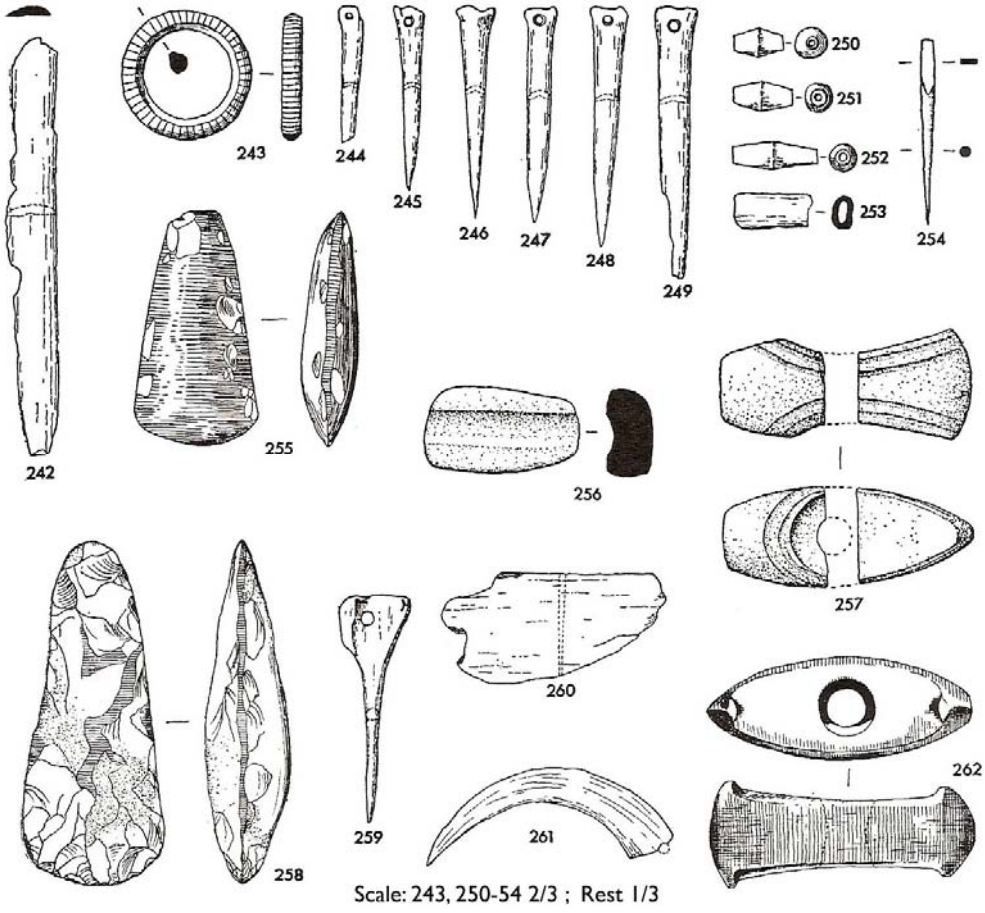

Figure 58: **UL03 Grave goods from two primary inhumations (Annable and Simpson 1964)**

where primary inhumations were uncovered in an oval grave. The first, lying on its back (north-south) appears to have been a stout male with many finds including bone perforated points, perforated boars' teeth, stone and flint axes, a jet or lignite ring, biconical beads and a bronze awl (Figure 58). The other burial appeared much smaller in stature and was in a sitting posture. The material in the grave appears to represent a combination of items associated with both genders (Annable and Simpson 1964:50) and it is possible that certain items were specific to one of the two inhumations. Colt Hoare records that it was impossible to separate the objects appropriate to each of the inhumations but the burial was interpreted by Piggott (1962:94) to be that of a shaman dating to around 1500 BC. The bone points number over sixty and in terms of quantity have no parallel in Britain. Six similar but unperforated bone points were excavated at Aldro 113 in the Yorkshire Wolds by Sir J.R. Mortimer and were associated with a female burial (Howarth 2005:44).

In 2000 Colin Shell developed Piggott's suggestion that the stones from the grave in UL03, notably the polished circular stone 'rubber' (Figure 59), formed 'an early metalworker's toolkit' (Shell 2000:271). Although it is very tempting to go on to link the individual (or individuals) interred in UL03 with gold work in the area (particularly GB04 with its rectangular plate of sheet gold), a spatial correlation is not necessarily a correct association. Whilst it is clear that metalwork such as that found in the area required a skilled individual with a specific set of tools (which would have undoubtedly been of great personal value) a stronger chronological framework for the burials of the two sites would be required.

When the barrow was de-scheduled in 1994, it became possible to conduct resistivity and magnetometry surveys to clarify the position and shape of the early 19th century excavation of the grave pit and confirm the diameter of the ditch, as the barrow was no

Figure 59: UL03 polished circular stone 'rubber' (Wiltshire Heritage Museum)

longer clearly visible in the field (Shell 2002:290). This was conducted in 1999 (Robinson 2001:253) and the geophysical survey results led to an excavation (undertaken by Colin Shell and Gill Swanton) to investigate magnetic anomalies and allowed the recovery of skeletal material (left by Cunnington) from the grave pit. The robust bones uncovered included the skull of what (from Colt Hoare's description) is likely to be the primary burial and may well be able to contribute to the discussion of a possible link between the metalworker and GB04.

UL04 and **UL05** are two adjacent saucer barrows situated just over 100 metres to the northwest of UL03 (EHRSM 12303:1994) spaced around 5 metres apart on almost a north-south alignment. UL05 is around 12 metres in diameter and 0.5 metres in height and UL04 is smaller at around 11 metres yet higher at about 0.7 metres. Shallow ditches surround both barrows but only UL05 has been partially excavated. Cunnington excavated UL05 and uncovered an inhumation with a ceramic beaker at the burial's legs (not a cremation as listed in the English Heritage's Record of Scheduled Monuments (EHRSM 12303:1994))

(Colt Hoare 1812:75). These two barrows are important, as it is rare for two saucer barrows to be situated adjacent to one another.

UL06 is an undated ring ditch situated in the same field as UL04 and UL05 and the close proximity of two confirmed round barrows makes it likely that this ring ditch is a ploughed out round barrow, possibly one of the two unlocated barrows in the group that have been 'lost' since Colt Hoare's excavations. UB01 or *Upton Lovell G2b* (Grinsell 1957:193) is described as '*following the declivity of the hill, in a parallel line with the road leading to Amesbury*' (Colt Hoare 1812:75), fitting UL06's position alongside the road. The bowl barrow contained a primary cremation with no burial goods (Grinsell 1957:193) and 5 secondary urns of different sizes surrounding the cist in a circle. Two of these urns contained ashes and the other three '*vegetable mould*' (Colt Hoare 1812:75). The ceramic evidence was destroyed but Grinsell believed them to be Late Bronze Age in date (Grinsell 1957:193) though they more likely date to the Early or Middle Bronze Age. The items associated with this barrow in the SMR data are incorrectly assigned and should be listed with UB02 instead.

UB02 or *Upton Lovell G2d* (Grinsell 1957:193) is another unlocated bowl barrow somewhere in the vicinity of Ansty Hill. The barrow contained a primary cremation within a large Middle Bronze Age urn (Grinsell 1957:193) with a pair of bone tweezers (Annable and Simpson 1964:53) (Figure 60). The whole barrow was removed (to collect flints) leading to problems in identifying its location, but in the process of removal three further vessels were discovered. Two of these were broken (one containing ashes the other vegetable matter) and the surviving vessel is preserved at Devizes Museum (Figure 60).

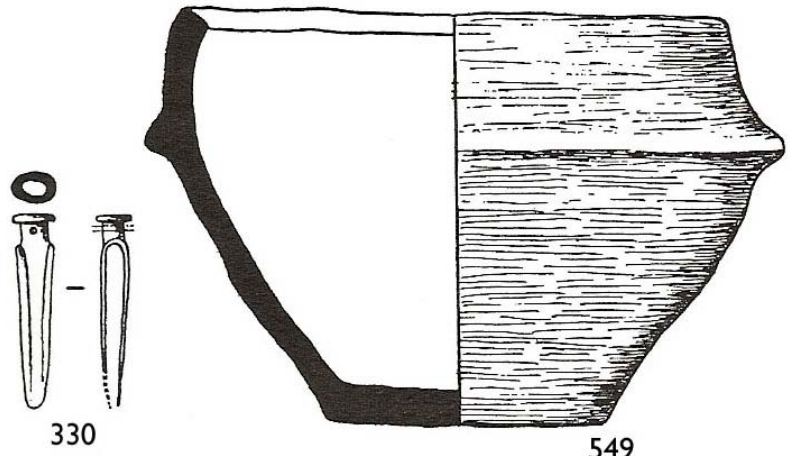

Figure 60: **Bone tweezers and miniature vessel (Annable and Simpson 1964)**

The Upton Lovell cemetery group is an area cemetery with nucleated elements (for example UL01 and UL02 and UL04 and UL05). It is possible that if the two unlocated barrows in the area could be positively confirmed, there would be a more defined spatial pattern to the barrows. The proximity of the two saucer barrows is striking (Figure 61), as is the variety of burial styles present in the cemetery (Figure 62).

3.3.3 Codford Down (CD) Group

CD01 and **CD02** are two possible bowl barrows to the east of Chitterne Brook on the northern slope of the Wylye Valley (Figure 63). CD01 is an undated circular mound and CD02 is an undated ring ditch, both of which were identified through aerial photography. Spatially both features are aligned with a variation in the valley wall (Figure 64). Three further ring ditches (**CD03**, **CD04**, and **CD05**) are located to the north of CD02, on the eastern side of the Chitterne Brook in the basin of the valley and are visible in aerial photographs as cropmarks. All five of these unconfirmed features lie close to the eleven recorded barrows in the Ashton Valley Group (CD06-16) indicating that they are possibly part of a larger cemetery complex on the slopes of the Chitterne Brook valley leading down to the river Wylye.

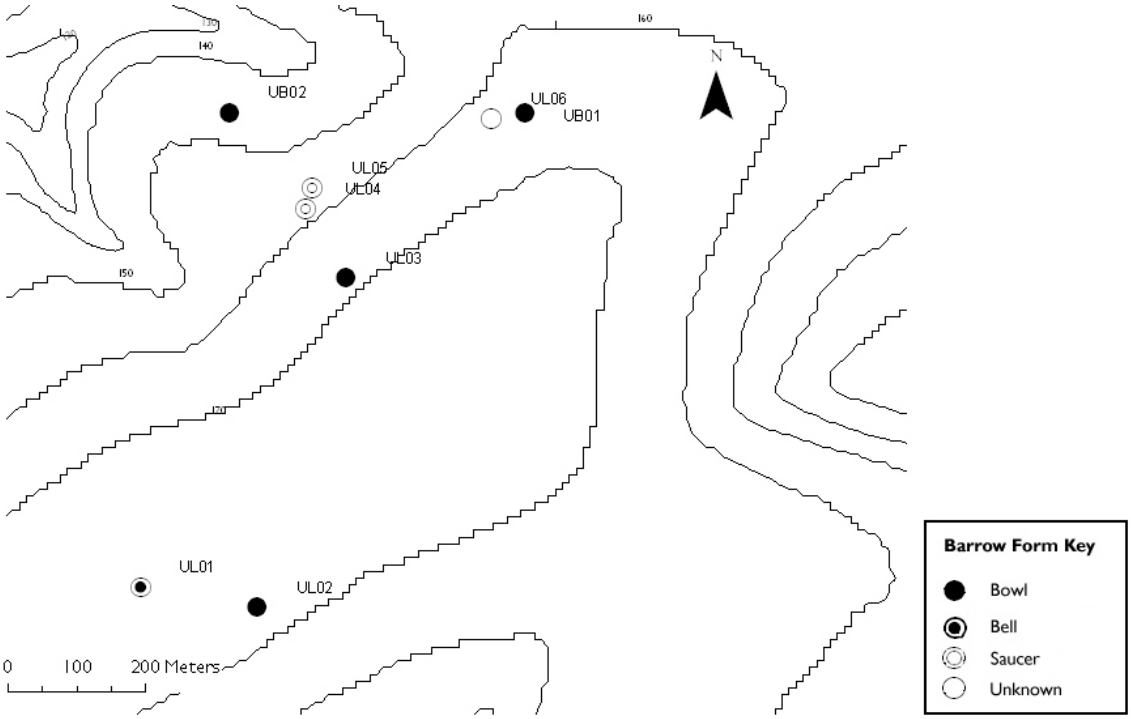

Figure 61: **Upton Lovell Group Barrow Forms Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

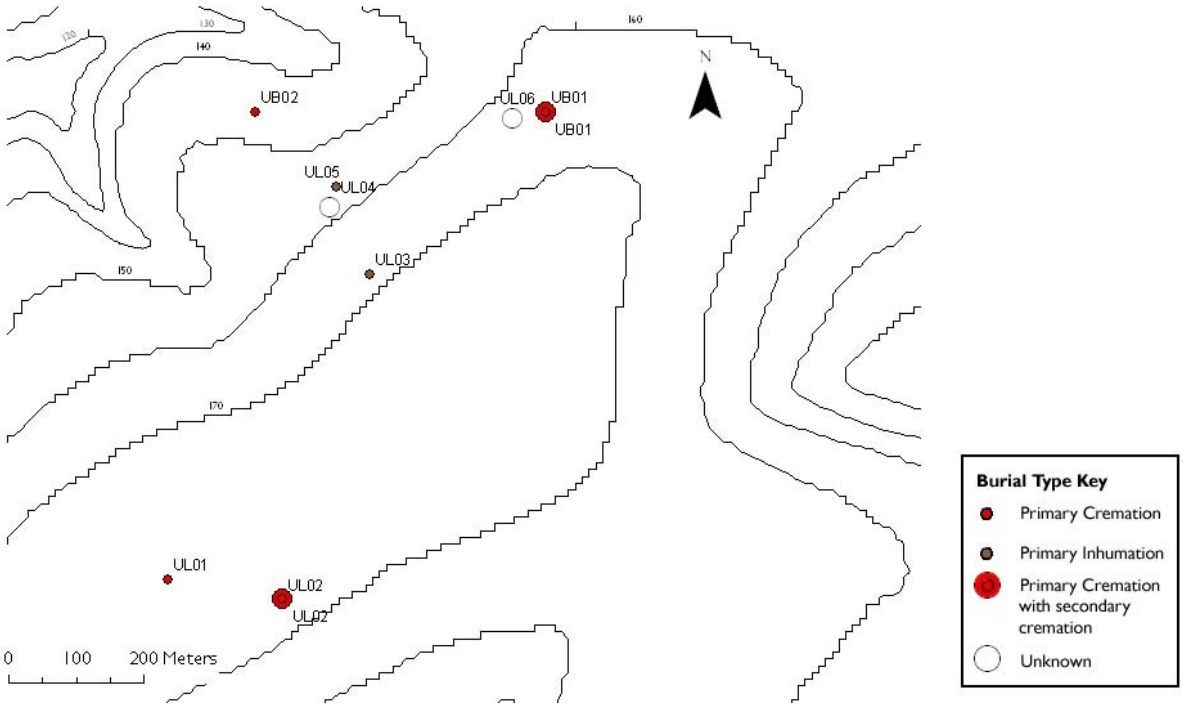

Figure 62: **Upton Lovell Group Burial Types Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

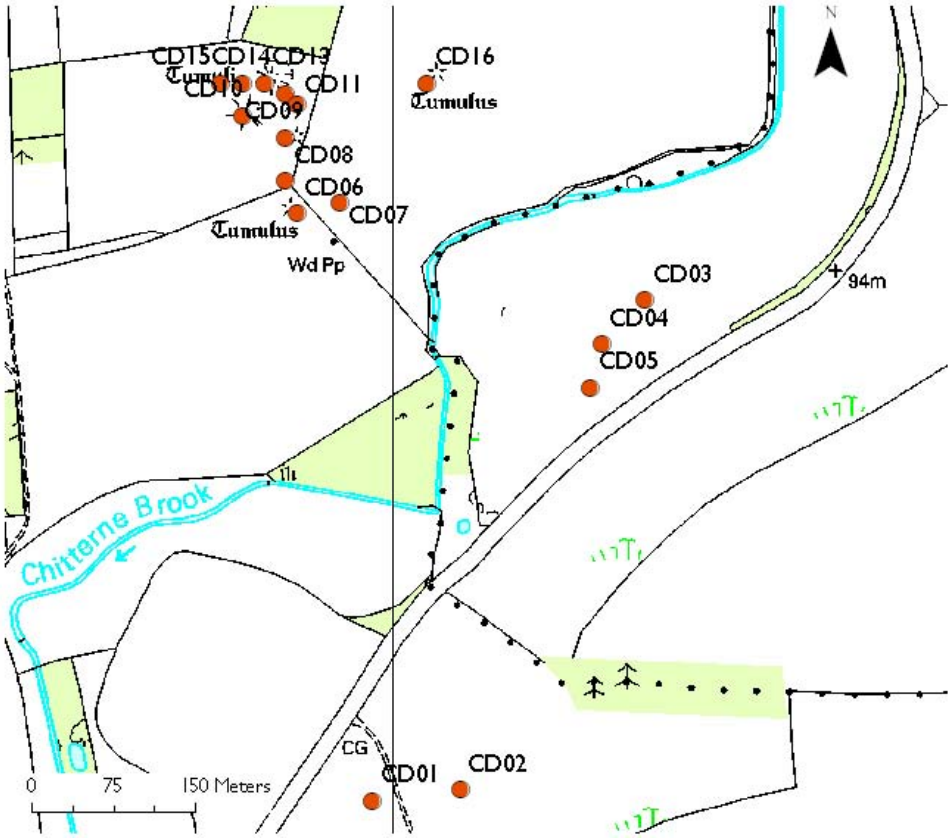

Figure 63: **Codford Down Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

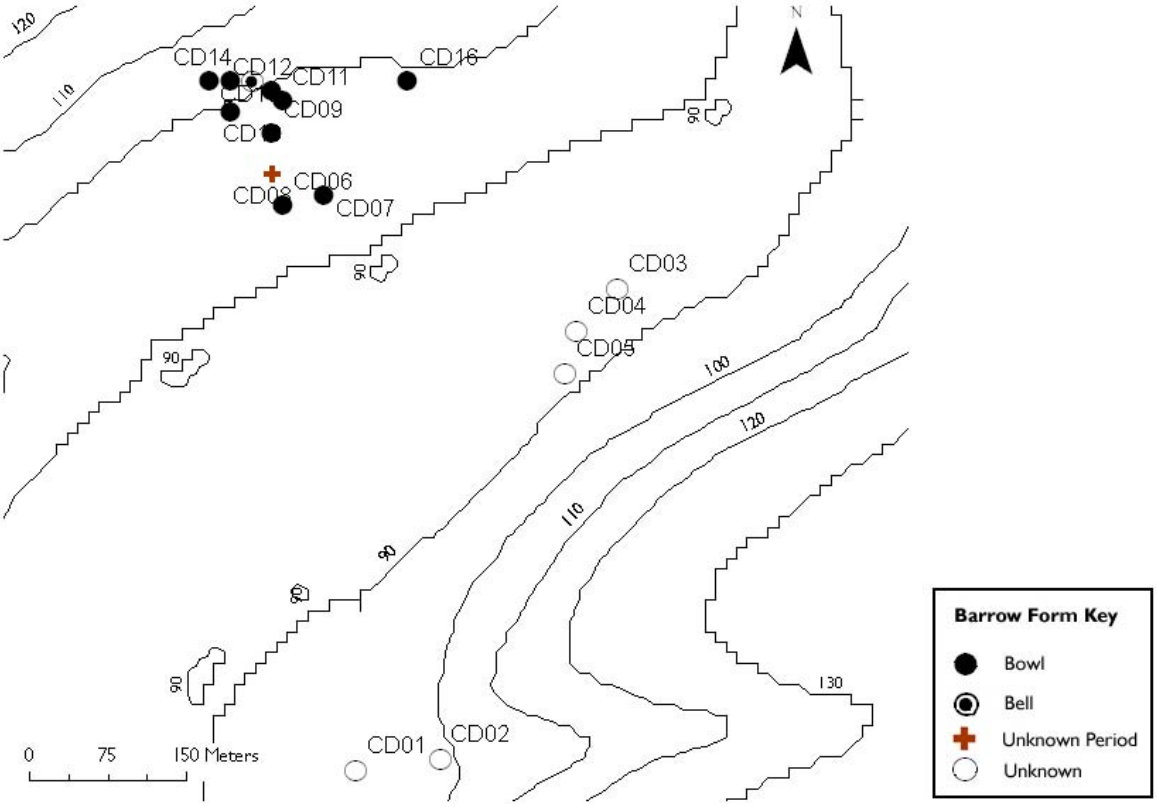

Figure 64: **Codford Down Barrow Forms Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

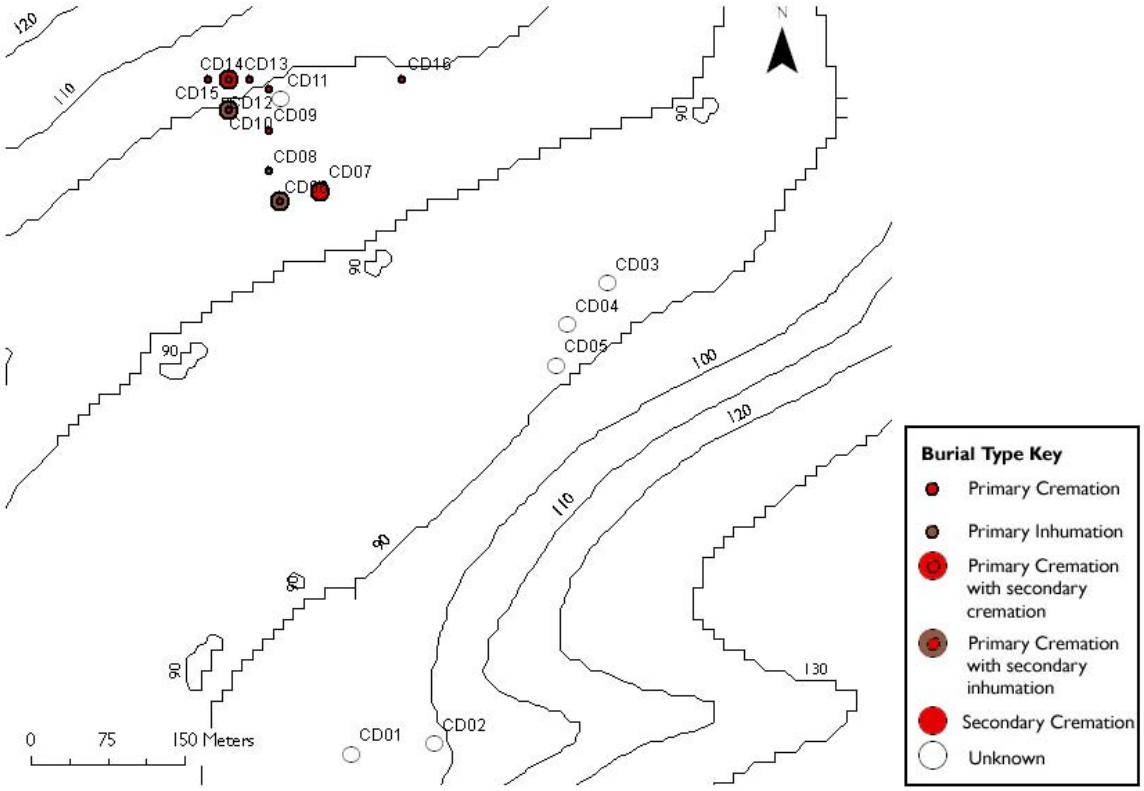

Figure 65: **Codford Down Burial Types Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

The Ashton Valley Group is a round barrow cemetery that comprised one bell barrow and ten bowl barrows located on the slopes of the valley. It is situated at the base of the south facing edge of Codford Down on the west side of the valley of the Chitterne Brook (EHRSM 31665:1999). The bell barrow and five of the bowl barrows are still visible, with the remaining five bowl barrows now buried features. All eleven barrows were investigated by William Cunnington and recorded and drawn by the antiquarian Sir Richard Colt Hoare (1812:77). The cemetery area has been respected by the later Celtic field system that encloses it on three sides (Annable 1960:8).

CD06 is the largest bowl barrow in the group (2.2 metres high and 23.5 metres in diameter (EHRSM 31665:1999)); Cunnington excavated it in 1801 (and again in 1803 and once more with Colt Hoare in 1808 (Colt Hoare 1812:77)). The primary cremation was discovered in a cist with a large Middle Bronze Age urn (Grinsell 1957:166). To the south

of the primary burial were the remains of an inhumed infant in a cist (Colt Hoare 1812:77-8). Another cremation was discovered in a cist near the centre of the barrow. Within the barrow material nine Late Bronze Age urns were found containing burnt bones, and a crouched male was excavated face down around 1 metre below the surface (near a forked tunnel). Grinsell admitted that it was difficult to decide whether the barrow was originally a bowl or bell barrow due to the trees planted on the barrow (1957:166), but it appears likely to be a large bowl barrow. **CD07** to the east is a ploughed out bowl barrow excavated by Colt Hoare. Colt Hoare commented that the barrow had '*a deeper ditch than is usual* [for] *round barrows of such small dimensions*.' (Colt Hoare 1812:78) A coarse urn and burnt bones were discovered within the mound material and a circular cist at a depth of approximately 1.5 metres was discovered with a diameter of 0.5 metres with '*a floor of marl*' (Colt Hoare 1812:78). At the edge of this cist was an interment of burned bones (a further 0.3 metres lower).

It is worth noting at this stage that **CD08** has been discounted from the study, as it is unclear as to whether the barrow is Saxon, Romano-British or a reused Bronze Age barrow. **CD09** is a large flat circular barrow in which Colt Hoare records a primary cremation on a floor '*covered with black ashes and charred wood*' with half burned bones (Colt Hoare 1812:78). **CD10** is a scraped up bowl barrow with no surrounding ditch that has been spread by ploughing and is approximately 0.4 metres high and 21 metres in diameter (EHRSM 31665:1999). The barrow was first excavated by Colt Hoare who discovered a primary cremation to the south of the centre of the barrow accompanied by a grandodiorite hammer axe (Annable 1960:9) and a bone arrowhead or point (Colt Hoare 1812:78). The whereabouts of the bone arrowhead is unknown but the battle-axe is housed at Devizes museum (Figure 66). The barrow was re-excavated by Reverend Steele 1957, who found a

flexed skeleton without dating evidence close to the surface of the remaining mound material. The fill of the primary interment was found to contain Beaker sherds (WAM 57:9).

No dateable evidence was recorded from **CD11**, a low bowl barrow (EHRSM 31665:1999) whereas **CD12** (a bowl barrow) was found to contain a primary cremation in an urn. When reopened by Reverend Steele, much burnt bone and pottery sherds were uncovered (Annable 1960:9). **CD13** is a bell barrow at the northern end of the cemetery. Colt Hoare discovered a primary cremation at a depth of around 2.4 metres close to a MBA urn (Grinsell1957:209), beneath which was a dolerite perforated battle-axe (Figure 66). **CD14** contained the remains of three cremations within urns, the primary cremation being discovered by Colt Hoare and two secondary cremations being excavated by Steele in 1957 (Annable 1960:9). **CD15** was first excavated by Colt Hoare who removed a primary cremation in a crushed urn (Grinsell1957:166). Reverend Steel also discovered a 'substantially intact' inverted LBA urn from a shallow cist (Annable 1960:9) decorated with applied cordons. Finally **CD16** is a ditched bowl barrow 30 metres in diameter

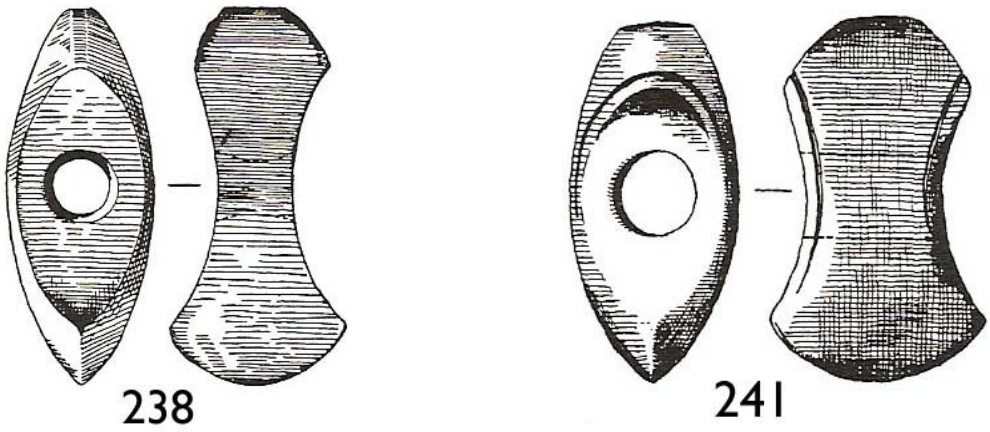

Figure 66: **Left CD10 Stone battle axe; Right CD13 Stone battle axe (Annable and Simpson 1964)**

and 1 metre in height 130 metres east of the main cemetery group. Cunnington discovered a primary cremation in a cist with an intrusive Saxon burial (Grinsell 1957:167) (Osgood 1999:121).

The Codford Down group is best described as a nucleated cemetery (CD06 to CD16) with a possible intervisible link with associated monuments on the other side of the brook (CD01 to CD05). All of the barrows on the northwestern slope are very closely spaced and show a predominance of cremation burials (Figure 65).

3.4 Analysis of the barrow data in ST93NE

This grid contains seventeen of the possible barrows within the study area including fourteen confirmed round barrows (six of which are scheduled). Even though the majority

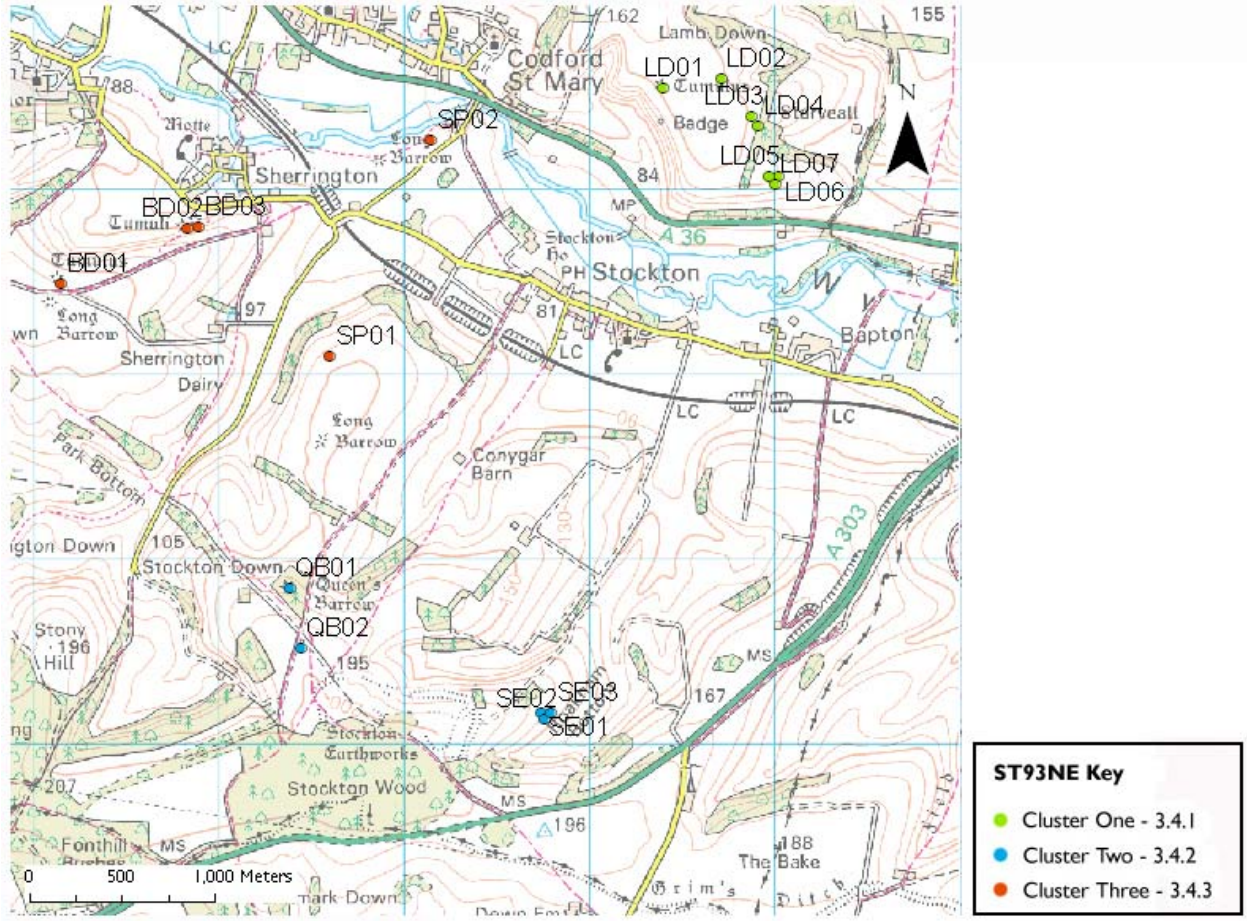

Figure 67: **The monuments of ST93NE** **Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

of this OS grid square lies on the southern valley slope, the focus of the recorded barrows in the SMR are on the northern slope (focussed on Lamb Down).

3.4.1 Lamb Down (LD) Group

The group of seven barrows lies on a chalk hill known as Lamb Down on the southern edge of Salisbury Plain on the northern scarp edge of the valley (Figure 68). **LD01** is a bowl barrow that commands 'extensive views over the Wylye Valley to the south' (EHRSM 31669:1999). Faith Vatcher investigated LD02 to LD07 in 1958 (Figure 69). **LD02** is a small Bronze Age ditched bowl barrow excavated by Vatcher (1962:417) that contained a primary cremation of a child of around 9 years of age (Vatcher 1962:436) with 39 fragments of a collared urn with twisted cord impression (Vatcher 1962:425). The cremation appeared to have taken place *in situ* due to red and black scorch marks (Figure 70). The urn appeared to have been '*purposely scattered before the building of the mound'* (Vatcher 1962:425). The form is typical of many similar urns of the Wessex Culture (Vatcher 1962:431) with horizontal cord impressions on the collar. In the north east quadrant of the barrow there was a piece of another collared urn with diagonal fine cord impressions possibly relating to a ploughed out secondary burial. There was also abraded ceramic evidence indicating pre-barrow activity on the old land surface beneath the barrow. There were 3 sherds of Windmill Hill pottery of a pinkish brown colour, a fragment of a small cup and three Beaker sherds were recovered (two probable B Beakers and one a-C Beaker) (Vatcher 1962:431-2). The barrow is small compared with an average Wessex Culture barrow possibly indicating either a hasty burial or that of a less important individual (Vatcher 1962:435).

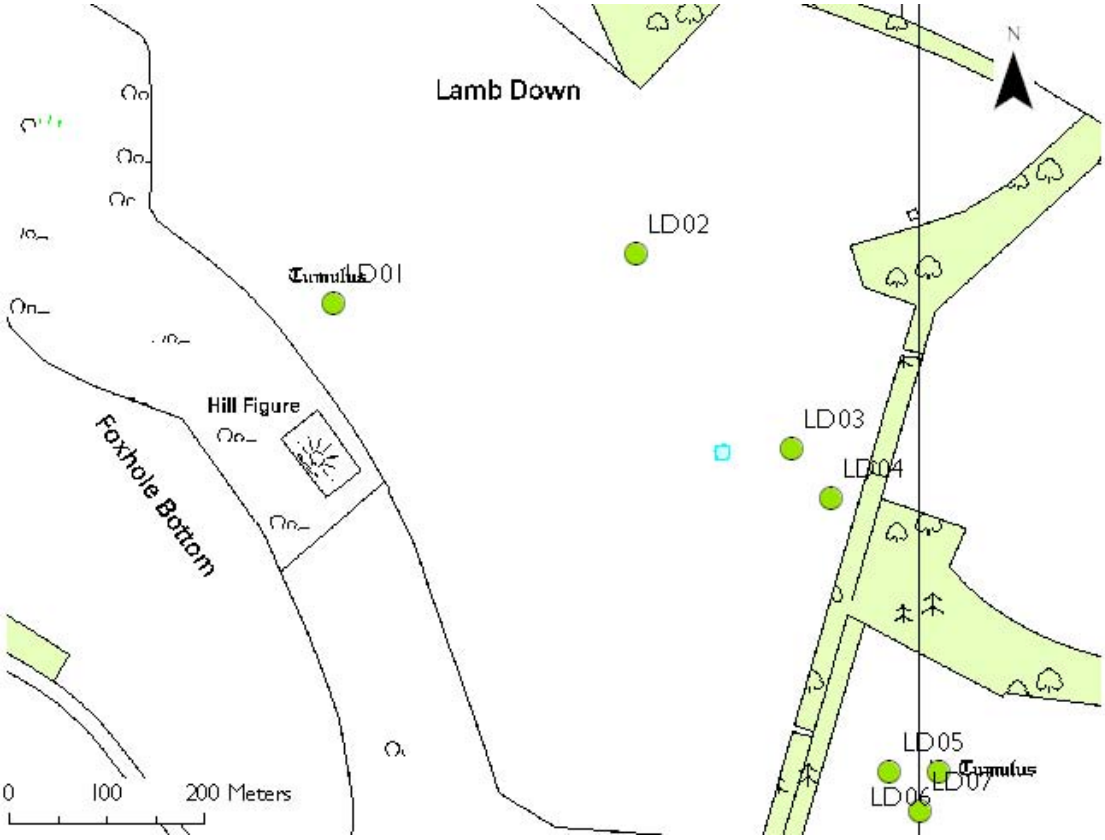

Figure 68: **Lamb Down Group** **Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

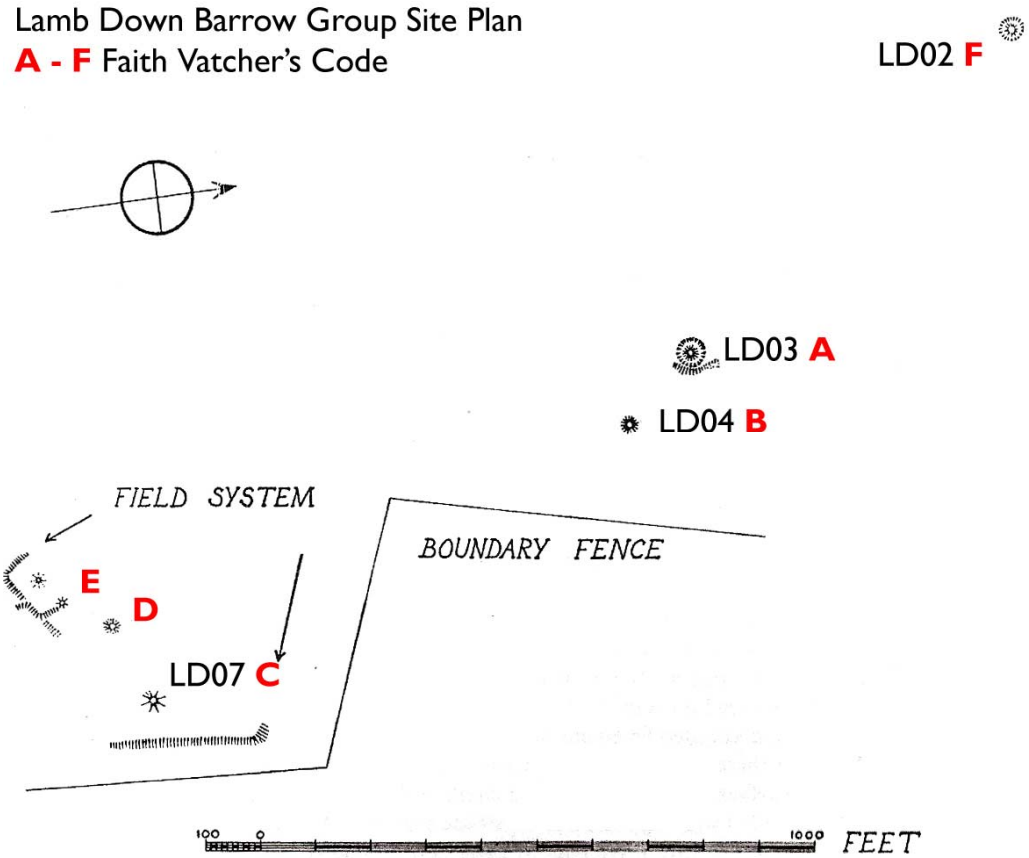

Figure 69: **Lamb Down Group excavation plan (after Vatcher 1962)**

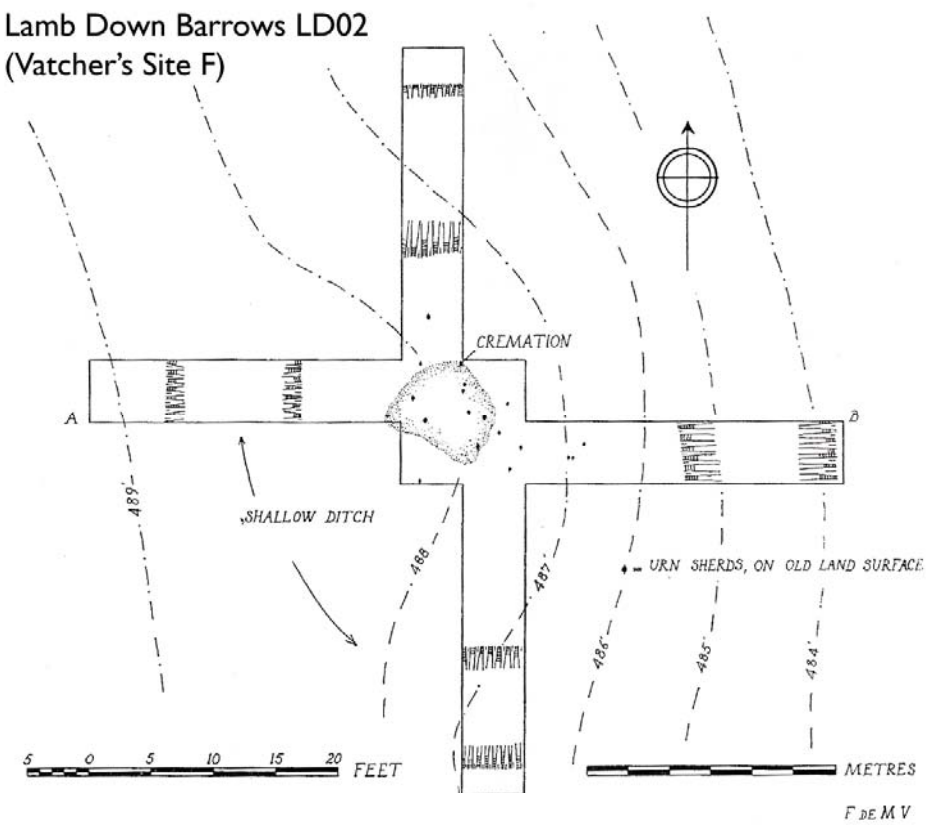

Figure 70: **LD02 Site Plan (Vatcher 1962)**

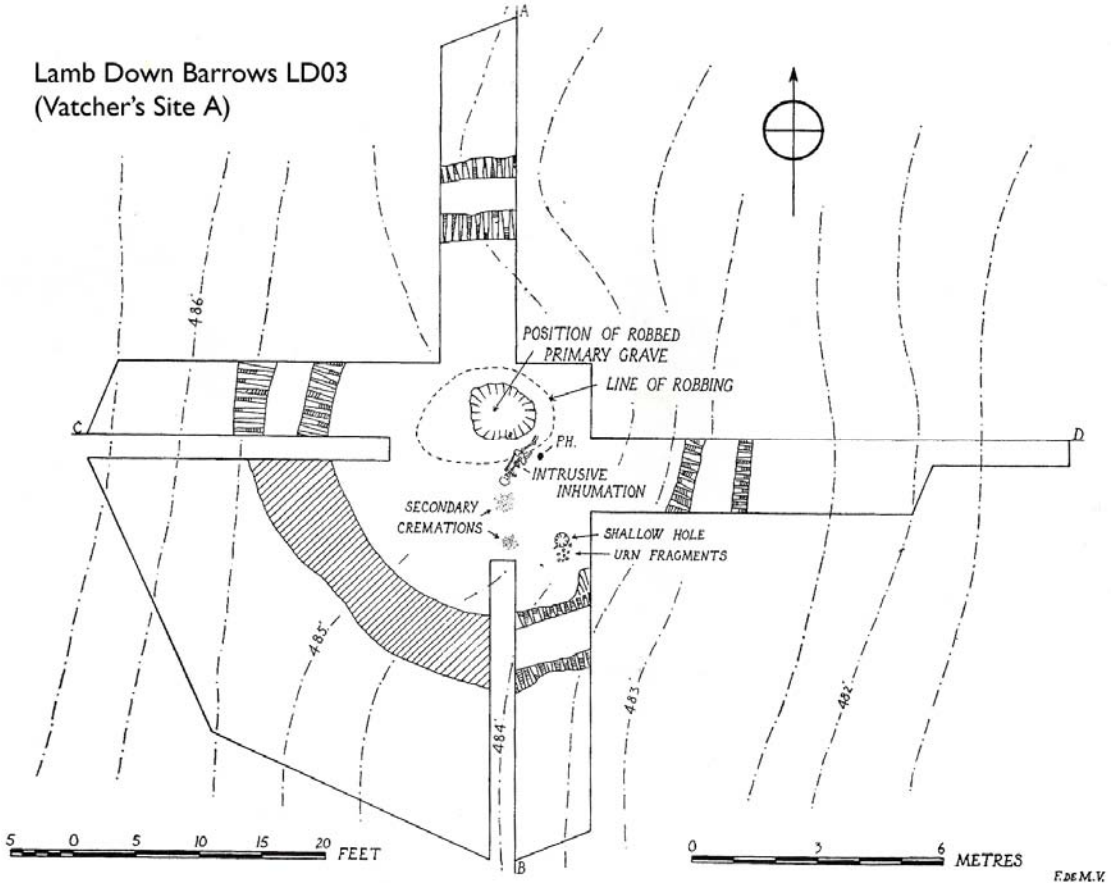

Figure 71: **LD03 Site Plan (Vatcher 1962)**

LD03 was a ditched bowl barrow with a low bank with a probable Beaker period inhumation (Figure 71) that had been robbed in antiquity from a cist grave with the skull of a large adult male (Vatcher 1962:436). Two unaccompanied secondary cremations were found to the south of an intrusive later burial (Vatcher 1962:419) and in the southeast area of the mound several sherds of a Collared Urn were excavated with decoration reminiscent of Beaker decoration (Vatcher 1962:426). In the ditch of the barrow's western side were fragments of a large Deverel Rimbury urn, such as usually accompanies secondary cremations and may be of a similar date to the Collared Urn (Vatcher 1962:427). In the ditch on the eastern side were many fragments of a nail-impressed pot dating to the Middle Bronze Age.

LD04 was a scraped up bowl barrow with no ditch found to contain the remains of a crouched child burial aged around 8 years old (Vatcher 1962:420) with B Beaker undecorated pottery fragments. In an adult cremation pit to the south west of the child were further abraded sherds of Beaker pottery, also of a probable B Beaker form (Vatcher 1962:429) which appear to have been scraped back into the filling of the pit either from a scatter of fragments on the surface at the time or from the remains of a second pot associated with the child inhumation. A further child cremation in a cist was discovered southwest of the adult cremation that was not associated with any burial goods (Vatcher 1962:422). **LD05** has not been included in the study as it is most likely to be a throw out from a First World War trench rather than a barrow.

LD06 was a scraped up bowl barrow 18 metres in diameter and 0.3 metres in height 300 metres to the north of White Farm and situated at the top of a gentle east facing slope on the edge of Lamb Down (EHRSM 31670:1999). The barrow was either the barrow which Colt Hoare opened and discovered '*a fine sepulchral urn inverted over a pile of burned bones in*

a cist' (Colt Hoare 1812:81) or (more likely) was Romano-British in date with an accidentally incorporated sherd of Deverel-Rimbury pottery (Vatcher 1962:435). **LD07** is an undated bowl barrow (Figure 72) excavated initially by Colt Hoare who found a primary cremation beneath a MBA collared urn (Colt Hoare 1812:81) and subsequently by Vatcher in 1958 (1962:422).

The Lamb Down Group cannot be considered to be a discrete cemetery group due to the lack of spatial organisation and the large geographical area over which the barrows are spread (Figure 73). Based upon the ceramic evidence, the barrows appear to belong to different periods with no evidence of chronological development. The earliest barrow was

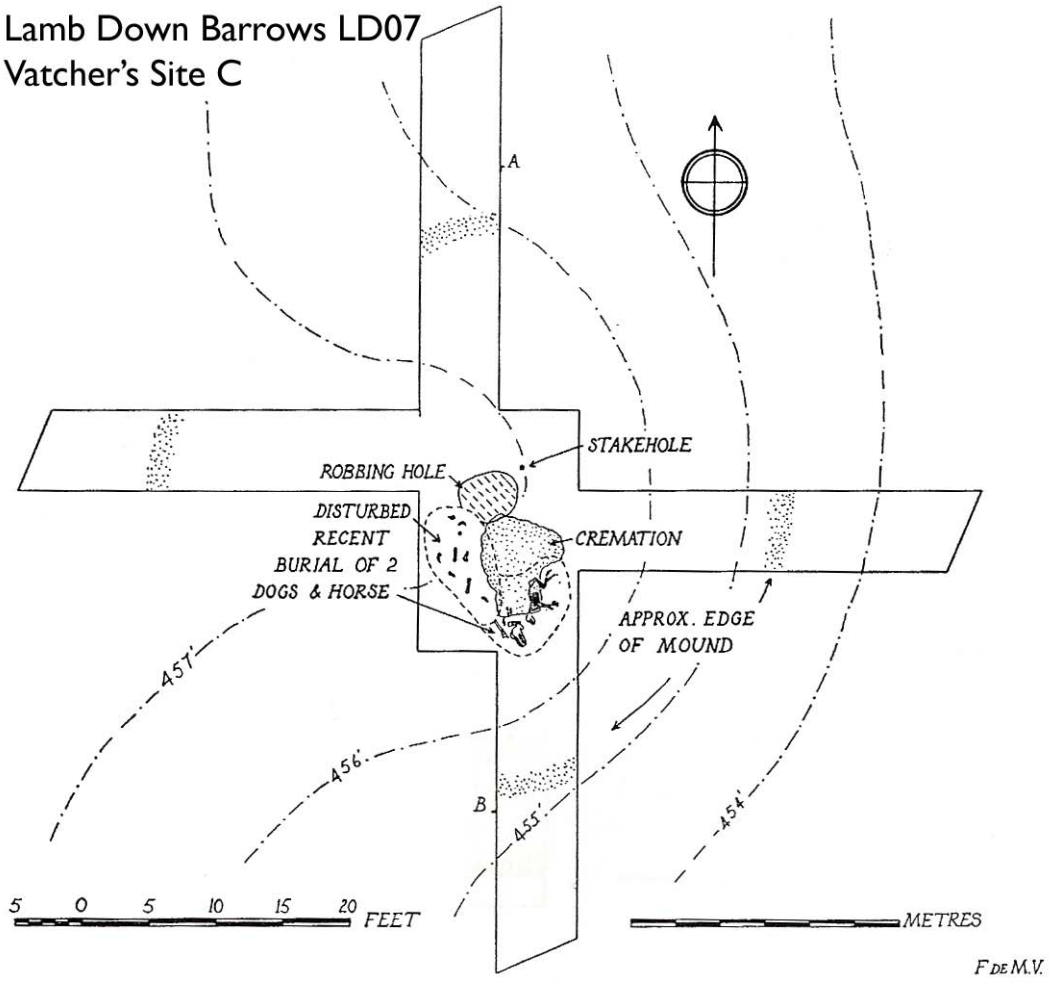

Figure 72: LD07 Site Plan (Vatcher 1962)

LD04 (with the B Beaker), then the primary burial at LD03 (either of A Beaker or Wessex I date), then during Wessex II LD02 was built over the floor of a child cremation and a collared urn was ritually broken and scattered. The evidence of a pyre is unusual in Wiltshire and the breaking of pottery is an interesting insight into the beliefs of the social group who built the barrow (apparently hastily) (Vatcher 1962: 434).

At a later date a small MBA urn was inserted into LD03 and other (unaccompanied) cremations were placed at LD03 and LD04. This action or some similar activity at LD03 resulted in the sherds of nail-impressed pottery becoming included in the ditch.

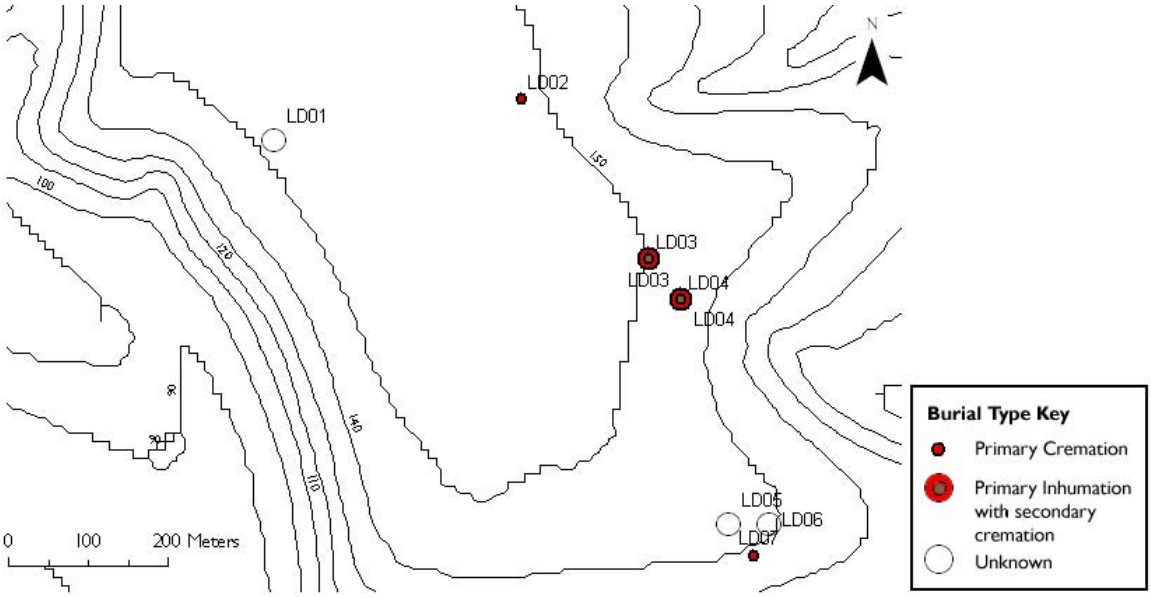

Figure 73: **Lamb Down Burial Types** **Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.4.2.1 Stockton Earthworks (SE) Group

SE01, **SE02** and **SE03** were three undated bowl barrows on the southern scarp edge of the valley that were possibly excavated in the 19th century. Grinsell (1957) suggests that they were bulldozed during the Second World War. All three of the barrows would have been situated within 50 metres or less of one another, making them a nucleated group.

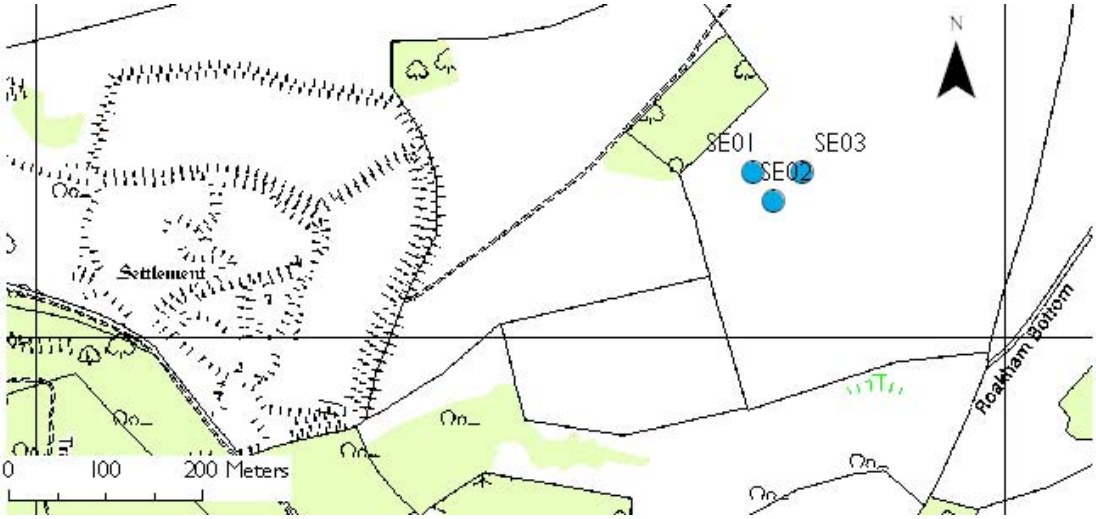

Figure 74: **Stockton Earthworks Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.4.2.2 Queen's Barrow (QB) Plantation Pair

QB01, a ditched bowl barrow, is more commonly known as Queen's Barrow that is situated on the southern scarp edge of the valley (Figure 75). The barrow is set below the crest of a north-facing slope in an area of undulating chalk downland (EHRSM 12350:1992) and was probably opened by Cunnington who found a primary cremation in a cist covered with large flints (Annable 1960:216). To the south east of Queen's Barrow lies **QB02**, a possible bowl barrow identified by Willoughby via aerial photography.

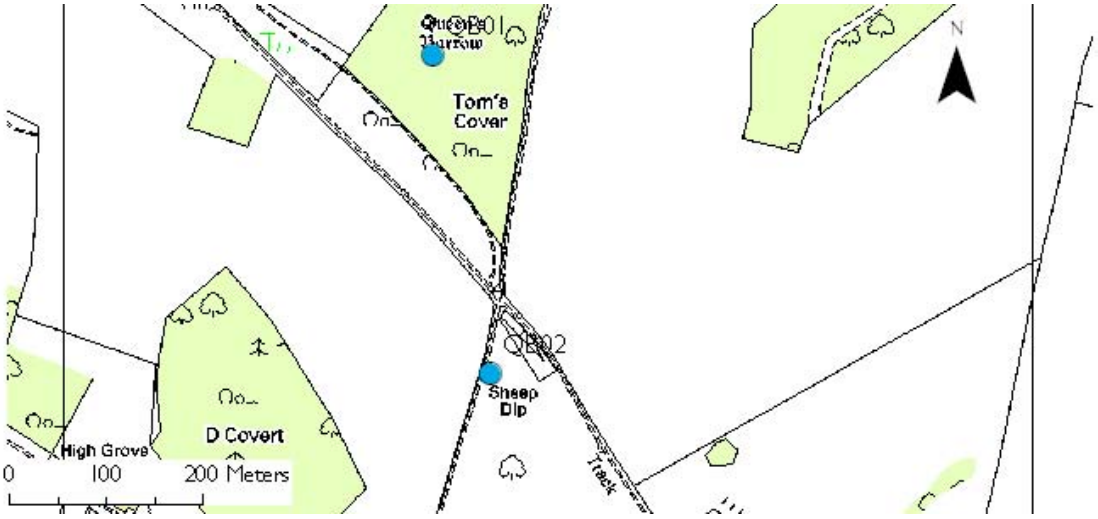

Figure 75: **Queen's Barrow Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.4.3.1 Sherrington Plantation (SP) Group

Two ring ditches are visible on aerial photographs of Queen's Barrow on the southern slope of the Wylye Valley and on the valley floor that have been labelled **SP01** and **SP02**. These are identified as potential ploughed out round barrows.

3.4.3.2 Boyton Down (BD) Group

The group of three barrows, on the southern slope of the Wylye Valley, lies close to Corton long barrow, an ovoid mound orientated east-west (Figure 77). Partial excavation of the mound by Cunnington produced eight skeletons contemporary with the construction of the monument, as well as two later cremation burials in a pottery urn (EHRSM 12341:1992). **BD01** is a ditched bowl (EHRSM 12340:1992) that was opened by Cunnington who discovered a primary cremation with later intrusive burials (Colt Hoare 1821:101) (Grinsell 1957:161). **BD02** is one of a pair of ditched bowl barrows. The barrow appears to have been excavated in the nineteenth century. **BD03** is approximately 60 metres to the east of BD02 and appears to have been opened in antiquity (Grinsell 1957:190). As a cemetery group the Boyton Down group is really two nucleated groups of barrows on the same valley slope but it is interesting that when viewed from the valley bottom, all three barrows would have been close to the long barrow (Figure 78).

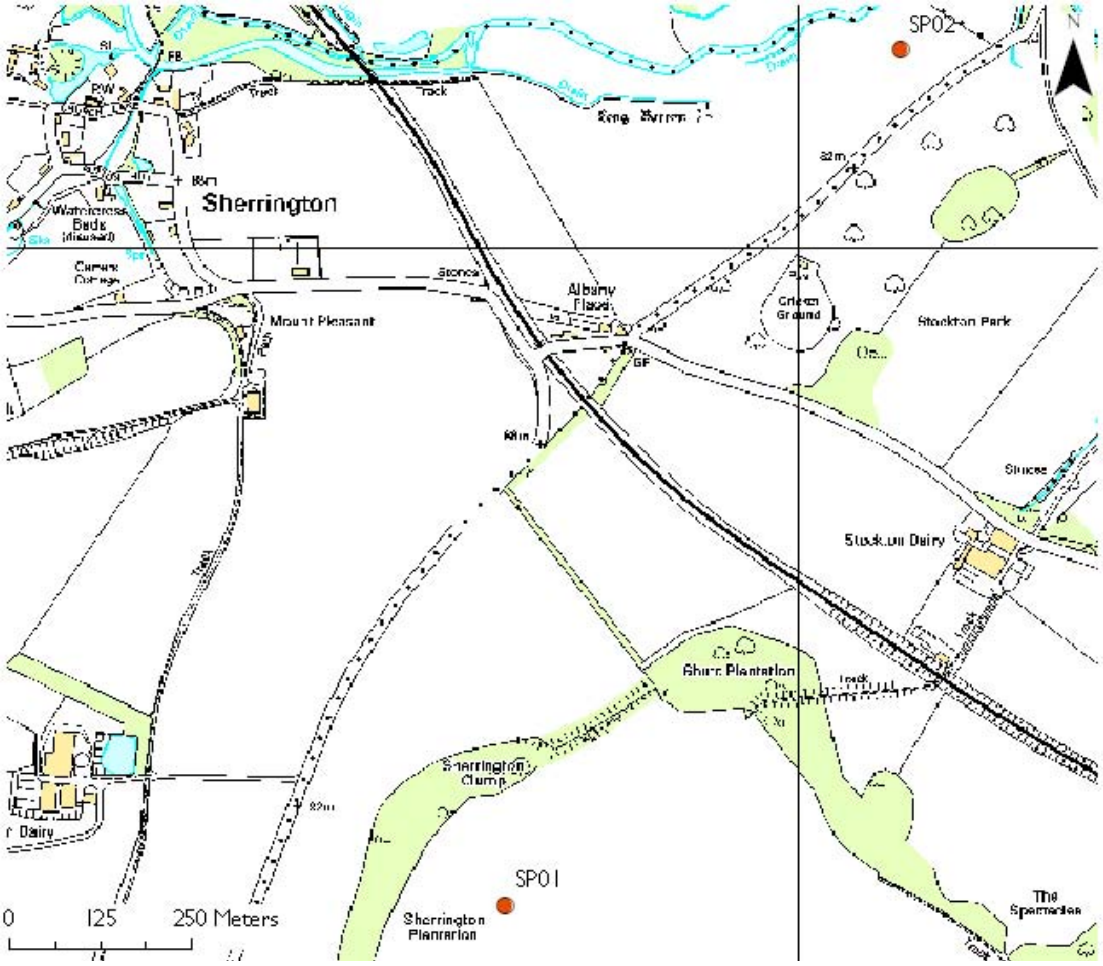

Figure 76: **Sherrington Plantation Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

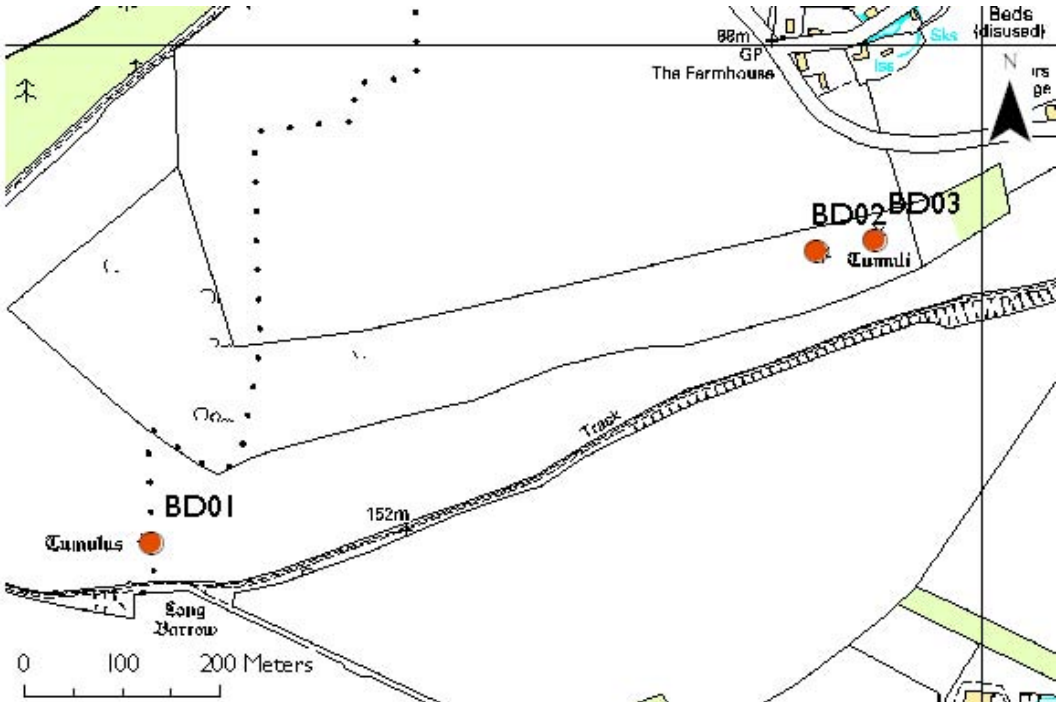

Figure 77: **Boyton Down Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

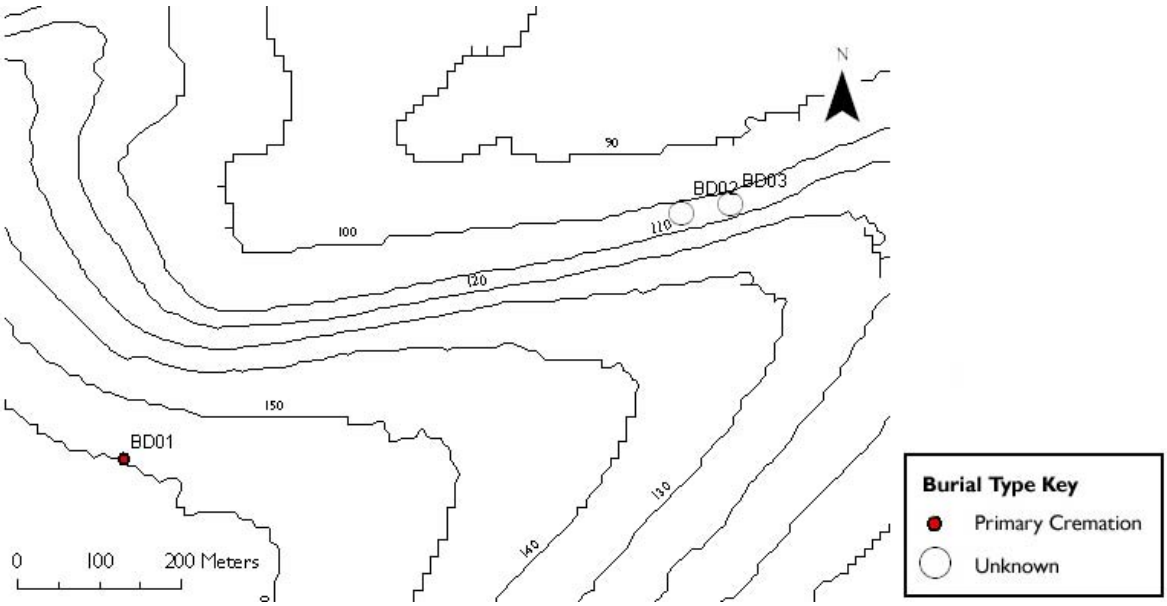

Figure 78: **Boyton Down Burial Types Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.5 Analysis of the barrow data in ST93NW

This grid contains nine of the possible barrows within the study area (Figure 79) all of which appear to be confirmed round barrows (three of which are scheduled).

3.5.1 Eastern Barrows

This group of bowl barrows is located on the southern scarp edge of the Wylye Valley. **EB01** and **EB02** are two undated bowl barrows to the west of Sherrington Pond (Figure 80). **EB03** is also an undated bowl barrow to the east of Long Bottom. When the site was visited the barrow was barely visible within the field. **EB04** is a bowl barrow opened by Cunnington in 1804 (Grinsell 1957:161). He discovered a primary inhumation in a cist grave accompanied by a B1 Beaker and a small cup of a similar date.

3.5.2 Western Barrows

This group of bowl barrows is also located on the southern scarp edge of the Wylye Valley to the west of the previous group. **WB01** and **WB02** are two bowl barrows to the north of Long Bottom and can be seen in Figure 81 (EHRSM 31671:1999). The barrows are situated at the top of a south-facing slope and are surrounded on all sides by a late prehistoric field system.

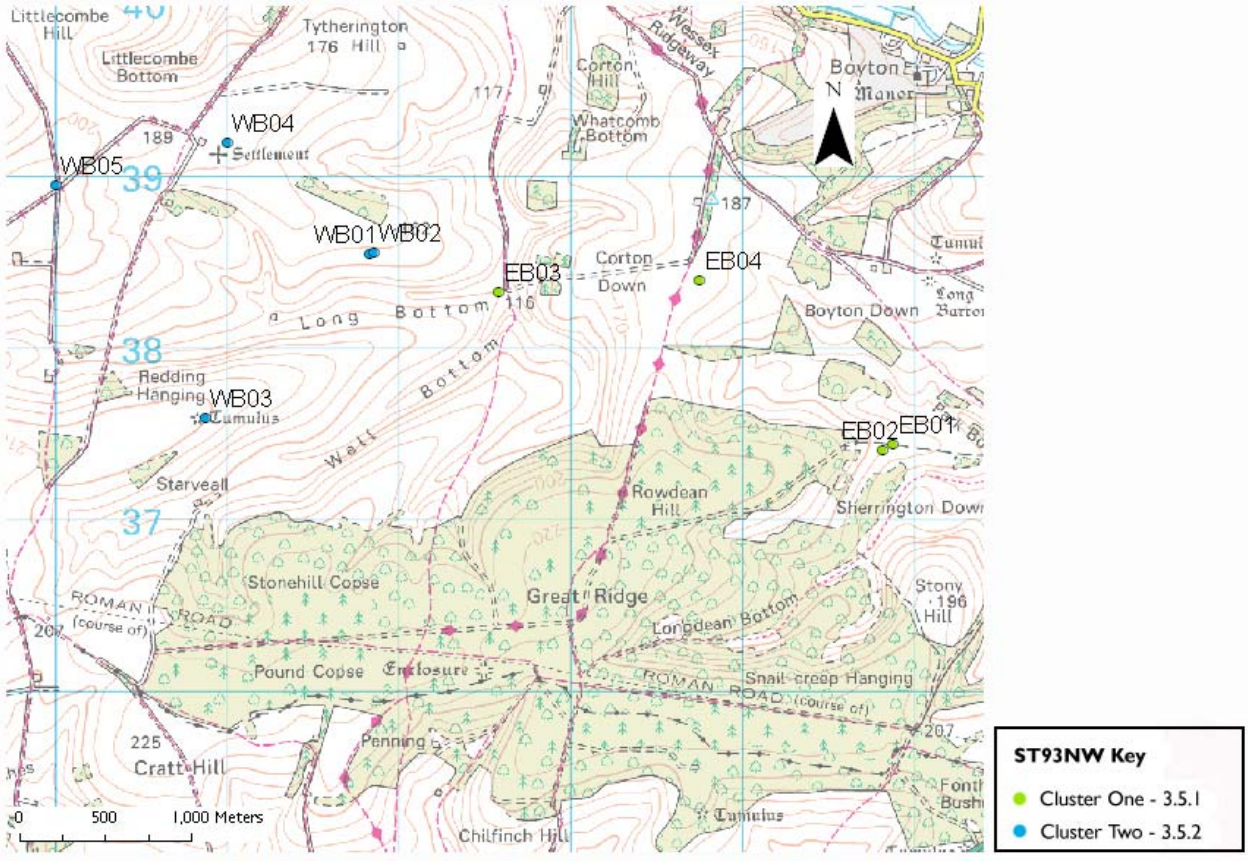

Figure 79: **The monuments of ST93NW** **Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

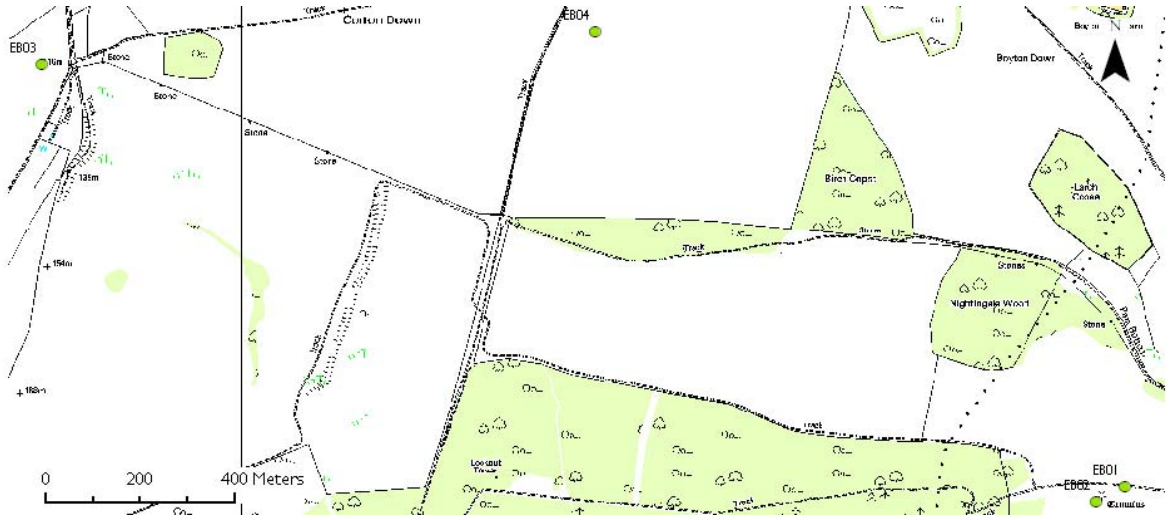

Figure 80: **Eastern Barrow Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

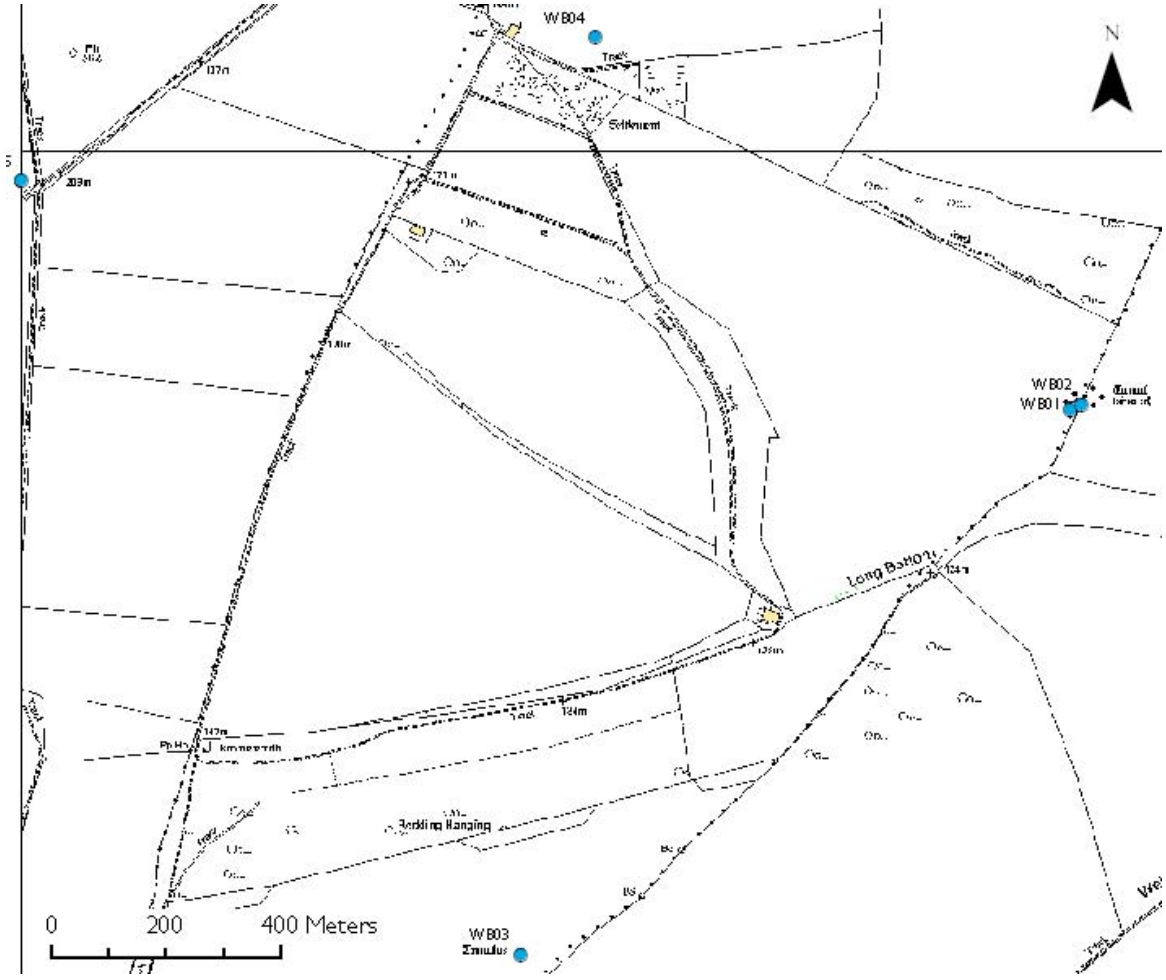

Figure 81: **Western Barrow Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

WB02 is no longer visible and **WB01** is only approximately 0.5 metres in height. **WB03** is a scheduled ditched bowl barrow 500 metres to the north of Starveall. The barrow mound is 14 metres in diameter and 0.6 metres high (EHRSM 12322:1991). **WB04** is a small low barrow under which Colt Hoare uncovered a crouched primary inhumation with two arrowheads and a drinking cup (Grinsell 1957:178). **WB05** is an undated mound that Grinsell (1957) believed to be a bowl barrow.

3.6 Analysis of barrow data in SU03NW

This grid contains thirty-one of the possible barrows within the study area, including

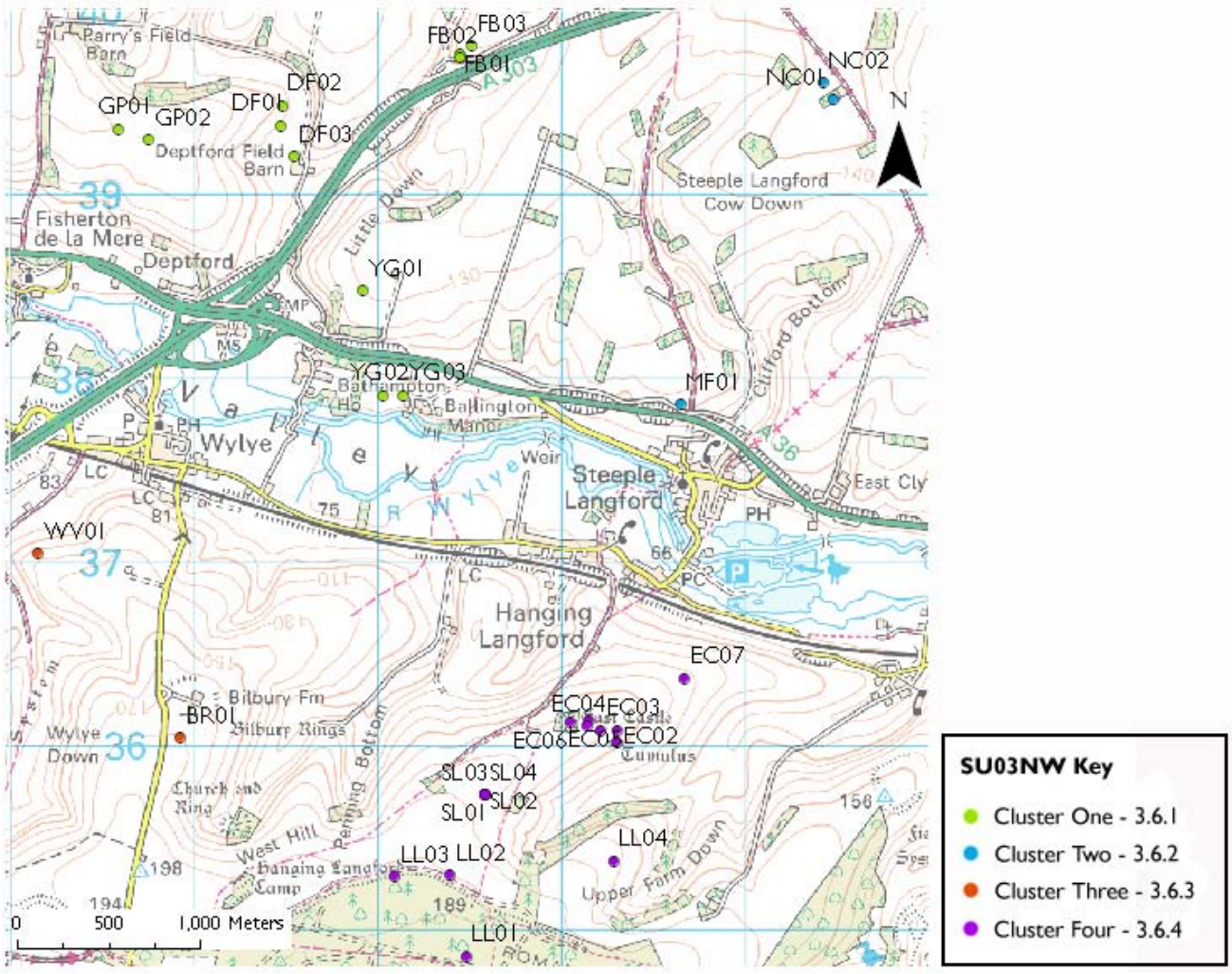

Figure 82: **The monuments of SU03NW** **Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

twenty-one confirmed round barrows (six of which are scheduled). The barrows (or potential barrows) have been split into four distinct clusters, as shown in Figure 82) and into eleven further groups within the four clusters.

3.6.1.1 Field Barn Group

FB01, **FB02** and **FB03** (Figure 83) are three undated bowl barrows on the northern scarp edge of the Wylye Valley that appear to have been excavated in antiquity (Grinsell 1957:191). They form a nucleated group focussed on the southwestern spur of the down.

Figure 83: **Field Barn Group** **Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.6.1.2 Yarnbury Grange Group

YG01 is an undated bowl barrow on the northern scarp edge of the valley which may be the one excavated by Newall in 1956 (WCCSMR 2008). To the south of the barrow are two ring ditches, located on the valley slope, which may be the ditches of round barrows (based on aerial photography) and are labelled in Figure 84 as **YG02** and **YG03**.

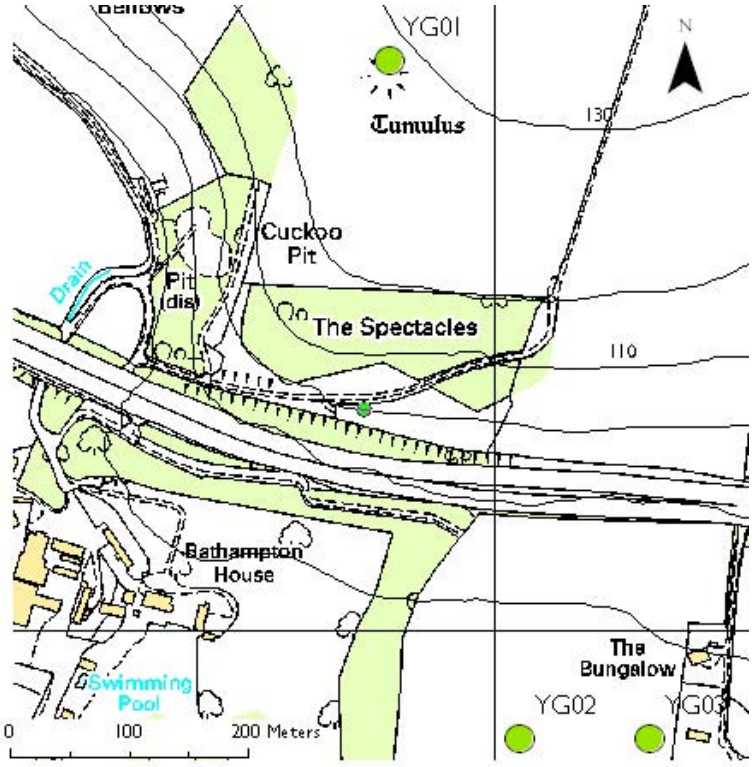

Figure 84: **Yarnbury Grange Group** **Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.6.1.3 Deptford Field Barn Group

In a similar manner to the Yarnbury Grange group, the Deptford Field Barn group contains one confirmed barrow and two ring ditches on the northern scarp edge of the valley (Figure 85). **DF01** is a bowl barrow that was opened by Lush in around 1908. He found a primary cremation and a miniature vessel (Passmore 1942:118). The handle of a beaker and two sherds of grooved ware were also found in the fill of the grave as shown in Figure 86 (Passmore 1942:117).

DF02 and **DF03** are two ring ditches that are visible on aerial photography. They are between 100 and 200 metres from the confirmed bowl barrow and may form an area cemetery.

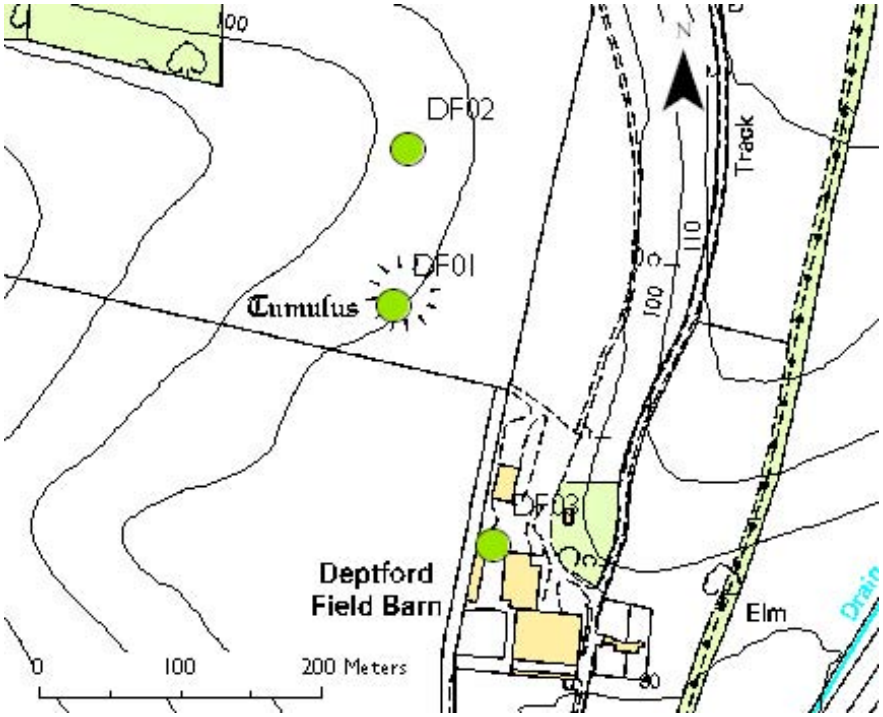

Figure 85: **Deptford Field Barn Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

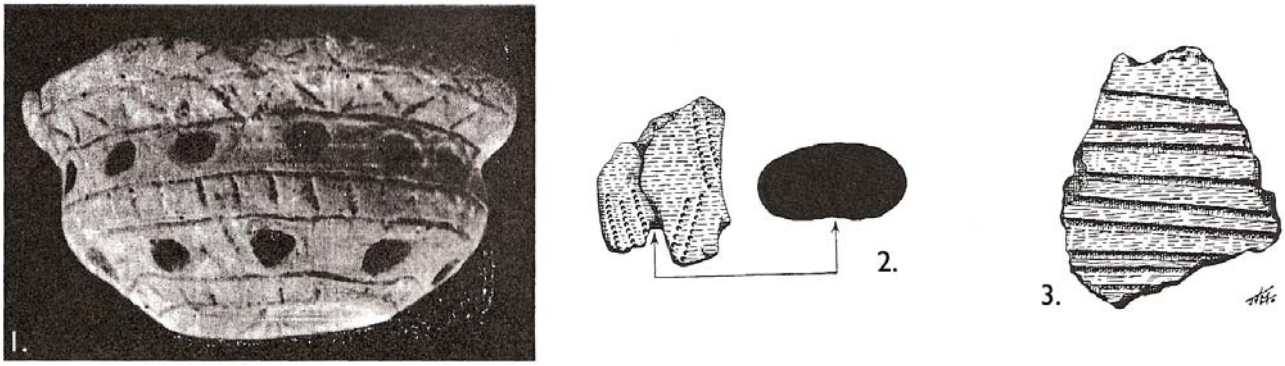

Figure 86: **DF01 1. Miniature vessel 2. Beaker ware handle 3. Grooved ware (Passmore 1942)**

3.6.1.4 Gilbert's Plantation Pair

GP01 and **GP02** are two ring ditches located on the northern scarp edge of the valley that were identified via aerial photography by English Heritage (Figure 87). They are separated from one another by around 180 metres and if they were to be confirmed as ploughed out round barrows, they may be associated with the Deptford Field Barn group to the east.

3.6.2.1 New Covert Pair

NC01 was an undated bowl barrow that Grinsell identified in 1950 (1957:191). When the Ordnance Survey visited the site in 1956 the barrow was already found to have been ploughed out, emphasising the speed at which barrows can be ultimately destroyed. **NC02** is an undated ring ditch approximately 100 metres to the northwest of NC01 (Figure 88). Both of the barrows are located on the far side of the northern scarp edge of the valley.

3.6.2.2 Manor Farm Feature

MF01 is an undated ring ditch situated on a false crest on the northern slope of the Wylye Valley escarpment (Figure 89). Spatially it is similar to some of the barrows in the Scratchbury Hill group.

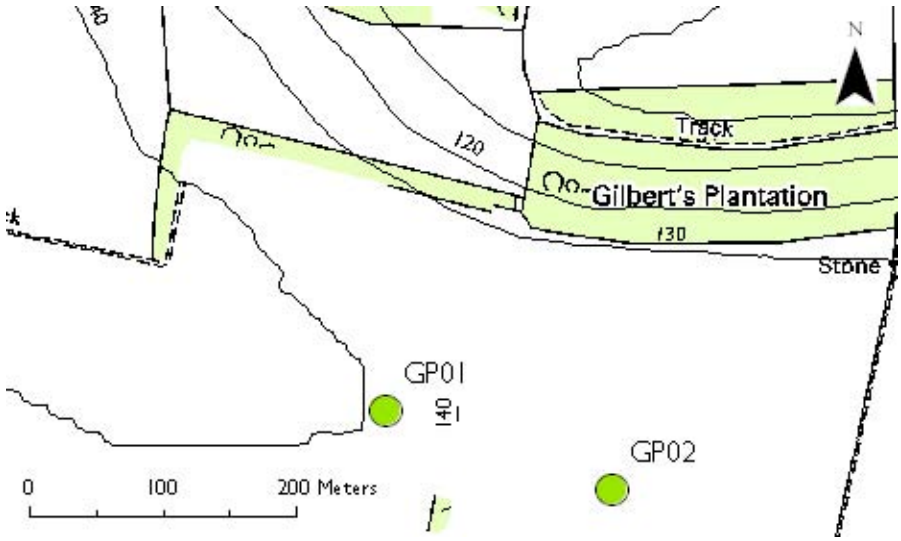

Figure 87: **Gilbert's Plantation Pair Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

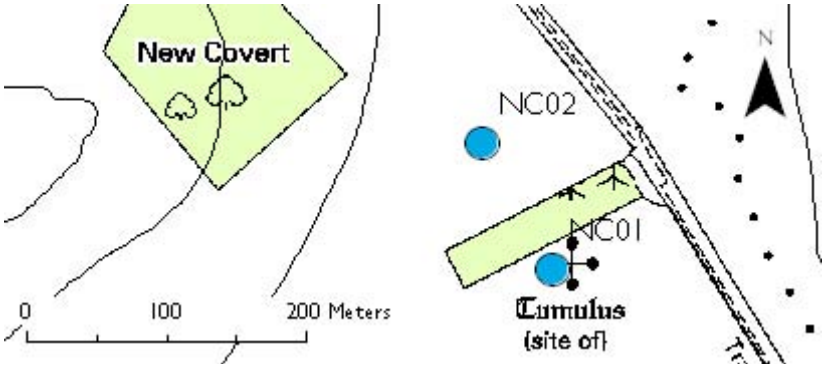

Figure 88: **New Covert Pair Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

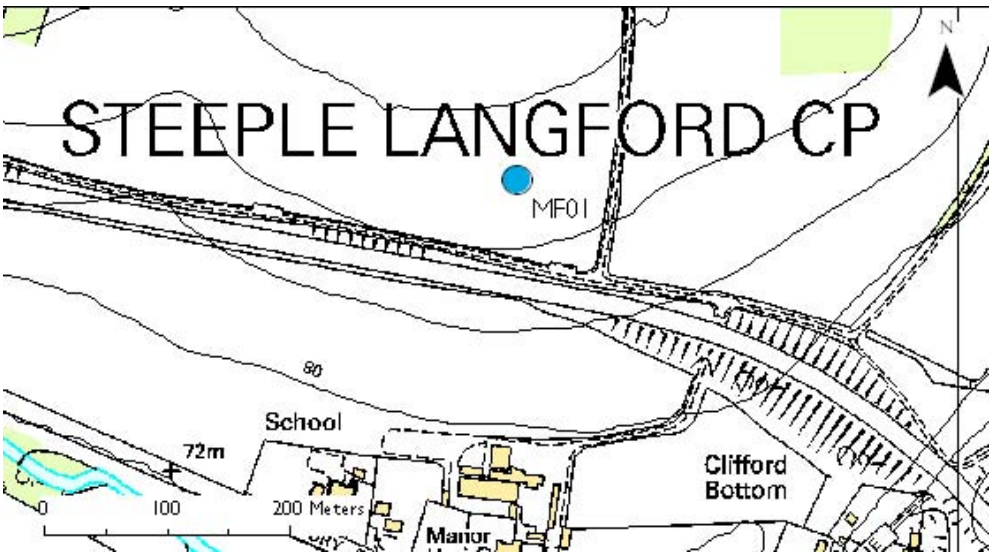

Figure 89: **Manor Farm Feature Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

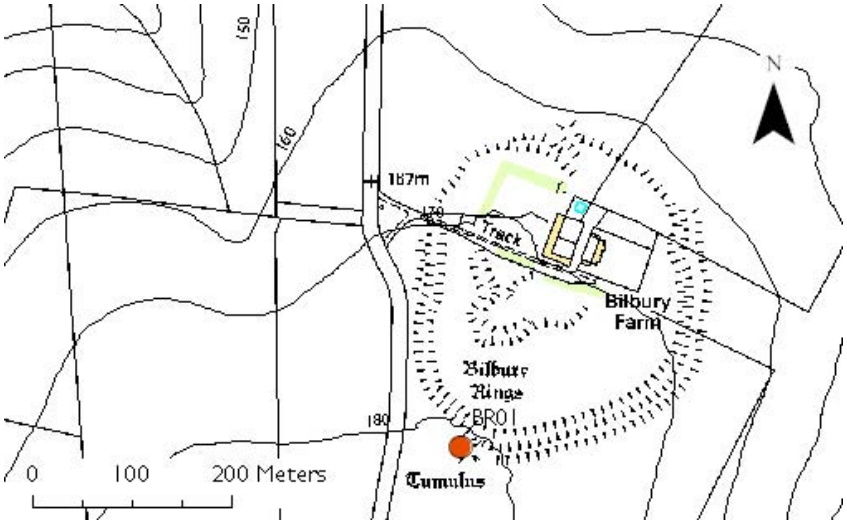

Figure 90: **Bilbury Rings Barrow Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.6.3.1 Bilbury Rings Barrow

BR01 is a bowl barrow located on the southern slope of the valley that was opened by Colt Hoare where, near the centre, he found a cremation in a shallow excavation (Colt Hoare 1812:108).

3.6.3.2 Wylye Village Barrow

WV01 is an undated bowl barrow on the southern slope of the Wylye Valley with a good view of the valley bottom below. It is not close to any other barrows but is associated with other prehistoric finds such as a Bronze Age thumb scraper and Neolithic mace head

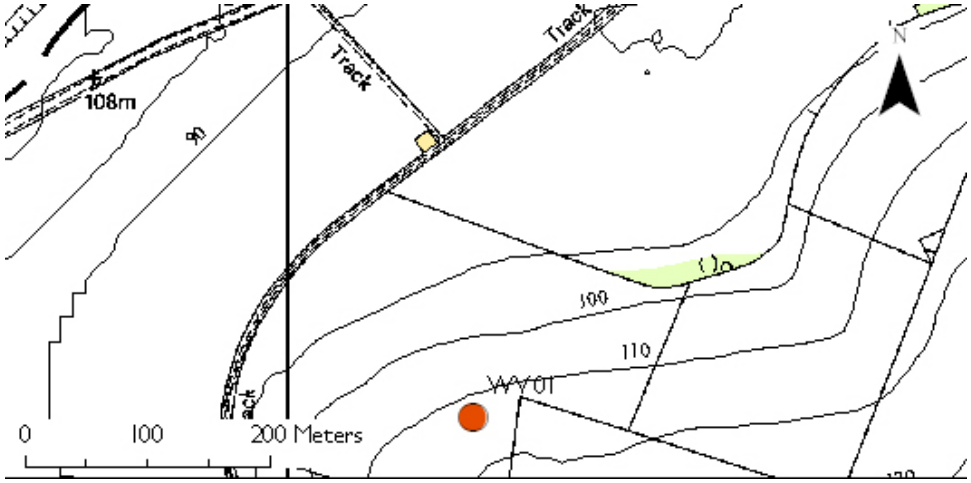

Figure 91: **Wylye Village Barrow Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

that were excavated within the ring itself (Annable 1965:135).

3.6.4.1 East Castle Group

The East Castle group is located on the southern scarp edge of the valley. **EC01** is a bowl barrow marked on the Ordnance Survey map as a 'tumulus' (Figure 92). Grinsell (1957:191) considered the barrow to be the one named 'Brocenan Beorh' in AD956. **EC02** to **EC05** are undated bowl barrows to the east of East Castle barrow in a linear alignment spaced approximately 100 metres apart, making them a linear cemetery (with a nucleated element between EC04 and EC05).

EC06 is either a bowl or disc barrow (the Ordnance Survey records that is 'probably a disc barrow' and Colt Hoare (1812:111) considered it to bear '*the appearance of a Druid barrow'*) that was opened by Colt Hoare (Grinsell 1957:191). The barrow contained no burial according to Colt Hoare, but it produced pottery sherds and a bone pin. **EC07** is a ring ditch which is visible on an aerial photograph over 400 metres to the north of the cemetery group.

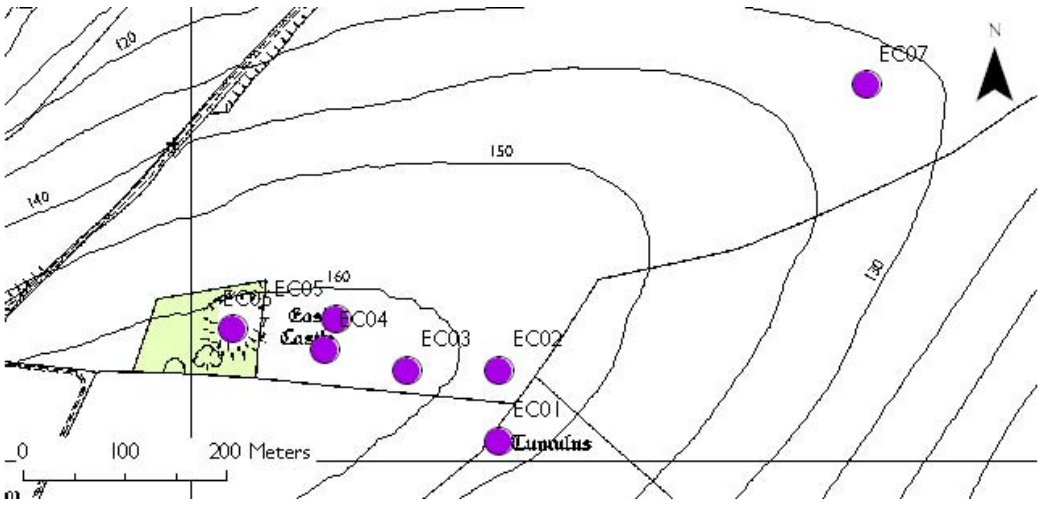

Figure 92: **East Castle Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.6.4.2 Langford Long Group

The Langford Long group is located on the southern scarp edge of the valley. **LL01** is believed to be a barrow called '*Swinesbarrowe*' on a map of Grovely in the Pembroke Survey of 1589 (WCCSMR 2008). **LL02** is the approximate site of a round barrow (see Figure 93) that was mapped by Colt Hoare but (due to vegetation) was not recorded by Grinsell (1957:191). **LL03** is also only a possible site of a round barrow that was mapped by Colt Hoare. Grinsell considered it to have probably been destroyed in the Second World War (Grinsell 1957:169) Finally, **LL04** is a ring ditch that is visible on aerial photographs. If this were a ploughed out barrow, LL04, LL02 and LL03 would form a linear element within an area cemetery.

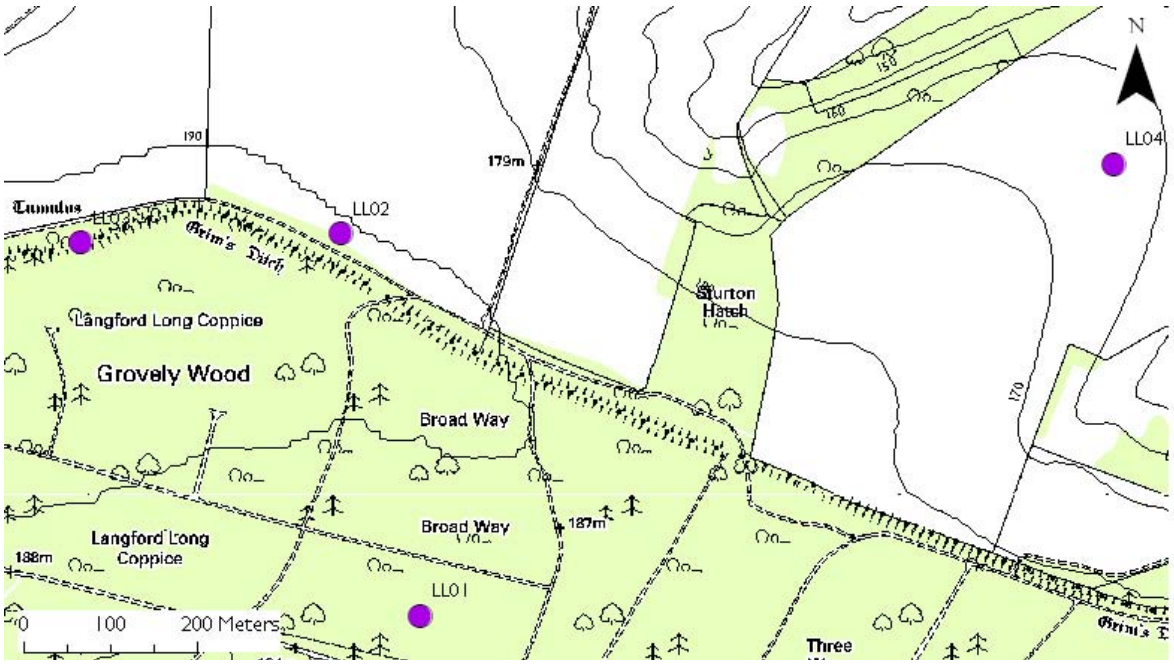

Figure 93: **Langford Long Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.6.4.3 Steeple Langford Group

SL01 to **SL04** is the site of four round barrows, located on the scarp edge of the southern slope of the valley, which were mapped in the early 19th century by Colt Hoare

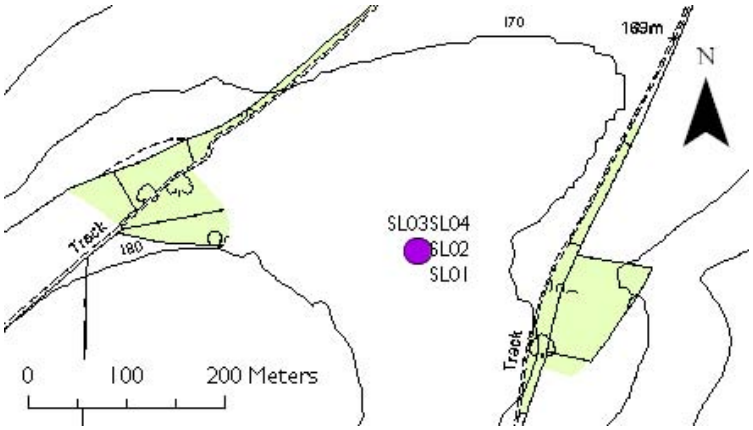

Figure 94: **Steeple Langford Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

(1812) that have since been levelled (Grinsell 1957:191). Since their exact position is unclear, they have been plotted as one general location shown in Figure 94 (especially as no finds where recovered to confirm that they were round barrows).

3.7 Analysis of barrow data in SU03NE

This grid contains fourteen of the possible barrows within the study area including five confirmed round barrows (three of which are scheduled). All of the confirmed barrows are on the northern escarpment (Figure 95), but physical excavation of the ring ditches to the south may reveal barrows similar to those seen higher up the valley in the Norton Bavant Group.

3.7.1 Lawn Group

The Lawn group is located on the northern scarp edge of the valley. **L01** is an undated bowl barrow (Grinsell 1957:191) close to two ring ditches (Figure 96). **L02** is the nearest ring ditch to L01 and appears to be a levelled bowl barrow that is visible as a ring ditch on aerial photographs (WCCSMR 2008). Further to the east is **L03**, another undated ring ditch.

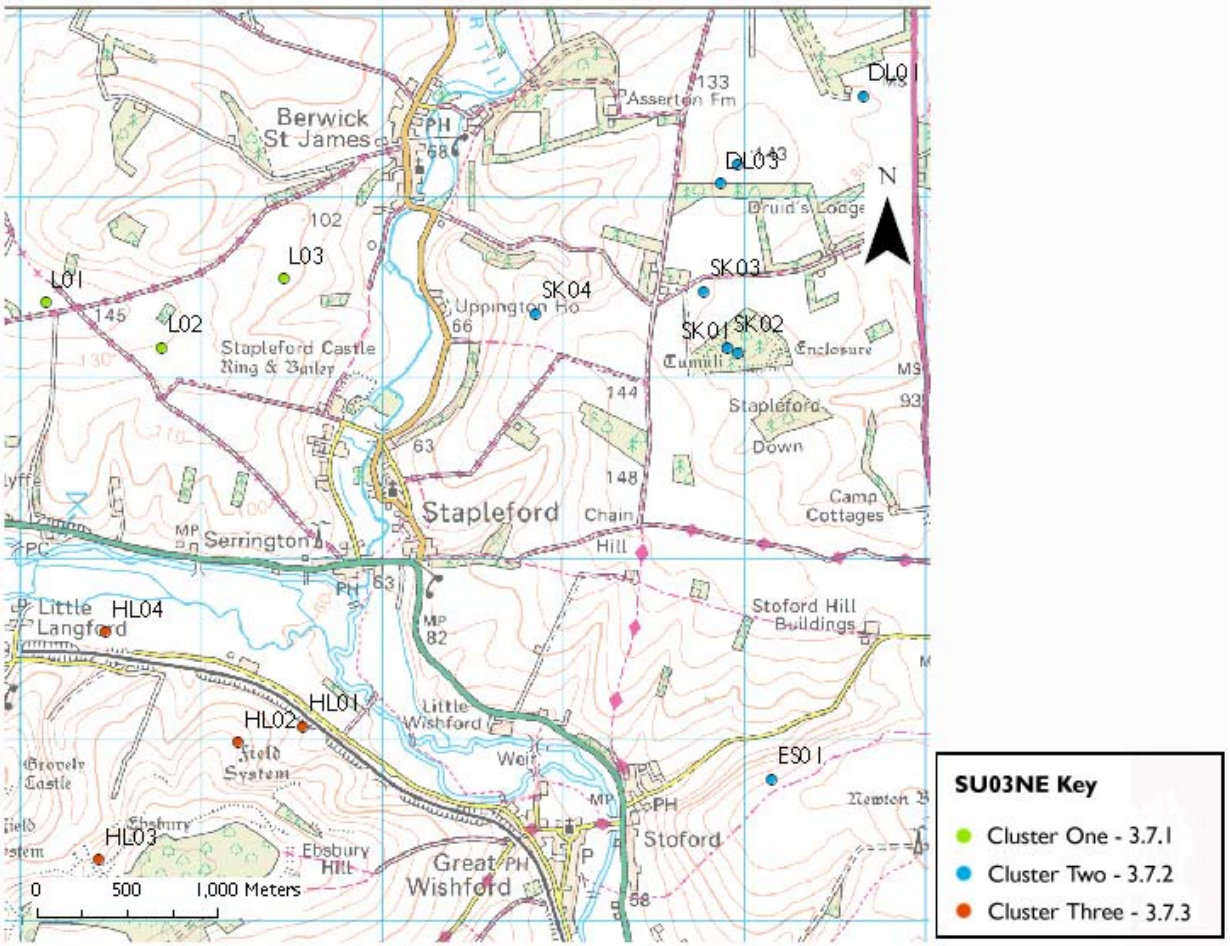

Figure 95: **The monuments of SU03NE Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

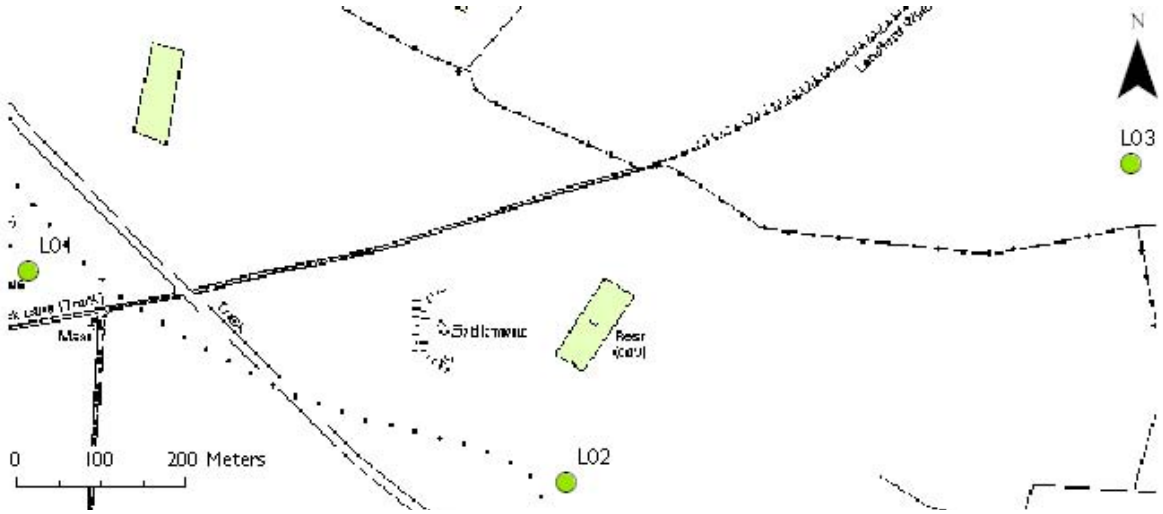

Figure 96: **Lawn Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.7.2.1 Druid's Lodge Group

The Druid's Lodge group contains two confirmed barrows and one ring ditch that is a probable barrow, all of which are located on the northern scarp edge of the Wylye Valley (Figure 97). **DL01** is a cropmark of a ring ditch visible on aerial photographs that may be the site of an undated bowl barrow which Grinsell (1957:155) believed to have been destroyed. The barrow can be seen on the 1st edition OS map (1879) (Figure 98).

DL02 is an undated, levelled round barrow visible on aerial photographs and **DL03** is a ring ditch that was plotted by the National Monuments Record staff from aerial photographs (WCCSMR 2008).

3.7.2.2 South Kite Group

SK01 and **SK02** are two undated bowl barrows within the South Kite enclosure (Grinsell 1957:191) and are inside woodland. **SK03** was a bowl barrow composed largely of flints that has now been ploughed out. **SK04** is an undated levelled round barrow that is visible on aerial photographs as a ring ditch. The South Kite Group is an area cemetery on the northern scarp edge of the valley with a nucleated element present (SK01 and SK02).

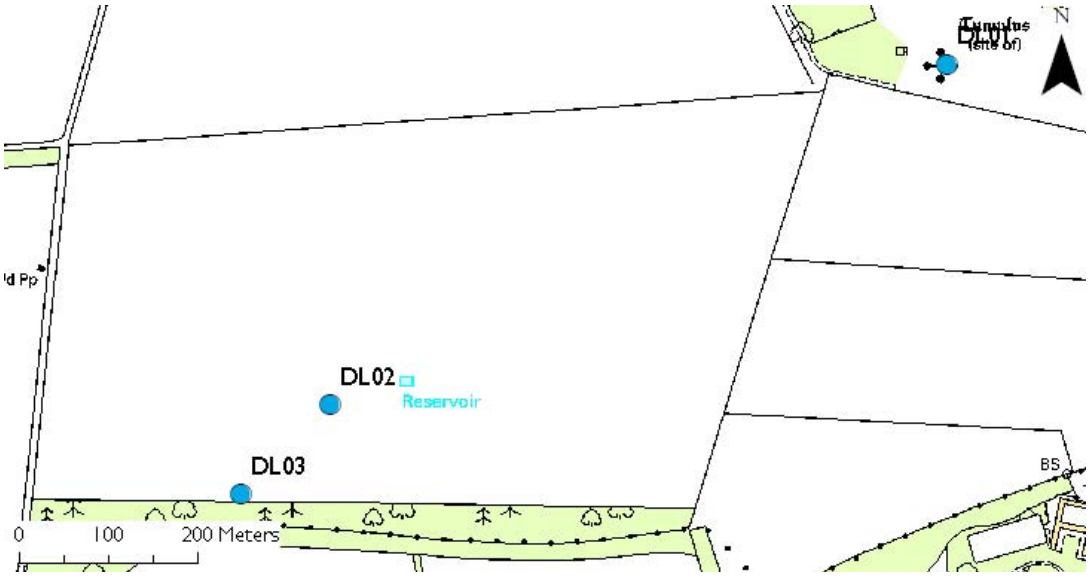

Figure 97: **Druid's Lodge Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

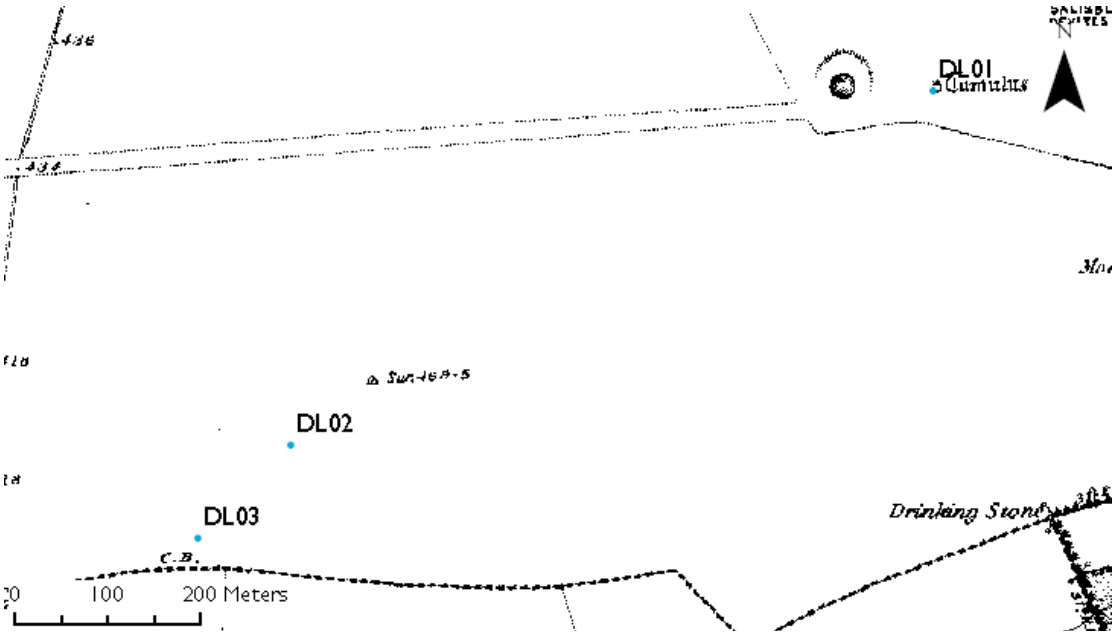

Figure 98: **Druid's Lodge Group (1st Edition OS Map) Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

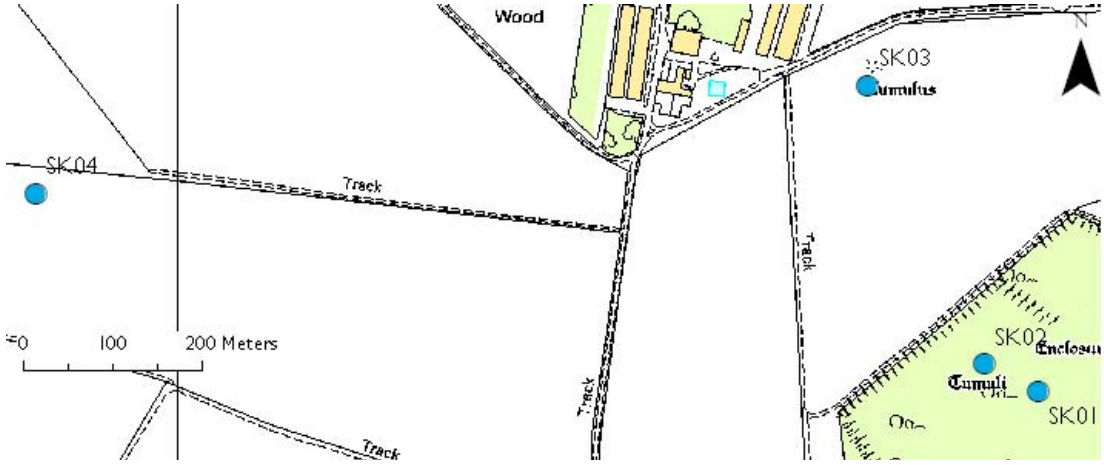

Figure 99: **South Kite Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.7.3 Hungerford Lodge Farm Group

The Hungerford Lodge Farm Group does not contain any confirmed barrows (Figure 100), as **HL01** to **HL04** are all undated ring ditches (located on the southern slope of the Wylye Valley) plotted from aerial photographs (WCCSMR 2008). Even if they were to be confirmed as barrows through excavation, they are too spread out to be considered an area

cemetery but they have been included in the study as their position is similar to the nearby East Castle Group.

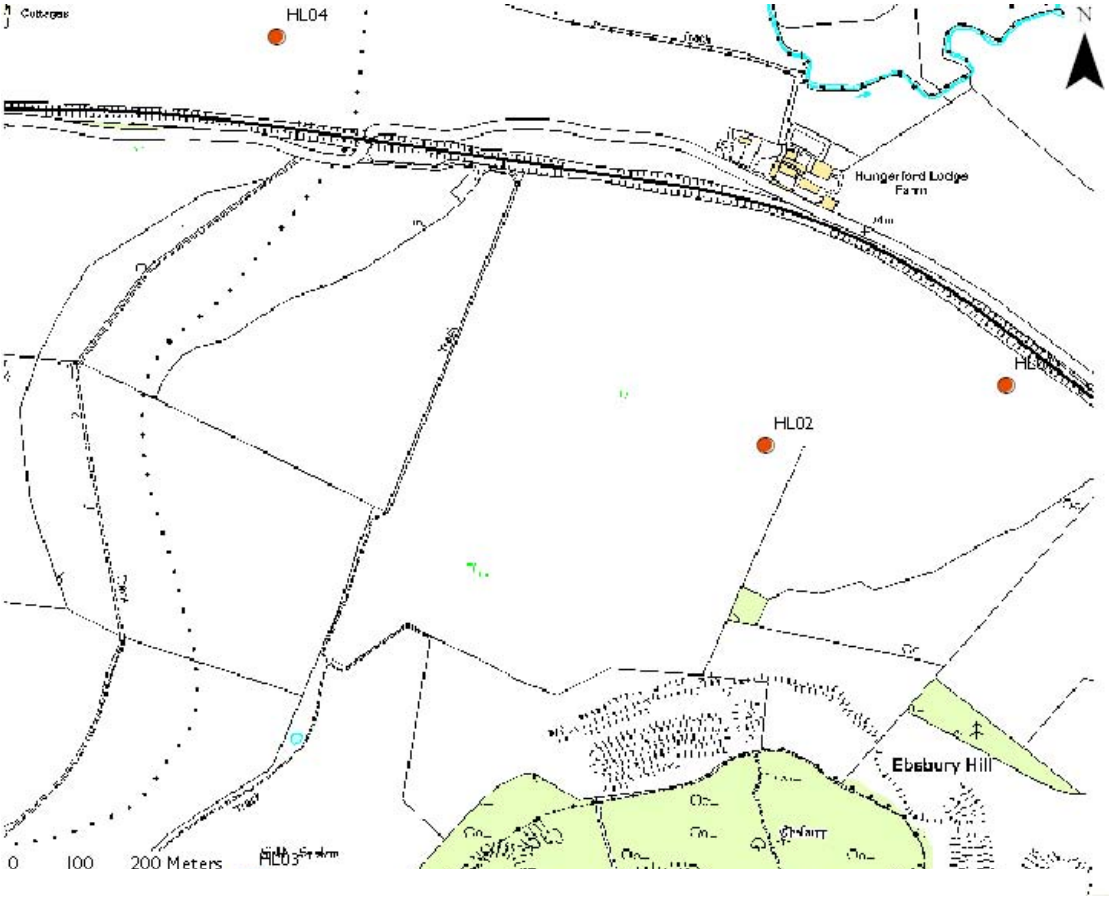

Figure 100: **Hungerford Lodge Group Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.8 Analysis of barrow data in SU03SE

The final grid contains only two barrows (Figure 101). More barrows were included in the 'data dump' from the SMR but were not included as they were considered to be part of the Nadder Valley rather than the Wylye Valley. This is also why no barrows from SU03SW have been included. The barrows comprise of one confirmed round barrow that is scheduled.

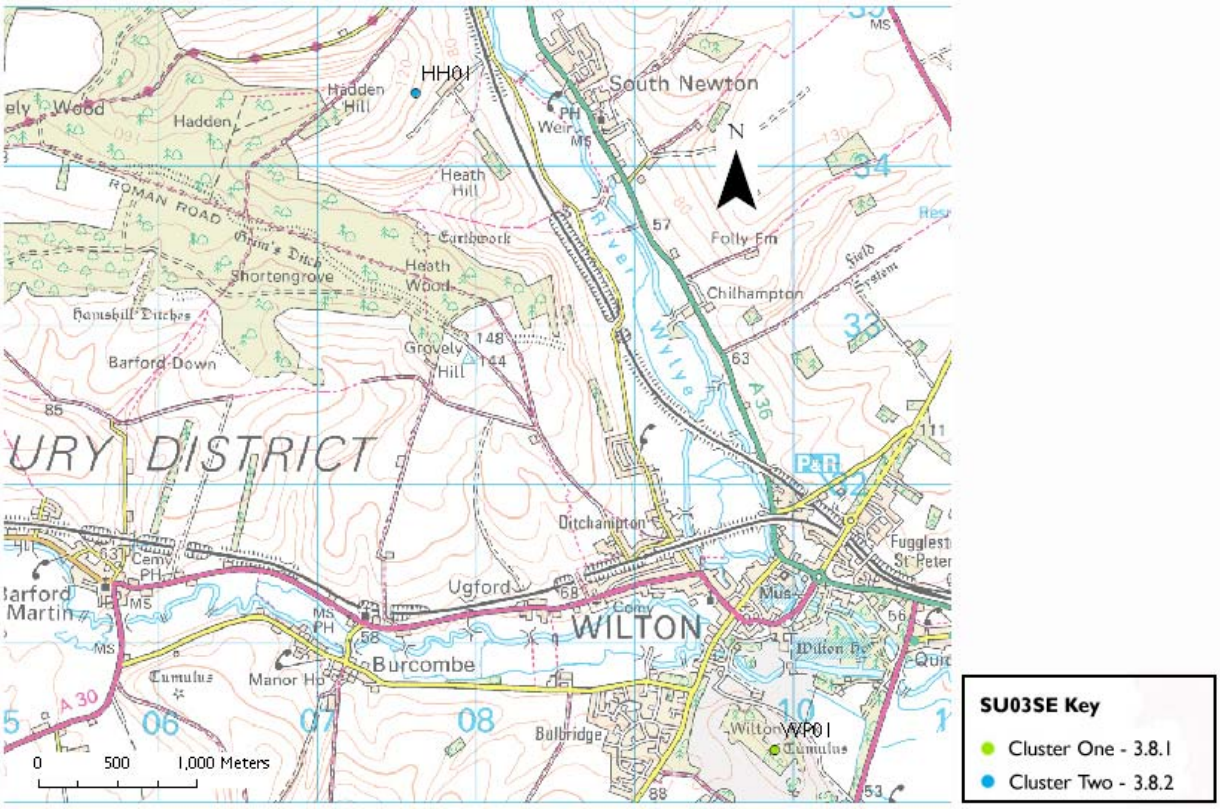

Figure 101: **The monuments of SU03SE Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

3.8.1 Wilton Park Barrow

WP01 is a scheduled bowl barrow surrounded by a ditch just inside the copse that forms the eastern perimeter boundary for Wilton Park on the southern slope of the Wylye Valley (Figure 102). From the barrow the view back up the Wylye valley is particularly striking and pleasing (Figure 103).

Figure 102: **Wilton Park Barrow Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

Figure 103: **WP01 View north towards South Newton**

3.8.2 Hadden Hill Feature

Finally HH01 is an undated ring ditch on the southwestern slope of the Wylye Valley that may be part of a larger field system or a ring ditch from a round barrow (Grinsell 1957: 276) (Figure 104).

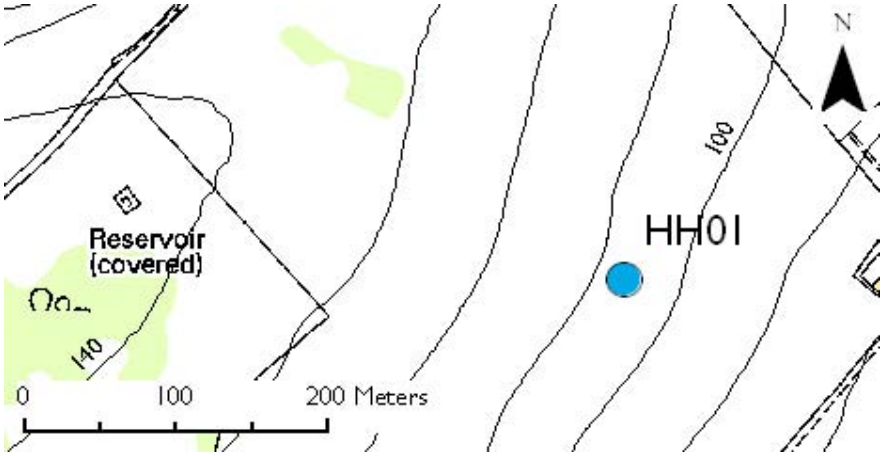

Figure 104: **Hadden Hill Feature** **Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

4. Interpretation

4.1 Spatial patterns in the siting of monuments

The definition of barrow clusters has been refined over the course of the analytical section of this thesis and distinct groupings of barrows have been collected together as barrow 'cemeteries'. The barrow cemeteries have been compiled based upon the work of Fleming (see Figure 15) and the division of landscape strategy used by Field (1998:310) and almost without exception the cemeteries contain fewer than ten mounds and often fewer than five, in accord with Barrett (1984:86). These cemetery divisions cannot show the whole picture of the monumental architecture of the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in the Wylye Valley, due to the undoubted absence of barrows that were destroyed after the area was recorded in detail and the funerary deposits that were missed during archaeological recording or destroyed before the barrows were even excavated. Spatial analysis in archaeology allows generalisations to be made that can stimulate higher-level theoretical inferences (Seibert 2006:xiii) and the observable patterns in the Wylye Valley barrows can help direct further research.

When inferring meaning behind the spatial patterns observed in the 'cemetery' groups in the Wylye Valley, visibility and intervisibility seem to have been a measurable concern for monument builders when they designed the prehistoric landscape, just as they were to the cemetery builders situated near Stonehenge (Green and Rollo-Smith 1984:312). The places selected for the deposition of individuals are unlikely to have been arbitrary (Barrett 1988:32) and would have followed the routines and rituals set in the Neolithic period. The ability to see earlier monuments from round barrows seems to have frequently been a significant factor (Lawson 2007:209). The barrows situated in the Wylye Valley are often located on high ground in accord with Field's observation that mounds are frequently

observed to lie on elevated ridges to ensure each site is highly visible (1998:315) and are often sited close to the edge of the area visible from the ancient focal point (Exon *et al* 2000:26-8).

It seems more likely that the view of the Wylye Valley from below the barrow groups was of significance, as highlighted by the position of MH02, MH03 and MH04 in the Middle Hill Group on the southern slope of the hill. Here the barrows are positioned to be in clear view if the viewer was positioned on the valley floor whereas on the eastern slope they would have benefited from increased intervisibility with the nearby barrows on Scratchbury Hill. Where intervisibility between monuments is present, such as that between the Scratchbury Hill and Cotley Hill groups, the presence of active funerary mounds in close proximity may have been a method of expressing inter-group relationships through the media of unchanging monumental architecture (Garwood 2007:47).

Barrows such as BD01 BD02 and BD03 appear to have been carefully sited along the scarp edge to become visible from lower ground and make reference to the long barrow that would have been present in the landscape (Figure 105). This may indicate the importance of the position of the viewer as well as the significance of the spatial location of the barrow itself to the people who constructed the barrows (Lawson 2007:210). It is clear that the disposal of human remains in the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age did not require the construction of a barrow, as simpler forms of burial (such as flat graves) are present throughout the Neolithic. The construction of the barrow itself therefore may have held a deeper meaning than purely funerary (Owoc 2006:8).

Round barrows do not always occur on high ground, as Heytesbury, Tytherington and The Knoll groups attest. The development of aerial photography and contract-based archaeological excavation such as that at NB06 indicates that the concentrations of barrows

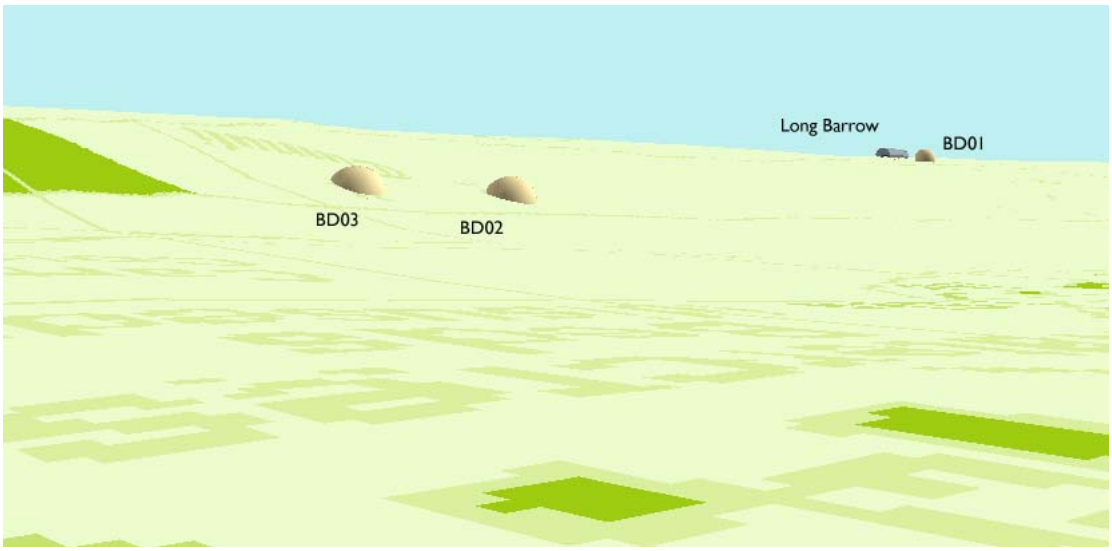

Figure 105: **View of the Boyton Down barrow group from the valley floor**

on high ground only represent the surviving part of a wider distribution of monuments associated with a larger area of the Wylye Valley that have been demolished by cultivation in later periods (Bradley 2007:154).

The extensive open spaces within the Wylye Valley landscape that allow intervisibility between sites such as the Wylye Village barrow and Gilbert's Plantation Pair as shown in Figure 106 may have been almost as spacious during the Early Bronze Age (Field 2001:57). The importance of former places (and their boundaries) through memory for the people who lived in and near the valley would have been augmented through the construction of an ancestral presence in monuments (Field 2001:58).

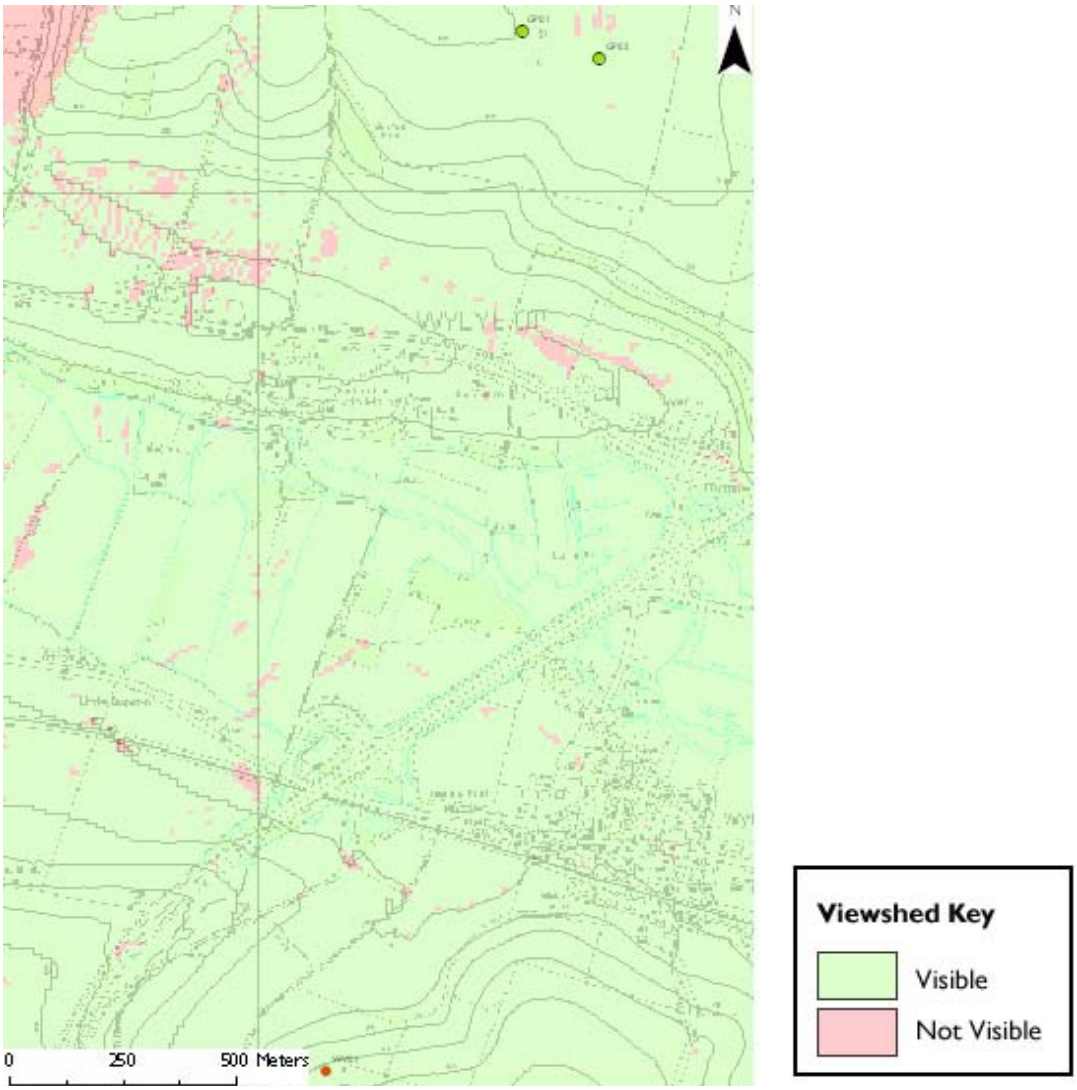

Figure 106: **Viewshed of WV01, GP01 and GP02 Map: (c) Crown copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.**

Enclosures and open sites have a tendency to be grouped around the edge of the chalk and along river valleys in the Early Bronze Age (Field 2001:58) and therefore the barrows sited on the top of the slopes of the Wylye Valley would have existed on the limit of any land units within areas of pasture (Parker Pearson 1999:90). It is possible that individual barrows which show evidence of both inhumation and cremation rites such as CD10 or UL05 may be evidence of areas which acted as common ground between territories in the Wylye Valley. Groups such as the Upton Lovell group meet Fleming's idea of large terrains

(in Kitchen 2001:117) as it contains a variety of interment rites. There is an absence of evidence to support Renfrew's spatial boundaries for different regions in Wessex at this period (Braithwaite 1984:96) but there is proof that the Wessex series burials in the Wylye Valley show a predominance of cremation rites with more traditional burial assemblages of ceramics and high status goods. This supports the idea of an older system of 'prestige' (Renfrew 2001:136) existing on this area of the chalkland upheld by an affluent society who were attempting to maintain or re-establish authority during the transitionary period (Braithwaite 1984:107) or may simply be evidence of a society deciding to bury obsolete items in ancient ancestral monuments (Woodward 2000:121).

Nationally between 2150 and 1850 BC round barrows were constructed, elaborated and redesigned on a large scale in relation to existing features in the landscape, often stressing the importance of links with the past through the reopening of graves and the addition of new deposits (Bradley 2007:165). Between 1850 and 1500 BC similar concerns with a desire to link to the past are expressed yet they are met through a spatial relationship between different monuments (Bradley 2007:166). Many of the largest or the 'fancy' barrows (such as saucer or bell) are on the summits of hills, for example barrows MH01, CD06 and CD09 are large bowl barrows on the top of the Wylye Valley slope and KB03 are SH05 saucer and disc barrows respectively. A careful consideration of relative chronology within barrows and cemeteries through ceramic and metallurgy chronologies has been beyond the scope of this thesis but a re-evaluation of the monuments through extensive geophysical survey and selective excavation as suggested by Woodward and Woodward (1996:289) may allow a more in-depth analysis of the chronological development of the cemeteries identified, as has been seen at Radley in Oxfordshire.

The construction of barrow cemeteries suggests that the monument builders of the Late Neolithic and early Bronze Age were not solely interested in representing the 'individual' as suggested by Braithwaite (1984), as burials beneath barrows in the Wylye Valley can be grouped together (via the monuments that cover them) into cemeteries. The spatial relationship between round barrows in relation to preceding monuments suggests a continuing importance of interpersonal relationships that link back to Neolithic systems of identity (Brück 2004:310).

As expressed by Field (1998:315), straight lines are common when some form of spatial arrangement is present in barrow cemeteries and the Wylye Valley is no exception. Many barrows appear to have been placed to respect one another and form a linear alignment, such as LD02-LD03-LD04 or DF02-DF01-DF03. The clustering of 'cemeteries' such as CH01 to CH04 and CH07 to CH10 may emphasise that barrows were placed with a purpose.

4.2 The contents of the round barrows of the Wylye Valley

One of the primary purposes of barrows in prehistory was burial (Woodward 2000:21) yet there seems to be no relationship between the external shape of any individual mound and the deposits found beneath it. For example, both CH09 and TK08 have been classified as bell barrows and the example on Cotley Hill appears to have simply contained a primary cremation mixed with ashes in a cist with charred walls whereas TK08 was a richly furnished burial with a bronze dagger, a pigmy cup and a Food Vessel. It is wrongly assumed that all Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age monument types and the associated burial traditions overlapped within the period 2500-1500 BC (Garwood 2007:31) and this

may be evidence of similar archaeological remains from vastly differing phases within the period.

Our understanding of the period develops from archaeologist's attempts to infer meaning from its material residues (Barrett 1990:187). Not only can more information be gained from the study of skeletons than from the remains of cremations (Woodward 2000:21), but further, burial within an earth-dug grave offers a higher degree of archaeological visibility (in contrast to cremations which may subsequently result in the scattering of ashes) (Barrett 1994:52). An *in situ* cremation, as seen at LD02, therefore offers an insight into the organisation of a funeral within the Wylye Valley and may indicate a later date in the Early Bronze Age for the mound's construction (Garwood 2007:37). It seems that Early Bronze Age funerary practices were as much about coming to terms with loss as with communicating the social position of the deceased if this example is considered to be representative (Brück 2004: 309). Figure 107 shows that in the one hundred and eleven known round barrows, nearly three times as many primary cremations are recorded than inhumations (where the primary interment is known).

The primary burial may have been understood as only the first stage in a lengthy

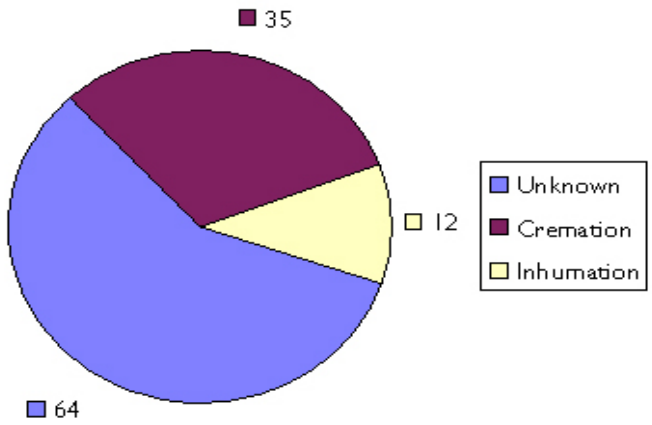

Figure 107: **Breakdown of primary burial rites in known round barrows in the Wylye Valley**

ceremonial process in Early Bronze Age burial mounds (Mizoguchi 1993:233) and it is possible that this suggests that many of the Wylye Valley barrows were constructed later in the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age when cremations became gradually more common than inhumations (Garwood 2007:37). A recall of ancestral deposits was observed when a barrow was reopened, mirroring early Neolithic traditions, whereas the burial itself was of most importance in a single event barrow construction. It has been suggested that a cremation can be understood as the destruction of the 'individual identity' as opposed to the continuity that is expressed through the preservation of the body in an inhumation grave (Braithwaite 1984:104) and this may support the development of round barrow 'cemeteries' as an arena for identity to be generalised and displayed. The information contained within a burial of the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age is a social narrative (Last 1998:53): it aims to express meaning through how, where and when it was conducted, yet archaeologists can not reliably conclude whether this was a personal or group narrative.

Inhumation involves three distinct phases: preparation of the body, transportation of the body to the grave and the deposition of the body and filling of the grave pit. All three stages can result in the inclusion of grave goods and the distinction between these periods can be blurred to confuse the interpretation of any burial (Barrett 1994:116). Not only is it difficult to understand at what stage goods were placed with a body based on the majority of the Wylye Valley data, it is also often unclear whether the grave goods themselves refer to the person who has been interred or say more of the individual who placed them (in terms of the goods that they were able or prepared to part with) (Barrett 1994:117). The corpse could not decide on how it was depicted in death and the archaeological record reflects the relationship between the deceased and those who conducted the burial (Bradley 2007:159). The question of interpreting mortuary practices is further complicated by the difficulty in

recognising the distinction between rank and status within a single burial based on the objects it contained (Barrett 1988:30).

Nationally there appears to be a move from the more 'group-orientated' societies (represented by burial practices) in the Neolithic (Barrett 1988:32) to the 'individualising' societies of the Early Bronze Age through the expression of single burial and the accompaniment of rich grave goods (Renfrew 2001:136). The later contrast of cremation rites that destroy the 'individual identity' of a person (and the continuity that is expressed through the preservation of the individual via an inhumation burial) (Braithwaite 1984:104) is strongly represented in the Wylye Valley and seems to indicate a desire to express a group belief once more.

There is as much variation with the nature of primary cremation deposits as there is with inhumations (Barrett 1994:52) yet some common themes are represented within the Wylye Valley interments. Primary cremations often occur within numerous barrows within the *same* cemetery (for example in the Middle Hill group three cremations occur less than 50 metres apart and there are three cremations on the summit of Scratchbury Hill within a 200 metre area). With regard to the associated finds, the only bone tweezers were recovered from a cremation (UB02) and two of the three bronze awls discovered in the Wylye Valley were associated with cremated remains (in GB04 and KB05 as opposed to one with an inhumation in UL03). Barrett (1994:123) suggests that this may indicate that the items were used to modify materials related to the body and may have been associated with the alteration of the corpse.

Beaker burials mark the beginning of the single grave rite and a change from a '*process of transformation to an event of deposition*' (Thomas 1999:157). These graves were often marked by a low covering mound, encircling ditch or fence and required each future

deposition within the cemetery to either reference or contrast what had gone before as the grave had a physical presence in the landscape. Many Beaker burials were placed beneath mounds in the Wylye Valley. The interments at UL05, LD03, LD04 and EB04 that were accompanied by Beakers (or Beaker sherds were recovered from the grave fills) were inhumations whereas CD10, LD02 and DF01 were cremated. The fact that LD03 and LD04 are so close together and contained similar burial rites supports the idea of 'ordered adjacency' (Thomas 1999:158) and the idea of continuity (or at the least familiarity) with the contents of spatially close mounds over a period of time. Only the primary inhumation accompanied by a B1 Beaker and a small cup of a similar date recovered from EB04 lies on the southern escarpment of the Wylye Valley, though this may be representative of the concentration of excavation.

The Wessex Series grave excavated at GB04 is unusual as it was a secondary burial which contained cremated remains. The finds from the grave, including items of gold, amber and shale suggest a '*highly inventive local school of craftsmanship*' (Case 2003:171) and exhibit Beaker motifs such as the decoration on the gold foil plaque and the shale conical V-buttons which are a well-known Beaker association (Case 2003:174). The crescentic amber necklace is one of only three examples in southern England to include enough beads, spacers and simple types for it to seen as a complete item (Woodward 2002:1043). It is however possible that the worn appearance of many of the beads is due to the necklace being composite, emphasising the interpersonal relationships of the Late Neolithic that were given material form through burial practices (Brück 2004:314). Burials such as these may been deposited at times of social or political change, perhaps indicating that ideas needed to be reinforced or introduced (Barrett 1984:95).

Of the confirmed round barrows in the Wylye Valley, sixty-four have no known primary burial. This may be due to the excavation method undertaken or the fact that barrows themselves should not be viewed simply as graves (Woodward 2000:50) but more as monuments within the landscape of the Late Neolithic and early Bronze Age.

4.3 Monumental architecture of the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in the Wylye Valley

The Wylye Valley contains a reasonable variety in its range of barrow forms. The vast majority (82%) are bowl barrows (Figure 108) yet everything that was recorded about these barrows depends on the assumptions with which excavation was approached (Bradley 1984:74). The work of antiquarians in the Wylye Valley focused on the centre of earthworks rather than on the monuments as a whole as this is where they believed the *richest* material would be found (Bradley 2007:153). Indeed, Colt Hoare sought to preserve the external appearance of the majority of barrows that he opened (whilst undoubtedly being aware that it would also reduce the effort required to retrieve any grave goods) by either cutting '*directly through the mound*' or more often '*sinking a shaft down the centre from top to bottom*' (Colt Hoare 1812:3). Since excavators of this period did little to investigate or record the structure of the mounds they investigated, the contents of a small (and relatively prejudiced) sample of graves are available for detailed study in the Wylye Valley (Bradley 2007:153). For example it is possible that GB04 was originally a cone barrow yet Colt Hoare's description is unclear (especially when it is considered that the description which appears in *The Ancient History of Wiltshire* is compiled from two separate excavations at the site in 1803 and 1807) (Cunnington 1954:233) and given that the barrow has now been ploughed out of existence, the alternative possibilities will never

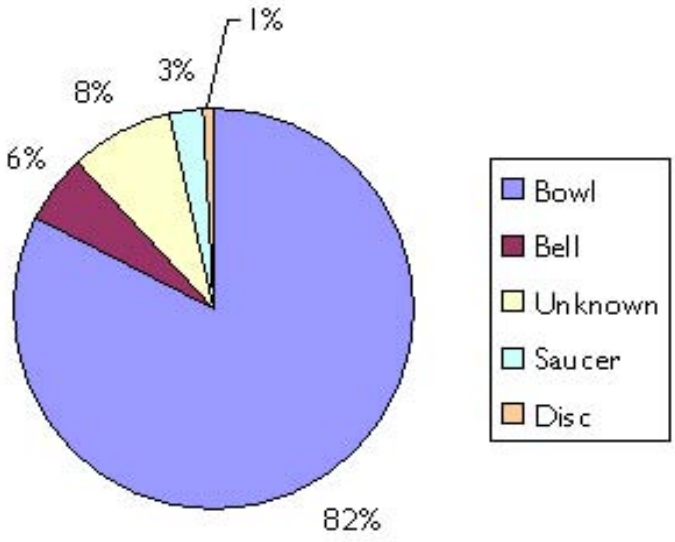

Figure 108: **Barrow forms present in the Wylye Valley**

be resolved. It is true that Colt Hoare described many barrows as flat topped or cone in form which have subsequently been reclassified simply as bowl barrows (Field 1998:323), removing the possibility of examining the vertical importance of the mound.

When considering a large proportion of the excavation evidence for the barrows in the Wylye Valley it is disappointing that Colt Hoare did not include all of Cunnington's evidence in *The Ancient History of Wiltshire* and there is confusion regarding both what was found in a number of barrows and with the arrangement of grave goods and interments within each barrow. The renewed excavation of barrows that were initially opened in antiquity in other areas has revealed that original excavators have often ignored or missed evidence of the reuse of barrows or the sequence of deposition within a single grave (Bradley 2007:158). This is highly likely to have occurred with the earlier excavations of Cunnington and with the 'less impressive' barrows discussed by Colt Hoare: for example the opening of the barrows on the western slope of Cotley Hill are evaluated by containing

'*interments of burned bones*' (Colt Hoare 1812:71) whereas Mr Wyndham describes one as being a bell barrow (Goddard 1917:399).

4.4 The 'meaning' of the spatial distribution of the monumental architecture of the Wylye Valley

There is a concentration of round barrows higher up the Wylye Valley, in the direction of Warminster. Field (1998:320) discussed the importance of slopes and the position of rivers in the siting of barrows in Wiltshire and the spatial distribution of the monuments in the Wylye Valley supports his hypothesis. Where there are larger 'cemeteries' such as the Knook Barrow, Scratchbury Hill and Cotley Hill groups, there are more ancient monuments, such as long barrows that appear to have been specifically referenced through the clustering of round barrows.

The building of additional mounds that causes the clustering in the spatial patterns that are observed in the Wylye Valley data at groups such as Coford Down follows the national trend towards the end of the Early Bronze Age to emphasise a sense of history through sequence (Garwood 2007:44). The monumental elaboration of certain cemeteries, by constructing additional round barrows, was accompanied by the widespread adoption of cremation (Barrett 1990:185) matching the data for the Wylye Valley. Ceramics are Colt Hoare's most frequent find, even if in many cases they are not discussed in sufficient detail to classify them (for example UL01). Other common grave goods of the period that are represented in the Wylye Valley include tools and weapons, flint scrapers, bone awls and stone battle axes and decorative items (Brück 2004:308).

The spatial distribution and 'clustered' development of the Wylye Valley barrow cemeteries suggests that the communities of the area were held within the 'corporeal

narratives' of hierarchical descent and political order which had been expressed in the landscape through monuments for centuries, and either could not or felt no need to detach themselves from it (Garwood 2007:45). Many of these barrows are large, perhaps attempting to express an 'instant' presence within the developing hierarchical narrative of the area where other monuments in the Stonehenge locality had been elevated as multi-phase monuments (Garwood 2007:47).

Returning to Lawson's distribution of barrows and ring ditches in central Southern England, Figure 109 highlights the river Wylye (in blue) and the concentration of barrows (in red) at the head of the valley. A closer inspection of the Wylye Valley data (Figure 110) confirms Lawson's suggestion that the spatial distribution of the barrows follows the topography of the area with the highest concentrations of barrows in cemeteries occurring on the crest of the chalk ridges, principally on the northern escarpment (Lawson 2007:209). This trend may have occurred due to the more pronounced scarp edge of the northern side

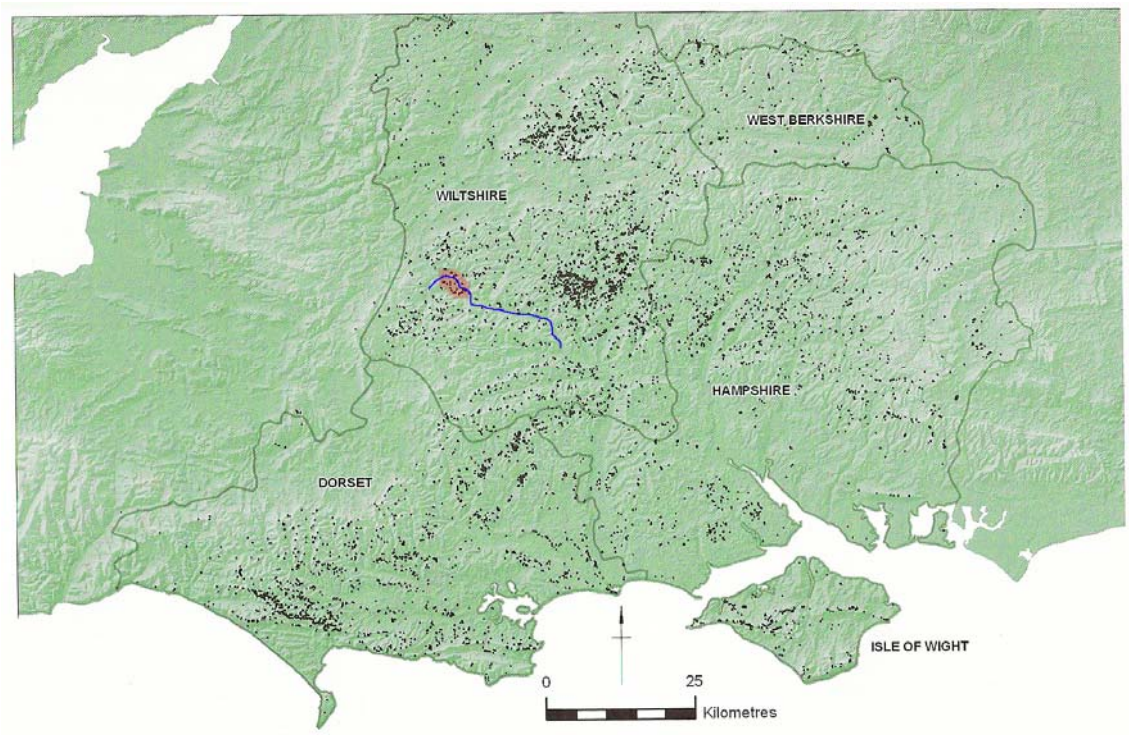

Figure 109: **Distribution of barrows and ring ditches in central Southern England**

of the Wylye Valley, meaning a greater visual impact for barrows created there and would certainly explain why all of the cemeteries which utilise both the scarp edge and valley slope occur on the northern escarpment. When considering the higher frequency of cemeteries on the northern valley side it is also possible that additional barrows were located on the southern scarp edge but that forested areas such as Grovely Wood and Great Ridge have masked their existence.

The Wylye Valley's spatial distribution of round barrows follows the patterns observed in the wider area of Wiltshire such as in the barrow cemeteries around Stonehenge investigated by Exon *et al* (2000) with the visual setting being an important element of the landscape. The chosen locations in the Stonehenge landscape would be more visible than if they had been randomly positioned in the landscape (Exon *et al* 2000:28).

Although many questions remain unanswered regarding the 'meaning' of the spatial distribution and indeed the chronological development of the monumental architecture of the Wylye Valley, the creation of the detailed Access database and associated GIS will allow further work to be undertaken more systematically and suggestions for such further work will be discussed in the concluding section.

Topography	Total number of cemetery groups present	% of total cemetery groups	% of cemetery groups on northern valley side	% of cemetery groups on southern valley side
Scarp edge	**19**	50	*63*	*37*
Scarp edge and valley slope	**3**	8	*100*	*0*
Valley slope	**9**	24	*22.5*	*77.5*
Valley bottom	**7**	18		

Figure 110: **Statistical quantification of the landscape location of the barrow cemeteries of the Wylye Valley**

5. Conclusion

5.1 Summary of results

This thesis has met its aim to analyse the significance of funerary practices and monuments in and around the Wylye Valley. The objective of conducting an examination of the spatial relationships between the monuments and the Wylye Valley landscape has been achieved and from this the rationale behind why the monuments were positioned where they were has been attempted. The work was largely conducted using a dynamic geographical information system and related Access database that allows the rapid examination of data relating to all the confirmed and possible round barrows in the study area.

The database has been included on the CD-R (see Appendix) and is specifically designed in such a way that the data can be effortlessly updated in the future and all of the information is available at the touch of a computer key for future potential enquires. An example of both the main database screen and the data entry form can be seen in Figures 110 and 111. From here the study area could be rapidly expanded to incorporate into a larger GIS. To attempt to tackle the problem discussed by Chapman (2006:70) regarding the simplification of visualising barrow data, each barrow is represented in the GIS via a sequence of layers based on queries in the database. For example every barrow has three separate sets of data relating to its form, burial rites and grave contents. This allows a variety of 'levels' of information to be analysed on each occasion.

The analytical section of the thesis included critical examination of the primary excavation data based on modern interpretive frameworks and the interpretations re-examined to meet new thinking. The chronological development of the cemeteries was not attempted further than suggesting which areas of the Wylye Valley met overarching chronologies of 'early' or 'late' in the period when compared to national patterns.

Suggestions for how this could be improved are discussed in Section 5.3 below. The siting of the monuments has been analysed and compared to similar examples studied elsewhere to formulate an explanation as to why the barrows of the Wylye Valley were built where they were. The concentration of barrows towards the top of the valley on the northern escarpment has been observed, as has the clustering of barrows around older features in the landscape. This is similar to the spatial patterns observed in the Stonehenge area, though there appears to be a higher concentration of primary cremations and more nucleated cemeteries.

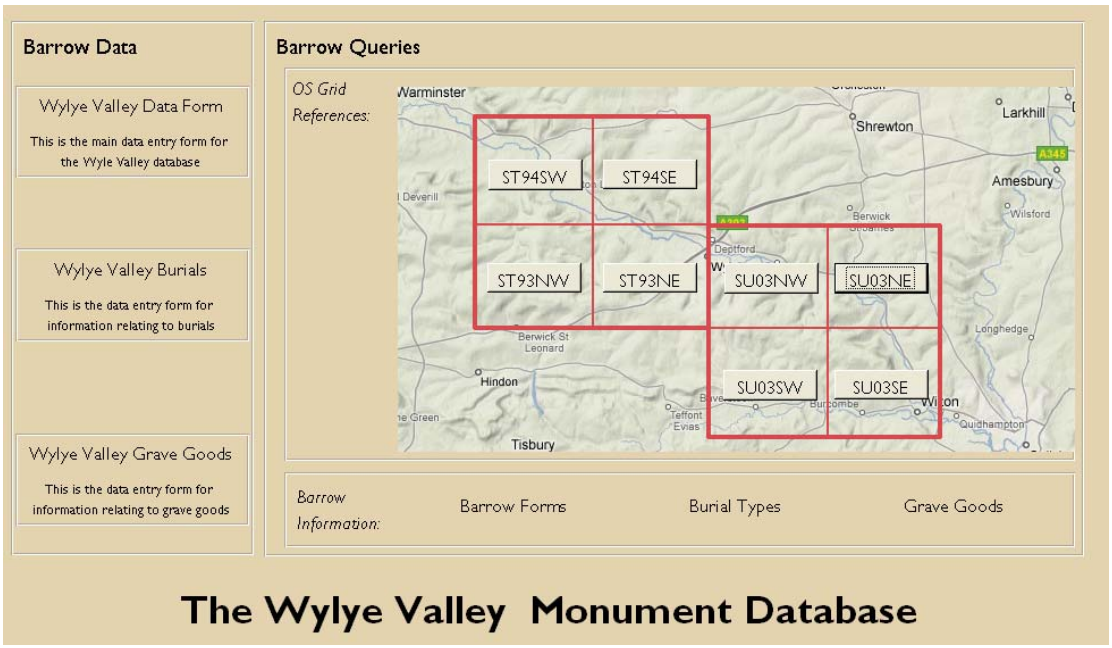

Figure 111: Main screen of the database

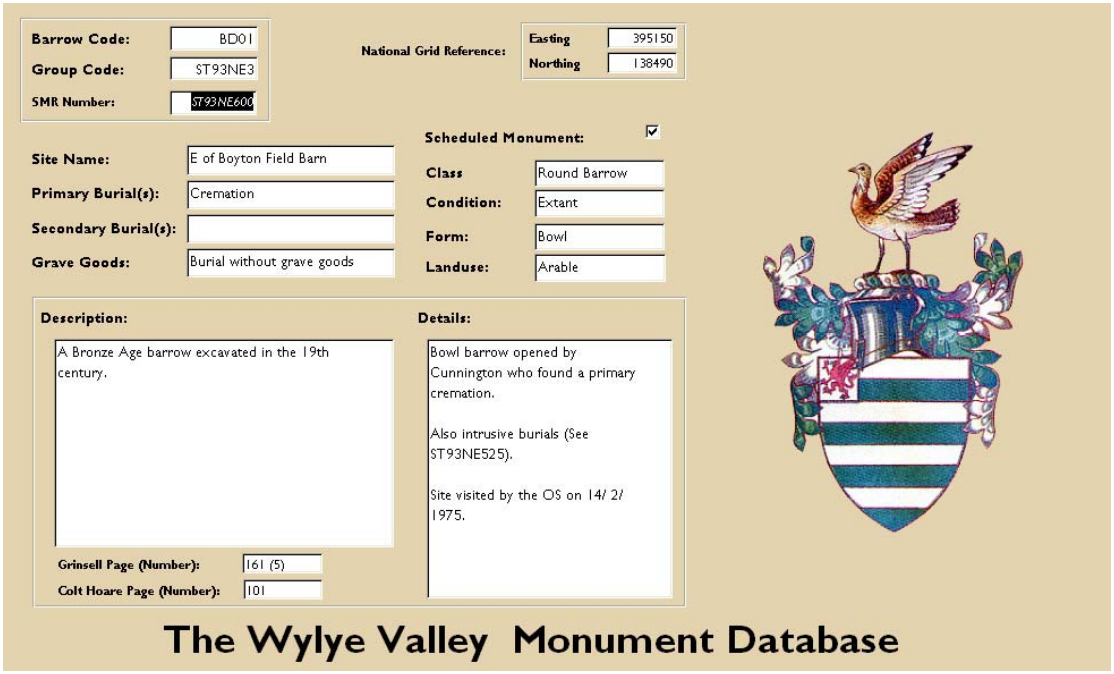

Figure 112: Main data entry form

5.2 Key outcomes of the study

This thesis has produced an analysis of the spatial distributions of the Late Neolithic and early Bronze Age monuments in the Wylye Valley and has attempted to interpret the significance of those distributions. The key results are:

- There are distinct clusters of barrows that form cemeteries, which are defined in this work as groups, throughout much of the Wylye Valley. There are more groups (that contain larger cemeteries) at the top of the valley than there are towards where the river Wylye meets the rivers Till and Nadder.

- The groups of barrows are mostly dispersed cemeteries with either nucleated or linear elements (based of the definitions of Fleming). Many of the more densely

grouped cemeteries seem to make reference to earlier features in the landscape such as long barrows.

- A larger proportion of the primary interments are cremations (where the primary interment is known) though modern excavations have found the correlation to be more even.

- The Wylye Valley ceramic evidence is limited due to the absence of physical remains for many of the vessels described by Colt Hoare, yet where they survive in museums they tend to be either Early or Middle Bronze Age in date.

- The landscape of the Wylye seems to have played a role in the placement of barrows with many following the scarp edge (particularly on the northern valley side) to ensure that they are visible from lower ground and many barrows appear to have been on the very limit of any land units on the top of the slopes.

- There is evidence for a '*highly inventive local school of craftsmanship*' (Case 2003:171) being present in the area, supported by the goods present in barrows such as GB04; further the burial at UL03 may have been one of the metalworkers of the area.

5.3 Implications and further work

One of the main limitations of this thesis is the lack of investigation into the chronological development of the cemetery groups analysed. This is due to the paucity of

data relating to the ceramic evidence. Where studies have been undertaken on the metallic evidence from graves, a date has been included for the burial in the analytical section but the data set includes too few Wessex burials for any meaningful conclusions to be drawn.

A reassessment of the ceramic evidence which survives (which unfortunately would not give a full coverage for the valley) would possibly allow a firmer dating of a proportion of the barrows (and therefore give a better indication of the chronological development of the cemeteries), but it would not resolve the issue of the form and development of the barrows themselves. The production of accurate 'biographies' of the individual cemeteries, as considered necessary by Woodward (1998:32), would require modern excavation to supplement the antiquarian results.

As suggested by Field (1998:31), rescue work and the re-excavation of trenches cut by Cunnington would provide enormous amounts of environmental and structural information relating to barrow form and phasing. An investigation into the enclosure ditches at Middle Hill and Scratchbury Hill may reveal Neolithic evidence as the ditch at Scratchbury has only been partially excavated in the past (Field 1998:31).

The re-excavation of UL03 is significant, as the recovery of skeletal material (left by Cunnington) from the grave pit indicates that skeletal investigation may be possible for many barrows in the area opened for *The Ancient History of Wiltshire* and would give a clearer understanding of the individuals interred in the monuments, including the attribution of gender to items uncovered.

The excavations of Colt Hoare and Cunnington are the principle source of evidence for the round barrows of the Wylye Valley. With this fact in mind it is suggested that it may be of interest to compile a spatial database of all of the excavations described in *The Ancient History of Wiltshire* with the aim of relocating some of the 'lost' barrows and recataloguing

some of the mismatched finds. This would not be difficult using the format of this thesis (and associated databases) and may allow firmer descriptions to be made.

The final suggested development for the research of this thesis would be the extension of the study area towards Warminster to include the very head of the Wylye Valley and to investigate whether the closer clustering of barrows and cemeteries continues. An examination of the Nadder Valley (to the south of the Wylye Valley) would also serve to confirm if the higher percentage of cemetery groups on the northern valley side is due to the geography of the survey area, the better survival of monuments within the boundary of the Salisbury Plain Training Area or prehistoric building practices as suggested by Lawson (2007:209).

The immediate influence that *The Ancient History of Wiltshire* and the excavations of Cunnington and Colt Hoare had on British archaeology are difficult to assess due to contemporary excavators such as Mortimer and Thurnam making little reference to what influenced their own work. The importance of *The Ancient History of Wiltshire* and the finds of the Wylye Valley cannot be questioned in relation to the work of later archaeologists looking to interpret the physical remains of the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age such as Piggott in 1938. A new investigation into the chronological evidence of the barrows themselves now needs to be undertaken, perhaps starting with a reinvestigation of Cunnington and Colt Hoare's excavations before any remaining physical evidence at the sites is destroyed along with the attendant loss of the vital opportunity to further develop the valuable resource provided by *The Ancient History of Wiltshire*.

Appendix

List of monuments described in data and analysis section

The table that follows contains a summary of all the round barrows and circular features described in section three of this thesis, for quick reference. It includes the Barrow Code and Group Code that each feature has been assigned in the database and GIS, Wiltshire County Council Archaeology Service's SMR number, a Site Name and Leslie Grinsell's page number in *A History of the County of Wiltshire* (1957) if appropriate.

Barrow Code	Group Code	SMR Number	Site Name	Grinsell Page (Number)
BD01	ST93NE3	ST93NE600	E of Boyton Field Barn	161 (5)
LD01	ST93NE1	ST93NE601	Lamb Down	166 (1)
LD03	ST93NE1	ST93NE602	Lamb Down	166 (2)
LD04	ST93NE1	ST93NE603	Lamb Down Site A	166 (3)
LD06	ST93NE1	ST93NE604	Lamb Down	
BD02	ST93NE3	ST93NE605	South of Ivy Farm	190 (2)
BD03	ST93NE3	ST93NE606	South of Ivy Farm	190 (3)
QB01	ST93NE2	ST93NE607	Queens Barrow	191 (5)
SE01	ST93NE2	ST93NE608	E of Stockton Earthworks	
SE02	ST93NE2	ST93NE609	E of Stockton Earthworks	
SE03	ST93NE2	ST93NE610	E of Stockton Earthworks	
LD05	ST93NE1	ST93NE618	Lamb Down	
LD07	ST93NE1	ST93NE619	Lamb Down	166 (4)
LD02	ST93NE1	ST93NE623	Lamb Down	
QB02	ST93NE2	ST93NE627	SE of Queens Barrow	
SP01	ST93NE3	ST93NE633	S of Sherrington Clump	
SP02	ST93NE3	ST93NE637	S of Codford St Mary	
EB03	ST93NW1	ST93NW602	E End of Long Bottom	161 (3)
EB04	ST93NW1	ST93NW603	Corton Down	161 (4)
EB02	ST93NW1	ST93NW604	Down W of Sherrington Pond	190 (3a)
EB01	ST93NW1	ST93NW606	W of Sherrington Pond	109 (3a)
WB01	ST93NW2	ST93NW620	N of Long Bottom	161 (6)
WB02	ST93NW2	ST93NW621	N of Long Bottom	161 (2)
WB03	ST93NW2	ST93NW623	Redding Hanging	178 (6)
WB04	ST93NW2	ST93NW626	Tytherington Hill	178 (4f)
WB05	ST93NW2	ST93NW633	South of Littlecombe Hill	192 (10)

Barrow Code	Group Code	SMR Number	Site Name	Grinsell Page (Number)
CD06	ST94SE3	ST94SE600	Codford Down - Ashton Valley Group	166 (1)
CD09	ST94SE3	ST94SE601	Codford Down - Ashton Valley Group	166 (2)
CD11	ST94SE3	ST94SE602	Codford Down - Ashton Valley Group	166 (3)
CD13	ST94SE3	ST94SE603	Codford Down - Ashton Valley Group	209 (4)
CD10	ST94SE3	ST94SE604	Codford Down - Ashton Valley Group	167 (5)
CD16	ST94SE3	ST94SE605	Codford Down - Ashton Valley Group	167 (6)
CD07	ST94SE3	ST94SE606	Codford Down - Ashton Valley Group	166 (1a)
CD08	ST94SE3	ST94SE607	Codford Down - Ashton Valley Group	166 (1b)
CD15	ST94SE3	ST94SE608	Codford Down - Ashton Valley Group	166 (4a)
CD14	ST94SE3	ST94SE609	Codford Down - Ashton Valley Group	167 (4b)
CD12	ST94SE3	ST94SE610	Codford Down - Ashton Valley Group	167 (4c)
KB07	ST94SE1	ST94SE611	S of Knook Long Barrow	180 (1a)
KB08	ST94SE1	ST94SE612	SW of Knook Long Barrow	180 (3)
UL03	ST94SE2	ST94SE613	S of Ansty Hill	193 (2a)
UL01	ST94SE2	ST94SE614	Upton Great Barrow	215 (1)
KB09	ST94SE1	ST94SE615	Castle Barrow	193 (3)
UL05	ST94SE2	ST94SE616	S of Ansty Hill	193 (2c)
UL04	ST94SE2	ST94SE617	S of Ansty Hill	193 (2f)
UL02	ST94SE2	ST94SE618	E of Upton Great Barrow	193 (2)
CD03	ST94SE3	ST94SE636	SW of Chitterne	
CD01	ST94SE3	ST94SE637	E of Chitterne Brook	
KB10	ST94SE1	ST94SE651	NE of Castle Barrow	
UL06	ST94SE2	ST94SE681	S of Knook Castle	
GB01	ST94SW3	ST94SE686	NW of Ashton Gifford	
CD02	ST94SE3	ST94SE690	E of Chitterne Brooke	
CD04	ST94SE3	ST94SE691	SW of Chitterne	
CD05	ST94SE3	ST94SE692	Sw of Chitterne	
UB01	ST94SE2	ST94SEU02	Unlocated - Upton Lovell	

Barrow Code	Group Code	SMR Number	Site Name	Grinsell Page (Number)
			Down	
UB02	ST94SE2	ST94SEU03	Unlocated - Upton Lovell Down	
MH04	ST94SW1	ST94SW600	Middle Hill	159 (1a)
MH03	ST94SW1	ST94SW601	Middle Hill	159 (1b)
MH02	ST94SW1	ST94SW602	Middle Hill	159 (1c)
MH01	ST94SW1	ST94SW603	Middle Hill	159 (1)
KB04	ST94SE1	ST94SW604	W of Knook Barrow	177 (4c)
KB06	ST94SE1	ST94SW607	W of Knook Barrow	
T08	ST94SW2	ST94SW609	Heytesbury South Field	177 (4a)
KB01	ST94SE1	ST94SW610	N of Willis Field Barn	180 (5b)
KV01	ST94SW4	ST94SW611	S of Knook	180 (1)
CH08	ST94SW1	ST94SW612	Chalk Quarries Group Cotley Hill	185 (10a)
CH07	ST94SW1	ST94SW613	Chalk Quarries Group Cotley Hill	185 (10b)
CH09	ST94SW1	ST94SW614	Chalk Quarries Group Cotley Hill	185 (10c)
CH05	ST94SW1	ST94SW615	Chalk Quarries Group Cotley Hill	185 (9)
CH06	ST94SW1	ST94SW616	Chalk Quarries Group Cotley Hill	185 (10)
CH01	ST94SW1	ST94SW617	Chalk Quarries Group Cotley Hill	185 (8)
CH02	ST94SW1	ST94SW618	Chalk Quarries Group	184 (7)
CH03	ST94SW1	ST94SW619	Chalk Quarries Group	185 (5)
CH04	ST94SW1	ST94SW620	Chalk Quarries Group	185 (6)
CH11	ST94SW1	ST94SW621	Cotley Hill	185 (12)
WH01	ST94SW4	ST94SW622	West Hill	
SH01	ST94SW1	ST94SW623	Scratchbury Camp	185 (4b)
SH02	ST94SW1	ST94SW624	Scratchbury Camp	185 (4c)
SH03	ST94SW1	ST94SW625	Scratchbury	185 (4a)
SH04	ST94SW1	ST94SW626	Scratchbury	185 (4)
SH07	ST94SW1	ST94SW627	Scratchbury	185 (3)
SH06	ST94SW1	ST94SW628	Scratchbury	185 (2)
SH05	ST94SW1	ST94SW629	Scratchbury	185 (1)
TK06	ST94SW2	ST94SW632	N of Sutton Parva	192 (4a)
TK07	ST94SW2	ST94SW633	The Knoll	192 (4)
TK08	ST94SW2	ST94SW634	W of the Knoll	192 (4a)

Barrow Code	Group Code	SMR Number	Site Name	Grinsell Page (Number)
NB01	ST94SW2	ST94SW635	W of Hazel Copse	192 (12)
SV03	ST94SW2	ST94SW636	N of Church Farm	143 (2)
NB03	ST94SW2	ST94SW637	E of Pit Meads	192 (1b)
NB04	ST94SW2	ST94SW638	E of Pit Meads	192 (1c)
GB04	ST94SW3	ST94SW639	Golden Barrow	193 (2e)
WH02	ST94SW4	ST94SW640	West of West Hill Farm	
NB06	ST94SW2	ST94SW657	Warminster Bypass	
CH10	ST94SW1	ST94SW660	Cotley Hill	
SH08	ST94SW1	ST94SW661	East of Scratchbury	
KB02	ST94SE1	ST94SW668	N of Willis's Field Barn	
TK03	ST94SW2	ST94SW675	N of the Knoll	
NB02	ST94SW2	ST94SW677	W of Hazel Copse	
H01	ST94SW2	ST94SW678	S of Heytesbury	
CH12	ST94SW1	ST94SW680	N of Heytesbury	
SV01	ST94SW2	ST94SW683	N of Sutton Veny	
T01	ST94SW2	ST94SW686	E of Tytherington	
TK02	ST94SW2	ST94SW689	N of the Knoll	
TK04	ST94SW2	ST94SW694	N of the Knoll	
GB03	ST94SW3	ST94SW695	S of Upton Lovell	
GB02	ST94SW3	ST94SW696	SE of Upton Lovell	
KB03	ST94SE1	ST94SW697	N of Willis's Field Barn	
CH13	ST94SW1	ST94SW706	N of Heytesbury	
CH14	ST94SW1	ST94SW710	N of Heytesbury	
KB05	ST94SE1	ST94SW714	W of Knook Barrow	177 (4d)
NB05	ST94SW2	ST94SW715	North of Sutton Water Meadows	
SV02	ST94SW2	ST94SW717	N of Sutton Veny	
TK05	ST94SW2	ST94SW719	N of the Knoll	
SV04	ST94SW2	ST94SW720	SE of Sutton Veny	
TK01	ST94SW2	ST94SW721	NW of Heytesbury Station	
T02	ST94SW2	ST94SW722	S of Manor Farm Tytherington	
T04	ST94SW2	ST94SW725	NE of Manor Farm Tytherington	
T05	ST94SW2	ST94SW726	NE of Manor Farm Tytherington	
T06	ST94SW2	ST94SW727	NE of Manor Farm Tytherington	
T07	ST94SW2	ST94SW728	E of Manor Farm Tytherington	

Barrow Code	Group Code	SMR Number	Site Name	Grinsell Page (Number)
H02	ST94SW2	ST94SW730	S of Heytesbury	
H03	ST94SW2	ST94SW731	S of Heytesbury	
H04	ST94SW2	ST94SW732	S of Heytesbury	
H05	ST94SW2	ST94SW733	S of Heytesbury	
H06	ST94SW2	ST94SW735	W of Heytesbury	
T03	ST94SW2	ST94SW743	E of Tytherington	
ES01	SU03NE2	SU03NE613	E of Stoford	
SK01	SU03NE2	SU03NE615	'South Kite' Enclosure	191 (3)
SK02	SU03NE2	SU03NE616	'South Kite' Enclosure	191 (2)
SK03	SU03NE2	SU03NE617	E of Druids Head Farm	191 (5)
DL01	SU03NE2	SU03NE618	NNW of Druids Lodge	155 (2)
L01	SU03NE1	SU03NE620	SW of the Lawn	191 (4)
SK04	SU03NE2	SU03NE622	SW of Druids Head Wood	
DL02	SU03NE2	SU03NE628	NW of Druids Lodge	
HL02	SU03NE3	SU03NE642	N of Ebsbury Copse	
HL01	SU03NE3	SU03NE643	NE of Ebsbury Copse	
L02	SU03NE1	SU03NE645	W of Stapleford	
L03	SU03NE1	SU03NE649	SW of Berwick St James	
DL03	SU03NE2	SU03NE661	North-west of Druid's Lodge	
HL03	SU03NE3	SU03NE667	West of Ebsbury Earthworks	
HL04	SU03NE3	SU03NE668	East of Little Langford	
DF01	SU03NW1	SU03NW600	N of Deptford Field Barn	204 (2)
BR01	SU03NW3	SU03NW602	SW of Bilbury Rings	204 (1)
WV01	SU03NW3	SU03NW603	SW of Wylye Village	204 (1b)
SL01	SU03NW4	SU03NW604	SW of East Castle	191 (10b)
SL02	SU03NW4	SU03NW606	SW of East Castle	191 (10a)
NC01	SU03NW2	SU03NW607	SE of New Covert	191 (3)
FB01	SU03NW1	SU03NW608	Field Barn N of A303	191 (5)
FB02	SU03NW1	SU03NW609	Field Barn N of A303	191 (6)
FB03	SU03NW1	SU03NW610	Field Barn N of A303	191 (7)
EC01	SU03NW4	SU03NW611	ESE of East Castle	191 (9)
EC06	SU03NW4	SU03NW612	Inside East Castle	191 (10)
EC05	SU03NW4	SU03NW614	E of East Castle	191 (10e)
EC02	SU03NW4	SU03NW615	E of East Castle	191 (10f)
EC04	SU03NW4	SU03NW616	E of East Castle	191 (10g)
EC03	SU03NW4	SU03NW617	E of East Castle	10(h)
LL02	SU03NW4	SU03NW618	N of Grovely Grims	191 (11)

Barrow Code	Group Code	SMR Number	Site Name	Grinsell Page (Number)
YG01	SU03NW1	SU03NW619	Little Down	191 (12)
LL03	SU03NW4	SU03NW628	Langford Long Coppice	161 (1)
DF03	SU03NW1	SU03NW632	N of Deptford Field Barn	
MF01	SU03NW2	SU03NW633	N of Manor Farm	
YG02	SU03NW1	SU03NW634	W of Yarnbury Grange	
YG03	SU03NW1	SU03NW635	W of Yarnbury Grange	
DF02	SU03NW1	SU03NW656	E of Gilberts Plantation	
NC02	SU03NW2	SU03NW658	SE of New Covert	
SL03	SU03NW4	SU03NW661	SW of East Castle	191 (10c)
SL04	SU03NW4	SU03NW664	SW of East Castle	191 (10d)
LL04	SU03NW4	SU03NW671	NW of Upper Farm Down	
EC07	SU03NW4	SU03NW713	E of Holloway Hedge Barn	
GP01	SU03NW1	SU03NW717	N of Fisherton De La Mere	
GP02	SU03NW1	SU03NW718	N of Fisherton De La Mere	
WP01	SU03SE1	SU03SE612	Wilton Park	200 (2)
HH01	SU03SE2	SU03SE619	Hadden Hill	
LL01	SU03NW4	SU03SW602	In or near Langford Long Coppice	

Description of the contents of the CD-R

The included CD-R contains a copy of the Microsoft Access database, named ‘Wylye DB’, a copy of the ArcMap saved to be opened in ArcReader titled ‘Wylye Valley’ and two versions of the Digital Elevation Model saved as VRML World files (one in high resolution ‘WV3DHi’ and another in low resolution ‘WV3Dlow’ for slower processors).

To ensure that the files are readily accessible, a zipped copy of ArcReader (to open the ArcMap file) and OctagaPlayer (to open the VRML files) have been included on the disc in the folder ‘Software’. Please install if necessary and follow the on screen instructions.

Bibliography

1.1 Cartographic Sources

Ordnance Survey (or OS) 1:10,000 Scale Raster at Edina Digimap, available at: http://edina.ac.uk/digimap/ (2007)

OS Land-Form PROFILE, 1:10,000 contours and DTM data at Edina Digimap, available at: http://edina.ac.uk/digimap/ (2007)

OS 1:50,000 Scale Colour Raster at Edina Digimap, available at: http://edina.ac.uk/digimap/ (2007)

1849-1899 County Series 1st Edition OS map (1:2500) at Edina Digimap, available at: http://edina.ac.uk/digimap/ (2008)

1.2 Sources

Aldenderfer, M. (1996) “Introduction.” In Aldenderfer, M. and Maschner, H.D.G. (eds.) **Anthropology, space and geographic information systems**. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp 3-18

Annable, F.K. (1960) Excavation and Fieldwork in Wiltshire: 1957. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 57: 2-17

Annable, F.K. and Simpson, D.D.A. (1964) **Guide Catalogue of the Neolithic and Bronze Age Collections in Devizes Museum**. Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society

Annable, F. K (1965) Excavation and Fieldwork in Wiltshire: 1964. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 60: 132-139

Ashbee, P. (1960) **The Bronze Age Round Barrow in Britain**. London, Phoenix House Ltd

Ashbee, P. (1998) Barrows, cairns and a few impostors. **British Archaeology**, 32: 6-7

Barrett, J.C. Bradley, R. and Green, M. (1991) **Landscape, Monuments and Society: The Prehistory of Cranborne Chase**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Barrett, J.C. (1990) The Monumentality of Death: The Character of Early Bronze Age Mortuary Mounds in Southern Britain. **World Archaeology**, 22 (2): 179-189

Barrett, J.C. (1994) **Fragments from Antiquity: An Archaeology of Social Life in Britain, 2900-1200 BC.** Oxford, Blackwell

Barrett, J.C. (1988) “The living, the dead and the ancestors: Neolithic and Early Bronze Age mortuary practices.” In Barrett, J.C. and Kinnes, I.A. (eds.) **The Archaeology of Context in the Neolithic and Bronze Age: Recent Trends**, University of Sheffield. pp 30-41

Bradley, R. (1984) **The social foundations of prehistoric Britian: themes and variations in the archaeology of power**. Harlow: Longman Group
Bradley, R. (2007) **The Prehistory of Britain and Ireland**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Braithwaite, M. (1984) "Ritual and prestige in the prehistory of Wessex c. 200-1400 BC: a new dimension to the archaeological evidence." In Miller, D. and Tilley, C. (eds.) **Ideology, Power and Prehistory**. Cambridge: University Press pp. 93-110

Brück, J. (2004) Material metaphors: the relational construction of identity in Bronze Age burials in Ireland and Britain. **Journal of Social Archaeology**, 4 (3): 307-333

Burgess, C. (1980) **The Age of Stonehenge**. London: Phoenix Press

Butterworth, C.A. (1992) Excavations at Norton Bavant Borrow Pit, Wiltshire, 1987. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 85: 1-25

Case, H. (2003) Beaker Presence at Wilsford 7. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 96: 161-194

Chapman, H. (2006) **Landscape Archaeology and GIS**. Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd

Cleal, R, Walker, K and Montague, R (1995) "Stonehenge And Its Landscape Twentieth Century Excavation." In **English Heritage Archaeological Report**, 10. London: English Heritage

Colt Hoare, Sir R. (1812) **The Ancient History of South Wiltshire**. London: William Miller (Republished 1975, Wakefield: EP Publishing Ltd.)

Colt Hoare, Sir R. (1821) **The Ancient History of Wiltshire Vol II**. London: Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Maver and Lepard (Republished 1975, Wakefield: EP Publishing Ltd)

Crawford, O. G. S. (1924) **Air survey and archaeology**. 2nd ed. HMSO: Ordnance Survey

Cunnington, M.E. (1939) On Walker Bequest to Museum. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 48: 185-190

Cunnington, H.R. (1954) The Cunningtons of Wiltshire. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 55: 211-236

Cunnington, R. (1975) **From Antiquary to Archaeologist: A biography of William Cunnington 1754-1810**. Aylesbury: Shire Publications

Darvill, T. (1987) **Prehistoric Britain**. London: Routledge

Darvill, T. (2006) **Stonehenge: The Biography of a Landscape**. Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd

EHRSM (Accessed 2007) **Extracts from English Heritage's record of scheduled monuments** [online]. Available from: http://www.magic.gov.uk/rsm/ .pdf

Exon, S. Gaffney, V. Woodward, A. and Yorston, R. (2000) **Stonehenge Landscapes Journeys through real-and-imagined worlds**. Oxford: Archaeopress
Field, D. (1998) Round barrows and the harmonious landscape: placing Early Bronze Age burial monuments in South-East England. **Oxford Journal of Archaeology**, 17 (3): 309-326

Field, D. (1998) "Neolithic and early Bronze Age communities on Salisbury Plain." In Woodward, A and Gardiner, J. (eds) (1998) **Wessex before Words: Some new research directions for prehistoric Wessex**. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology. pp 31

Field, D. (2001) "Place and memory in Bronze Age Wessex." In Bruck, J. (ed.) **Bronze Age Landscapes Tradition and Transformation**. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 57-64

Garwood, P. (2007) "Before The Hills In Order Stood: chronology, time and history in the interpretation of Early Bronze Age round barrows." In Last, J (ed.) **Beyond the Grave: new perspectives on round barrows**. Oxford: Oxbow Books pp 30-52

Gibson, A. (2002) **Prehistoric Pottery in Britain and Ireland**. Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd.

Goddard, E.H. (1913) List of Prehistoric, Roman, and Pagan Saxon Antiquities. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 38: 153-378

Goddard, E.H. (1917) Notes. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 39: 377-404

Green, C. and Rollo-Smith, S. (1984) The Excavation of Eighteen Round Barrows near Shrewton, Wiltshire. **Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society**, 50: 255-318

Grinsell, L.V. (1957) **A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 1**. London: Oxford University Press

Grinsell, L.V. (1958) **The archaeology of Wessex**. London: Methuen

Grinsell, L.V. (1990) **Barrows in England and Wales**. Risborough: Shire Publications

Hodder, I. and Orton, C. (1976) **Spatial analysis in archaeology**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Howarth, S. (2005) **An assessment of the spatial organisation and chronological development of two late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age round barrow groups in the north-western Yorkshire Wolds**. BA thesis, University of Birmingham

Johnston, D. E. (1980) The Excavation of a Bell-Barrow at Sutton Veny, Wilts. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 72-3: 29-50

Kitchen, W. (2001) "Tenure and territoriality in the British Bronze Age: a question of varying social and geographic scales?" In Bruck, J. (ed.) **Bronze Age Landscapes Tradition and Transformation**. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 110-120

Last, J. (1998) Books of Life: Biography and memory in a Bronze Age barrow. **Oxford Journal of Archaeology**, 17 (1): 43-53

Lawson, A.J. (2007) **Chalkland: an archaeology of Stonehenge and its region**. Salisbury: The Hobnob Press

Wheatley, D. and Gillings, M. (2000) "Vision, perception and GIS: developing approaches to the study of archaeological visibility." In Lock. G. (ed) **Beyond the Map: archaeology and Spatial Technologies**. IOS Press, Amsterdam. pp 1-27

McOrmish, D. Field, D. and Brown, G. (2002) **The Field Archaeology of the Salisbury Plain Training Area**. Swindon: English Heritage

Meyrick, O. (1948) Sir Richard Colt Hoare and William Cunnington. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 52: 213-218

Mizoguchi, K. (1993) Time in the Reproduction of Mortuary Practices. **World Archaeology**, 25 (2): 223-235

Moore, C.N. and Rowlands, M. (1972) **Bronze Age Metalwork in Salisbury Museum**. Salisbury: Tisbury Printing Works

Nevill (2008) **Interview with landowner**. Wiltshire

Osgood, R. (1999) The Unknown Warrior? The Re-Evaluation of a Skeleton from a Bell Barrow at Sutton Veny, Wiltshire. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 92: 120-32

Owoc, M.A. (2006) "Beyond Geoarchaeology: Pragmatist Explorations of Alternate Viewscapes in the British Bronze Age and Beyond." In Robertson, E.C. Seibert, J.D. Fernandes, D.C. and Zender, M.U (eds.) **Space and Spatial Analysis in Archaeology**. Calgary: University of Calgary Press. pp 3-14

Parker Pearson, M. (1999) "The Earlier Bronze Age." In Hunter, J. and Ralston, I. (eds.) **The Archaeology of Britain: An introduction from the Upper Palaeolithic to the Industrial Revolution**. London: Routledge. pp 77-94

Parker Pearson, M. and Richards, C. (1994) **Architecture and Order: approaches to social space.** Routledge: London

Passmore, A.D. (1942) Notes. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 49: 117-119

Piggott, S. (1962) From Salisbury to South Siberia. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 58: 93-97

Renfrew, C. (2001) "Symbol before Concept: Material Engagement and the Early Development of Society." In Hodder, I. (ed) **Archaeological Theory Today**. Cambridge: Polity Press. pp122-140

RCHME (1979) **Stonehenge And Its Environs**. London: RCHME

Richards, J (1990) “The Stonehenge Environs Project.” In **English Heritage Archaeological Reports** 16
Robinson, P. (2001) Excavation and Fieldwork in Wiltshire: 1999. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 94: 243-256

Seibert, J. (2006) “Introduction.” In Robertson, E.C. Seibert, J.D. Fernandes, D.C. and Zender, M.U (eds.) **Space and Spatial Analysis in Archaeology**. Calgary: University of Calgary Press. pp xiii-xxiv

Shell, C. (2000). Metalworker or shaman: Early Bronze Age Upton Lovell G2a burial. **Antiquity**, 74: 271–272

Shell, C. (2002) Excavation and Fieldwork in Wiltshire: 2000. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 95: 279-291

Thomas, J. (1999) **Understanding the Neolithic**. London: Routledge

Thomas, N. (1954) Notes on Some Early Bronze Age Grave Groups in Devizes Museum. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 55: 311-332

Tilley, C. (1994) **A Phenomenology of Landscape: places, paths and monuments**. Berg: Oxford

Vatcher, F (1962) The Excavation of the Barrows on Lamb Down, Codford St. Mary. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine**, 58: 417-441

Wheatley, D. and Gillings, M. (2002) **Spatial Technology and Archaeology The Archaeological Applications of GIS**. *London*: Taylor and Francis

Whittle, A. Barclay, A. Bayliss, A. McFadyen, L. Schulting, R and Wysocki, M. (2007) Building for the Dead: Events, Processes and Changing Worldviews from the Thirty-eighth to the Thirty-fourth Centuries cal. BC in Southern Britain **Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society**, 62: 275-291 **Cambridge Archaeological Journal** 17 (supplement):123–47

Wiltshire County Council Archaeology Service (2007) **Wiltshire County Council Sites and Monuments Record**. Trowbridge: WCCAS

Woodward, A. and Woodward, P. (1996) The Topography of some Barrow Cemeteries in Bronze Age Wessex **Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society**, 62: 275-291

Woodward, A. (1998) “Barrow cemeteries.” In Woodward, A and Gardiner, J. (eds) (1998) **Wessex before Words: Some new research directions for prehistoric Wessex**. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology. pp 32

Woodward, A. (2000) **British Barrows A Matter of Life and Death**. Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd

Woodward, A. (2002) Beads and beakers: heirlooms and relics in the British Early Bronze Age. **Antiquity** 76: 1040-1047

1.3 Figures