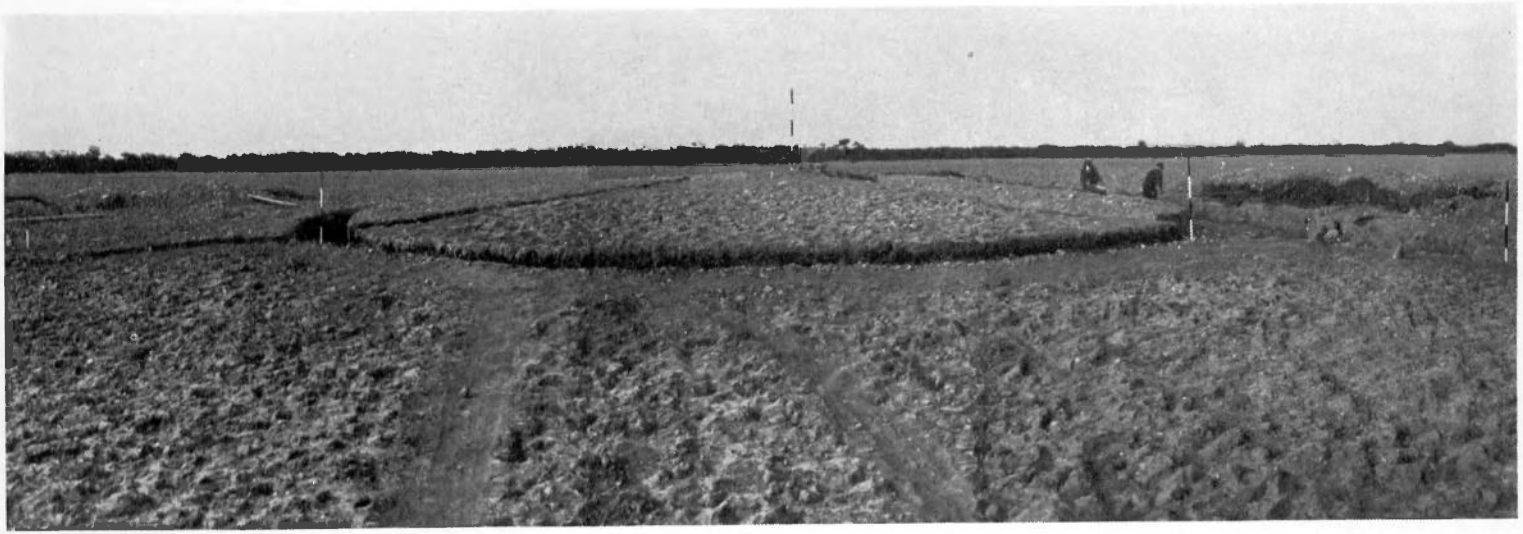


SOUTH HILL BARROW: THE CIRCULAR TRENCH DEFINES THE BEAKER BARROW; THE LIMITS OF THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE ENLARGEMENT ARE INDICATED BY THE RANGING POLES ON THE EXTREME RIGHT AND LEFT

A BEAKER BARROW, ENLARGED IN THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE, AT SOUTH HILL, TALBENNY, PEMBROKESHIRE

By SIR CYRIL FOX

THE ARGUMENT

Within a temporary circular wooden fence sited on a plateau was a small stony heap containing a beaker. A barrow (with a stone revetment) was raised thereover. In the Middle Bronze Age the revetment was in part dismantled when an enlargement of the barrow was undertaken; in the course of this enlargement the design was changed, involving demolition of new work. The completed structure had a retaining wall and was ditched; the secondary burial (by cremation) was so placed as to suggest axial planning. The bearing of the monument on the cultural history of South Wales is considered.

The Site

Talbenny parish includes the seaward half of a patch of long-cultivated upland between 200′ and 300′ in elevation, on the north side of Milford Haven, overlooking St. Bride's Bay. South Hill is the south-western portion of this upland; it is a very flat plateau, and at its highest point, close to the barrow, 236′ above sea level (fig. 1.). The barrow (238·4′ at its centre) is a little over a mile from the sea at the tiny rock-infested landing place known as Mill Haven; moreover one of the two rills which combine to form the cwm (and therefore the Haven), rises in full view a short distance away from it. There is thus a physical link between plateau and landing place, and the barrow is crest-sited from the north-west. Looking north by west then, a noble sea- and land-scape is seen; on the skyline are St. David's Head, Ramsey Island and its rocky islets. On the east side of the barrow the plateau rises slightly, then slopes gently to a brook flowing south; there are springs on the plateau margin which prevent this brook running dry in summer.

South Hill Barrow (Frontispiece) is the only burial mound known to exist in the Talbenny district. It is not marked on the O.S. map (6″, XXXII NE.), but was discovered by the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in the course of its survey

of Pembrokeshire, and recorded.[1] The underlying rock here is the Red Marl division of the Old Red Sandstone, a formation which occupies the greater part of the district[2] north of Milford Haven and which provides a tenacious red clayey soil and subsoil. Locally there are patches of glacial drift, on one of which the barrow is situated.[3] Glacial action has provided, in addition to such sandy or marly clays, boulders and pebbles of igneous rock chiefly from the St. David s Head outcrops.[4]

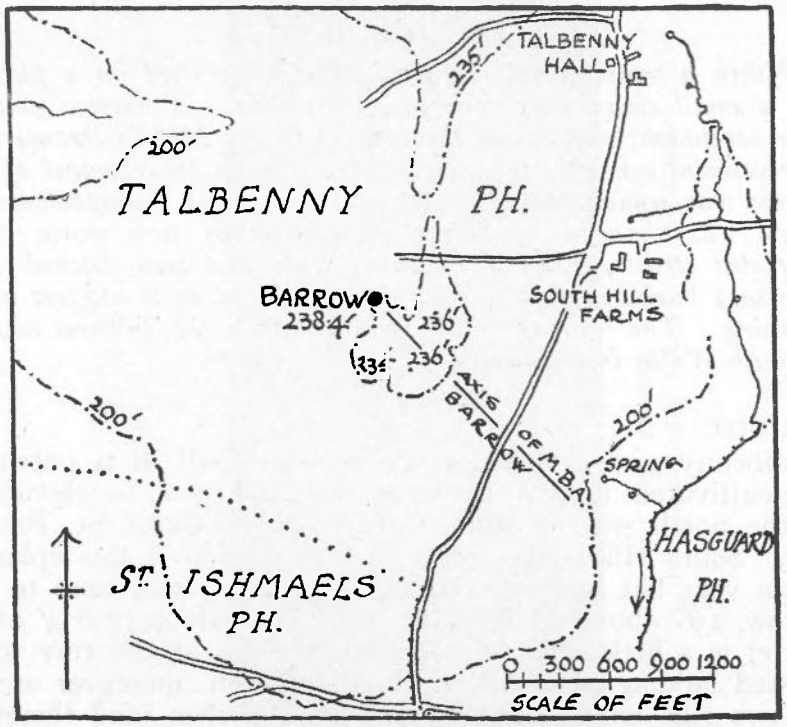


FIG. 1. SKETCH MAP OF THE SOUTH HILL AREA

It is more than likely, my colleague Dr. F. J. North suggests, that the building of the barrow contributed largely to the clearance of such boulders from the surface in the immediate neighbourhood. It is not surprising, having regard to the geological structure, that in the winter the level fields which

[1] R.C.A.M. (Wales), vii, County of Pembroke, 1925, no. 1117, p. 392.

[2] See sheet 227 of the geological map, Drift ed., 1″ to 1 mile.

[3] Dr. F. J. North kindly reported on a sample of the soil underlying the barrow as follows: This is a soil derived from a drift deposit made up of detritus from the St. David's Head region, mixed with material from the local Old Red Sandstone.

[4] Identification by Dr. F. J. North. One such boulder, a rough cube about 1′ 6″ in diameter, was dug up in the next field while the writer was at work on the barrow. Its top was just below the ground.

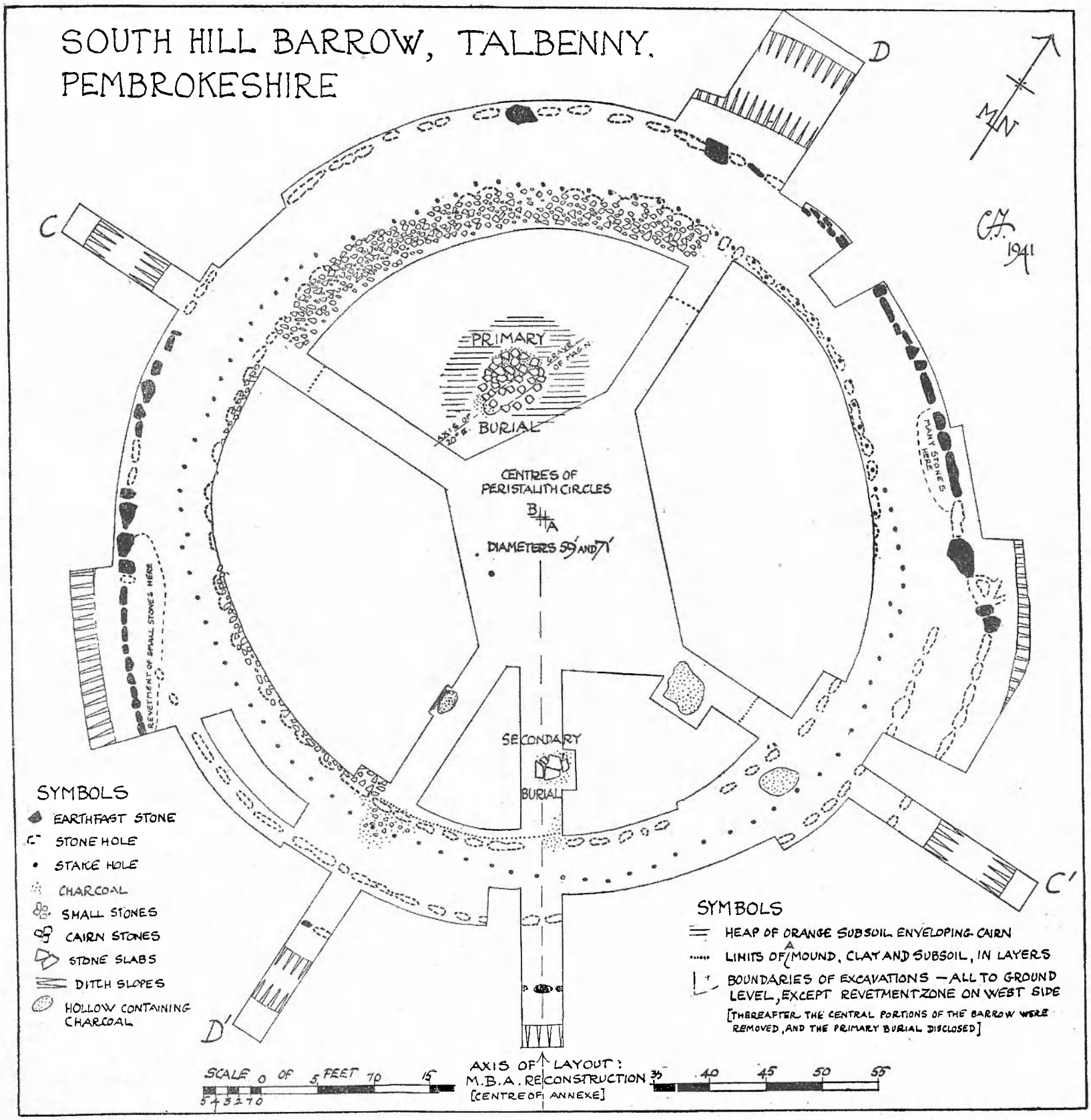


FIG. 2. PLAN SHOWING EXTENT OF CONTROLLED EXCAVATION, AND POSITION OF PRIMARY DEPOSIT SUBSEQUENTLY LOCATED

occupy the South Hill plateau show large shallow pools of standing water. This is particularly the case with the Barrow field, which is now under plough. The district in general was undoubtedly heavily forested in antiquity,[1] but the Atlantic gales, so frequent on this exposed coast, must have kept the higher ground, including the Talbenny upland, fairly open. The upper spit of soil below the barrow was laced with dead rootlets, and stems, considered to be of bracken, were embedded in clay in contact with the ancient surface.

The Procedure

The excavation of South Hill Barrow was initiated on the usual lines, four quadrant-trenches being dug from the centre outwards to the four cardinal points (as determined by the prismatic compass), and the general character of the structure thereby discovered. Lateral clearances along the lines of the revetment, stake-circle, outer kerbing, ditch, etc., were carried out as necessary; the secondary burial was found; and the exact centre of the structure having been ascertained, extensive clearance of the central area was made in a (vain) search for the primary deposit. My wife was of great assistance; she spent three weeks on the work, being in sole charge for a week; and three men were employed for a period of five weeks.

The areas cleared, to ground-level or below, are shown on the Plan, fig. 2. They represent the limits of the scientific investigation of the mound. The time which could be spared for the task was running short, and more labour was difficult to obtain; all the necessary data relating to the construction, and the later history of the barrow, had been recorded; but the basic problem was unsolved—was there a primary deposit, and if so where? It was, then, decided to make use of a mechanical excavator, and to remove the remainder of the barrow mass, consisting mainly of tenacious clay, within the revetment. Moving forward in a circle around the (open) centre, clearing down to ground level and piling up the spoil on its outer flank, a caterpillar-wheeled 'RapieR' carried out work estimated to occupy four men for at least three weeks, in two and a half working days. Pl. VI*a* shows part of the spoil heap referred to above, looking across the area formerly occupied by the barrow; the machine moved on the timber platforms which are seen lying about. Every scoop-load was watched by myself and my helpers; no extensive disturbance of the 'floor' (the original ground surface below the barrow) could have been

[1] Oak forest, probably: see appendix II, kindly prepared by my colleague Mr. H. A. Hyde, M.A.

present without being seen, though only momentarily, as the shining teeth and keel of the scoop, starting at ground level, moved inwards and upwards into the overburden. And while a small secondary burial deposit could easily have been lost sight of, or not seen at all, in the mass of disintegrating soil which the method (however carefully employed, as in this case) creates on the working face, anything of the size and character of the secondary already found would certainly have been located and the machine stopped in time. My workmen and I (and the ' driver ') of course got more expert as the work progressed ; the ' RapieR ' was stopped twice in order that two 'charcoal' deposits on the floor similar to those previously found (p. 8) should be looked at ; and, as it happened, the primary deposit was not reached until the machine had practically completed the circle mapped out for it.

The cairn covering the ' grave ' (p. 6) was struck, and a few marginal stones torn away ; the machine was ' called off ' and the deposit carefully examined. With its examination the work on the barrow ended.

The experiment may then be regarded as successful. But I should not like to repeat it, even under the favourable conditions (i.e. machine and driver under my personal orders) which I enjoyed. It is a nerve-racking business, and a few seconds inattention with so powerful and rapid an agent of removal, might render useless days of unremitting effort, and result in the complete loss of a vital deposit. Moreover, the limitations of the method are serious—one does not want to lose even minor secondaries ; and minor disturbances of the floor such as are provided by the ritual pits in Barrows 271′ and 267′ at Llantwit[1] might easily have escaped notice. Be it remembered moreover, that the machine was only employed when the barrow had been studied for five weeks, and everything material known about its structure and that of the soil and subsoil below it. As a method of investigating a barrow *de novo*, the use of a mechanical excavator is wholly inadmissible.

The complexity of the problems presented by the barrow and the partial character of the scientific excavation renders the scale plan of the areas uncovered, which usually provides a sufficient indication of the nature of the structure, inadequate. Such a scale plan then, is here supplemented by a Reconstruction (fig. 10), in which the barrow is shown as though wholly excavated, and in which ruined constructions are restored to their original form and position.

[1] *Antiq. Journ.*, xxi, 119, fig. 8 ; *Antiquity*, 1941, 147.

The First Phase : the Beaker Barrow

The Wooden Fence. As the Plan, fig. 2, shows, a complete ring of stake-holes approximating in form to a true circle, and varying in diameter from 60′ to 64′ was found under the mound. A characteristic series is seen in pl. II*a*. The number of holes is 96 of which four overlap or duplicate others, possibly with intention. There are two interspaces, WNW. of the centre, side by side, 3′ 7″ and 4′ in breadth ; the remaining interspaces range from 1′ 6″ to 2′ 10″. But as the Table on this page shows, an overwhelming percentage (93·3%) is concentrated within narrower limits, namely 1′ 8″ to 2′ 6″. The

WOODEN FENCE : STAKE-HOLES

Interspace in feet and inches.	Number of such Interspaces.	Expressed as percentage of 90 measurable interspaces.	
ft. in.			
4 0	1	1·1	
3 7	1	1·1	
2 10	1	1·1	
2 9	1	1·1	
2 6	3	3·3	93·3% of all interspaces : average of these 24·6 inches.
2 5	5	5·5	
2 4	9	10·0	
2 3	11	12·2	
2 2	7	7·7	
2 1	10	11·1	
2 0	10	11·1	
1 11	9	10·0	
1 10	9	10·0	
1 9	7	7·7	
1 8	4	4·4	
1 7	1	1·1	
1 6	1	1·1	

average of these is just over 2′ (24·6″). The stakes were driven in ; the holes range in diameter from $2\frac{1}{2}$″ to $3\frac{1}{2}$″ ; a few were oval, 3″ by 4″ ; where tested they range up to 1′ in depth. In these respects, they recall the stake-circles in the Glamorgan barrows ; the interspaces are wider, but this can hardly be regarded as a cultural differentiation (see p. 25.)[1]

The stake-holes represent the earliest construction on the site. The evidence for this lies in the northern sector where, being encroached on by stone-holes of the revetment of the primary barrow (p. 9) they have been sought and found at the bottom of these shallow holes. That the stake-holes then, represent a wooden, almost certainly wattled fence (with a double gate of entry on the NW. side no doubt closed by

[1] Sheeplays, 293′ and 279′ ; Six Wells, 267′ and 271′. See *Antiq. Journ.*, xxi, 97 ff ; *Antiquity*, 1941, 142 ff.

hurdles), ringing the area within which the 'burial' was to take place, is a reasonable inference. That such an enclosure was constructed implies, furthermore, that the area where the rites took place was hallowed for the purpose. The great majority of stake-holes were filled with fine, dark earth; the stakes must either have rotted in position, or the ground occupied by the holes of the drawn stakes (which is outside the primary barrow) must have been untrodden long enough for them to become filled with humus.

The Primary Deposit. A mound composed partly of stones, and partly of yellow clay, covered an area of about 6′ in diameter,

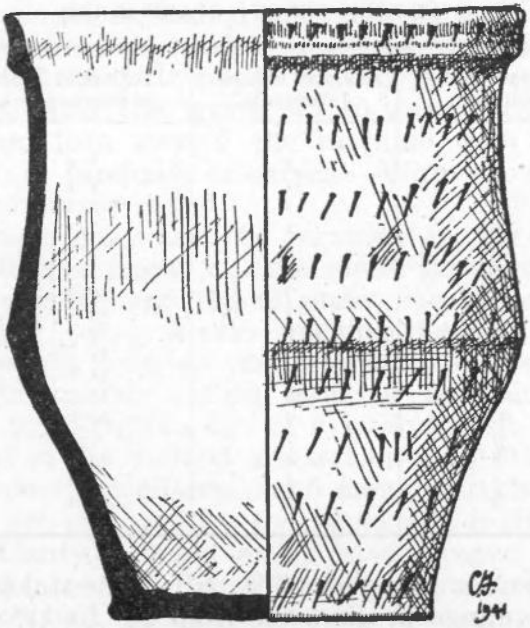


FIG. 3. THE BEAKER ($\frac{1}{2}$)

in the NW. quadrant of the barrow (see Plan, fig. 2), rising about 18″ above the original ground level (see Plan and Section, fig. 5*b*). It was enveloped in a mass of pinkish clay. The stones of the mound could have been collected in the immediate neighbourhood (p. 2); they ranged from 4″ to 12″ in diameter. The base of the mound was a foot below ground level; that is, an area approximating to 6′ by 6′ had been excavated to such a depth before it was raised. On the NW. side the stones were close-set, and there was comparatively little soil; instead, carbonized wood—sometimes in sizeable pieces—was everywhere present between the stones. At one place a flint implement

was found in such ; at another the base and part of the body of a beaker in a thick layer.[1] There were no human remains with the beaker which was in a state of extreme disintegration ; it was entirely unprotected from the pressure of the stones. Elsewhere clay predominated, with a few stones at the top, and there was little or no carbonized wood. A few stones lay on the ground outside the stony heap.

At two points, namely at the NE. and SW. ends of the mound[2] were stake-holes about 2″ in diameter, filled with dark soil.

Under the clayey part of the mound, the subsoil was found to be disturbed ; further work disclosed a narrow elongated hollow or grave 6′ long, and 1′ 10″ at its deepest point, the centre, below the base of the mound. It was very narrow, measuring only 1′ 9″ at its widest, the bottom being rounded,

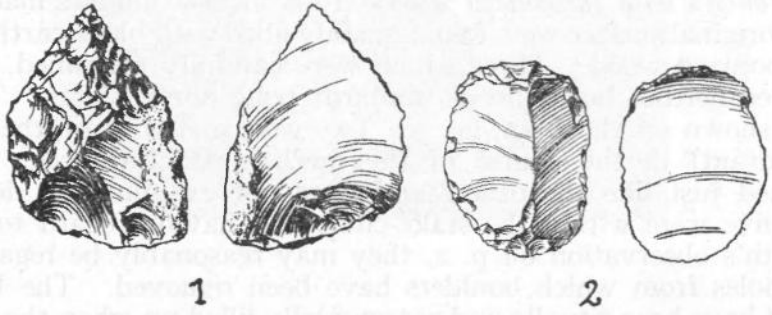


FIG. 4. TWO FLINT IMPLEMENTS : NO. 1 FROM THE PRIMARY DEPOSIT, NO. 2 CONTEMPORARY WITH THE SECONDARY BURIAL ($\frac{2}{3}$)
(Drawn by Mrs. Burkitt)

deepest in the middle—where there was a stake-hole, and nowhere more than a foot wide ; it seemed to symbolize a grave, rather than to be intended for a human body. It contained clean soil with a few specks of ' charcoal ' ; at the bottom there was no stain such as the decay of organic matter might be expected to produce. Immediately adjacent to, and on the south side of, the mound, the original surface of the ground was hardened and reddened by fire over an area some 3′ by 3′ ; no deposit remained on it. Since the reddening extended beyond the margin of the grave (fig. 5*b*), this must have been filled in and the stony mound built, before the fire was made.

[1] Mr. Hyde's valuable observations (appendix II) suggest the generalization that all the wood found in the beaker barrow was carbonized by decay. The primary deposit, then, consisted of stones interspersed with branches and sprays of oak, and earth.

[2] The exact position of these holes was not noted. Compare the holes found in a barrow at Pendine, Carm. (*Arch. Camb.*, 1918, 52).

The beaker has been restored in the National Museum of Wales. It is of the B[1] class, and has a well-marked body-angle ; there is a cordon below the rim. The decoration is simple—diagonal impressed marks in zones, coarsely and carelessly wrought. The ware is fairly thin, gritty, and very ill-baked (see fig. 3 and appendix I, p. 30).

The flint implement seemed to have been freshly made from a flake probably of quarried flint ; it is sharply pointed and roughly triangular, showing fine secondary flaking (see fig. 4, for which I am indebted to Mrs. Burkitt, and p. 30).

A Post-hole. SSE. of the primary deposit, a large stake- or post-hole, 4″ by 4″, was found. It was filled with grey clay showing that the post which it contained had been drawn immediately prior to the dumping of such clay—barrow material —on the site. There were no other holes in the central area.

Hollows with carbonized wood. Five shallow hollows made in the original surface were found, mainly filled with black earth and carbonized wood. Three which were carefully examined, contained neither burnt bones, unburnt bone nor artifacts. They are shown on the Plan, fig. 2. Two were met with (in the NE. quadrant) in the course of the mechanical clearance ; they looked just like the others and were not examined in detail. All five were within the stake-circle and having regard to Dr. North's observation on p. 2, they may reasonably be regarded as holes from which boulders have been removed. The holes may have been ritually and ceremonially filled up when the area was being prepared for the primary deposit.

The largest of these, a hollow 26 feet SE. of that deposit will be described. It measured 4′ 9″ in greatest diameter and 11″ deep at the centre, was very irregular in outline and in depth, with firmly-bedded stones on its margins[1] ; full of black earth, in which laminated (woody) masses and much small 'charcoal' was seen.[2] Patches of re-set yellow clay also occurred. The surrounding (undisturbed) clay was neither reddened nor speckled with 'charcoal'. The filling did not rise above ground level and the structure of the over-lying mound gave no hint of its presence.

It is interesting, as showing that these hollows had no significance once (as we may suppose) the ritual was accomplished, that one of them was left outside the Barrow when the circuit of this was planned.[3]

The Beaker Barrow. Two complete cross-sections of South

[1] No such stones were present on the margins of the two other hollows examined. The hollows were, it would appear, filled with branches of oak.

[2] See Mr. Hyde's Report, appendix II A.

[3] This hollow is printed in black, in error, on fig. 10.

A. THE STAKE-HOLES OF THE WOODEN FENCE, AND THE STONE REVETMENT OF THE BEAKER BARROW; N.W. QUADRANT

To face page 8

B. THE SAME, SHOWING HOLES BEHIND AND BETWEEN THE STAKE-HOLES, FROM WHICH EARTHFAST STONES OF THE BEAKER BARROW HAD BEEN WITHDRAWN. NORTH SIDE

A. THE STONES AND STONE-HOLES MARKING THE POSITION OF THE KERB OF THE ENLARGED BARROW (LEFT) IN RELATION TO THE BEAKER BARROW (RIGHT). NW. QUADRANT

PLATE III

B. THE DITCH AND ITS FILLING : BEYOND, THE STONE CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE ENLARGED BARROW AND OF THE BEAKER BARROW. NORTH SIDE

To face page 9

Hill barrow were cut. These showed that there were two stages in its construction, the first of which constitutes the 'Beaker Barrow'. This is coloured red on the Reconstruction Plan (fig. 10); it extends to, and includes, the first ring of stone-holes. It was designed as a true circle; its diameter, as close as can now be recorded, namely to the outer margin of the stone-holes, is 59′ from north to south and 59′ 4″ from east to west. On this basis the centre (A, fig. 2) was pegged; here the barrow was 4′ 8″ above the original ground level—the 'floor'.

The Beaker Barrow consists mainly of a mass of grey-blue clay and clayey orange soil, in layers which to a large extent conform to the outline of the mass; the grey-blue clay predominates. This mass has an approximate diameter measured on the barrow floor, of 48′-49′. These limits are well-defined in all the trench sections, and are shown on the excavation Plan and the Reconstruction.

The clay mass contained here and there large pieces of 'charcoal'—branch fragments 9″-12″ long were measured in two places.[1] But there were no dirty patches indicative of occupation floors, or of a pause in the construction of the barrow. The extensive area of undisturbed soil and subsoil under the beaker barrow which was examined, in the centre and the quadrant trenches, was quite clean. There was thus nothing to suggest that the stake circle enclosed a pre-beaker occupation site.

Beyond the limits of the clay mass throughout the greater part of the circuit, and from 1′ to 1′ 5″ above the 'floor' of the barrow is a close-set layer of stones mostly small (pl. II*a*), 6″-12″ thick, and 3′-4′ in breadth. Though covered with later deposits (p. 12) this stony layer was originally exposed, as was indicated by the fine dark soil (dust and organic matter?) which filled the interstices between the stones. Though loose stones were found on the slope and on the floor outside the layer, it was noticed that the layer terminated in a stoneless earth-face. The problem of its nature and function was solved when a continuous ring of stone-holes, some with packing stones still firmly fixed, was demonstrated at the bottom of this earth-face (pl. II*b*). The stone-holes evidently represented upright slabs or boulders, which with the stony layer formed a revetment to the Beaker Barrow. The limits of this barrow, as seen on the plough-land, are shown in the frontispiece.

Most of the stone-holes were elongated, from 6″ to 9″ up to 2′ in length; sometimes a series merged, forming a succession of hollows with little or no break between them. Occasionally

[1] Oak, probably carbonized by decay. H.A.H.

as in the N. trench (see fig. 2) the slabs seem to have been set radially; for the most part they were evidently tangential to the circle. The holes were mostly shallow (2″-3″); but some, especially in the NE. quadrant of the barrow, ranged up to 9″ or 10″ in depth.

Filling up the space between the rim of the Beaker Barrow and the steep slopes of the clay mass (fig. 5*a*), was a deposit of sandy clays much lighter, and in general looser, than the mass; it was not layered, but patchy; pink, light grey, dark grey (charcoal-speckled)[1] and stone-coloured. Under the stony layer of the revetment this deposit was harder and denser than elsewhere, and had probably been tamped. After rain its upper surface, near the revetment, could in places be distinguished from later deposits, but there was no humic layer on it.

The orange clay resembles the ordinary subsoil of the plateau in the neighbourhood of the barrow; grey-blue clay is to be found in moorish wet land on the south slope of the plateau—and probably in other similar places adjacent;[2] while one of the test excavations in the barrow floor yielded light-coloured sandy clays similar in appearance to those in the margins of the barrow[3] which are therefore local. The stony layer of the revetment is of local material; the missing slabs and boulders were almost certainly re-used when the barrow was enlarged and if so were also locally derived.

Reconstruction. On the Reconstruction, fig. 10, the stony layer of the revetment of the Beaker Barrow is shown in red as are the stake-holes, the primary deposit, and two of the charcoaled hollows which were measured up. But I have shown stone-holes and not replaced the upright slabs, since we have no evidence of the size of these at any given point.

The Second Phase: the Middle Bronze Age Enlargement

The Limits of the Enlargement. In each of the quadrant trenches another series of stone-holes was found, outside the

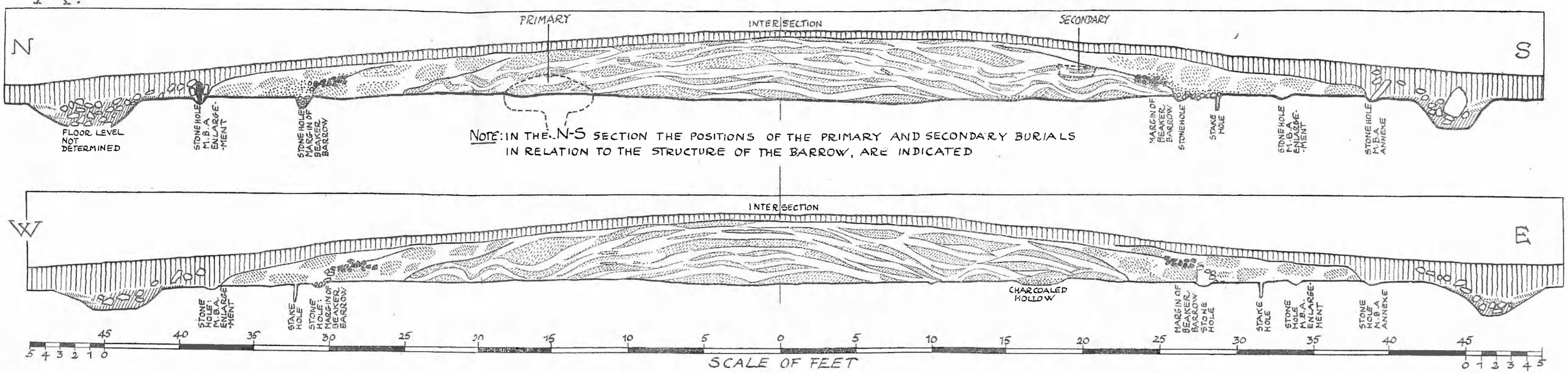
[1] The charcoal specks suggested that the material came from an occupied site (the beaker settlement?); they seemed to be an accidental feature.

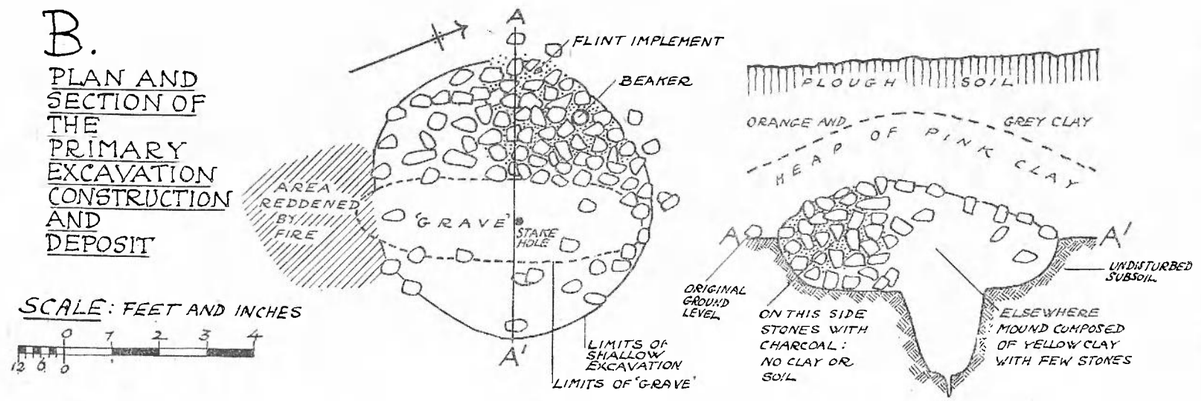
[2] Dr. North's commitments did not permit him to see the barrow, but he kindly examined samples of the material submitted to him and reported as follows: '*Grey-blue clay.*' This is essentially similar to the 'natural soil' (p. 2 footnote), but the particles lack the superficial coating of red marl to which the colour of the 'natural soil' is due. The material would seem to have been derived from a local pocket containing the debris remaining after the drift (or the soil derived from it) had been subjected to the action of running water which had removed the finest particles.

'*Orange clay.*' In mechanical composition this resembles the 'grey-blue clay', but the particles tend to have their surfaces coated with iron (ferric) oxide, due to transfer of iron-bearing solutions under oxidizing conditions.

[3] For these see p. 12.

SOUTH HILL BARROW, TALBENNY, PEMB.





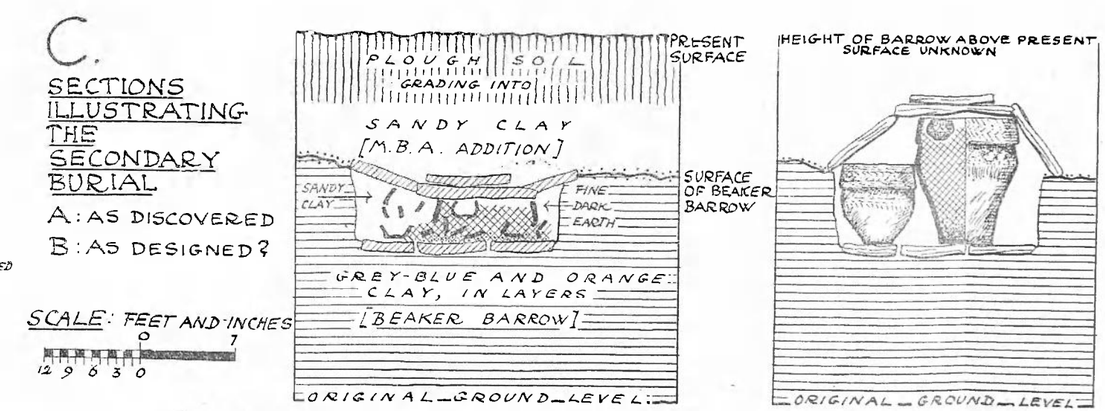


FIG. 5. (A) SECTIONS OF THE BARROW. (B) THE PRIMARY DEPOSIT, PLAN AND SECTION. (C) SECTIONS ILLUSTRATING THE SECONDARY BURIAL

Beaker Barrow, some with stones still in them. An extensive lateral clearance, illustrated in pl. III*a*, was first undertaken in the NW. quadrant of the barrow; it showed that here, most of the stones which had evidently formed a continuous kerb to the enlarged barrow had been removed, but that a few, including two large and broad-based boulders, were still in position. The tops of these boulders were close to the surface and were scored with plough marks; the presence of no less than 24 such on the margins of the field showed that the gaps were due to removals by the farmer, and were probably all fairly recent. In the course of later investigations, long stretches of the kerb were found to be fairly complete, as is shown in pl. IV*b*; in all nearly two-thirds of the circuit was examined. There was one slab of Old Red Sandstone; all the other orthostats were slabs or massive blocks of igneous rock. When undisturbed the stones were found to touch each other and so to present a continuous wall or wall-base. The height of this varied from 1′ to 2′; the largest boulder was 1′ 10″ high, 2′ long, and 1′ 7″ thick. All those uncovered are shown to scale on the Plan, fig. 2. Most of them must surely have come from the stone-holes of the Beaker Barrow.

The Ditch. Outside the kerb, and separated from it by a berm from 2′ to 4′ in breadth, was a ditch. This was flat-floored, showing in the sections examined a depth of from 1′ 6″ to 2′ below the original ground level; it varied in breadth from 5′ 2″ to 7′ 6″ (see Plan and Sections, figs. 2 and 5).

The Alteration in Plan. While the determination of the limits of the enlarged barrow was in progress, it was observed that though the new stone kerb was only 7′ outside the revetment of the Beaker Barrow in the northern half of the barrow it was over 12′ outside in the southern half. This eccentricity seemed strange, in view of the concentric character of the northern lay-out; attention was therefore directed to two intermediate hollows in the south trench. Lateral cuts (see fig. 2) showed that these were stone-holes, on the circumference of the same circle as those in the northern half of the barrow; packing stones were occasionally found, firmly fixed, showing that kerbstones had actually been placed in position in the sockets. The holes were filled with the clay of the overlying barrow. The circle was 71′-73′ in diameter; it was practically concentric with the Beaker Barrow. The discovery was followed up and the junctions of the circle, on either flank, with the later work disclosed. These junctions are illustrated, the eastern in pl. V*a* the western in pl. IV*b*; the former breaks sharply outwards to the new alignment, the latter

gradually. The breadth of the extension, at the points tested, was from 5′ to 6′.

All the kerbstones of the western flank of the extension shown on pl. IV*b* are lying flat, having fallen outwards; they are plotted in their original positions on the Plan, fig. 2. When the floor was examined a slight bedding hollow was found for one only; the others had merely been set upright on the ground —or possibly wedged into the turf. Examination of the adjacent stones showed that this slovenly work occasionally occurred on the line of the true circle. Thus the gaps in the stone-holes of that circle, near the junction with the stones still in position, do not imply gaps in the structure, or that it was incomplete when the design of the structure was altered.

The ditch was, it appeared, not dug until this alteration in plan had been effected; stretches of its inner edge were examined at the junction between the old and the new work on each side, and it was seen to pass without any awkward angles from one to the other.

The Barrow material. The material for the enlargement of the barrow was apparently dug from the same deposits as the filling-in of the Beaker Barrow—it consisted of sandy clays, mainly stone-coloured.[1] The total thickness of these clays just outside the revetment of the Beaker Barrow was at most 2′ 6″; and as there was about 7″ of plough soil hereabouts, which rapidly increased to a foot or more as the outer stone-holes and kerbs were approached, there was little possibility of stratification. It was, however, seen that the clayey soil crossed the inner stone-holes without a break—the construction of the barrow proper had, it was clear, not been begun when the change of plan was decided upon.

The sandy clay was very light and loose against and above the revetment of the Beaker Barrow; it became firmer as one worked outwards. Immediately behind the kerbstones it was up to 1′ 2″ in thickness, tamped hard up against the stones, and overlaid by soil. In the SW. quadrant a layer of small stones (p. 16) only some 3″ below the present surface, 4′-5′ in breadth, was found on the clay, and sometimes a hollow for a large stone was noticed immediately behind the kerb.

The striking feature of the enlarged barrow was the quantity and wide diffusion of charcoal which it contained (and covered);

[1] A sample of this material was submitted to Dr. North, who reported as follows: A pinkish-grey deposit, friable when dry, and, like the grey-blue clay, resulting from the sorting action of water on the local drift or 'natural soil', but not from the same pocket or deposit as the grey-blue clay. It contains more of the finest grades and less of the coarsest grades of sediment than the grey-blue clay. See footnote, p. 12.

throughout the greater part of the circuit, close to the Beaker revetment and over this, the clayey soil was dark with it; it was blackest and most noticeable on the south side of the barrow. Here also the floor was in places covered with charcoal in very small fragments. All this represented intentional deposit, not, as in the margin of the Beaker Barrow, an accidental element.

It is, I think, a relevant fact that many of the stone-holes of the Beaker Barrow had been carefully and tightly packed up to ground level with small stones (and in one case, on the S. side, with charcoal also[1]) before the enlarged barrow covered them up. On the south side of the barrow, moreover, many small stones pressed into the surface soil extended in a layer for 4′ from the foot of the Beaker revetment.

All these observations suggest that the dismantling of the Beaker revetment was associated with ritual acts presumably designed to obviate any ill-effects on the well-being of the community resulting from the disturbance of earth-fast stones.

The Discovery of the Secondary Burial. Since the circular stone kerb of the enlarged barrow had been planned with some care, it seemed improbable that, when the decision to break that circle of kerbs, remove many of the stones, and extend the enlargement of the barrow, was arrived at, the two places from which the extension was to spring would have been casually chosen. Symmetry was, then, to be anticipated; each flank of the extension was likely to be the same distance from some spot which was of high importance in the mind of the designer. It was an easy matter to test this theory. The centre of the (destroyed) segment fronting the extension, and now represented by stone-holes, was found to be 51′ 6″ from either end, and it was pegged. A 3-foot trench was then dug, the axis of which was a radial line from the centre of the kerb circle, passing through the pegged point; and a secondary burial, obviously the one for which the extension was designed, was found on that radial line, sited just within the limits, on Plan, of the Beaker Barrow. This trench is shown in fig. 2; but the discovery is more strikingly indicated on the Reconstruction (fig. 10). When the small size of the burial in relation to the barrow mass is considered coincidence must be ruled out; and it would thus appear that processes of mensuration and alignment, of the same order as those which enabled the burial to be located, were employed by the Middle Bronze folk to fix the position of the extension in relation to the burial, and of the burial in relation to the kerb circle.

[1] Mr. Hyde examined charcoal from this hole. It was oak, carbonized by fire.

The Character of the interment : the finds. A saucer-shaped layer of slabby stone, measuring 3′ by 2′, covered the interment. It was about 16″ below the present surface at the edges, and about 19″ in the centre. The slabs ranged up to 2″ in thickness, and 1′ 6″ in diameter. Immediately below them was a layer of fine dark soil through which appeared the rim edges of two pots ; one, very small, inside the other. Further clearance exposed the overhanging-rim of a cinerary urn, but when this was undercut, it was seen that the body of the pot was not in

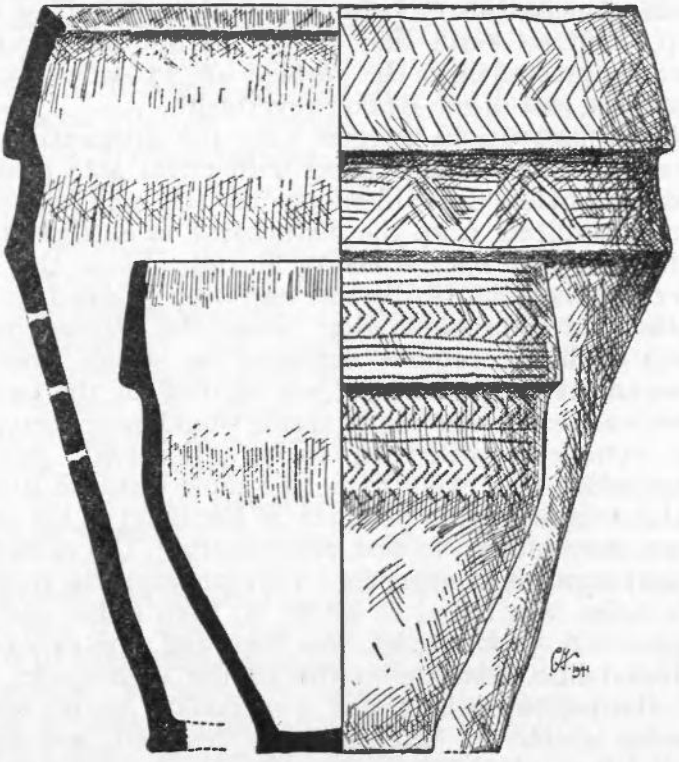


FIG. 6. URN AND ASSOCIATED VASE FROM THE SECONDARY BURIAL ($\frac{1}{4}$)

position. The photograph reproduced as pl. VI*b* was taken at this stage. The little vessel proved to be a pigmy cup ; it was resting on burnt bones. The bones filled what remained intact of the urn, and graded down into a patch of charcoal on a layer of slabs similar to the covering stones ; these slabs were only 5″ below the top of the urn. There were many sherds of the broken urn hereabouts. On the west side of the urn, a complete base and sherds of a third vessel was found ; it

was upright but contained no burnt bones. Surrounding the whole deposit, at the level of the overlying slabs, was reddened soil and charcoal[1]; further investigation showed that this represented the original surface of the Beaker Barrow and that a shallow hole had been dug in it for the burial. Much of the soil which surrounded the broken vessels was of that fine dark character which has been frequently observed filling a hollow such as a cist, incompletely sealed against worms and mice. It is thus probable that there was no considerable depth of (secondary) barrow material above the covering slabs. The burnt bones were identified by my colleague Mr. L. F. Cowley as adult and probably of one person.[2] In the mass of burnt bones was a decayed bronze blade.

We may attempt to reconstruct the procedure at the burial. A shallow hole having been made, charcoal hot from the pyre was dropped around it, and (probably) inside the urn, which was placed in the centre of the hole. The urn was then filled with the burnt bones, a knife (?) placed with them (p. 31), and a pigmy cup upright on the top. A third vessel was placed beside the first; if it had any contents they were perishable. A slab of stone was placed on the urn (an inadequate mode of protection frequently employed in south Wales in the Middle Bronze Age) and other slabs placed against it to form a rough roof. Clay and soil was then piled around and over this roof, which may have collapsed even before the completion of the enlarged barrow. Two sections (fig. 5*c*) illustrate the character as found, and the suggested reconstitution, of the deposit.

The Pottery. The urn containing the bones proved on restoration to be 15·5″ in height; it has a moderately deep overhanging-rim, the top of which though bevelled inwards is undecorated. There is a well-marked shoulder. The decoration on rim and neck is elaborate, and incised with a fairly sharp point (fig. 6). The second vessel of overhanging-rim type is smaller and has a weak shoulder; the rim edge is square-sectioned. The vessel is decorated from rim to shoulder with impressed cord ornament (fig. 6). The pigmy cup is well made; it is bowl-shaped with inbent rim and small footring, the base being markedly concave; it measures 2·2″ in height and shows the usual pair of holes in the body. The ornament which

[1] All oak, so far as it was examined. See appendix II.

[2] Mr. Cowley's report, for which I am much indebted, is as follows: 'The material was very fragmentary and contained little of value from the anthropological point of view. Fragments of teeth were found and some small pieces of jaw bone. In my opinion the teeth belonged to but one person, an adult. I find it impossible to make any statement concerning the sex of the person represented.'

covers the vessel is incised with a smooth point (pl. VII, and fig. 7). These vessels are described in Appendix I.

Flint Implement. Six feet from the centre of the burial, 1′ 2″ above ground level, in soil recognized as belonging to the Middle Bronze phase of barrow construction, a double-ended scraper (fig. 4 and p. 32) was found in a patch of charcoal. It was probably contemporary with the completion of the roofing of the burial deposit.

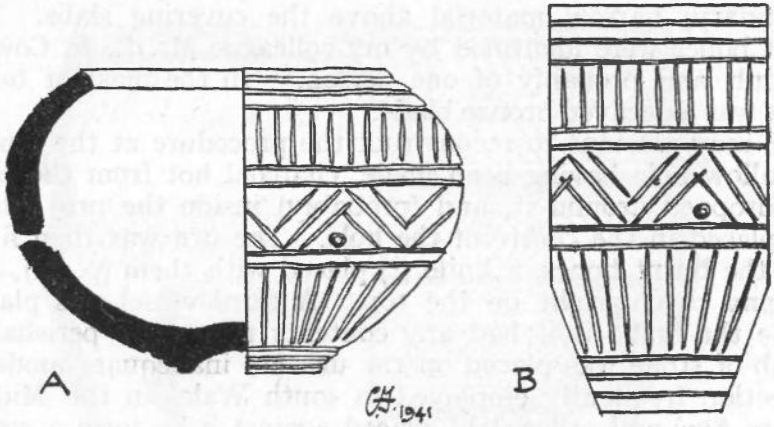


FIG. 7. A, THE PIGMY CUP (⅔); B, THE PATTERN EXTENDED, REVEALING THE BALANCE OF THE DESIGN

THE CHARACTER OF THE STONE RIM OF THE ENLARGED BARROW, AND THE NATURE OF THE DITCH-FILLING

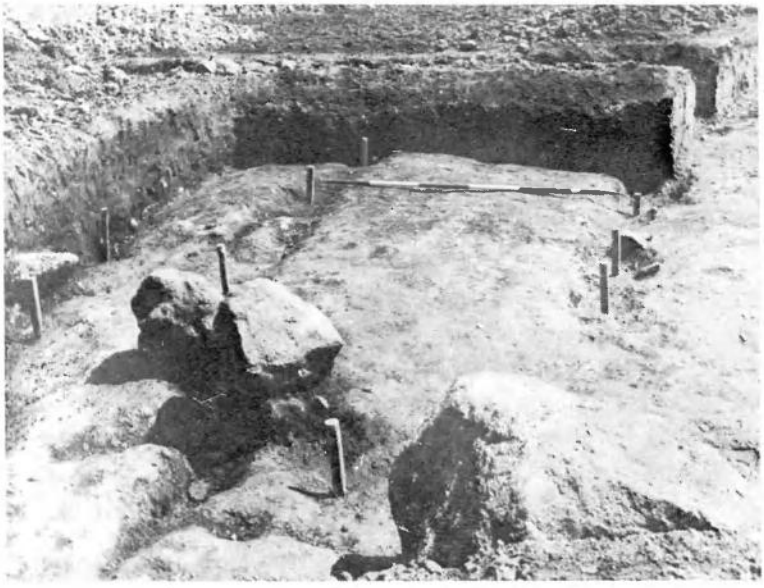
The evidence for a continuous alignment of upright stones and massive boulders—a stone kerb—encircling the enlarged barrow, and for a complete ditch outside it with an intervening berm about 2′ broad has been stated in the previous section. The Plan, fig. 2, records a 'revetment of small stones' in the SW. quadrant of the barrow behind the kerbstones (fig. 8*c*). It might then be supposed that the enlarged barrow had a stone rim of the same charater as that which observation and inference has established for the Beaker Barrow.

But in no area other than the one mentioned—which involved less than one-tenth of the total extent of the barrow rim investigated—did the sections exposed justify such a reconstruction. Where complete clearances have been undertaken, such as those in the quadrant trenches, the number, condition and positions of the masses of stones exposed in, and on the flanks of, the sections, demand a different explanation. Pl. IV*a* for example, shows on the left wall of the trench a mass o

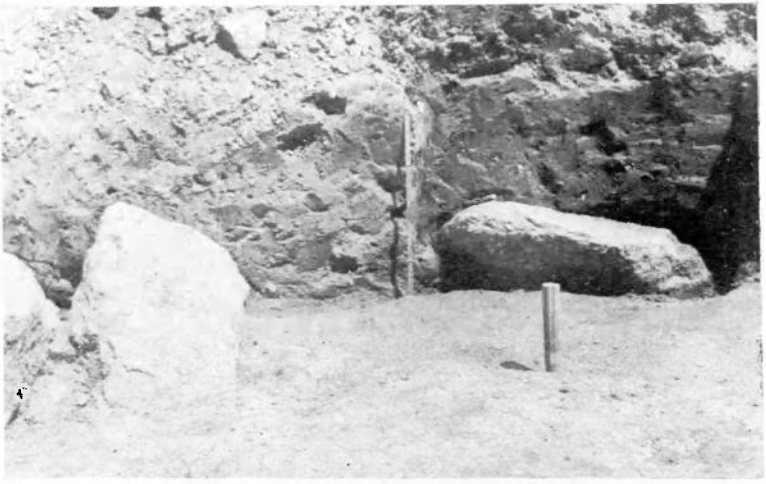
A. TWO LINES OF STONE-HOLES OF THE ENLARGED BARROW (THE OUTER BEING IN THE TRENCH). ONE KERBSTONE OF THE EXTENSION IS FALLING OUTWARDS, OTHER STONES ARE HELD TO REPRESENT UPPER STAGES OF A COLLAPSED WALL. BEYOND, THE COUNTERSCARP OF THE DITCH IS SEEN

To face page 16

B. KERBSTONES OF THE ENLARGED BARROW, MOSTLY SET IN STONE-HOLES, SHOWING THE POINT IN THE SW. QUADRANT WHERE THE EXTENSION JOINS ON TO THE CIRCLE AS ORIGINALLY DESIGNED (PEGS). THE KERBSTONES OF THE EXTENSION (FOREGROUND) WERE NOT SET IN STONE-HOLES AND HAVE FALLEN OUTWARDS



A. STONES AND STONE-HOLES OF THE ENLARGED BARROW SHOWING THE POINT IN THE NE. QUADRANT WHERE THE EXTENSION (LEFT) JOINS THE CIRCLE (RIGHT) AS ORIGINALLY DESIGNED. THE PEGS ON THE EXTREME LEFT OF THE PHOTOGRAPH MARK THE LINE OF THE LIP OF THE DITCH



B. THE UPPER EDGE OF A LARGE SLAB, WHICH LIES AT AN ANGLE OF 45° ON THE SCARP OF THE DITCH, IS SEEN BEHIND A PEG WHICH MARKS THE POSITION OF THE KERB. ON THE LEFT, EARTHFAST STONES OF THE KERB. NE. QUADRANT

ruined stone, diagonally descending, and on the right a large stone, above the surviving kerbstone, which is leaning outwards. Pl. III*b*, again, shows the centre of the ditch on the north side of the barrow packed with stones up to the original ground level; and this photograph was taken after numbers of stones between kerb and ditch had been removed. Moreover, these characters were present in every ditch section (see fig. 5*a*), and in the zone where the packing of small stones occurred.

The nature of the problem will be more clearly envisaged if the evidence of the sections, figs. 8*a* and 8*b* which deal with the same areas as those illustrated in the two photographs mentioned, is considered. The stones have evidently fallen forcefully downward and outward, from some point above the level of the kerbstone in each case; they reach across the ditch, but not up the counterscarp, and are rarely seen lying on the berm itself. Furthermore, such stones have been proved to extend downwards to the bottom of the ditch, usually in a close-set mass, in all four of the quadrant trenches.[1]

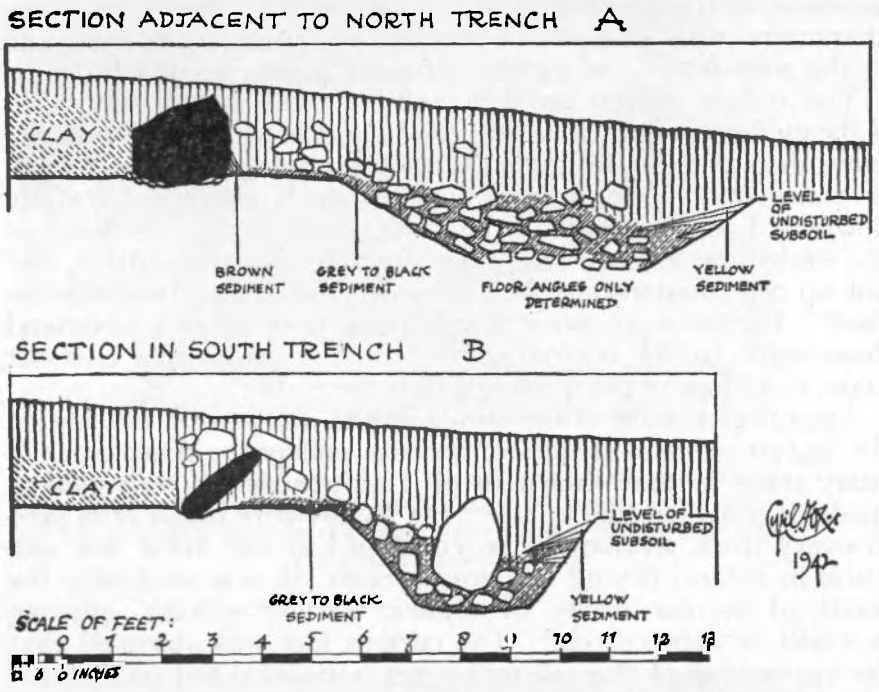
Again, the matrix of the stones in the ditch has a bearing on the nature of the structure and its collapse. When such a stony mass as that shown in pl. III*b* was struck with pick or spade, it quivered like a jelly; the stones were found here (and in every ditch section) to be enveloped in the finest wet silt, black in colour, drying out grey. Such silt was evidently the result of secular decay of organic matter—plants—growing in a wet or damp ditch.[2] The curious fact was observed that the upper level of this silt was never horizontal but on a gentle slope from kerbstone to counterscarp. On the counterscarp indeed a different character prevailed, doubtless under the occasional influence of heavy rain; wedges of yellow silt extended into the grey and black zones. These features are illustrated in figs. 8*a* and 8*b*. They imply that the stony rim of the barrow, whatever its form, collapsed, whether slowly or quickly, in a clean state; the stones, that is, did not come down with a mass of moving earth behind them; the barrow was stable but the stony rim was not. They also imply that the process of ruination began in antiquity, indeed before even the 'primary silting' of the ditch had taken place. We can only regard the displaced stones high up in plough soil as being the result of those agricultural operations which partly destroyed the kerb and deposited so thick a layer of earth over berm and ditch. In short, we are observing two

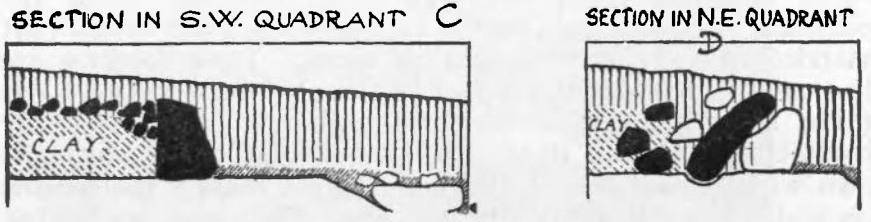
[1] In the North Section the floor angles were determined but not the shape of the floor itself.

[2] This is consistent with present-day conditions; the fields on the South Hill plateau have large areas of standing water throughout the winter.

phases of destruction; after a partial collapse in antiquity stability was reached, complete dissolution being produced by the plough in recent times.

In addition to the sizeable stones up to a foot or so in diameter





ALL STONES IN ORIGINAL POSITION IN BLACK : DISPLACED STONES IN OUTLINE
PLOUGH SOIL INDICATED BY VERTICAL LINES.

FIG. 8. THE CHARACTER AND POSITION OF STONES AND BOULDERS ON THE RIM OF ENLARGED BARROW

which form the mass of the ruined material, boulders or slabs, comparable in size to the larger kerbstones, were found in the ditch in three places, widely spaced. These point to the existence of a large number of such boulders, for as fig. 2 shows,

only a very small portion of the total length of the ditch was examined, even partially. The character of these boulders is illustrated in pl. V*b*. On the left are two kerbstones; the hollow of a missing stone is marked by a peg; beyond the (two-foot) berm the edge of the slab, 2′ 4″ long, is seen: it is tilted downwards on the scarp of the ditch and was, so far as it was examined, seen to be set in oozy slime and stones. Another such boulder lay in the south trench and is shown in fig. 8*b*; it was completely exposed, and removed.

Reconstruction. It has been pointed out that there is no evidence, in the ditch, for any movement outwards of the *upper* part of the barrow mass. There is ample evidence that the *lower* part of the mass is and was completely stable. Where kerbstones have been pressed outward, as in figs. 8*b* and 8*d*, the clay face is still vertical, the gap being filled by soil fallen from above. Consequently it is impossible that the boulders in the ditch should be displaced kerbstones; no lateral force to move them across a flat berm 2′ wide can be envisaged. Moreover the third of these slabs, that shown in fig. 8*c*, is confronted by an unbroken stretch of kerbing still in position, 13′ in length. Such boulders then must, like the smaller stones, have been displaced and projected outwards from some point above the line of kerbstones. One fell vertically downwards, and the kerbstone afterwards collapsed on to it: see section fig. 8*d*. Only one explanation covers all the facts, and had we been dealing with a hill-fort instead of a barrow it could have been taken for granted! The mound of earth was surrounded by a wall whose base was a continuous kerb of boulders or upright slabs, generally earthfast. On these slabs, and bedded also on the clayey barrow material behind them, and rarely (as in fig. 8*d*) on stones set on the ground, or (as in fig. 8*c*), on a layer of small stones, rose this drystone wall, to which, we may surmise, boulders and slabs such as those found in the ditch formed a capping.

The numerous kerbstones that lean outwards (e.g. figs. 8*b* and 8*d*) provide one very good reason for an early collapse of the wall; set as they were in shallow holes they provided no adequate support, and a touch would send the whole crazy structure, forwards and downwards, into the ditch.

'The whole structure': can we say how high it was? Not with any certainty; but 50 stones were counted in one foot-broad section from kerb to counterscarp of ditch, and allowing for the loss of at least half as many by removal during ploughing and for the existence of a (lost) capping slab, a wall averaging 3′ thick and as much as 4′ in total height is probable. Two

sketches, fig. 9, show the appearance and character of the wall thus envisaged.

The Reconstruction, fig. 10, shows the plan of the enlarged barrow, as finally completed, in black; with the wall reconstituted as indicated above. The ditch is represented as unbroken, which is highly probable. It will be observed that the monument showed little sign of the change of plan—

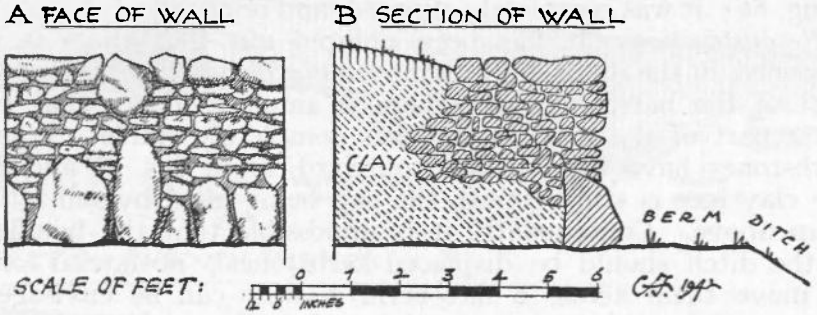


FIG. 9. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE RETAINING-WALL OF ENLARGED BARROW

just one awkward angle on the east side. This introduces the question of the appearance of the structure. Since there was, *ex hypothesi*, absence of lateral thrust against the wall, the earth mound was not a high one—very little if at all higher at the centre than before the enlargement. It was, I think, a low grassy dome like an inverted saucer, to which the retaining-wall formed a well-marked rim.

The Axial Plan: Inferences therefrom

In the preceding section we have seen reason to reconstruct our enlarged barrow as a flattish mound with a massive encircling wall. Had it any other structural element? The discovery of the secondary burial, by alignment from the carefully-ascertained centre of the mound, suggests that in the Middle Bronze Age that centre was known and obvious; one is therefore inclined to suspect the former presence here of an upright monolith, crowning the whole, a monolith which was erected for the Beaker Barrow, and retained by the Middle Bronze Age builders. The remarkable density of the central mass of layered clay, the care which was taken in its construction—and it was not, as we know, directly over the primary deposit—is in favour of the view that it was intended to carry something important and heavy, which was to be exactly central to the structure as defined by the stone revetment.

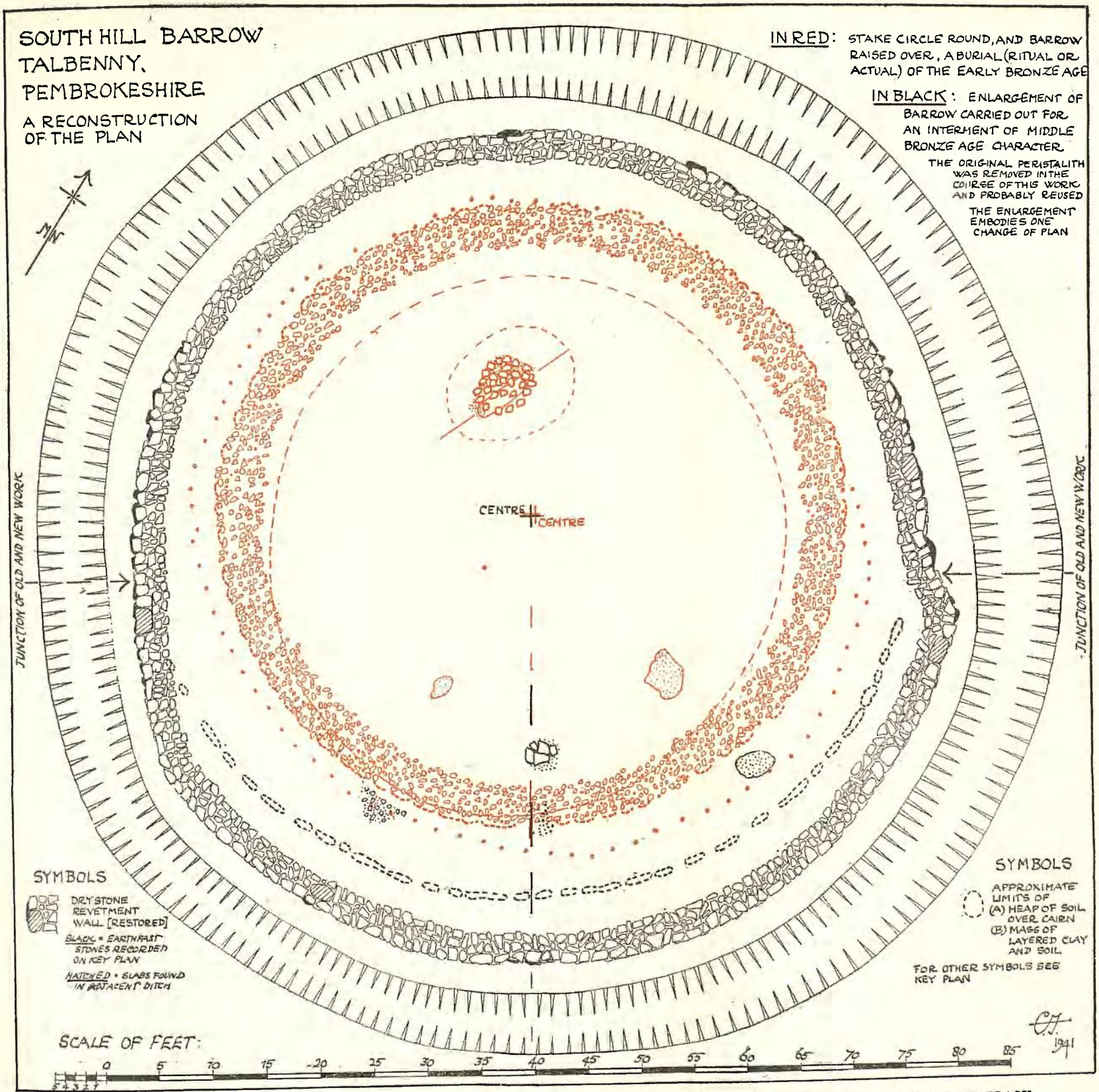


FIG. 10. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE BARROW: THE BEAKER BARROW IN RED, THE MIDDLE BRONZE ENLARGEMENT IN BLACK

There is evidence that in western Britain at the dawn of the Bronze Age monoliths were associated with mound burial. Indeed, in an almost contemporary barrow at Linney, on the coast only 10 miles from Talbenny as the crow flies, built by folk who were probably of beaker race, and who certainly were culturally akin to the South Hill settlers, a stone was set upright on the covering slab of a cist which contained a crouched burial and a ' debased beaker '.[1]

An inhumation burial in the parish of Llanfachreth, Merionethshire, is similar in date and structural character ;[2] but here a great stone, bedded in the mound above the cist, was exposed to view. Since it interfered with ploughing operations it was, in 1873, dragged down by a team of horses. The Llanfachreth monument, then, provides exactly the evidence that is required ; that such monoliths are rare to-day is probably because they so often ' interfered with ploughing operations ' ; apart from active destruction, the reduction in the height of a mound which always follows cultivation, would soon render any central monolith unstable.

At this stage in my reconstruction I was introduced by my friend Lord Raglan to A. M. Hocart's *Kingship*, which provides, in a chapter on barrows, valuable comparative data. Buddhist *topes* (p. 171) and Greek tumuli (p. 181)[3] alike show the wall at the base and a stone structure on the top ; and Hocart, believing with Fergusson (1873) that Indian tope and British barrow are one and the same, draws attention (p. 174) to a cairn at Kercado in Brittany which still possesses both the features with which the South Hill barrow has, in the present paper, been endowed. To pursue the subject further would divert me too far from my prime objects ; but the reader may also be reminded that the great cairn of New Grange which has a stone kerb, had a monolith on its summit.[4]

The plan of the enlarged barrow, and the position of the burial, indicate that the ceremonial approach to the site was

[1] See *Arch. Camb.*, 1926, 186-90 (Gordon Williams) and 401-4 (Fox) ; also Grimes, *Guide to the Collection illustrating the Prehistory of Wales*, National Museum of Wales, fig. 74 and p. 180(403). Another barrow of this series covered a cist containing a brachycephalic female skeleton: *Arch. Camb.*, 1882, 51. In 1926 I examined and discussed a Middle Bronze Age cremation burial associated with a menhir, in a mound at Rhoscrowther, near Linney and only 7 miles away from Talbenny. The custom, in various forms, thus had a considerable vogue in south Pembrokeshire and the probability of the former existence of a menhir at South Hill is thereby increased. (See *Arch. Camb.*, 1926, 1-35, esp. 14.)

[2] *Arch. Camb.*, 1926, 406 ff.

[3] Cf. *Iliad* xi, 370 f., where Alexandros leans, to take aim, against a pillar on the barrow of Ilos, son of Dardanos.

[4] In 1699, as appears by a letter written by Edward Lhuyd. ' A stately mount . . . having a number of huge Stones pitch'd on end round about it, and a single one on the Top.' G. Coffey, *New Grange*, 1912, pp. 7-8.

from a direction opposite to that of the beaker folk: from the SE., not from the NW. This suggests that the beaker settlement had been given up, and that a new folk controlled the district, from some hut-group on the other side of the little plateau. Whether a monolith existed on the mound or not, the annex and the associated burial provide us with an axis which can be prolonged into an alignment representing the direction of approach demanded by that axis; this alignment takes us, as fig. 1 indicates, to the rill to which reference was made in the introductory paragraph of this paper, and to a group of springs flanking that rill. Hereabouts, were I free to do so, I would search for the dwelling place of the Middle Bronze Age chieftain whose ashes were inurned in so dignified a setting.[1]

The Excavation Results in Relation to the Cultural History of South Wales

(*a*) *The Beaker Barrow*

It has been noted that the barrow was sited on a false crest line, on the east side of a plateau close to the highest point thereof. The evidence available[2] suggests that the siting of a barrow was a matter carefully thought out, and that the governing idea was that it should be seen from the settlement of its builders. If this be so the beaker folk of South Hill lived on the seaward side of the upland, and probably used the landing-place of Mill Haven (p. 1). This view receives support from the inference that the 'entrance' to the wattled fence was on the NW. side facing the hollow wherein the Mill Haven brook rises. The choice of such a clayey countryside, even when full account is taken of its comparatively open character (p. 3)

[1] Determination of the line of approach to a barrow, as far as the ceremonial connected therewith is concerned, is no novelty in barrow analysis. At Pond Cairn, Glamorgan, it was from the east side (Fox, in *Archaeologia*, lxxxvii, 157); at the Ysceifiog Barrow, Flintshire, it was from the north (Fox, in *Arch. Camb.*, 1926, 52, fig. 2, and 57 ff).

[2] The view that barrows sited on false crest lines were intended to be seen from some point below them, and that the position of a barrow thus gives an indication of the direction in which the homes of its builders should be sought is on the way to being scientifically proved. Dr. F. J. North demonstrated in the case of Simondston cairn, Glamorgan, that all the materials of the cairn were derived from the side from which it was sited. (*Archaeologia*, lxxxvii, 131, fig. 2, and pp. 140-1). My friend Mr. Stuart Piggott informs me that Stukeley noticed the siting of barrows on false crest lines; in a MS. now in the possession of Mr. Alexander Keiller at Avebury Manor the following passage occurs:

> 'I observe the barrows upon Hakpen hill and others here are set wth great art not upon the very highest part of the hills but upon so much of the declivity or edge as that they make app. as above to thos in the valley.'

I take great pleasure in being allowed to quote this, and so to establish the priority in observation of this interesting detail of a great field archaeologist.

is remarkable ; it illustrates the fact that while in the Lowland Zone of Britain early man avoided the claylands, in the Highland Zone he not infrequently occupied them.[1] The antithesis is not yet explicable.[2] The Talbenny district was apparently very sparsely inhabited, for only one barrow is known.

The primary deposit in the barrow, and its associated constructions, yield evidence of interest. The beaker is, as we have seen, of poor quality ; but its shape and decoration deserve attention. With its flared rim and simple zonal ornament, it falls into the B^1 group originally defined by Abercromby, the cultural significance of which has recently been emphasized by Piggott and by Hawkes ;[3] it has a well defined body-angle, a feature which seemed to me in 1940[4] important enough in British archaeology to justify the creation of a sub-type $B^1\beta$.

This sub-type, and the type, represent fairly closely the two chief varieties of the classical beaker in its continental homes.[5] The sub-type is found in southern and eastern Britain ; its earliest forms, having simple zonal ornament, clean-swept lines, and low body-angle occur in Wiltshire.[6] It is met with in continental regions significant from our point of view, the Rhinelands, and Brittany ;[7] there is no doubt that, as far as these beakers are concerned, the Wiltshire connexions with Brittany are earlier and more important than East Anglian contacts with the Rhinelands.

The $B^1\beta$ beaker-type acquired a collar below the rim, probably in the middle Thames valley region, and thus equipped, is found on the south Wales littoral, and in the Herefordshire-Brecknockshire area—and now in west Wales. The possession of such a feature by the South Hill beaker is important, for it fixes the settlement as a Lowland offshoot, and not as an independent colonization from Brittany *via* the Lands' End seaway.

Fig. 11 illustrates the distribution outlined above. The expansion of the 'A' beaker culture westwards across the

[1] W. F. Grimes, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 1939, 121, and Fox, *Personality of Britain*, 3rd ed., 1938, 55 f., with references.

[2] It might be argued that in a boreal phase such as the E.B.A. the west would be drier than the east of Britain, and it is wet that makes clayland intolerable. But we have definite evidence that the ditch was wet in M.B.A. times, and the district was then still inhabited.

[3] Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery*, i, 22. S. Piggott, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 1938, 56. C. F. C. Hawkes, *Prehistoric Foundations of Europe*, 1940, 266 ff.

[4] In a paper on Sutton 268', a barrow at Llandow, Glamorgan, read at the Society of Antiquaries in October, 1940. (*Archaeologia*, lxxxix, forthcoming, 100-4).

[5] Compare e.g. Gordon Childe, *Dawn of European Civilization*, 3rd ed., 1939, 214, fig. 107, nos. 3 and 4, with Piggott, *Antiquity*, x, 423, fig. 3, nos. 1 and 2.

[6] Abercromby, *op. cit.*, no. 23, pl. vi ; Piggott, *loc. cit.*

[7] Abercromby, *op. cit.*, nos. 38, 39, pl. 11 ; and Forde, 'Culture of Atlantic Europe'. *American Anthropologist*, 1930, fig. 32, 6 and 9.

Bristol Channel has long been recognized, but that of the B^{1} beaker culture has not.[1]

The primary excavation, and cairn construction, at South Hill Barrow are explicable by reference to Sutton 268′ barrow at Llandow in Glamorgan, where a B^{1} β beaker was also found—associated with the skeleton of a broad-head. The beaker was

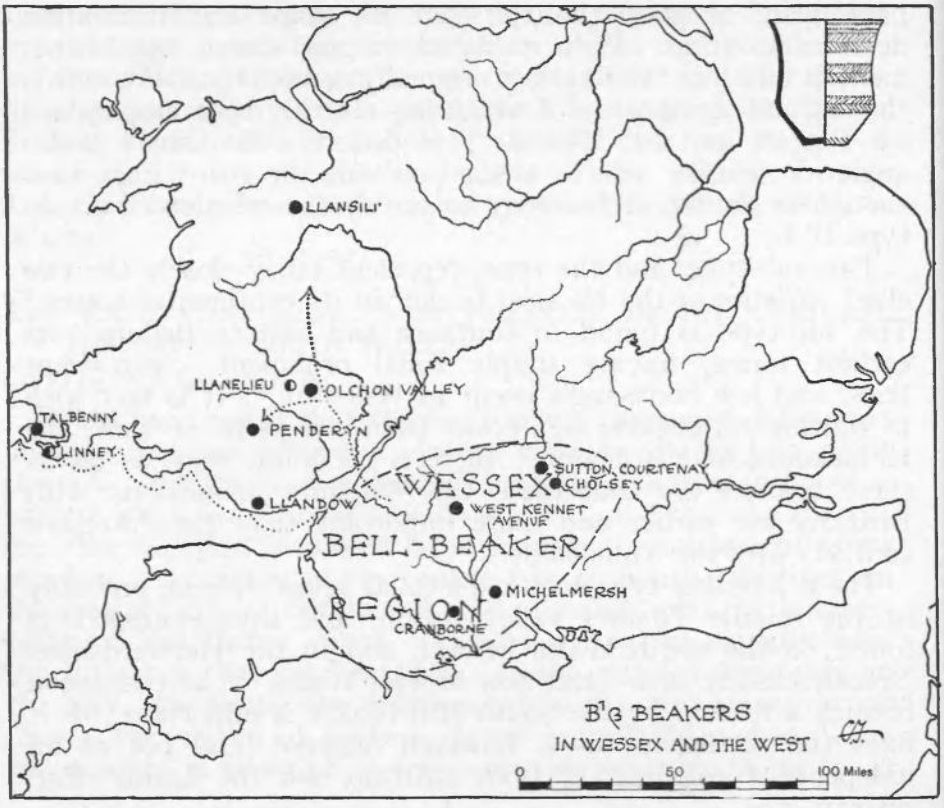


FIG. 11. DISTRIBUTION OF B$^{1}\beta$ BEAKERS IN WESSEX AND THE WEST
(Examples in Eastern Britain are not mapped)
[By permission of the Society of Antiquaries

very like that at South Hill. At Sutton 268′, then, a large excavation was made by the beaker folk and the cairn base, as at South Hill, was below natural ground level; here too the cairn structure was kept clear of the grave, which was covered with earth only. South Hill struck me, when the excavation was proceeding, as an attempt to carry out an ill-remembered

[1] But it should be noted that W. F. Grimes (*Guide to the Prehistoric Collection Nat. Mus. Wales*, 179, no. 400) recognized the Penderyn (Breck.) beaker as a B type.

tradition, which happens to be fully and clearly examplified at Sutton 268′ ; the rarity of cairns of the type establishes the cultural unity of the two colonizing groups represented by these coastal burials, 80 miles apart as the crow flies.

The beaker found in the Olchon valley (see map) on the eastern flank of the Black Mountains was closely similar to both the Sutton and South Hill beakers ; the range of westward colonization, by one cultural group, is thus very impressive. As for the date : 1900 B.C. is a close approximation for the initial B$^{1}\beta$ intrusion into Wessex ; the debasement and peripheral distribution of our beakers suggest that they belong to the close of the beaker phase ; all three burials then should be dated not later, and not much earlier than 1500 B.C.[1]

The circle of stake-holes at South Hill, implying a wattled fence (p. 5) associated with rites which included the deposit of the beaker, is of considerable cultural interest. Similar series of stake-holes have recently been demonstrated in no less than four barrows, of the Middle Bronze Age and later, on the Glamorgan sea-plain ; and in reporting on three of these barrows, I affirmed that such fences were not older than the Middle Bronze Age in the district.[2] But we now know that one was present, not very far away, in the beaker phase, two hundred years or so earlier. The known chronological range of the technique they represent, associated with mound burial in Wales, impressive enough already, is thus extended to nearly a thousand years.

It was noted in describing the fence at South Hill that the interspaces between the stake-holes were wider than in the Glamorgan barrows—the wattling was thus of looser texture. The average length of the interspaces in the Glamorgan barrows (measured from centre to centre of the holes) is as follows : Sheeplays 293′, three circles, 15·3″, 15·6″ and 16·0″. Sheeplays 279′, 13·3″. Six Wells 271′, 15·5″. The first-named is Middle Bronze Age ; the second, averaged on an inadequate range, is also M.B.A., but was regarded as later than the first ; the last is Late Bronze Age.[3] Since South Hill is Early Bronze Age, either a diminution in the course of two centuries in the number of verticals thought necessary by the inheritors of the

[1] The subject of the B$^{1}\beta$ colonization is discussed at greater length in the paper on Sutton 268′ already referred to.

[2] *Antiq. Journ.*, xxi, p. 123. This view was based on the fact that no stake-circle was demonstrated at Sutton 268′, the nearby barrow excavated at the same time. But I now think, having regard to the relation between the margin of the primary barrow and the wattled fence at South Hill, that such a fence may well have been formerly present at Sutton 268′ *on the site of the rock-cut ditch* that surrounds the primary (beaker) barrow.

[3] Stake-circles in Turf Barrows, *Antiq. Journ.*, xxi, 124 ; a Datable Ritual Barrow, *Antiquity*, 1941, 145-8.

wattlework tradition for a given length of wattling, took place, the number being thereafter stabilized; or two separate traditions are involved. It is to be hoped that future investigators will provide exact measurements of many more such circles—which must be common enough in Wales at all events—and so settle the question.

The facts mentioned above are presented in the form of a graph in fig. 12. I have placed Sheeplays 279′ half-way between 293′ and Six Wells 271′; in my view it lies, culturally, somewhere between the two, but any point chosen must at present be arbitrary.

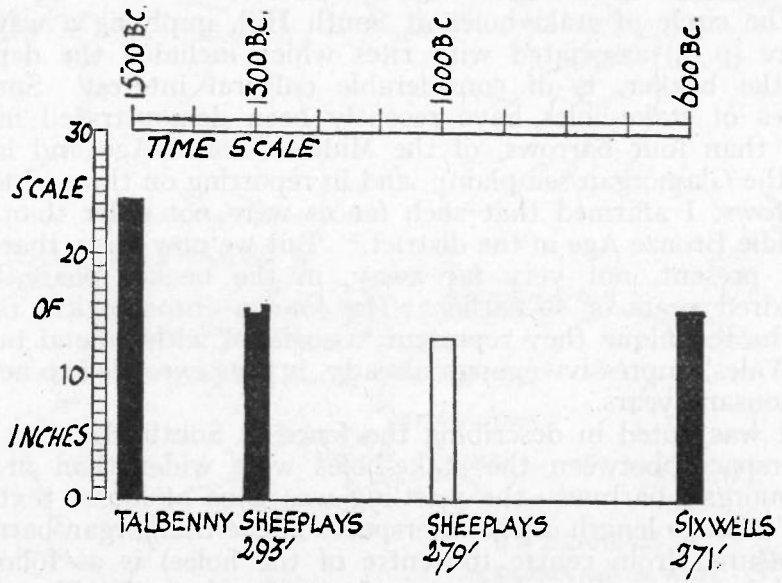


FIG. 12. GRAPH ILLUSTRATING THE LENGTH OF THE INTERSPACES OF STAKE-CIRCLES IN SOUTH WALES BARROWS

The discovery of the stake-circle at South Hill is of more than chronological import. The beaker folk must have brought this forest- or parkland-technique with them from Lowland Britain, for one cannot suppose it to have been native to the Highland Zone. Indeed the construction of the South Hill barrow seems to illustrate the decline almost to extinction in this area, of the handicraft as an element of religious observance in connexion with burial. The beaker colonists in their barrow building here adapted to their needs the earthfast stone technique of the megalithic folk who were their neighbours. With these geographical and cultural ideas in mind, one's thoughts naturally

A. THE BARROW ON COMPLETION OF THE MECHANICAL DIGGING. THE SPOIL HEAP IS ON THE MARGIN, AND FOLLOWS THE CURVE OF, THE BEAKER BARROW. IN THE FOREGROUND THE PRIMARY 'GRAVE'; THE PIECE OF PAPER REPRESENTS THE POSITION IN THE STONY MOUND, WHICH HAS BEEN REMOVED, OF THE BEAKER

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B. THE SECONDARY BURIAL IN THE SE. QUADRANT. ONE HALF OF THE RIM OF THE URN, AND THE WHOLE RIM OF THE PIGMY CUP INSIDE IT, ARE VISIBLE. THE UNDERCUTTING OF THE MASS ON THE NEAR SIDE SHOWED THAT THE URN WAS DISINTEGRATED

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THE PIGMY CUP ($\frac{1}{1}$)

turn to Wiltshire, with its Woodhenge and Overton Hill 'A' Circle, as the obvious source of such wooden constructions; but it should be remembered that the driven-stakes-at-short-intervals of the South Wales circles consistently represent hurdle-makers' technique, while the Wiltshire structures—basically, tree trunks set up in dug holes—represent carpenters' or axe-men's technique. Though post-holes and stake-holes are occasionally found in association,[1] they may well be of different cultural origins, so much do they differ in character; and we cannot yet assume that the circle at South Hill Barrow is a primary $B^1\beta$ cultural element, from Wessex, or acquired by Wessex from Brittany. The hurdle-makers' technique has been found in barrows in Yorkshire and Cambridgeshire, not as yet in Wiltshire; and it may have been taken over by $B^1\beta$ folk in the Middle Thames region from East Anglians, along with the rim cordon already mentioned which appears to have an ultimate source in the Low Countries.[2] Some of the well-known 'palisade' barrows excavated by Van Giffen may then be related structures.

A hint has already been given, and adopted in fig. 11, that the South Hill beaker folk arrived by sea, and that Mill Haven was their 'port'. Only cross-channel traffic, it is evident, can explain the settlement of $B^1\beta$ beaker folk in Glamorgan on the South Wales littoral; and it is not reasonable to suppose that the slow processes of expansion by land-ways in such difficult country as intervenes between Glamorgan and west Pembrokeshire could bring the culture to South Hill in a similar stage of development as is represented at Sutton 268'. Coastwise sea traffic then initiated, and may have maintained, the settlement; the little implement associated with the South Hill beaker was probably of quarried flint, which points to intermittent contact with the homeland. The deep tidal estuary of the Bristol Avon seems a likely place[3] from which the colonization of south and west Wales, from Glamorgan to Pembrokeshire, started and to which, in the way of trade the colonists occasionally returned. Returned; for we cannot 'swallow the camel' involved in any rational explanation of the spread, along oceanic shores, of the megalithic culture, and 'strain at the gnat' of local coastwise trade and traffic on the part of the bearers of the vigorous culture which, in Britain, partially overwhelmed it.

[1] E.g., at Chippenham, Cambs., Leaf, *Cambridge Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, 1940, 36, fig. 8.

[2] Compare a good example of such a cordon on a B^1 beaker with rusticated ornament from Somersham, Hunts.; in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 11, 1936, pl. xii.

[3] Weston Bay, at the western end of the Mendips is a possible alternative.

(*b*) *The Middle Bronze Age Enlargement*

The inadequate protection afforded to the secondary burial by its stone ' roof '. and the collapse of the plinth of the enlarged barrow shortly after its erection, illustrate the decay of the fine traditions of craftsmanship in the structural use of unwrought stone, inherited by our bronze-using folk, as the Bronze Age developed. Such decay has recently been shown in Glamorgan, in the Sheeplays 279′ barrow, where the stone ring had become a symbol rather than a reality ; in the Six Wells 271′ barrow where the cist was a childish contraption ; and in the secondary burials at Simondston cairn.[1] Nevertheless, the enlargement of South Hill barrow was a fine conception, and it must have been an impressive monument when completed.

The secondary burial provides the exact relationship, so rarely recorded in Wales, between a pigmy cup and its cinerary urn. It also confirms the rarely recorded association in one burial, in Middle Bronze Age barrows, of empty vessels of overhanging-rim urn type, with (larger) cineraries of similar type.[2] This association has, I think, never been discussed ; it probably represents a survival, not unexpected in the Highland Zone, of the food-vessel association carried on into the cremation burial mode. It should be added that the contemporaneity of these two overhanging-rim vessels, one with a strongly marked shoulder (tripartite), the other with a weak shoulder (approaching the bipartite form) provides a warning against over-reliance on Abercromby's typological succession, at all events in the Highland Zone. For we have a phase ii urn associated with a vase representing the beginnings of phase iii (fig. 6).

Two somewhat unusual elements in the decoration of the overhanging-rim vessels—the peaked triangles of the larger, and the short diagonals of impressed cords on the shoulder of the smaller—reflect the decoration of an overhanging-rim urn[3] in the above-mentioned cairn at Simondston, and illustrate again the community of culture along the southern coast of Wales. Striking a balance between the conflicting indications provided by these vessels, a date of 1100 B.C. for the South Hill burial might be suggested. But the most important vessel

[1] *Antiq. Journ.*, xxi, pls. xxiiib and xxvii ; *Antiquity*, 1941, 151 ; *Archaeologia*, lxxxvii, pl. xlix, marginal constructions.

[2] As Greenwell, *British Barrows*, p. 72. *Protective* association is common ; this occurred at Rhoscrother (Pemb.) and probably at Llanboidy (Carm.). See *Arch. Camb.*, 1926, Cremation 11 in the Barrow on Kilpaison Burrows, pp. 14-18, figs. 6-10, and text p. 19 ; also *Arch. Camb.*, 1925, Cremation No. 1 in Barrow No. 1 at Crosshands, pp. 278-81.

[3] *Archaeologia*, lxxxvii, 137, fig. 4.

of the group is undoubtedly the pigmy cup, and this must be taken into consideration before we come to a decision. The hollow base and the footrings point to a metal prototype, almost certainly Irish. The well-known gold bowls of the Bronze Age in Denmark, probably of Irish gold and Irish inspiration show similar bases and also radial ornament. Brondsted[1] dates one *c.* 1000-800 B.C. This derivation of our pigmy cup from a metal vessel, if it can be substantiated, represents a new fact in the history of early ceramic in the west.

A pigmy cup from Llywel, Brecknockshire (fig. 13) for the drawing of which I am indebted to Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., provides, however, a warning against too hasty a conclusion. In it the South Hill footring and hollow base seems to be in

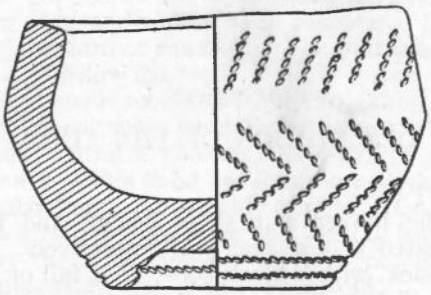

FIG. 13. PIGMY CUP FROM BARROW ON VARLEN, NEAR LLYWEL, BRECKNOCK ($\frac{2}{3}$)
(Drawn by G. C. Dunning)

process of assimilation to a native type of cup ; but the source of this feature in this cup may have to be sought in Wiltshire, in vases of the hollow-footed class.[2] A Flintshire bowl-shaped cup in the National Museum is, on the other hand, a direct debasement of the South Hill form.[3] A biconical cup from Betchton, Cheshire, illustrates another aspect of the devolution of the South Hill foot ; the rings are represented by faint lines, the hollow base is a mere dimple. It is figured in *Prehistoric Cheshire*[4] and is associated with a local overhanging-rim urn-type which the authors of this work regard as the immediate precursor of the cordoned urn, and which they would date 900 B.C. and later. On the whole then, the date suggested for the secondary burial seems to suit the character of the pigmy cup, and we may definitely fix the Middle Bronze Age enlargement of the barrow to *c.* 1100 B.C.

[1] See fig. 109, *Danmarks Oldtid*, ii.

[2] As Winterbourne Stoke, Piggott, *loc. cit.*, 1938, fig. 15,3, and pp. 75-6.

[3] Grimes, *Guide to the Prehistoric Collection*, 94, fig. 9.

[4] Varley, Jackson and Chitty, 1940, pls. ii and iii.

The diffuse scattering of charcoal in the course of the construction of the Middle Bronze Age barrow, referred to on p. 12-13, contrasts strongly with its absence in the beaker ritual which seems to have made use of living sprays of oak in similar contexts. This free ritual use of charcoal is, in my experience, not uncommon in burials of Middle Bronze Age folk in South Wales. It was noticeable at Pond Cairn and in the secondary deposits at Simondston, Glamorgan.[1]

In this brief commentary correlations with culturally similar burials in Glamorgan have been emphasized. I have little doubt that the reason for these correlations is that the Middle Bronze folk took the same sea-road as their Early Bronze predecessors; that is, that the sequence Wessex-south Wales-west Wales, was repeated.

Appendix I

DESCRIPTION OF THE FINDS

The Primary Deposit

The Beaker. The beaker is 6·5″ in height, and the breadth at rim and at base is estimated at 5·5″ and 3·4″ respectively. In colour the ware is red to brownish-black, with a black core; it is full of grits up to as much as 0·25″ in diameter, ill-baked, and very rotten. The wall ranges in thickness from 3 mm. to 7 mm. The beaker has a collar 0·5″ below the rim, and a body-angle 3·0″ above the base. The surface of the surviving portion of the pot which includes most of the base and a complete section from base to rim—is rugged and disintegrating; it is thus difficult to make out the exact character of the ornament. This appears to consist of ten rows of impressed marks mostly cuneiform with broad end uppermost, each more or less diagonal, 0·2″ to 0·3″ in length, and covering the whole pot from rim to base. The impressions are from $\frac{1}{16}$″ to $\frac{1}{4}$″ apart; they are deepest on the rim.

Implement associated with the primary deposit. This implement is of translucent dark flint worked on a flake. L.1·87″; B. 1·25″; T.0·42″. The cortex of the nodule is present on one side. It is 'more likely to have been made from a quarried nodule than from one derived from the drift.'[2] The flake surface is unaltered. The upper half of the surface is carefully worked over to a point: sides and point are sharp. A flake struck from the (unfinished?) basal portion isolates a ridged spur on the left side, carefully worked over on its outward aspect, which suggests that a barbed arrowhead was in process of manufacture.

The Secondary Burial

The Cinerary Urn. This urn is 15·5″ high; the diameter at the rim is 12″; at the base about 6·5″ to 7·0″.[3] The overhanging rim is 3·0″ deep; the rim edge is splayed inwards and thickened, presenting a smooth undecorated

[1] *Archaeologia*, lxxxvii, 141 and 147.

[2] Quoted from Dr. North's report on the specimen.

[3] Parts of the basal angle survive, but none of the base itself.

slope 0·5″ to 0·8″ in breadth. From the rim edge to the shoulder is 5·2″. The ware is nearly 1″ thick in places. The upper half of the urn is nearly complete; the lower very fragmentary. It is of badly-baked coarse gritty ware, and is thus of normal south Wales Middle Bronze Age character. The external colour is reddish-brown to blackish-brown, the core black.

The decoration is in two zones, on rim and on neck; the two zones are similar in technique but differ in design. The rim decoration consists of three rows of herringbone, close-set, forming a continuous zig-zag pattern bounded above and below by a horizontal line. All incised with a fairly sharp point. On the neck the principal unit of the ornament consists of a series of peaked triangles, one inside the other set out on a common baseline: there is a continuous succession of these, and the V-shaped intervening spaces are filled with close-set horizontal lines. The same tool has been used here as for the rim decoration, but in places it has been more lightly drawn on the wet clay.

The Vase with overhanging-rim. This vase is thick-walled (over half an inch in places) of very ill-baked ware. It is red to reddish-brown externally with a black core. The vessel has a well-marked overhanging rim with a square-sectioned rim edge, and a very weak shoulder. It is 10·25″ in height, breadth at base 3·5″, breadth at rim 8·5″. The overhanging-rim is 2·4″ deep, and the shoulder is 4·7″ below the top.

The impressed-cord ornament extends, in two zones, from the top of the rim to the shoulder; these zones combine to present a balanced and unified design. On the rim, centrally placed, is a band of close-set herringbone pointing sideways; above this band are four close-set horizontal lines, below it four (or five) similar lines: all roughly parallel. On the neck this design is reversed; two horizontal lines form the central band which is bounded above and below by the same close-set herringbone pattern. On the weak shoulder are short diagonals, also of impressed-cord.

The Pigmy Cup. The pigmy cup was upright. It was on top of the burnt bones (for many were stuck to its base). Its rim was level with the rim of the urn. It contained only fine earth such as would get in by natural processes in the course of centuries, for the overlying slabs did not provide a sealed cover.

The cup is carefully wrought, and as usual with the type, well baked. It is reddish-brown in colour internally and externally. Part of its rim had flaked off as a result of the pressure of the overlying slab, and on this side it is cracked and slightly distorted; otherwise the condition is very good.

The cup is bowl-shaped, with inbent rim and small footring, the base being markedly concave. It measures 2·2″ in height, 3·7″ in diameter at the bulge, 2·5″ at the rim and 0·9″ at the base. The ware is of fairly even thickness; at the rim it is 0·18″. The usual pair of small holes is seen; these are drilled from the outside, and the pressure has flaked off a large piece on the inside of the bowl in both cases. The holes are 2·2″ apart.

The decoration, which covers the whole vessel, is firmly incised with a smooth rounded point. It consists of three zones, of vertical lines, of chevrons, and of radial lines, each being defined above and below by horizontal lines; the pattern is completed by two extra horizontal lines bordering rim and base respectively.

The Bronze Blade associated with the secondary burial. When disintegrating in the Museum the strongly adhesive mass of bone, bone-dust and potsherds, a green stain was observed; further search disclosed part of a decayed bronze blade. It was smooth-surfaced on both sides, and measured 30 mm. in length and 27 mm. in breadth; but these were not the full dimensions of the tool. It was 3 mm. in thickness near the centre of the fragment; an edge survived

on one side. It is not possible to say whether it was a small knife or a razor; the former is, on other grounds, the more probable.

A double-ended Scraper was found in charcoal close to the secondary burial, 1·2″ above the floor, over the line of stone-holes, and in deposit of the second phase. This scraper is made from the central portion of a flake of dull grey flint mottled in places. L. 1·46″; B. 1·21″; T. 0·4″. The flake surface is unaltered (unworked). The edges of the flake are blunted; one end is worked over to form a rounded end rising at an angle of 45° to the central ridge of the flake; the other is square on plan rising steeply to the ridge.

Appendix II

REPORT ON PLANT REMAINS (CARBONIZED WOOD) FROM BARROW

By H. A. Hyde, M.A.

I.—Associated with Constructions of the Beaker period. *c.* 1500 B.C.

A. *From hollow in E. Trench: under Beaker Barrow.* Over thirty pieces of carbonized wood mostly several centimetres across; several had the irregular grain of branchy timber; all were oak (*Quercus Robur* L. sens. lat.). One large irregularly L-shaped piece was examined in detail: maximum dimensions, 3·5 cm. (measured radially) × 2·2 cm. (tangentially) and 5·0 cm. (longitudinally); very flaky in a radial direction; summer wood gave bright transverse fracture.

B. *From the primary (Beaker) deposit.* Soil with embedded wood; two typical pieces measured respectively 5·5 cm. (tangentially) × 1·0 cm. (radially) × 4·0 cm. (longitudinally) and 8·0 × 2·5 × 5·0 cm. These pieces were more or less completely disintegrated into small rectangular fragments (each about 1 cm. long) strongly suggestive of the results of fungoid action. Much fragmented material evidently derived from the break-up of larger pieces was also present. All these were oak and had almost certainly become carbonized as the result of decay. One fragment which differed obviously from the rest of the material proved on microscopic examination to be hazel (*Corylus Avellana* L.).

C. *From the NW. quadrant of the Beaker Barrow: in clayey mass 1 ft. above original ground level.* A large number of fragments, all oak, very irregular in shape and varying greatly in size, mostly eroded into masses of very thin flakes; growth rate up to 4 rings per radial cm.; probably carbonized by decay.

II.—Associated with Middle Bronze Age constructions. *c.* 1100 B.C.

D. *From filling of stone-hole of revetment of Beaker Barrow, W. of S. Trench.* Over 100 oak fragments all of same nature, irregular in shape and size, some with very uneven grain and of very slow growth, but individual pieces firm and coherent, neither flaky nor transversely cracked. Charcoal, i.e. wood carbonized by fire.

E. *Carbonized wood associated with the Secondary (cremation) burial.* Fragments of all sizes up to 5 cm. long, all oak so far as examined and all the same to judge by superficial appearance. Almost all were mature wood slow in growth (8-10 rings per radial cm.). One young branch (identifiable as such by its slightly flattened transverse section) 1·8 cm. wide at its maximum also proved to be oak. All this material was obviously charcoal in the narrow sense.