A POND BARROW AT WINTERBOURNE STEEPLETON, DORSET

By R. J. C. ATKINSON, J. W. BRAILSFORD AND H. G. WAKEFIELD

PART I: THE SITE AND ITS EXCAVATION

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The pond barrow whose excavation is described below lies in the parish of Winterbourne Steepleton, Dorset (SY 60708901), on Sheep Down, one of the broad chalk spurs which run N. and NE. from the main Dorset Ridgeway towards the valley of the South Winterbourne stream. It forms one of a small group of round barrows standing on the broad crest of the down some 460 ft. above sea level, and lies immediately to the SW. of a prominent twin bowl-barrow enclosed within a figure-of-eight ditch. Its position (marked by an arrow) and its relation to the other pond- and round-barrows of the district is shown in fig. 1A. The site is not marked on the Ordnance Survey maps. It was first recorded by L. V. Grinsell, and was later independently re-discovered by A. T. Phillips and H. G. Wakefield in the course of field-work for the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments. It appeared to be typical of its class, about which very little was previously known, and it was accordingly selected for excavation.

The work was begun by H. G. Wakefield in the late summer of 1947; it was continued in the summer of 1948, with the help of a Grant from the Society of Antiquaries, and was brought to a halt when rather more than half of the inner area of the site had been uncovered. The finds made up to this time were of such interest that it was clearly desirable to complete the excavation. As Mr. Wakefield was unable to continue the work, the rest of the central area was uncovered by R. J. C. Atkinson at Easter, 1950. At the same time a part of the bank was stripped to search for post-holes or other structures, and a trench was dug to ascertain the relationship, if any, between the pond barrow and the adjacent bowl-barrow. The features discovered during this final season of excavation comprised pits 15–20, F and G, the remainder having been already recorded by Mr. Wakefield.

An interim report on the results of his own work was communicated to the Royal Archaeological Institute by Mr. Wakefield in March, 1949, upon which is based the present account, prepared by R. J. C. Atkinson.

2 The thanks of the excavators are due to Mr. B. O. Corbett, the owner of the site, for permission to dig and for his sympathetic tolerance in allowing the work to remain open for long periods; to Mr. J. Noel White, and to Miss A. C. Western, Mrs. R. J. C. Atkinson, and Mr. G. Aylmer, who gave valuable help in 1947 and 1950 respectively; to Mr. J. C. Trevor, of the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, for information on the human remains from pit 6; to Mr. M. Y. Orr, of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Edinburgh, for identifying the wood from pit G; and to Mr. L. V. Grinsell, for information about pond barrows outside Dorset.
3 Archaeological News Letter, i, no. 12 (April, 1949), 12.
FIG. IA. MAP OF THE AREA SW. OF DORCHESTER, DORSET, SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF ROUND BARROWS AND POND BARROWS. THE POSITION OF THE SHEEP DOWN SITE IS MARKED BY AN ARROW

FIG. IB. MAP OF WESSEX, SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF POND BARROWS. THE AREA OF MAP A IS OUTLINED BY A RECTANGLE
THE STRUCTURAL FEATURES

Before excavation the site appeared as a shallow circular depression with a raised rim. Its overall diameter was some 55 ft., the diameter of the bank, crest to crest, 45 ft., the depth of the depression 14 ins., and the height of the bank 5 ins., both the latter being measured from the level of the surrounding turf. Excavation showed that most of the area enclosed within the bank was occupied by a rough pavement of flint nodules, beneath and around which were thirty-four pits cut in the natural chalk. Of these, nineteen contained complete or fragmentary pots, accompanied in some instances by inhumed or cremated human remains; seven others enclosed unaccompanied cremations, and the remaining eight were empty. These features are described in order below.

The Bank

The bank surrounding the central area was approximately 10–12 ft. in width and 6–7 ins. in maximum thickness. Its lower part consisted of medium-sized chalk rubble with a slight admixture of earth and small flint nodules. This lay directly on the natural chalk to a maximum depth, at its centre, of 4 ins., tailing off to nothing at either edge. Above this was a thin layer of mould and turf, containing no chalk or flints, continuous with the surface soil within and outside the bank. The inner half of the bank sloped downwards, following the slope of the underlying natural chalk forming the side of the central depression (Plate I, c). The significance of this is discussed below (p. 8).

The inner edge of the bank was uncovered throughout its circuit. Over an arc of some seventy degrees on the NW. side it consisted of earth only, without any chalk rubble. It was not determined whether the whole width of the bank was built of earth at this point.

On the NE. side of the site one-eighth of the circumference of the bank was completely removed (fig. 2) in order to search for post-holes or other structures; none of which was found in the area examined. This cutting was extended to examine the area between the pond barrow and the adjacent bowl-barrow, and to obtain a partial section through the ditch of the latter. It was found that there was no stratigraphical connection between the two structures, the intervening undisturbed ground having a minimum width of 10 ft. On this undisturbed ground the chalk lay at a depth of 9 ins. The six inches of mould which separated it from the turf proper contained numerous flint nodules, many of them split and shattered in situ by frost. Natural beds of surface flint of this kind, sometimes attaining a thickness of 20–30 ins., are common on the chalk downs of SW. Dorset.

As it was necessary to determine whether the flints forming the pavement in the centre of the depression could have been derived from the area of the site itself, a count was made of all flints, other than small scraps, turned up in an area of 40 sq. ft. on this undisturbed ground, and,
as a check, a further area of 10 sq. ft. was examined 80 ft. to the E. of the centre of the pond barrow. From these two areas the total number of flints recovered was 932 and 271 respectively. Of these, however, the majority were small, and only some 160 in all were of a size comparable with those used in the flint pavement. The density of these larger flints was thus approximately 3 per square foot.

The section was continued half-way across the silting of the ditch of the bowl-barrow (fig. 2). At the bottom was chalk rubble, weathered from the sides, to a depth of about 8 ins.; above this was a layer of small flint nodules, 6 ins. thick; and over this 12 ins. of mould and turf, with a few flecks of chalk in the lower part.
The Central Depression

The central depression was circular in plan, 35 ft. in diameter. The middle, some 15 ft. across, was almost flat, and lay at a depth of 2 ft. below the surrounding undisturbed chalk. The sloping sides were regularly cut, and the chalk surface, where not disturbed by the pits, was smooth. It was noticeable, however, that towards the centre the chalk became more friable, perhaps because surface water tended to drain in that direction so that the underlying subsoil was affected to a greater extent by the disruptive action of frosts.

The Flint Pavement

The whole of the inner part of the area enclosed by the bank was occupied by a pavement of tightly-packed flint nodules, some 7 ins. thick, covered by 5 ins. of mould and turf. The flints were mostly large, of the size of two fists and upwards, and the interstices between them were filled with mould. In the eastern half of the site the edges of the pavement were fairly distinct, though irregular in outline, and have been marked on the plan (fig. 2). In the western half the limits of the pavement were not recorded.

The surface of the pavement was irregular (Plate I, A). This was largely due, no doubt, to the irregular material used in its construction. In places, however, there were marked depressions extending almost to the underlying chalk, some of which correspond to the position of underlying pits.

Two areas on the pavement, each 3 ft. square, were marked out for the purpose of counting the number of flints contained in them. The total from the two areas combined was 274, giving an average density of 15 per sq. ft.

The Pits

Beneath the flint pavement, and outside its margins, were 34 pits cut into the natural chalk. They varied in maximum diameter from 6 ins. to 4 ft., and in depth from 4 ins. to 16 ins. (fig. 2). The numbered pits all contained the remains of pottery vessels, mostly badly smashed and in some cases incomplete. Two of these accompanied inhumation burials of infants or young children (6, 20); two covered cremations (4, 12); two were associated with a few scraps of cremated bone (1, 11). Of the pits distinguished by letters, seven held unaccompanied cremations (A–G) and the remaining eight (H–P) were empty (or rather, contained only soil and a few small flint nodules). Details of the shape, size and contents of individual pits are given in the following schedule. The diameters are maxima and minima, and the depths are measured below the chalk surface at the rim of the pit.
1. Oval. 12 ins. by 10 ins. Depth 4½ ins. Contained pot 1, complete, standing upright on its base. Alongside, but not in, the pot were a few fragments of well-burnt bone, sufficient to fill a match-box. The deposit was partly buried beneath the inner spill of the bank, which doubtless accounts for the preservation of the pot intact.

2. Ovoid. 12 ins. by 8 ins. Depth 7 ins. Contained the crushed remains of pot 2, which had been deposited mouth downwards.

3. Sub-rectangular. 8 ins. by 5 ins. Depth 6 ins. Contained the crushed remains of pot 3, probably mouth downwards.

4, 5. Sub-rectangular. 17 ins. by 12 ins. Depth 6 ins. Contained pots 4 and 5. Pot 4 was intact, standing mouth downwards. Inside it were the well-burnt and finely crushed fragments of a cremation, the only complete cremation found within an urn. Pot 5 lay on its side, broken but not crushed, with a considerable part missing. A single fragment of burnt bone was found below it, possibly a stray from the adjoining cremation. It seemed that pot 5 was deposited the earlier of the two, and was broken by the later intrusion of pot 4.

6. Sub-rectangular. 48 ins. by 31 ins. Depth 16 ins. Near the middle of the floor of the pit was a small hole 4 ins. in diameter and 5 ins. deep. The filling of the pit was composed of soft loose soil, with some flints and chalk rubble; it contained some slight fragments of charcoal and a few dark patches suggestive of decayed vegetable matter. A tooth was found high up in the filling, and elsewhere in the filling the remains of a limb-bone and a few other small bone fragments. On the floor, a little to the SE. of the middle were a group of bone fragments, principally the crushed remains of a skull but without the lower jaw. At the N. end of the pit pot 6 lay on its side, shattered but apparently in situ, with the mouth facing away from the skull remains. Below the pot was a lower jaw. One tooth seemed to have lain inside the pot, though the latter was too much damaged for certainty on this point. Mr. J. C. Trevor, to whom these human remains were submitted, reports that they all appear to belong to the same individual, a child of about eight years of age.

7. Ovoid. 29 ins. by 19 ins. Depth 9 ins. Contained pots 7 and 7a, both lying on their sides. Pot 7 was crushed but complete; pot 7a had portions missing, and had probably been disturbed by the later insertion of pot 7.

8. Ovoid. 13 ins. by 7 ins. Depth 9 ins. Contained the crushed remains of pot 8, mouth downwards.

9. Circular. 6 ins. by 6 ins. Depth 4 ins. Contained the crushed remains of pot 9, mouth downwards.

10, 11. Figure-of-eight. 15 ins. by 5 ins. Depth 4 ins. (10); 5 ins. (11). Pit 10 contained the crushed remains of pot 10, probably mouth downwards. Pit 11 contained a few sherds only of pot 11.

12. Circular. 22 ins. by 22 ins. Depth 13 ins. Contained a cremated burial and the badly shattered remains of pot 12. The original position of the pot and its relation to the cremation were uncertain, but it seemed possible that the pot had contained or covered some of the bones.

13. Irregular. 26 ins. by 17 ins. Depth 6¾ ins. Contained the crushed remains of pot 13, lying on its side.


15. Circular. 14 ins. by 14 ins. Depth 10 ins. Contained the crushed remains of pot 15, mouth downwards. The base of the pot appeared to be missing.

17. Circular. 11 ins. by 11 ins. Depth 7 ins. Contained the remains of pot 17, mouth downwards, the bottom pushed in, but the sides and rim in position, though badly cracked.

18. Square. 13 ins. by 13 ins. Depth 4 ins. Contained the remains of pot 18, lying on its side, mouth towards pot 17, crushed almost flat.

19. Circular. 9 ins. by 9 ins. Depth 6 ins. Contained the remains of pot 19, which had originally stood on its base, upright, but had been subsequently crushed so that only the base remained in situ.

20. Oval. 38 ins. by 19 ins. Depth 12 ins. On the floor of the pit at the E. end was a small heap of inhumed bones, very badly preserved, piled with fragments of skull on top. The bones were completely dismembered, and represented two individuals. Neither of these exceeded 2–3 months of age, and both are probably new-born (or perhaps still-born). Against the N. wall of the pit lay pot 20, on its side with the mouth facing the bones. It was badly cracked but preserved its shape apart from slight distortion. It was filled, like the rest of the pit, with soil containing a very little chalk rubble. (Plate I, b.)

The following pits contained un-urned unaccompanied cremations:

A. Sub-rectangular. 23 ins. by 19 ins. Depth 11 ins.
B. Oval. 18 ins. by 15 ins. Depth 8 ins.
C. Sub-rectangular. 24 ins. by 15 ins. Depth 12 ins.
D. Circular. 14 ins. by 14 ins. Depth 8 ins.
E. Square. 12 ins. by 12 ins. Depth 6 ins.
F. Oval. 18 ins. by 16 ins. Depth 5 ins.
G. Circular. 23 ins. by 23 ins. Depth 16 ins.

Pits A to F contained simple deposits of cremated bones, consisting mostly of large fragments imperfectly burnt. The filling of pit G was more complex. When the upper filling of the pit was uncovered and scraped clean it was seen to consist of an outer ring of tightly-rammed clean chalk rubble, some 3–4 ins. wide, separated from an inner and dirtier core of loose chalk rubble, 13 ins. in diameter, by a ring of loose dark brown soil, 3⁄8 in. wide, which had slightly stained the adjacent rubble on either side (fig. 3). This section remained virtually constant to within 3 ins. of the bottom of the pit, where a compact mass of cremated bone fragments occupied the lowest part of the central core. The bones were separated from floor of the pit by a thin layer of dark powdery material, apparently decayed vegetable matter, which included a few small pieces of identifiable carbonised wood or charcoal, 3 mm. in diameter. From the lip of the pit a shallow gully with sloping sides, some 4–5 ins. wide and 2–3 ins. deep, projected 20 ins. towards the centre of the pond barrow. It was filled with earthy chalk rubble, and was clearly artificial (fig. 3).

The remaining eight pits all contained soil only, in which a scatter of fine chalk rubble and a few small flint nodules occurred at random. Their dimensions were:

H. Ovoid. 30 ins. by 24 ins. Depth 9 ins.
J. Kidney-shaped. 17 ins. by 10 ins. Depth 8–12 ins.
M. Sub-rectangular. 12 ins. by 10 ins. Depth 7 ins.
N. Ovoid. 10 ins. by 6 ins. Depth 5 ins.
O. Elongated. 30 ins. by 5 ins. Depth 4½ ins.
P. Circular. 14 ins. by 14 ins. Depth 7 ins.

1 Identified by Mr. M. Y. Orr as birch.
Apart from the human remains and the pottery discussed below by Mr. Brailsford, the only finds were as follows:

1. A single sherd of coarse undecorated ware in the upper part of the flint pavement, 4 ft. NE. of pit 15.
2. A similar sherd from the edge of the flint pavement, sealed beneath the spill of the bank, 6 ft. E. of pit 15.
3. Two similar sherds from the surface of the rubble silting of the ditch of the bowl-barrow, over its outer lip, 5 ft. 6 ins. SE. of A (fig. 2).
4. A flint flake, struck from a prismatic core, with one edge slightly serrated, perhaps by use only; from the surface of the natural chalk between the pond barrow and the bowl-barrow.

All the sherds of pottery enumerated above can be paralleled among the fabrics represented in the pond barrow, and discussed below (p. 16) by Mr. Brailsford.

INTERPRETATION

This section is divided into three parts. In the first the sequence of structures and deposits is considered; the second surveys the evidence for the ritual and practice represented by the finds; while the third considers the problems of pond barrows as a whole.

A. The sequence of structures

For the elucidation of the way in which the pond barrow was built the following points are significant:

1. The natural topsoil surrounding the site contains a layer of large flint nodules (p. 3).
2. There was no old turf line beneath the bank (p. 3).
3. The bank consisted of chalk rubble and earth, but contained no large flint nodules (p. 3).
4. The inner margin of the bank lay directly on the slope of the central depression (p. 3). (Plate I, c.)

Had the surface material on Sheep Down consisted of turf and mould only, the absence of any identifiable old turf line beneath the bank might have been explained by the action of earthworms, which in the course of centuries could, and would, have transferred all the buried mould from beneath the thin rubble bank and deposited it, as worm-casts, on the surface. Worms could not, however, have moved the layer of natural flints nodules which would have formed part of the buried turf line. Since these flints were not present beneath the bank, it follows that they must have been removed intentionally. It is thus clear that the first operation in the building of the pond barrow was the stripping to the natural chalk not only of the central area, later to be excavated, but also...
A. THE E. HALF OF THE POND BARROW, SHOWING THE FLINT PAVEMENT, LOOKING NE.

B. PIT 20, SHOWING THE DISMEMBERED INHUMATIONS AND POT 20, WITH THE EMPTY PIT J BEYOND

C. SECTION OF THE BANK ON THE N. SIDE, LOOKING W.
the margin round it on which the bank was to stand. The limits of this stripped area are given by the line on which the natural flint layer reappears in the topsoil (fig. 2, section, X, Y).

It is clear also that, once the topsoil had been removed, the excavation of the central area was begun on the outside and progressed inwards towards the centre, the spoil being thrown forwards and outwards to form the bank. By the time the centre was reached, the spoil was being deposited on the outer slope of the excavation (figs. 2 and 3). The position of the bank can be explained only in this way.

There seems no reason to doubt that the flint pavement was an original feature of the barrow, and was laid as soon as the digging of the central depression was finished. It lay directly on the natural chalk, and there was no mould beneath it, such as might have accumulated had there been any interval before its construction. Moreover, it seems very likely that the flint nodules used to make it were derived from the topsoil stripped from the whole site in the first stage. They would be sorted out as the topsoil was removed, laid aside in a heap while the depression was excavated, and then immediately relaid on the freshly exposed chalk floor.

This suggestion is supported by a consideration of the density of flints in the pavement and in the surrounding natural topsoil. If the pavement had an area of 314 sq. ft. (i.e., was a circle 20 ft. in diameter) it would have contained approximately 4,700 flints at a density of 15 per sq. ft. (p. 5). The area assumed to have been stripped of topsoil (a circle 50 ft. in diameter) would have contained approximately 5,900 flints of comparable size at a density of 3 per sq. ft. (p. 4). The agree-
ment between these two figures is satisfactory, in view of the relatively small areas sampled, and suggests that the area stripped could well have supplied the whole of the material used in the pavement, and to spare.

If the suggested origin of the flints in the pavement is correct, what became of the topsoil from which they were removed? The bank proper consists chiefly of chalk rubble, with only a small admixture of soil; and while it is true that there was an average of 5–6 ins. of mould and turf covering the whole site before its excavation, there is no reason to suppose that this had not accumulated naturally. The most probable explanation is that the topsoil derived from the primary stripping was piled on the rubble bank, and has, in the course of centuries, been spread and denuded by natural weathering.

It was noticed by Mr. Wakefield (p. 3) that the inner margin of a sector of the bank on the NW. side (in the region of pits B–E) was composed of earth only. Even if the whole bank in this region were composed of earth, however, it would account for only a part of the volume of topsoil available for disposal.

The section of the bank (figs. 2 and 3) shows that when, under the action of weathering or disturbance, material from the inner edge slipped inwards and downwards, it came to rest on a layer of earth which occupied the annular space between the outer edge of the pavement and the inner edge of the bank proper. This layer of earth may, of course, have formed naturally by the silting downwards of topsoil originally piled on top of the rubble bank. On the other hand, it is equally possible that it was laid intentionally, in order, perhaps, to mask the somewhat irregular outline of the pavement, which contrasts with the careful layout employed in the rest of the construction. The filling in of this space would thus account for some of the available topsoil, and more may have been spread thinly on the pavement itself to smooth out some of the grosser inequalities of level.

The relation of the pits to the pavement is considered in the next section. The only remaining point for discussion here is the connection, if any, between the pond barrow and the adjacent bowl-barrow.

The trench dug between the two structures (p. 3) showed that there was no direct stratigraphical connection. It was noticeable, however, that the silting of the bowl-barrow ditch contained, above the primary chalk rubble, a layer of flint nodules similar to, but smaller than, those used in the pavement; and that two sherds of pottery, identical with others from the pond barrow, came from a position which suggested them to be contemporary with this layer of flints. It is tempting to see here evidence of the activity of the builders or subsequent users of the pond barrow, at a time when the ditch of the bowl-barrow was already partly silted. This suggestion received some confirmation from tests made with a probe in other parts of the bowl-barrow ditch. These gave the impression that the layer of flints in the ditch was confined to its S. side, where it faced the pond barrow. It is possible, therefore, that this layer of flints represents the surplus derived from the original stripping.
of the pond barrow site and not required for the making of the pavement. If this were so, the pond barrow would clearly be later in date than the bowl-barrow which it adjoins.

B. The Pits and the Ritual which they represent

The pits may be separated, on the basis of their contents, into three classes: empty pits, pits with cremations, and pits with pottery. The last can be subdivided into pots with cremations (4, 12), pots with inhumations (6, 20), pots with scraps of cremated bone (1, 11), and unaccompanied pots.

Of the empty pits little can profitably be said. It is noticeable that all but two are located well towards the centre of the depression, and that the two peripheral pits (H, J) are both much larger than the remainder. The purpose of all of them is obscure. They may well have contained offerings of food or other organic material that has not survived, or possibly (in view of the presence of the remains of two new-born children in pit 20) foetal burials. None of these pits, with the possible exception of K, had dimensions suggesting use as a post-hole.

The unaccompanied cremations also call for little comment. There is a clear tendency for them to lie in the annular space between the pavement and the bank, and they are confined to a half-circle extending from SW. to NE. A similar lack of symmetry in the disposition of cremation burials has previously been recorded several times, in communities ranging from Secondary Neolithic to Deverel-Rimbury. In most of these examples, however, the favoured aspect has been centred on the SE., S. or SW., in direct contrast to the distribution on the present site.

One cremation, G (p. 7), calls for a brief consideration. The filling of this pit can be interpreted only in terms of burial in a wooden keg or basket of cylindrical form, round which the chalk rubble had been tightly rammed. Of these two forms the basket is perhaps to be preferred, since the thin layer of soil, representing the wall of the container, showed slight irregularities in outline, suggestive of pressure exerted on relatively flexible material by the ramming of the chalk filling outside it. Moreover, one or two of the fragments of wood found beneath the bones were from twigs of a diameter (3 mm.) very suitable for basket-making. Two cremation burials in analogous containers have been recorded from Yorkshire and Staffordshire.

The deposits of pots have a number of curious features in common. It may be noted first that, with only three probable exceptions, they lay

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1 A burial of a foetus is known from a barrow at Cassington, Oxon. (Oxoniensia, xii, 1946-7, 13, 18.)
2 E.g. Dorchester, Oxon., sites II, IV, V, VI (Atkinson, Piggott and Sandars, Excavations at Dorchester, Oxon., 1, Ashmolean Museum, 1951, 19-60); Latch Farm, Christchurch, Hants. (P.P.S., iv, 1938, 169-187, with references to other sites, ibid., 179).
3 Mortimer, Forty Years' Researches (1905), 326, barrow 241.
4 Bateman, Ten Years' Digings (1861), 130.
beneath the flint pavement; in this they differ markedly from the cremations. Secondly, only two pots (1, 19) appear to have been deposited upright; the rest were all inverted or on their sides. Thirdly, only four out of twenty appear to have accompanied actual burials (4 and 12 inverted over cremations, 6 and 20 on their sides with dismembered inhumations). Unless we are to accept the remaining pots as ‘ritual deposits’ in their own right,1 we must assume that they covered deposits of food or other perishable organic material.

Only four pots retained their original shape. Of these, 6 and 20 were buried in relatively deep pits, and 1 and 4 were protected by the greater thickness of mould and bank over them. The remainder were all very badly smashed, only the lower part, if any, remaining in situ, and even that usually much cracked. It was observed, moreover, that in many instances the hole dug in the chalk for the reception of the pot was neither wide enough to enclose its mouth, nor deep enough to contain its full height. It was clear that the pots must have projected upwards into the thickness of the pavement, and this suggests that in most cases the pots were deposited after the pavement had been laid. A hole would be made by grubbing up a sufficient number of flints, and deepened into the chalk only far enough to ensure that the base or side of the pot was flush with, or slightly below, the surface of the pavement. Pots buried in this way would be very liable to damage, particularly if they were concealed by a few flints which hid their exact position.

Where two pots lay side by side in the same hole (7 and 7a, 4 and 5), one was complete and the other had parts missing. This suggests that the latter had been deposited first, and that when the pit was re-excavated or enlarged for the reception of a fresh deposit the vessel already present was damaged. From this it may be inferred that the pots were deposited successfully over a period of time, and that some at least of the earlier deposits were marked in some way.

As regards the purpose of the monument, it is clear that it was not primarily sepulchral, since out of thirty-four pits only eleven contained substantial quantities of human remains, and of these all but one were peripheral to the central, and presumably most important, area. The single central cremation (12) may perhaps, in virtue of its position, be regarded as a primary deposit dedicating and sanctifying the site, and may be compared with the cremation found in a similar position in a pond barrow on Lake Down, Wilts. (infra, n. 15). The other deposits suggest that the site served chiefly as a place of offerings or other ritual observances,2 and that the other burials were only secondary, in virtue of the sanctity of the place. Parallel examples of the secondary sepulchral use

1 'Ritual' deposits of broken sherds have, of course, been recorded (e.g. at Cairnmoly, Kirkcudbrightshire: P.S.A.S., lxxxi, 1948-9, 193-5); but there does not seem to be any good evidence for the use of whole pots in this way.

2 In this connection see G. M. Young on 'Pond Barrows', Antiquity, viii (1934), 459; W.A.M., xlvi (1937), 498.
of a sacred site not primarily constructed as a cemetery can be found in certain henge monuments of Secondary Neolithic type.

The proximity of the Sheep Down pond barrow to the neighbouring round barrows (a situation common to the majority of pond barrows) suggests that the cult which it served was that of the dead. Of the details of this cult the evidence is silent, but it is likely to have included the making of periodical offerings, and also, perhaps, the practice of dancing. The work of Sir Cyril Fox on South Welsh barrows has already provided evidence for dancing as a part of the burial ritual of the 2nd millennium B.C., and in the present case it is indeed tempting to explain thus the damage suffered by the pottery deposited in the flint pavement.

C. The Affinities, Distribution and Date of Pond Barrows

The Sheep Down pond barrow is the only one of its type to have been excavated in recent times. A number of pond barrows in Wiltshire and Dorset were partially examined during the 18th and 19th centuries, but the information recorded is even more meagre than is usually to be expected in such accounts. One examined by Thurnam on Durrington Down, Wilts., yielded an incomplete inhumation of a woman (thought by the excavator to be a secondary Saxon burial, but, in view of the dismembered burials from the Sheep Down site, perhaps more probably an original deposit); another, near Avebury, trenched by Dean Merewether in 1849, produced fragments of animal bones, charcoal and pottery, but ‘it was clear that no interment had taken place’. A third, in the Lake Down barrow field, Wilts., was examined by Duke early in the 19th century, and revealed a chalk-cut pit at the centre containing a cremation. One near Stonehenge, dug by Stukeley, yielded only a fragment of reddish pottery. The remainder yielded nothing, though it is not known how extensive were the various explorations.

None of these earlier accounts mentions anything that can be interpreted as a flint pavement similar to that in the Sheep Down site. One, and possibly two, of the three pond barrows in the extensive barrow field at Poor Lot, Kingston Russell, Dorset (fig. 1, A, top left margin), mentions one on Lake Down containing a cremation (probably the same as that excavated by Duke, referred to above). Thurnam (supra, n. 13) opened two or three, including the southern of the two in the Winterbourne Stoke group, which appears to be later than the adjacent bell-barrow (Colt Hoare, Ancient Wilts., i, 1812, 221; Grinsell, Ancient Burial Mounds, 1936, 25, and Pl. 11). The isolated site on Ballard Down, Isle of Purbeck, was examined by Austen (Warne, Celtic Tumuli of Dorset, 1866, iii, 79).
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certainly contains such a pavement, and others may be revealed, like these, by the cultivation of the site.¹

The distribution of all known pond barrows, and of a few less certain sites, is shown in fig. 1, b. The certain examples are confined to restricted areas, being grouped round the great sanctuaries of Stonehenge and Avebury in Wiltshire, and on the Ridgeway S. of Dorchester in Dorset, with a single outlier on Ballard Down, the extreme tip of the Isle of Purbeck. This distribution is closely similar to that of other types of complex or ‘fancy’ barrows in Wessex (bell, bell-disc, disc and saucer),² and is in itself sufficient to establish prima facie a date for pond barrows in the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C.

An examination of the dimensions³ recorded shows that there is no significant difference between the Wiltshire and Dorset groups. In both areas the average diameter (measured from crest to crest of the bank) is close to 60 ft., the extremes being 34 ft. and 110 ft. Only two exceed 85 ft.

When the location of individual pond barrows is examined, it is seen that in almost every case the site adjoins one or more round barrows of more normal type, and may often form part of a barrow-field. This is well illustrated in the area lying SW. of Dorchester, Dorset (fig. 1, a). It is also noticeable that where a pond barrow accompanies only one other barrow, as is the case immediately N. of Maiden Castle, the latter is of particularly large size.

The similarity between the distribution of pond barrows and that of the other kinds of ‘fancy’ barrows leaves no doubt that, like them, the pond barrow forms part of that elaboration of barrow-burial which takes place in Wessex in the two or three centuries immediately after 1500 B.C. This period, while it is characterised by numerous burials of a rich and elaborate type, has little, beyond the unique site of Stonehenge, to show in the form of non-sepulchral ritual structures. This is particularly clear when comparison is made with the preceding half-millennium, to which may be assigned more than forty henge monuments, some of vast size, together with an unknown number of related stone and earth circles.

¹ Reference should be made to the ‘urnfield’ excavated by J. F. S. Stone on Easton Down, Wilts. (W.A.M., xlv, 1934, 218-224). This had a number of features which provide a remarkable parallel to the Sheep Down site, including one empty pit, three crushed urns (one unaccompanied and another inverted with scraps of cremated bone only), and an unaccompanied cremation in a pit, the whole covered by a uniform flint pavement six inches thick. The site is dated by the occurrence in one burial of a segmented faience bead. Comparison should also be made with the ‘Sepulchralia’ recorded by Warne on Launceston Down, Dorset (Warne, Celtic Tumuli of Dorset, 1886, i, 57). These seem to have been pavements of closely packed flints, 12 ft. in diameter and 12 to 18 ins. thick, covering a layer of dark soil containing charcoal, ashes, and fragments of bare and coarse pottery; beneath this were pits cut in the natural chalk, containing cremations. Warne himself notes their similarity in some respects to pond barrows.

² P.P.S., vii (1941), 73–113 and maps II–IV.

³ I am indebted to Professor Stuart Piggott for giving me access to the inventory of Wiltshire pond barrows prepared by Mr. L. V. Grinsell for inclusion in the forthcoming Victoria County History of Wiltshire, and to Mr. H. G. Wakefield for notes on the Dorset sites, abstracted from the records prepared by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) for the forthcoming Inventory for Dorset. It seems preferable to await the publication of these two volumes, rather than to annexe a possibly incomplete catalogue of pond barrows to the present paper.
In some sense, therefore, the pond barrows may be seen as the counterpart in the Wessex Culture, albeit on a very much reduced scale, of the elaborate circular sanctuaries that preceded the emergence of that culture. In this connection it is interesting to note that in some pond barrows there is a single well-marked entrance-gap in the surrounding bank, recalling the single entrances of class I henge monuments. If an ancestry for the pond barrow is needed, it may perhaps be found in the small circular single-entrance sanctuaries, such as those at Dorchester, Oxon. (sites IV, V, and VI). These consisted of a penannular bank with an internal quarry-ditch, enclosing a small flat space. It is not difficult to see how, by gradual broadening, the ditch might coalesce into a single central hollow, to produce a structure indistinguishable from certain pond barrows.

As Mr. Brailsford points out (infra, p. 21), the pottery from Sheep Down is of essentially native type, and includes none of the exotic elements that characterise some of the more magnificent grave-groups of the Wessex Culture. No conflict of evidence is really involved, however, in ascribing the Sheep Down pond barrow, and its analogues, to that culture. For it is becoming increasingly evident that the Wessex Culture had, so to speak, an economic rather than an ethnographic basis. The exotic objects which form its most notable material are, with few exceptions, of a kind most readily acquired by way of trade or trade-gifts; any immigration of foreign population, such as may be implied by the grape and Aldbourne cups, must have taken place, if at all, on a small scale only. The history of Wessex in the centuries immediately after 1500 B.C. must be seen in terms not of the arrival from Brittany of an overmastering band of warrior princes, but of the emergence from among the local native communities, of Secondary Neolithic stock, of a group of astute merchants, prepared to make the most of their position as middlemen in the Hiberno-European metal trade, and not averse from acquiring through their widespread commercial contacts such objects of panoply and vertu as befitted their new-found, and self-made, status.

The roots of such a community as this must have lain deep in the Secondary Neolithic past, and beneath the golden veneer of the Wessex culture there must always have been a solid foundation of native tradition, to which the circular sanctuary would be in no way foreign1; and if Stonehenge can stand as the metropolitan cathedral of the Wessex culture, so equally can the pond barrow be accepted as its village church.

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1 It may be suggested that the chief feature that distinguishes bell-, bell-disc-, disc- and saucer barrows from the bowl-barrows, namely, the ditch with outer bank, may itself be derived from earlier circular sanctuaries of henge monument type. It may be more appropriate, in fact, to think of the basic form of Wessex Culture barrow not in terms of a mound with an elaborate edging, but in terms of a circular open space or temenos, bounded by a characteristically 'ritual' form of earthwork, at the centre of which a simple burial mound has been placed.
1. INVENTORY

All the pots from the Sheep Down pond barrow (with two exceptions noted below) are of the characteristic fabric commonly described as 'Middle Bronze Age'. that is to say, a rough badly-fired ware, with brown faces and dark core.

The relative positions of the pots within the barrow are given in Part I (pp. 5-7 and Fig. 2).

![Pots from Sheep Down Pond Barrow](https://example.com/pot_images)

**FIG 4. POTS FROM THE SHEEP DOWN POND BARROW; GROUPS A–C. (§)**

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1 A preliminary summary report on the Sheep Down pottery was published in the *Archaeological News Letter*, April, 1949.
Group a. Food Vessels of Abercromby’s Type 3
No. 1. (Fig. 4). Upright. There is an oblique cleavage round the shoulder of this pot, showing it to have been built up from at least two separate parts.
No. 10. (Fig. 4). Probably inverted.

Group b. Overhanging-rim Urn of conventionally early type
No. 7. (Fig. 4). On side.

Group c. Relatively developed Overhanging-rim Urns
No. 6. (Fig. 4). On side. Ware relatively rather superior. The collar tends to scale off showing it to have been applied. With this were some sherds of another small collared and shouldered pot.
No. 9. (Fig. 4). Inverted.
No. 17. (Fig. 4). Inverted.
No. 18. (Fig. 4). On side.

Group d. Small Narrow-rim Urns, the interior of the rims being markedly concave (cf. No. 4).
No. 14. (Fig. 5). Inverted.
No. 19. (Fig. 5). Upright.
No. 20. (Fig. 5). On side.

Group e. Food Vessel/Overhanging-rim Urn transitional form
No. 4. (Fig. 5). Inverted. Contained (besides the cremation mentioned below) a fragment of collared rim with impressed herringbone ornament, from another pot. It is essentially a small Overhanging-rim Urn; its distinctive rim-form (with internal concavity) is similar to those of Nos. 14, 19 and 20. But the alternate depressions and lugs round the shoulder are a feature which can only be derived from the ‘stopped-groove’ of a Yorkshire Food Vessel.

Group f. Pots with overhanging-rims, but too incomplete for substantial restoration
No. 2. (Fig. 5). Inverted.
No. 3. (Fig. 5). Probably inverted.
No. 13. (Fig. 5). On side. May have had a cordoned shoulder besides the collar below the rim.
No. 15. (Fig. 5). Inverted.
Group g. Miscellaneous

No. 8. (Fig. 5). Inverted. The paste is brown throughout, and the surface much perished.

Nos. 5, 7a, 11, 12 and 16 were too fragmentary to admit of any attempt at reconstruction. The fragments of No. 5 included pieces of a flat, slightly expanded base, and a collared rim ornamented with cord-impressed herring-bone on the outside. The remains of No. 7a included
part of a flat base, the position of which indicated that the pot had been lying on its side. It had contained a small dark chert pebble.

No. 4 contained, and No. 12 was apparently associated with, a cremation. Nos. 6 and 20 were associated with fragmentary skeletal remains of young children (see above, pp. 6, 7).

Although these pots represent a fairly wide range of types, and although their stratigraphical relationships could not be determined, they seem to form a single coherent group, and may be treated as broadly contemporary.

2. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

The two pots of Group a may be compared to a number of similar vessels with useful associations from SW. England. That from Winterbourne Came was associated with flint arrow-heads of Breton Early Bronze Age type. Two Food Vessels from the Badbury Barrow were associated with inhumations. The pot from Cataclews Bay, Harlyn was found with a Beaker-type battle-axe, and that from Charmy Down, Som. was substantially contemporary with a Beaker interment. Groups b and c comprise pots of well-known types, but that even the ‘developed’ urns of Group c may date from quite early in the Bronze Age is shown by two examples from Wessex Culture inhumations.

The Narrow-rimmed Urns of Group d, with the insides of the rims markedly concave, belong to the general class of Narrow-rim Urns which is normally, on typological grounds, considered early. More than this, the evidence of the associations of comparable urns, in every case known to me where these are significant, indicates that this particular type of urn antedates the beginning of the full Middle Bronze Age. Thus the urn from Cassington, Oxon., which the excavator ascribed to the time of the Wessex Culture, was contemporary with a crouched inhumation of Beaker type and other early features. The urn from Soham, Cambs., contained a cremation, but was deposited beside a skeleton; this urn is somewhat larger than those from Sheep Down. A comparable urn from Stoney Cross, Hants., the rim of which bears comb-ornament similar to that on our No. 4, was found beside a cremation. Finally, the four urns mentioned in the next paragraph from Carn Kief, Holt, Clandon and Grappenhall, all had early associations.

1 Prof. K. C. Dunham has kindly examined this pebble. He reports ‘... it is a secondary silica rock—i.e. a chert—composed of chalcedony with a few angular quartz grains. Abundant remains of sponge spicules are present.

‘Such rocks occur in many geological formations and no distinctive character is present to aid identification. I do not think it is a chalk flint, but anything from the Greensand back is possible.’

2 S. Piggott, P.P.S., iv (1938), 68, fig. 7.

3 S. Piggott, Ant. Journ., xix (1939), 291, nos. 2 and 3.

4 Patchett, Arch. Journ. ci (1944), 39, fig. 9e, 12.

5 Williams, Ant. Journ., xxx (1950), 41, fig. 4, 1.

6 S. Piggott, P.P.S., iv (1938), 91, fig. 21: Normanton and Manton.

7 R. J. C. Atkinson, Oxoniensia, xi-xii (1946-7), 14, 20.

8 Fox, Arch. Camb. Reg., 1923, 37, Pl. iii, 2.

9 C. M. Piggott, P.P.S., ix (1943), 20, fig. 16.
These Narrow-rim Urns with internally concave rims may perhaps be called Sheep Down Urns. Examples with significant associations are listed above, and these, together with the other examples known to me, are detailed in List I and plotted on the map (Fig. 6).

Neither in form nor distribution do such urns make a compact group, nor is it suggested that they all fall within the period (later Early Bronze Age—Childe’s Period IV) in which those with useful associations may
probably be confined. Nevertheless, they do seem to be a primary form of Overhanging-rim Urn, and a natural development from Food Vessel and/or Peterborough ancestors.¹

The very interesting transitional pot from Sheep Down (No. 4) shows not only the distinctive rim-form discussed above, but also a vestigial stopped groove, almost certainly derived from the Yorkshire Food Vessel. This combination also occurs on the urn from the Clandon Barrow,² although the rim of this urn was comparatively deep. It was apparently associated with a Wessex Culture burial. The same combination occurs on an urn from Holt, Denbighshire,³ which was found in association with a debased Yorkshire Food Vessel. Vestigial stopped-grooves are also found on a number of Overhanging-rim Urns, not only in the northern homeland of this feature, but also in the south. Such urns are those from Stanton Harcourt, Oxon.,⁴ Felixstowe,⁵ Winterbourne Stoke, Wilts.,⁶ and Glaston, Leics.⁷ (List 2 and Map.)

It is interesting that besides the three urns (Sheep Down, Clandon and Holt) of Sheep Down type where the vestigial stopped-groove occurs on the same pot, two other urns of Sheep Down type have Yorkshire Food Vessel associations. These are the urns from Grappenhall,⁸ Cheshire, found with two type 2 A Food Vessels (though not in positive association), and Carn Kief,⁹ Cornwall, which was found in direct association with a second urn having a broad bevelled rim and shoulder groove.

To sum up, it seems that all the pots from the Sheep Down pond barrow may be dated within the later Early Bronze Age (Childe’s Period IV), and since intrusive (Beaker or Wessex Culture) elements are completely absent, we may regard this pottery as a native product.

### 3. General Considerations

The Sheep Down group of pottery has important implications for the interpretation of the development of the Overhanging-rim Urn in Britain. The group includes simple Food Vessels, typologically early Overhanging-rim Urns and a transitional type. The whole seems to represent the genesis of the Overhanging-rim Urn.

Two features of the Sheep Down pottery are of particular significance. These are:

1. The vestigial stopped-groove, of Yorkshire Food Vessel origin, occurring on an Overhanging-rim Urn.
2. The Narrow-rim Urn with the inside of the rim strongly concave.

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¹ See T. G. E. Powell in *P.P.S.*, xvi (1950), 70.
⁴ Abercromby ii, No. 61.
⁵ B.M. 56, 6-27, 1.
⁶ Salisbury Museum.
⁹ Information from the late Mr. George Penrose, Curator of the Truro Museum, and the excavator, Mr. A. D. Nicholls. Patchett, *Arch. Journ.*, cvii (1950), D13, E14, pp. 55-57, Fig. 3.
We have already seen that the ‘Sheep Down’ type of urn may be regarded as a primary form. Likewise, the associations of the Overhanging-rim Urns with the vestigial stopped-grooves support the a priori inference that such urns are, in general, early. This early dating for both types is supported by their concentration in the primary Yorkshire-Jurassic Zone-Wessex area (see Map).

It is highly significant that Yorkshire Food Vessel influence, shown by a vestigial stopped-groove, should be manifested on two Sheep Down Urns in Wessex (Sheep Down and Clandon) and on the Holt urn, while Yorkshire Food Vessel associations also occur, far away from Yorkshire, with the urn from Carn Kief, and also with that from Grappenhall.

It seems to be the case that the British Overhanging-rim Urn came into being in the South. Here, as elsewhere, Yorkshire Food Vessel influences are found with primary urns. This evidence supports that of the similarities in form, fabric and ornament between the two classes of vessels, and it becomes increasingly apparent that the Yorkshire Food Vessel was a predominant element from the outset in the development of the British Overhanging-rim Urn.

Some comments should be appended to this conclusion. That a channel for contact between the Yorkshire Food Vessel province and Wessex existed along the Jurassic Way is suggested by Miss Chitty’s distribution-map of Food Vessels. The distribution-map of urns with vestigial stopped grooves (Fig. 6) shows that the groups in Yorkshire and Wessex are linked by intermediate finds lying along the same route.

Although the Food Vessel strain in the Overhanging-rim Urn family appears to be stronger than is generally accepted, perhaps dominant, this cannot be held to exclude other formative agents. In particular, Neolithic ‘B’ elements seem to have been incorporated.

**List 1: Narrow-Rim Urns with Internally Concave Rims (‘Sheep Down’ Urns).**

**Bedfordshire.**
1. Kempston... British Museum, 93, 5-17, 1.

**Cambridgeshire.**

**Cheshire.**
3. Grappenhall... Varley and Jackson, *Prehistoric Cheshire*, 1940, 94.

**Cornwall.**
4. Carn Kief... Patchett, *Arch. Journ.*, cvii (1950), D13, E14, pp. 55, 57, Fig. 3.

* It is not claimed that these lists are exhaustive.

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1 W. F. Grimes, *The Jurassic Way*, in *Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond* (1951), 144.

* Sir Cyril Fox, *Personality of Britain* (1938), Pl. v.
A POND BARROW AT WINTERBOURNE STEEPLETON, DORSET

DORSET.
5. Badbury ... ... S. Piggott, Ant. Journ., xix (1939), 291.
6. Bere Regis Down ... B.M. 92, 9-1, 249.
7. Sheep Down (3) ... ... Dorchester Museum.
8. Sydling St. Nicholas ... Fox, Archaeologia, lxxxvii (1937), 137, fig. 4.

GLAMORGAN.
9. Simondstown Cairn ... ... C. M. Piggott, P.P.S., ix (1943), 20, fig. 16.

HAMPSHIRE.
10. Stoney Cross ... ... Powell, P.P.S., xvi (1950), 71.

LEICESTERSHIRE.
11. Earl Shilton ... ... Powell, P.P.S., xvi (1950), 71.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.
12. Cransley ... ... B.M. 82, 6-22, 1.
13. Oundle ... ... B.M. 67, 3-28, 2.

OXFORDSHIRE.
14. Cassington ... ... Atkinson, Oxoniensia xi-xii (1946-7), 14.

WILTSHIRE.
15. ? (Duke Collection) ... B.M. 95, 7-23, 3.

YORKSHIRE.
17. Ganton, E. R. Y. ... ... B.B. xxiv (B.M. 79, 12-9, 292).

LINCOLNSHIRE.
29. Deeping St. James ... ... Abercromby, Pl. lxvi, No. 58.

ANGLESEY.
30. Inys Bronwen ... ... Abercromby, Pl. lxvi, No. 59.

CAERNARVON.
31. Penmaenmawr ... ... Chester Museum.

ADDENDA.

LIST 2 : OVERHANGING-RIM URNS (OTHER THAN 'SHEEP DOWN') WITH VESTIGIAL STOPPED GROOVES.

ESSEX.
19. Felixstowe ... B.M. 56, 6-27, 1.

OXFORDSHIRE.
20. Stanton Harcourt ... Abercromby, Pl. lxvi, No. 61.

WILTSHIRE.
21. Winterbourne Stoke... Salisbury Museum.

YORKSHIRE.
22. North Riding ... Yorkshire Museum.
23. Dalby, N. R. Y. ... Yorkshire Museum.
24. Thorpe, Bridlington ... Abercromby, Pl. lxxiv, No. 135.
LIST 3: 'SHEEP DOWN' URNS WITH VESTIGIAL STOPPED GROOVES.

DENBIGHSHIRE.
25. Holt ... ... ... N.M.W. Prehist. Guide (1939), No. 420, 1.

DORSET.
27. Sheep Down ... ... ... ——

LEICESTERSHIRE.
28. Glaston ... ... ... Powell, P.P.S., xvi (1950), 73.

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