

STONEHENGE WORLD HERITAGE SITE LANDSCAPE PROJECT LAKE BARROWS, THE DIAMOND AND NORMANTON GORSE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY REPORT

Mark Bowden, David Field and Sharon Soutar



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SUMMARY

Rapid survey of three areas on Boreland Farm was undertaken as part of the Stonehenge World Heritage Site Landscape Project. Barrows, field systems and linear ditches were investigated, as well as elements of the more recent landscape. The opportunity has been taken to report a previous survey of the nearby long barrow Wilsford 34. The most significant issues raised are: the previously accepted relationships between the Lake Barrows and adjacent linear ditches; and the existence of the 'North Kite' enclosure. A more conventional relative chronology between the barrows and the linear ditches is suggested here but more detailed survey is recommended to resolve this issue satisfactorily; in the light of results from aerial survey it is suggested that the 'North Kite' is a fortuitous survival of linear ditches which were otherwise ploughed out before the first maps and antiquarian records were made.

CONTRIBUTORS

Fieldwork was undertaken by the authors as members of the former Archaeological Survey & Investigation team of English Heritage. Fig 3 was prepared by Deborah Cunliffe of the Imaging, Graphics and Survey team; all other original illustrations are by the authors.

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English Heritage is extremely grateful to Mr Max Hosier, the landowner, for permission to undertake the work reported here.

ARCHIVE LOCATION

The archive is deposited at the NMR, Firefly Avenue, Swindon SN2 2EH

DATE OF SURVEY

February 2012

CONTACT DETAILS

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INTRODUCTION

The monuments and areas covered in this report lie on land belonging to Boreland Farm in Wilsford-cum-Lake parish (Figs 1 and 2). They were briefly investigated at Level 1 (see Ainsworth *et al*/ (2007) for survey Levels) in February 2012 as part of the English Heritage Stonehenge World Heritage Site (WHS) Landscape Project. (However, it should be noted that: in the case of the Lake Barrows the surveys were enhanced by the recording of further measurements so that this element of the investigation has some of the characteristics of a Level 2 survey; in the case of Barrow Wilsford 34 survey was undertaken as part of fieldwork for the Stonehenge Riverside Project and is also higher than a Level 1 specification.) These rapid investigations complement the detailed (Level 3) surveys undertaken by this Project previously: to provide fresh information and current mapping for the new Visitor Centre; to improve understanding of the WHS necessary for its appropriate management (Young *et al*/2009, Aim 6); to supplement information from recent university interventions in the area; and to meet the aims of the Stonehenge Research Framework (Darvill 2005, 108-20, 129).

The areas covered are mainly small blocks of woodland but areas of adjacent pasture are included. Barrows are referred to by their Goddard and Grinsell parish numbers (Grinsell 1957); Table 1 provides a concordance of the various numbering systems applied to the barrows, while Table 2 lists their principal dimensions.

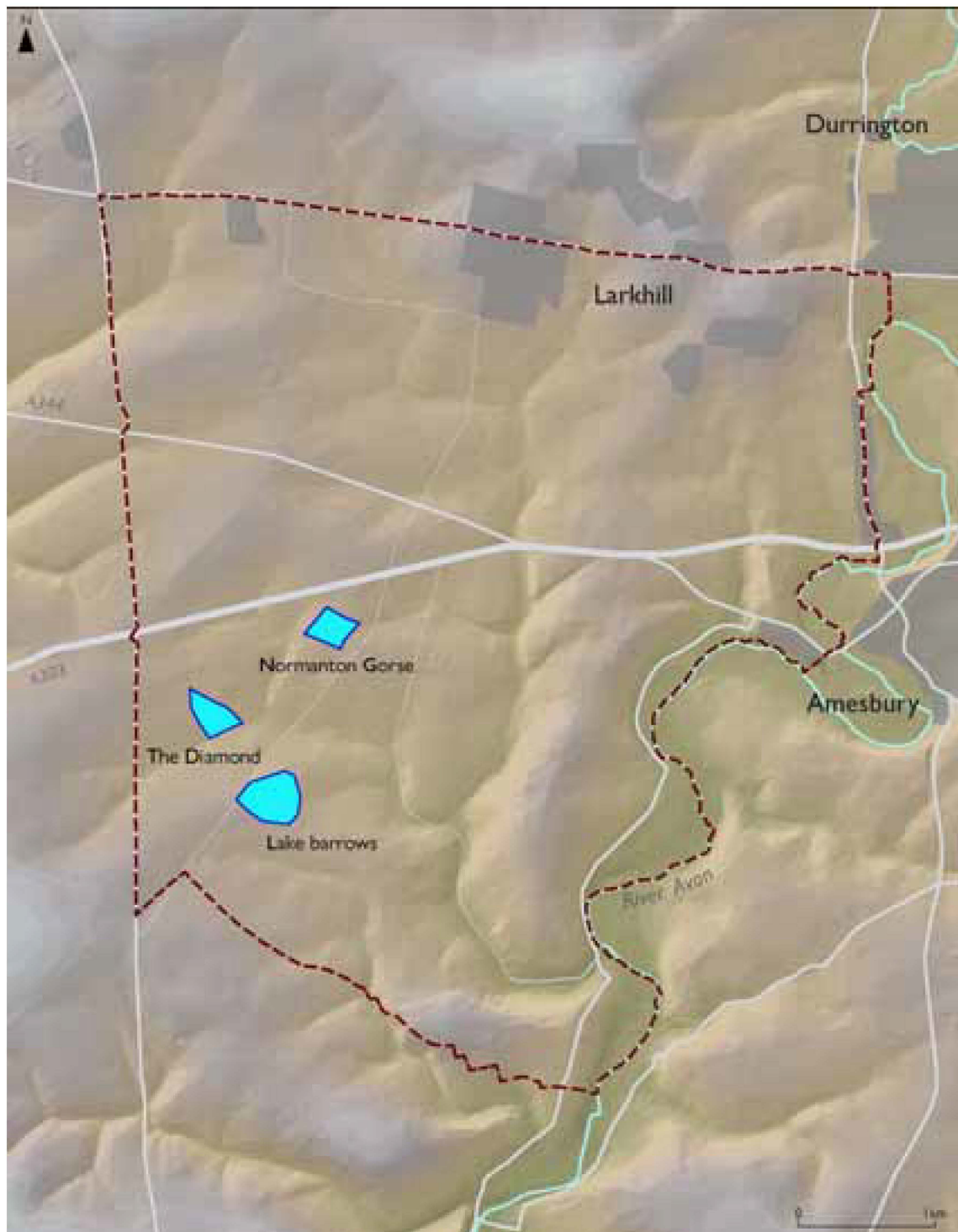


Fig 1: Location map showing the survey areas (blue) within the WHS boundary (red). Height data licensed to English Heritage for PGA, through Next Perspectives™

GEOLOGY, TOPOGRAPHY AND LAND-USE

This report covers three discrete areas, all between 90m and 110m OD, on a block of chalk downland intersected by a shallow dry valley which runs eastward to join Stonehenge Bottom (Fig 2). The underlying geology is Cretaceous Upper Chalk and the well-drained soils are humic rendzinas of the Icknield Association on the higher ground with Andover Association brown rendzinas on the slopes below (Soils Survey of England and Wales Sheet 5, 1980). The current land use of this area is largely as pasture and small plantations for game birds, though there is also arable, especially around The Diamond and Amesbury 43, and the RSPB bird sanctuary on Normanton Down.



Fig 2: Location plan showing the topography of the downs and dry valley, with features plotted by aerial survey. Base map ©Crown copyright. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey licence no 100024900. Lidar ©Environment Agency (December 2001)

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Much of this land would probably have been uncultivated sheep walk historically but at the time of the tithe assessments in the early 19th century the area immediately around the Lake Barrows was under arable at the extreme upper end of Lake Fields; these fields had probably been at least partly in cultivation since the mid 17th century (RCHM 1979, map 3). The Doidge brothers' map of the Manor of Lake, dated to 1752, indicates cultivation extending around barrows Wilsford **47-50a**, the south-eastern part of the Lake cemetery (Wiltshire History Centre 1552/2/2/4). The slopes to the north of the Lake Barrows, though they have been under cultivation at some time in the medieval or early post-medieval period, were still 'old grassland' until ploughing commenced in the mid-20th century. The plantations had already been created by the time of the Wilsford Tithe Apportionment mapping in 1846; they were part of a process of deliberate planting and scrub encroachment that was occurring in this area through the 19th century (Watts 1962, 219). The areas of plantation were subsequently expanded but their boundaries have altered little since 1st edition OS 25inch mapping in the 1870s, except in one or two minor instances as noted below. In the 1970s Grinsell described the Lake Barrows as being within a 'decaying plantation' (1978, 37).

Many of the barrows mentioned in this report were opened by William Cunnington, Edward Duke or earlier antiquarians and treasure hunters who have left no record. The results of these early investigations, where known, are included in the individual descriptions below. There has been little modern archaeological research into the barrows covered in this report; there was some excavation in 1959 (Grimes 1964), field investigation by Ordnance Survey Archaeology Division in 1970 and a brief field study of the Lake Barrows by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) later in the 1970s (RCHM 1979, fig 15). The linear ditches, including those that constitute the supposed enclosure known as the 'North Kite', have been subject to excavation in 1958 and 1983 (Richards 1990, 184-93); this is discussed further below. The whole area has been covered by aerial survey projects (Crutchley 2002).

DESCRIPTION

The Lake Barrow Group

The Lake Group (NMR SU 14 SW 51), known by Stukeley as the 'Prophet's Barrows' (see below), consists of one large long barrow and a cemetery of numerous round barrows including bowl, bell and disc forms (Fig 3). The group occupies the highest part of a ridge, at 105-110m OD, which effectively separates Wilsford Down to the north from Lake Down to the south. The Wilsford Barrows (Bowden 2010) lie at a lower elevation on the same ridge to the east-south-east and the Lake Down Group (Komar 2010) lower still to the south-east. Closer to the north-east is a dispersed group of barrows on Wilsford Down (Wilsford 51-54 and 93). There are also field systems and numerous linear earthworks on this part of the downs.

The relationships of these barrows with each other and with the surrounding linear earthworks are crucial for the understanding of this part of the Stonehenge WHS landscape. The barrows are largely but not exclusively situated within a plantation maintained as pheasant cover. Some of the mounds have recently been cleared of undergrowth and scrub by volunteers from the Friends of Ancient Monuments.

Wilsford 36f-g

These small barrows, currently lying in pasture to the west of the plantation, do not survive as earthworks and had already been levelled by the late 1970s (RCHM 1979, fig 15). Aerial photographs taken in 2002 show this field in arable cultivation (Next Perspectives PGA SU1040 01-JUN-2002).

Barrow **36f** is Colt Hoare's No 2 which he describes as a 'diminutive barrow' (1812, 209); Cunnington found a crude perforated cup with cremated bone. Hoare says 'This article seems to corroborate the idea I started ... that these small vases might ... be called INCENSE CUPS, in which aromatic oils and perfumes, according to ancient usage, were burned and suspended over the funeral pile' (ibid, 209-10; Annable and Simpson 1964, no 445). Grinsell describes this as a '*primary* cremation' (1957, 198) but Hoare's description of the find, 'just under the surface' (1812, 209), suggests otherwise. This barrow mound and ditch was almost totally excavated by Grimes in 1959, revealing a central primary pit with cremated bones, remains of a second possible cremation and inhumations – on the ground surface below the mound – of a young man, woman and child; the mound was of chalk with some dark soil (1964, 92-9).

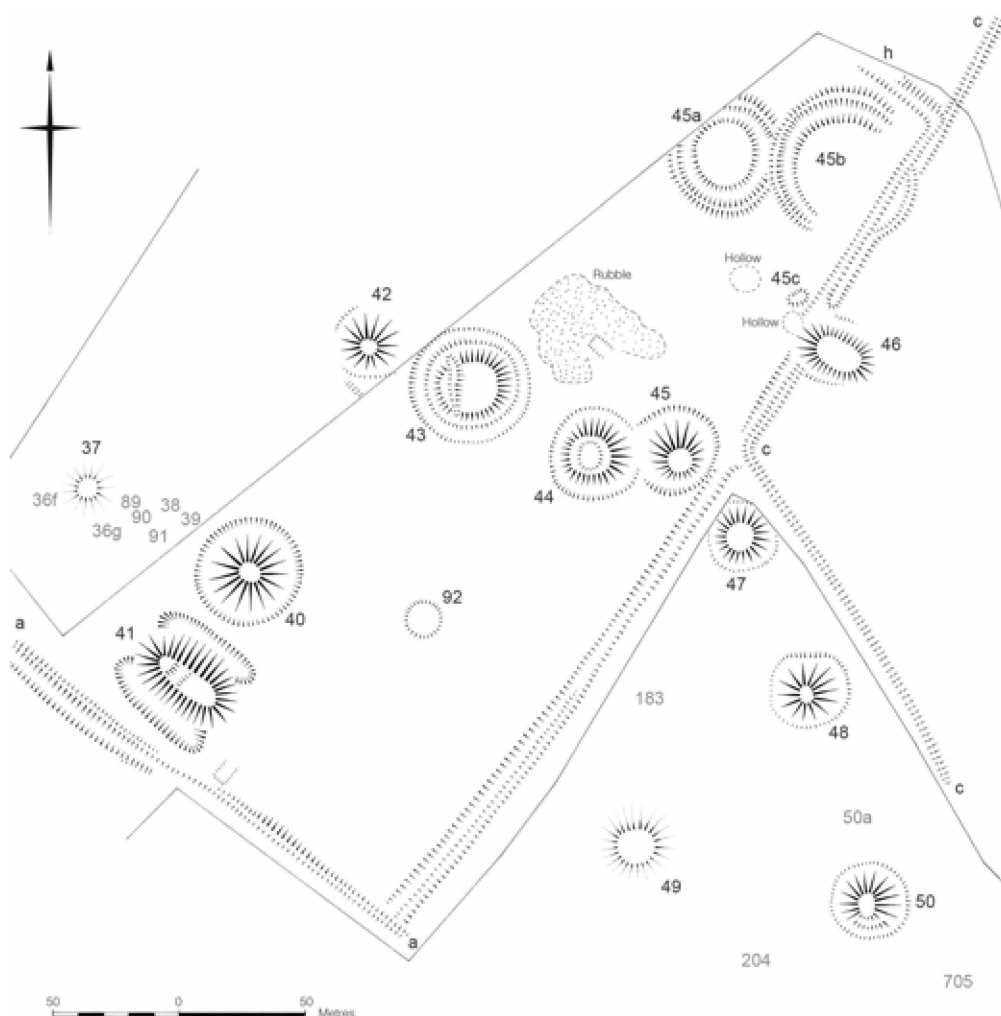


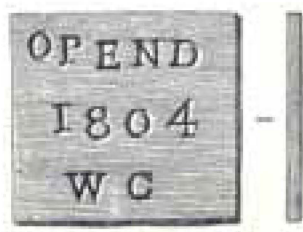
Fig 3: Plan of the Lake Barrows and adjacent linear ditches, after RCHM 1979, fig 15, with amendments and additions resulting from rapid field investigation on 3rd February 2012, reduced to 1:3000. The approximate positions of levelled barrows and ring ditches are shown by grey labels. ©English Heritage

On barrow **36g** Grinsell comments that Stukeley 'drew 3 small barrows, still just traceable, and there may be more'; in rabbit scrapes on one of these Grinsell found what he described as 'parts of LBA urns, one with applied vertical bands' (1957, 198). This barrow was partly excavated by Grimes; he comments that prior to excavation there was a rectangular 'very recent-looking' pit, possibly a slit-trench, in the centre of the mound; this might have disturbed a burial and 'many fragments of late Bronze Age pottery' and cremated bone were recovered (1964, 91-2, 115-17).

Wilsford 37

This barrow, also in pasture to the west of the plantation, survives only as an amorphous swelling 22.5m across with a summit 8m wide and a maximum of 0.3m high. It has clearly suffered significant plough damage since the 1970s (RCHM 1979, fig 15).

This is Hoare's barrow No 3, which he described as 'previously opened by other people' (1812, 210). It was also sectioned by Grimes, who found that it had been much disturbed by rabbits and that there was a slit-trench at the south end of his cutting; there was a pit in the centre containing a lead plaque stamped 'OPEND 1804 WC' (1964, 99-101; Fig 4), showing that, in this instance at least, Cunnington had found it necessary to dig to establish that the barrow had already been opened.



*Fig 4: William Cunnington's plaque
($\frac{2}{3}$ actual size); drawn by HM Stewart
(Grimes 1964, fig 5)*

Wilsford 38, 39 and 89-91

There is no trace of these small barrows in pasture along the western edge of the plantation. Even number 39, which lay partly within the plantation boundary, does not seem to survive as an earthwork. Barrows 38 and 39 were depicted with hachures by the OS (Fig 5) and by the RCHM (1979, fig 15), so they did survive as earthworks until the late 1970s at least.

Wilsford 38 is Hoare's No 4, which had been 'previously opened'; Wilsford 39 is his No 5 which was excavated by Cunnington in 1805; he found a cremation accompanied by 20 or 30 jet beads (Hoare 1812, 210; Grinsell 1957, 198; Annable and Simpson 1964, no 480). Wilsford 89, 90 and 91 are presumably those noted, but not numbered, by Grinsell – 'there may be more' – as mentioned above (1957, 198). All of these except 91 were almost totally excavated by Grimes in 1959 (Grimes 1964; RCHM 1979, 3, 4-5). Barrow 38 had a number of sub-surface primary features containing collared urns and other objects, including remains of cremation burials; its ditch was cut by the penannular ditch of Barrow 39 (Grimes 1964, 101-8). Barrow 39 yielded scattered remains of a burial and various small finds including a barbed-and-tanged arrowhead and a biconical urn from high in the ditch fills (ibid, 110-15). Barrow 89 (which Grimes called 38a), though not noted by Hoare, had been opened at some time in the past (ibid, 108). Barrow 90 (Grimes' 38b) was a small indistinct ring ditch only revealed by excavation; at its centre was a shallow pit containing a small collared urn; though Grimes' plan (Fig 6) seems to indicate that Barrow 90 pre-dated both 38 and 89 his written description makes it clear that, on the contrary, Barrow 90 was later than both the others, with its ditch cutting through the

ditch fills of both other barrows (ibid, 108-9). Barrow 91 is noted only by the RCHM as a 'chalky soil-mark' suggesting the former presence of one or two small round mounds or an oval mound (1979, 3, fig 15).

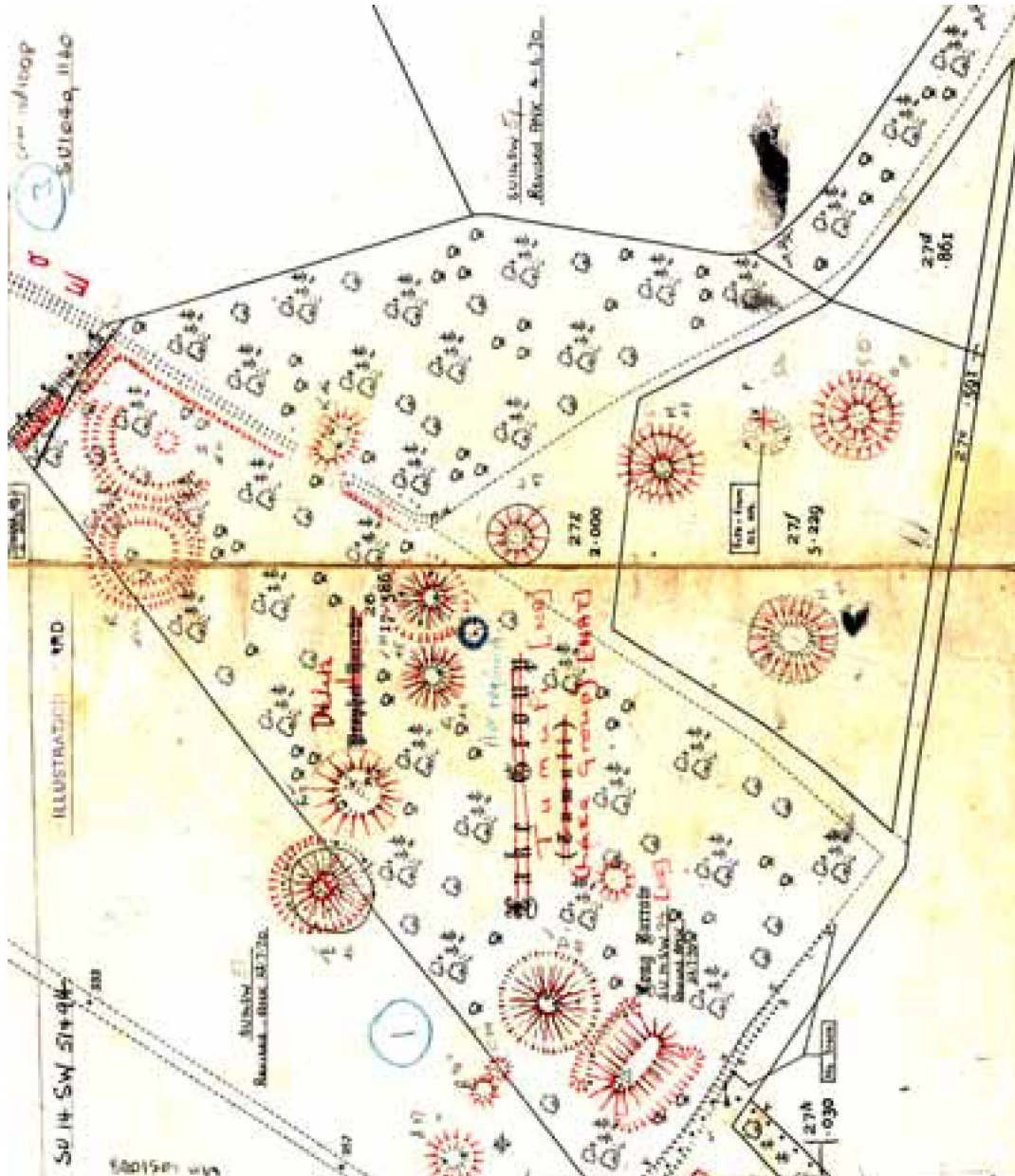


Fig 5: OS Antiquity Model for the Lake Barrows, revised by Alan King, 4th June and 22nd July 1970, reduced to 1:3000; north to left

Wilsford 40

This extremely large bowl barrow (Fig 7) stands alongside the long barrow (41), has a similar mass and seems to form a 'pair' to it. Its surrounding ditch is up to 6m wide; the

mound is about 32m in diameter and stands approximately 4.6m high. A narrow gap separates the ditch of this barrow from the side ditch of the long barrow.

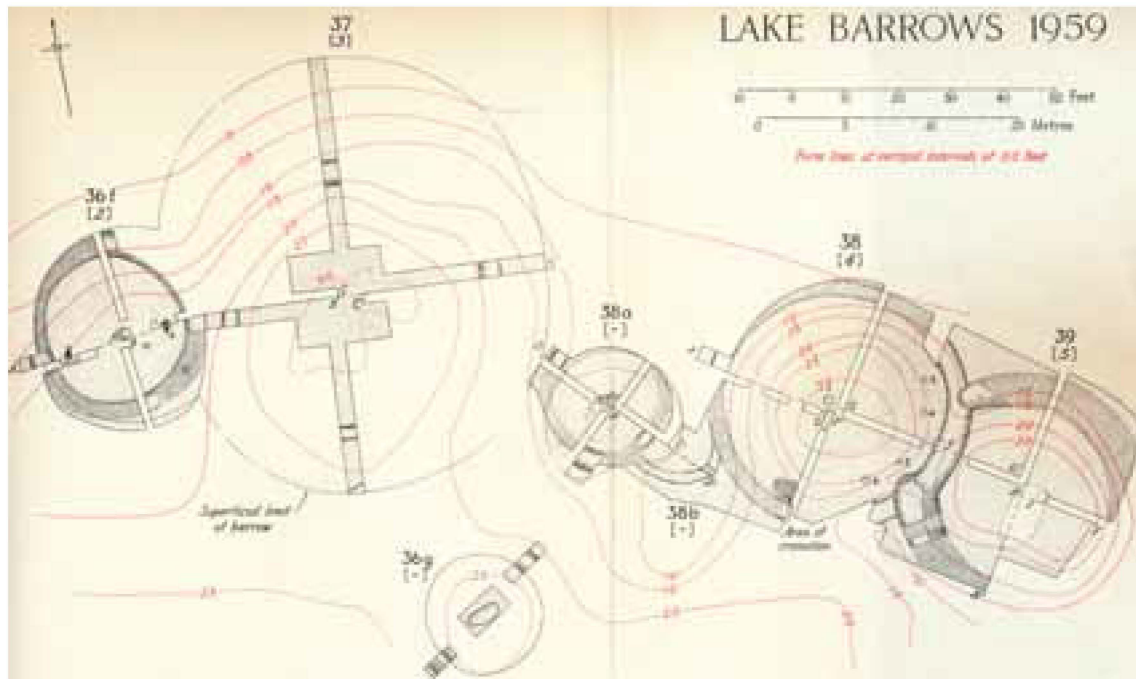


Fig 6: Barrows **36f-39**: WF Grimes' excavation plan (1964, fig 2) drawn by HM Stewart; Grimes' barrows 38a and 38b were re-numbered **89** and **90** by the RCHM



Fig 7: Barrow **40** from the south-west, 3rd February 2012

Cunnington excavated this barrow, Hoare's No 6, and found a secondary cremation with a bone pin under an inverted urn, remains of two skeletons and, in a 'cist' below the barrow, the skeleton of an infant with a beaker (Hoare 1812, 210; Grinsell 1957, 198; Annable and Simpson 1964, no 359). An unknown excavator found an incense cup 'in the side' of the barrow (Annable and Simpson 1964, no 449; Devizes Museum DZSWS: X 117); nothing further is apparently known about this object or the circumstances of its discovery.

Wilsford 41

The long barrow marks the south-western corner of the cemetery. It has side ditches, of which that to the south-west, 9.3m wide and 1m deep, is the larger. The mound is approximately 45m long and 25m wide but is of uneven profile; at the south-eastern end it is approximately 3.6m high but at the north-western end 4.8m. The barrow is therefore tall in relation to its length. There is a slight saddle in the top beyond which the north-western end rises with the appearance of a round barrow placed on top of the long mound; this would explain the anomaly of the western end being apparently higher – the eastern end of long barrows is usually the higher and larger end and the focus of funerary activity. There are no recorded excavations into this barrow but the saddle could be evidence of unrecorded antiquarian delving; Hoare states specifically that this barrow 'has not been opened' (1812, 209) but he may be referring only to Cunnington's campaign – further surface and geophysical survey might resolve this issue.

Wilsford 42

This large barrow (Fig 8), which stands in pasture to the west of the plantation, is classified as a bell barrow (Grinsell 1957, 211). Its ditch has been all but ploughed out; the mound is about 24m in diameter within a berm up to 3m wide though it is variable and is not visible at all on the north-eastern quadrant while on the north-west it could be the result of ploughing; the summit of the mound is 6.5-7.0m across. The barrow stands at the point where the slope begins to steepen towards the dry valley to the north; consequently the mound is approximately 2.6m high measured from the south-east but up to 3.8m high from the north-west.

Cunnington's excavation of this barrow, Hoare's No 7, discovered a 'cist' beneath the mound containing a cremation with a bronze awl and dagger and two beads (one of red and black glass, and the other of bone) (Hoare 1812, 210; Grinsell 1957, 211; Annable and Simpson 1964, no 364).



Fig 8: Barrow 42 from the south-west, 3rd February 2012; the flat-topped mound of Barrow 43 can be seen within the plantation to the right

Wilsford 43

This barrow stands immediately to the east of number 42 within the plantation; though the two are very close no relationship is discernible. This is the 'Prophet's Barrow' according to Hoare (1812, 210-11) and Grinsell (1957, 198) and though Grinsell classified it as a bowl barrow there appears to be a berm or ledge, 1.1m to 2.3m wide, between the ditch and mound, suggesting a bell shape. The surrounding ditch is 5.5m to 7.5m wide and about 0.3m deep; the mound is up to 32m in diameter at the base and 22m at the summit but only about 1.4m high. The top of this barrow is very badly disturbed; a low bank crosses the western part of the summit, dog-legging slightly from a southerly direction towards the plantation boundary to the north-west and there are signs of excavation and other disturbance to the east of this on the broad summit; this disturbance is prominent enough to have been depicted on early OS maps, from the 1st edition 25 inch onwards. There are also signs of recent activity in the form of rectangular hollows, and piles of concrete and rubble in the area to the north-east and east of this barrow.

Cunnington cut a large section into this barrow, Hoare's No 8. Within the mound he discovered 'a pile of marl' and beneath this a grave in which were cremated bones in a wooden box accompanied by a bronze knife-dagger and a small perforated whetstone (Hoare 1812, 211; Annable and Simpson 1964, nos 344-5).

Wilsford 44

Though classified as a bowl barrow (Grinsell 1957, 198) the profile of this mound suggests at least two phases of building. The barrow is surrounded by a ditch about 3.8m wide and up to 0.2m deep. The primary mound is 27.5m to 29.5m in diameter at the base and 15.2m to 16.5m at the top; on top of this is a slight secondary mound, 12.2m in maximum diameter, with a flat top about 10m across and only 0.2m high. The overall height of the mound is 1.5m. This barrow is adjacent to number **45** and from its relationship to the ditch of that barrow, appears to be later.

Hoare referred to this, his No 9, as a 'fine bell-shaped barrow'; Cunnington found an unaccompanied cremation on the old ground surface beneath the mound (Hoare 1812, 211).

Wilsford 45

The high mound of this bowl barrow is exceptionally badly disturbed by a badger sett, making meaningful observation and measurement difficult. The mound is about 3m high and is surrounded to north, east and south by a broad ditch, about 4m wide but only 0.2m deep. A projection of the line of the outer lip of this ditch would take it through the edge of the mound of number **44**; as there is clearly no disturbance of the mound at this point and no reason to suppose that the ditch was incomplete it must be concluded that **44** is later and overlies the ditch of **45**. (The penannular nature of the ditch of Barrow **39** and its relationship to Barrow **38** (above) might suggest questioning this sequence but the ditches of Barrows **44** and **45** still survive as earthworks and the field evidence as it stands supports the interpretation of Barrow **44** being later.)

This is Hoare's No 10; Cunnington dug into it twice but found only a dog skeleton and a deer skull (Hoare 1812, 211; Grinsell 1957, 198).

Wilsford 45a

This is one of a pair of disc barrows marking the northern edge of the cemetery. The outer bank survives up to 0.3m high and the ditch up to 0.3m deep but no central mound was seen, though Grinsell recorded one 2ft [0.6m] high (1957, 220). It is clear that the bank of this barrow is overlain by, and is therefore earlier than, the bank of its neighbour number **45b**. It is also truncated by the plantation fence to the north-west and ploughed-out beyond it.

Wilsford 45b

This is the larger, and the later, of this pair of disc barrows. It is similar to **45a** in terms of the elevation of bank and ditch but they enclose a larger area. No sign of a central mound was observed during the field visit and Grinsell did not record one, though at the time of his visit it was in 'thick vegetation' (1957, 220); a mound is, however, clearly shown on the Antiquity Model (see Fig 5) and is still depicted on current OS mapping. The eastern side of this barrow is cut by a substantial linear ditch (**c-c**, see below) as depicted by the RCHM (1979, fig 15).

Hoare noted that both disc barrows, his Nos 11 and 12, had been previously dug into (1812, 211).

Wilsford 45c

This small bowl barrow is obscured by modern debris and rubble; there is a diminutive amorphous mound at approximately the position indicated by the RCHM (1979, 3, fig 15) but it appears to consist of loose, unconsolidated chalk and other material.

This is Hoare's No 13, in which Cunnington found an unaccompanied cremation (1812, 211).

Wilsford 46

This monument was recorded as two conjoined round barrows by Hoare, his Nos 14 and 15 (1812, 211) and depicted as such on early OS maps until the 4th edition 1:2500 between the World Wars. It now consists of an oval mound, orientated west-north-west to east-south-east, up to 1.2m high with a surrounding ditch at its north-western end, the south-eastern end being obscured by modern debris. The bank of the substantial linear ditch (**c-c**, see below) cutting number **45b** also overlies the ditch of this barrow on the south side, though it apparently ends short of the barrow ditch on the north side. The mound seems to extend further to the north-west than shown by the RCHM (1979, fig 15), possibly pushing the later linear ditch out of its course; this monument would benefit from further, detailed, ground survey.

Hoare reports that the 'smallest end' (the south-east?) had been previously opened but Cunnington excavated the larger mound, finding wood ash on the old ground surface and a 'cist' containing a cremation accompanied by a number of amber and faience beads and a bronze awl (Hoare 1812, 211; Grinsell 1957, 198; Annable and Simpson 1964, nos 337-9).

Wilsford 47

This barrow (Fig 9) now lies in pasture in the re-entrant angle on the south side of the plantation, though it was formerly within the wooded area. Though he classified it as a bowl barrow Grinsell questioned whether it might not really have been a bell barrow (1957, 198) and this suggestion is reinforced by the new observations. The outer part of the surrounding ditch has been ploughed away but the inner scarp survives and is separated from the base of the mound by a berm 1.5m to 2.2m wide. The base diameter of the mound is about 22.5m, its top is 11m across and it is approximately 2.8m high.

This and the following four barrows were excavated by their owner, the Rev Edward Duke, in the early years of the 19th century. In this one (Hoare's No 16) he found a cremation and a small bronze dagger (Hoare 1812, 212).



Fig 9: Barrows 48 (foreground) and 47 from the south-east, 3rd February 2012

Wilsford 48

This high bell barrow (Fig 9), like numbers 49, 50 and 50a, is also in pasture. The plough has in the past come very close to this monument and all but levelled its ditch; nevertheless, the inner lip of the ditch can be distinguished around part of the circuit at least, especially to the south. A berm, 1.8m to 2.8m wide, separates the inner lip of the ditch from the base of the mound, which is 23.5m to 25.6m in diameter and 5.5m to

6.4m across at the top. Although this barrow, with its neighbours, is situated close to the top of the ridge which separates Wilsford Down from Lake Down the ground under it is sloping noticeably to the north-east; the height of the mound therefore measures only about 3.6m from the west but up to 5.0m from the east – this is an exceptionally tall barrow mound for its diameter.

This is Hoare's No 17 and probably Duke's No 3 (Hoare 1812, 212; Grinsell 1957, 211); Duke found a cremation and a bronze dagger (though he called it an 'arrow or dart head') in an 'oblong cist'; he also described the mound material, including 'abundance of very black earth', '– mould, 1ft [0.3m]; chalk, 2yds [1.8m]; mould, 2yds 2ft [2.4m]'; interestingly he also commented that in building the mound 'the mould of the surrounding land must have been taken off the surface, after which to increase the height the chalk was made use of' (Goddard 1908, 583-4).

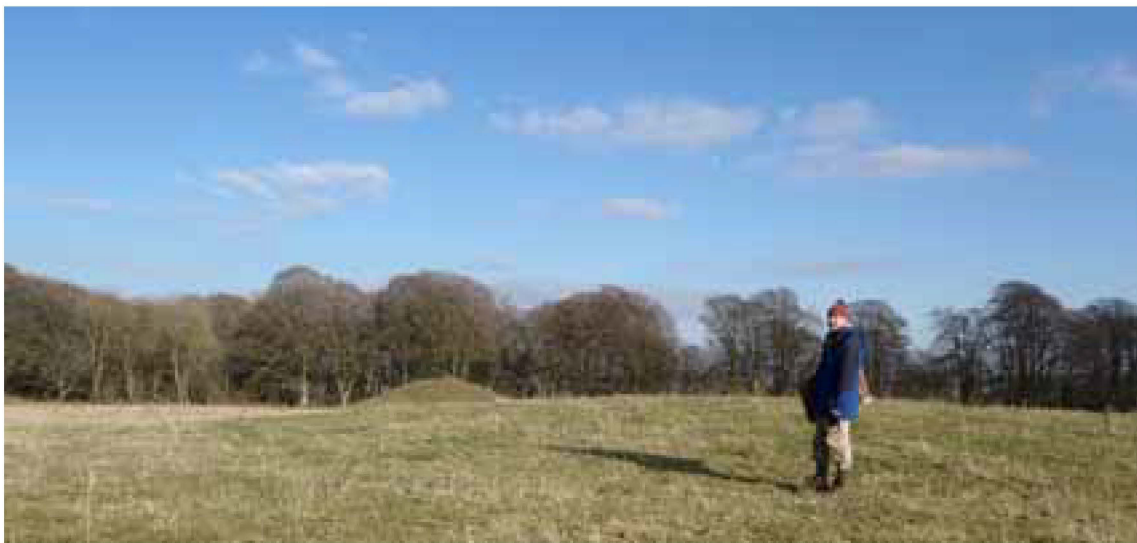


Fig 10: The low mound of Barrow 49 from the south, 3rd February 2012; Barrow 47 in the background

Wilsford 49

This is a broad, low bowl barrow with no sign of a surrounding ditch (Fig 10); ploughing has undoubtedly truncated its edges. The diameter of the mound is 29.5m to 31.0m but it is only 1.5m high.

This barrow, Hoare's no 20, was also excavated by Duke who, according to Hoare, found a bronze dagger and some small and unusual carved bone objects (1812, 212, pl 31; Devizes Museum DZSWS. STHEAD. 188d). Duke described this barrow, his No 4, as having layers of chalk and flint, each 1 yard (0.9m) thick, over 'pure mould' (Goddard 1908, 584). (Grinsell ascribed these finds to Barrow 50 (1978, 39) on the grounds that

Hoare had transposed the numbers 20 and 21 in his text and plan, but this does not seem to be certainly the case; see below.)

Wilsford 50

This bell barrow lies at the south-eastern extremity of the group. Like its neighbours it has suffered plough damage to its surrounding ditch but the inner lip is still discernible; this has a diameter of approximately 29m and is separated from the base of the mound by a berm 2.0 to 2.5m wide. The mound itself is about 24.5m in diameter at the base and 10m across at the top north-south but only 7m east-west. The mound measures about 3.4m high from the west but up to 4.2m from the east, reflecting the underlying topography, as with Barrow 48.

This barrow, Hoare's No 19, was excavated by Duke but there is uncertainty as to what he found; Hoare says that 'few barrows ever proved so interesting' as Nos 19 and 20 (1812, 212), which suggests that this is Duke No 20, which yielded rich finds: 'in a cist of the depth of 2ft 3in was lain a skeleton with rows of [amber] beads around the neck and gold rings to the ears. Near to the head were deposited two small urns or drinking cups ... With this skeleton was also found a small brass pin' (Goddard 1908, 586). (Confusion arises from the fact that Hoare describes these finds as coming from his No 21, which is clearly an error, but he describes the barrow as 'wide and low' (1812, 212) which matches his No 20 rather than No 19 which, even now, is a high barrow. It seems unlikely that these conflicting statements can ever be satisfactorily resolved; see below.)

Wilsford 50a

There is no sign of this bowl barrow on the surface. It was recorded by Grinsell as being 30 paces [approximately 27m] in diameter, 1 foot [0.3m] high and 'much spread by ploughing' (1957, 198).

This is Hoare's No 18, which was excavated by Duke; according to Hoare he found only a cremation and a bronze dagger (1812, 212) but Grinsell said that 50a is probably Duke No 20 (1957, 198) which contained the rich finds – why Grinsell made this identification is unclear as Hoare's evidence strongly suggests that his No 19 was Duke's No 20. By the 1970s Grinsell had recanted, noting that the finds from this barrow were 'uncertain' (1978, 39).

Wilsford 92

This low bowl barrow was first recorded by the OS (see Antiquity Model, Fig 5) and numbered by the RCHM (1979, 3) though it is possibly depicted, though not numbered or discussed, by Hoare (1812, pl 1). The base diameter of the mound is 16m, the summit is 13m across and it is about 0.5m high. The RCHM account mentions a shallow surrounding ditch but this was not seen during the current field visit. OS maps and the RCHM plan (1979, fig 15) place this barrow about 20m south-west of its position as measured by mapping grade GPS.

Other possible barrows

A number of cropmarks suggest the positions of other possible round barrows within and around the Lake group. These do not have numbers in the Grinsell sequence but can be briefly described here under their NMR numbers (see Figs 2 and 3):

SU 14 SW 183: this partial ring ditch immediately to the north of Barrow **49** was first noted by OGS Crawford on the 6 inch record sheet and may have been confirmed by an indistinct mark visible on aerial photographs taken in 1952 (RAF 540/854 4329-30 29-AUG-1952);

SU 14 SW 204: a small irregular sub-circular ditch, visible on the same 1952 aerial photographs, lies to the south-west of Barrow **50**;

SU 14 SW 705: a possible indistinct ring ditch about 45m in diameter, visible on the same 1952 aerial photographs, lies to the south-east of Barrow **50**;

SU 14 SW 706: a small circular cropmark about 8m in diameter is situated immediately to the west of Barrow **37**, visible on aerial photographs (NMR SU 1040/3/53-4 (930/53-4) 12-MAY-1976); this may be the same as Barrow **36f**.

Linear ditches

There are several linear ditches in this part of the WHS and there is a concentration around the Lake Barrows. These linear features were distinguished by lower case letters in the RCHM report (1979, 26-9, fig 14); these identifiers are used here (see Figs 2 and 3).

One of the main linear ditches, running south-eastwards from Longbarrow Cross Roads to Rox Hill, passes to the south of the Lake Barrows (**a-a**). It is preserved as an

earthwork within the wood, the bank spread to 9.5m wide and only 0.2m high, but has been ploughed flat to either side.

Another linear runs approximately parallel to (a-a) but more than 200m to its north-east. This is (c-c), which turns abruptly to the north of Barrow 47 and heads in a north-north-easterly direction. It is well preserved, with the ditch a maximum of 0.4m deep and the bank up to 0.4m high. It is the bank of this linear which overlies the southern ditch of Barrow 46, while the linear ditch itself seems to cut Barrow 45b. This linear constitutes the western side of the 'North Kite' (see below – Discussion). Another linear ditch (h) springs off (c-c) at the northern edge of the wood and heads towards The Diamond (see below). The earthwork fades immediately beyond the plantation fence where it has been ploughed. At the junction of (h) and (c-c) there is a distinct hollow in the base of the ditch, reminiscent of those noted at the junctions of linear ditches on Salisbury Plain (McOmish *et al*/2002, 62-3, fig 3.11).

A further linear feature joins the angle in (c-c) to (a-a). This consists of a ditch, 4.6m wide and 0.2m deep, close to the edge of the plantation; this seems to be overlain by (a-a) but its relationship with (c-c) is obscured by a modern track junction. About 16m to the west and almost parallel with this linear (though diverging slightly to the south) is an east-facing lynchet up to about 0.3m high.

Other features

There are a number of hollows and other signs of recent disturbance, some of them noted above, amongst the barrows. In this connection it is worth noting that Grimes found slit-trenches in Barrows 36g and 37 (1964, 100, 115). The largest area of disturbance is between Barrows 43 and 45c, which includes a very large hollow filled with rubbish, as well as the rectangular hollows and piles of concrete and rubble mentioned above. There are further piles of rubble along the edge of the plantation to the north of Barrows 45a and 45b, and an accumulation of rubbish over the eastern end of the 'double' barrow 46. Former fence lines can be seen in the open pasture to the south of Barrow 47; some of these fences are apparent on historic mapping.

The Diamond

This plantation, on the south-east facing slope of a dry valley flanking Wilsford Down between 55m and 105m OD, is dense in places with open areas; there is some coppice wood, beech, occasional birch and Scots pine.

Linear ditches

The linear (**a-a**) that runs from the south side of the Lake Barrow Group and along the south-west side of the plantation, remains as an earthwork (Fig 11) with bank to the west 6m wide and 0.5m high (although it has been ploughed over and remains in danger of continued cultivation); the ditch, 5m wide by 1m deep, broadens as it descends the valley to the combe floor. It may have held ponded water. Alongside the plantation the ditch returns to its usual form but an additional or counterscarp bank accompanies it on the east. Further north the main (western) bank is almost levelled. Otherwise preservation of the linear is reasonable until the northern tip of the plantation, beyond which it is all but levelled.

The north-eastern linear (**h**) has been flattened and little or no sign of it remains. A very slight linear hollow can be traced for short distances just within the eastern edge of the plantation, the bank 6m wide by 0.2m high and the ditch 5m wide by 0.2m deep, but whether this represents the linear is uncertain.



*Fig 11: Linear ditch **a-a** from the south-east, 6th February 2012*

Other features

At the northern end of the plantation two lynchet-like features, c30m apart, can each be traced for c30m approximately in an east-north-easterly direction. They are severely damaged by badger activity and this together with nature of the local vegetation accounts for a degree of uncertainty. They do not pass over the counterscarp of the linear ditch but whether they underlie it is uncertain. Almost certainly they represent 'Celtic' field banks of the extensive field system recorded by aerial photography extending to the west.

A large amount of flint can be observed in the adjacent cultivated areas and some of the largest nodules have been thrown aside to the edge of the plantation to form small cairns.

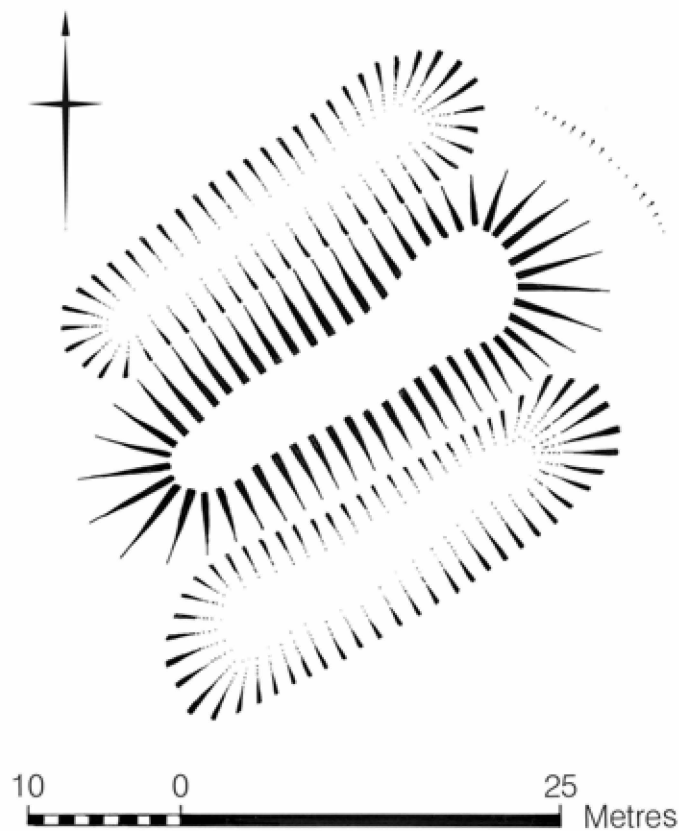


Fig 12: Wilsford Barrow 34, plan at original survey scale, 1:500

Wilsford 34

Although this small long barrow lies about 200m north of The Diamond (see Fig 2) it is included here for completeness. It was surveyed by one of the authors (DF) as part of his involvement with the Stonehenge Riverside Project (Fig 12). The apparently relatively simple barrow survives as a mound about 1.2-1.5m high from the bottom of the side ditches, which are up to a maximum of 0.3m deep below the current external ground surface. It occupies the top of a spur and is orientated south-west to north-east. This

orientation is in conformity with the local topography but is also approximately aligned on midsummer sunrise, a combination of factors it shares with its near neighbour Winterbourne Stoke 1 (Bax *et al*/2010, 5-7, 37-8). Its other apparent near neighbour, Winterbourne Stoke 71, though discussed as a possible two-phase long barrow (RCHME 1992, 3), is now believed to be a doubtful site (NMR: SU 14 SW 535).

Barrow **34** was excavated by Thurnam in 1866 in his relentless search for Neolithic skulls. Despite digging sixteen holes in the barrow and completely searching the eastern end 'down to the floor' he found only five secondary interments high in the mound, apparently in a line from the western extremity to the centre; one of them was accompanied by a beaker (Thurnam 1868, 196, 198; Cunnington 1914, 405-6). Thurnam expressed some doubt as to whether these were all secondary burials (Cunnington 1914, 406) but this was based only on the shape of one of the skulls. As Cunnington commented, 'This barrow is in excellent preservation, and shows little sign of the extensive excavations that have been made in it' (*ibid*).

A cluster of small ring ditches, Wilsford 35-36e, occupy the top of the same ridge about 100m to the east of the long barrow. The three largest of these barrows survived as earthworks well enough in the later 19th century to be depicted on OS 1st edition mapping and Grinsell commented that five of them were still visible until 1950 when the ground was broken up for ploughing (1957, 197).

Normanton Gorse

This plantation, on the highest part of Normanton Down at about 105m OD, consists of some coppice wood, beech, occasional oak and silver birch; there are few trees of mature or veteran status. The woodland is managed and at the time of the field visit (February 2012) felled trees and piles of trimmed branches over extensive areas reduced visibility of the ground surface considerably. The plantation is surrounded by small bank and ditch c4m across by 0.4m in maximum elevation; this is similar to others within the WHS.

Linear ditch

The linear ditch that crosses the plantation (**g**) is small and curious. It is best preserved at the southern edge of the plantation where the bank, to the west, measures c3.4 wide by c0.3m high and the ditch c3.4 wide by c0.3 deep. It can be traced across the plantation in a north-north-easterly direction but there is a considerable degree of damage and towards the northern side of the plantation it is diffuse and has been almost levelled. Its size contrasts markedly with linear ditches of Late Bronze Age date elsewhere in the area;

indeed it is little larger than the earthwork surrounding the plantation. However, aerial photographs show that it extends into the arable to north and south of the plantation (RCHM 1979, fig 14, map 1), as does the OS 3rd edition 25 inch map, which shows it surviving as a bank and ditch to the south of the Gorse and as a bank to the north. With linear ditch (f) it forms part of an enclosure around Normanton Down (see below).

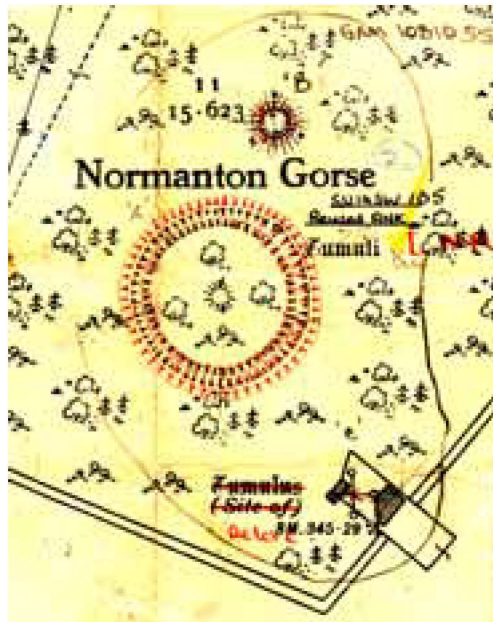


Fig 13: OS Antiquity Model for the Normanton Gorse barrows, revised by Alan King, 20th November 1970, at the original scale of 1:2500

Wilsford 2

An unusually large disc barrow, with its two neighbours part of the Normanton Down Group, is situated to the south-east of the centre of the plantation (Fig 13). Assuming that it is circular (which as a result of the current vegetation and in the absence of full measured survey could not be confirmed) it measures approximately 66m in diameter overall and is defined by a ditch, approximately 6m wide by 0.5m deep, with external bank c6m wide by 0.5m high. The central mound, which is more than a mere 'tump', measures 14.5m in diameter by 0.3m in height; it appears like the mound of a bowl barrow in its own right; it is situated on a level berm approximately 42m in diameter.

A recently dug circular hole cuts the outer slope of the disc barrow bank in the east (Fig 14). This pit, c2m across and c0.4 deep, has provided chalk for a small surrounding bank. Placing of bricks and concrete blocks (presumably taken from the cottage remains – see below) decorate the perimeter of the pit and a tub-like feature of sticks bound with withies contains earth. Apart from this instance of recent vandalism this barrow appears to be in almost perfect condition, though Hoare recorded that it had been previously opened (1812, 205).



Fig 14: Hole recently dug into the eastern side of the external bank of Barrow 2, 6th February 2012

Wilsford 2a

A bowl barrow, to the north of this disc barrow, could not be seen amongst dense brash from felling operations. Grinsell recorded it as being 16 paces [approximately 12m] in diameter and 2ft [0.6m] high (1957, 196). Cunnington had excavated it and found an oval 'cist' containing a cremation with fragments of a cup and a bone pin (Hoare 1812, 205, No 163).

Sink hole

Against the northern perimeter of the plantation and close to the Sun Barrow (Amesbury 15; Field and Pearson 2011, 6-7, 41-2) is a large depression measuring c31m east-west and at least 30m north-south. The northern part has been filled with rubble and other debris, evidently from the adjacent First World War aerodrome buildings, and its true extent is unknown. The northern part of the depression may therefore originally have extended into the adjacent field. The depression is between 2m and 3m deep and there is no sign of spoil around the lip. The smooth profile and lack of entry point indicate that

it is unlikely to have been a quarry and it is clearly of some antiquity. Stukeley described it in the 18th century:

'... there is a cavity by a great barrow [Amesbury 15] ... This is 100 Celtic feet [30.5m] in diameter and about 7 [2.1m] deep in the middle; tis formd very regularly like a dish & perfectly circular, the earth taken out of it seems to have been carryd to the neighboring barrow; tis full of the pretty shrub calld Erica with a blew heath flower, which was at this time in bloom. The sun beams striking strongly into this large bason exhald the sweetest smell imaginable much like a honey comb & very strong' (Burl and Mortimer 2005, 102).

Elsewhere he described it as 'a circular dish-like cavity dug in the chalk, 60 cubits in diameter, like a barrow revers'd' (1740, 45). Stukeley dug a cross-shaped trench in the centre to a depth of 0.6m and found a 'red garden mold with some flints in it' and one sherd of 'red earthen pot thin & crumbly' (Burl and Mortimer 2005, 102). Though Stukeley's interpretation that this hollow was dug to obtain material for the mound of Amesbury 15 is possibly correct, our favoured interpretation is that it is a natural swallow hole or sink hole. This seems to be indicated by the regularity of the feature, the lack of spoil or other signs of extraction, and is possibly supported by the unexpected 'red garden mold' found by Stukeley himself. There are other dish-shaped hollows in the Stonehenge landscape, including several on either side of Stonehenge Bottom (Bowden *et al*/forthcoming), but none as large as this one.

Cottage and site of Wilsford 2b

Near the south-east corner of the plantation are the remains of a cottage for the plantation keeper, built sometime in the 1920s or 30s and demolished in the 1960s (Max Hosier pers comm). Today the foundations survive along with the chimney stack. About 10m to the south is a square brick-lined subterranean structure or drainage pit, apparently little more than 1m deep with a small square manhole-sized entry from the surface. To the west is a timber and corrugated iron shed that is in a dangerous condition and on the point of collapse. Behind this two holly trees suggest garden planting. A further barrow, Wilsford **2b**, is recorded in the area now covered by the cottage foundations and shed; this was Hoare's No 161, which he noted as a low mound 2ft [0.6m] high; Cunnington's excavation recovered remains of two secondary inhumations, one accompanied by a beaker, and a primary inhumation with a beaker in a grave 6ft [1.8m] deep (Hoare 1812, 205; Grinsell 1957, 196; Annable and Simpson 1964, no 103). Whether the barrow was levelled by cultivation before the cottage and shed were built or whether it was levelled at the time of the building operations is not clear. (The survival and remarkably good state of the disc barrow suggests that this area has never been under the plough.)

DISCUSSION

The name 'Prophets' Barrow(s)'

This name for the Lake Barrows as a group was recorded by Stukeley, though it is clear that they were also called the Eleven Barrows at that time (Burl and Mortimer 2005, 102). The name commemorated a group of French protestants who are said to have preached from the summit of the 'largest' barrow in about AD1710; Colt Hoare said that Barrow **43** (his No 8) was supposed to be the Prophet's Barrow, presumably because of its 'very wide and flat' summit (1812, 210). Grinsell accepted Hoare's identification, stating that it is 'Known as *Prophet Barrow*' (1957, 198; 1978, 38). There is no very strong reason, however, to accept this identification based on the shape of the barrow, as it is not the largest barrow in the group, and if the name is used at all it should perhaps revert to the vaguer usage of the Prophets' Barrows for the whole group (there seems to be general agreement that there was more than one prophet).

Barrow cemetery chronology

The earliest feature in the Lake cemetery is undoubtedly the long barrow, **41**. In comparison with those on Normanton Down a little to the north, it is massive and falls into the second category of those identified on the military area of Salisbury Plain (McOmish *et al*/2002, 21). The Lake long barrow shares this characteristic with the Winterbourne Stoke Crossroads mound and it is curious that in both cases they have provided the catalyst for further ceremonial monument construction. Wilsford **34** is altogether less massive and compares with nearby mounds Amesbury 14 and Wilsford 30. Six long barrows (if one includes Wilsford 71), in addition to the mortuary enclosure excavated by Vatcher (1961), are located in a small area here and seem to encompass the head of the dry valley. This coincides with concentrations of Neolithic artefacts (Richards 1990, 263-71; Smith 1991, 29, 34-8) indicating considerable activity in this area.

The chronology of the round barrows within this cemetery is unclear in detail but certain observations can be made. Relative chronology is clearly established between 'paired' barrows in two instances, as noted above; Barrow **44** appears to be later than **45**; **45b** is later than **45a**. There are also some signs of possible phasing within the mounds of individual barrows; this includes the long barrow, **41**, and Barrow **44**, both of which appear to have been heightened – further detailed survey might reveal other examples.

The long barrow, **41**, with its classic side ditches, places the origins of this cemetery, like the Winterbourne Crossroads cemetery, securely in the Neolithic, as noted above, but

there are hints that this mound itself may have been modified at a later date. Beaker activity is also attested, in the primary deposit under the large Barrow **40** alongside the long barrow, for instance, though the beaker is now lost (Clarke 1970, 504 no 1165). Early Bronze Age deposits, however, characterize the massive mound of this barrow; a fine bone pin with a round perforated head and an 'Aldbourne' cup (DM DZSWS: STHEAD. 174b; DZSWS: X 117). Early Bronze Age artefacts also characterise the primary deposits beneath Barrows **42**, **43** and **46** (DM DZSWS: STHEAD. 174a, 174c, 174d; 34; 179; 173, 173a, 173c); the 'Wessex I' bronze knife-dagger under Barrow **43** is of Gerloff's 'Armorico-British B' type (1975, 76 no 136), dating to approximately 1950-1700BC (Needham and Woodward 2008, fig 3; Needham *et al* 2010, table 1). The barrows excavated by Duke are apparently of the same period and disc barrows, **45a** and **45b**, are almost certainly of similar date in their outward form.

The cluster of small barrows including **36f-g** is puzzling; Grinsell's surface find of what sounds like a Deverel-Rimbury urn would not be out of place, indicating a slightly later date (possibly contemporary with the field systems), but Cunnington's discovery of an incense cup (Annable and Simpson 1964, 59, 114; DM DZSWS: STHEAD.172) in Barrow **36f** pushes the origin of the group back into the Early Bronze Age especially if, as Hoare's description (1812, 209) seems to imply, this was in a secondary location. The jet beads from Barrow **39** (twelve of them survive – DM DZSWS: STHEAD. 172b) would also imply an Early Bronze Age date and this is confirmed by many of the finds from Grimes' excavations (1964, *passim*). On the other hand Grimes found a Deverel-Rimbury urn, which he considered to be part of a primary deposit, in Barrow **36g** and a biconical urn high in the back-filled ditch of Barrow **39** (*ibid*, 115-17, 119), showing that use of this group of barrows did continue to a later stage of the Bronze Age, approximately 1550-1100BC (Needham *et al* 2010, table 1), probably contemporary with the laying out and initial use of the neighbouring field systems.

The overall picture, therefore, from the currently available evidence, is that the great majority of activity in the Lake Barrow Group took place during the Early Bronze Age (c1950-1700calBC) but with a head and tail of earlier and later activity. The Neolithic origins of the cemetery attested by the long barrow are reinforced slightly by finds of Peterborough Ware and worked flints from the 1959 excavations, which also recovered a number of beaker sherds (Grimes 1964, *passim*). The barrows in Normanton Gorse are part of the Normanton Down Group (Barrett and Bowden 2010) and should be considered with them. The broad chronological picture is much the same: Barrow **2b** had a primary inhumation with a Wessex/Middle Rhine bell beaker (Clarke 1970, 301, 504, no 1162, fig 156; DM DZSWS: STHEAD.147) and a secondary burial also accompanied by a beaker but the other chronological indicators of this group all point to Early Bronze Age activity.

The barrows: other observations and possible patterns

The primary burial under Barrow **2b** in Normanton Gorse is an example of the tendency for inhumations accompanied by beakers to be placed in very deep 'cists' or graves, which has been noted elsewhere in the Stonehenge landscape (Bowden 2010, 16). In the case of Barrow **2b** the grave was recorded as 6ft [1.8m] deep; no ditch surrounding this barrow has been recorded, suggesting that the relatively slight mound may have consisted largely of material dug from the grave; the burial under Barrow **40** in the Lake group is another example at 5ft [1.5m] deep (Hoare 1812, 210).

It has been tentatively suggested (Bowden 2010, 13) that there is significance in the few examples of richly furnished bell barrows lying at or near the western ends of linear cemeteries (although no finds were discovered in the Monarch of the Plain, Amesbury 55, at the western end of the Cursus group). Barrow **42** might be an example. Its primary cremation was certainly richly furnished; however, it is perhaps stretching the evidence to see it as marking the end of a linear arrangement of any significance, consisting as it does only of Barrows **43**, **44**, **45** and, less convincingly, **47**, while the overall arrangement of the cemetery is far from linear. Nevertheless, Barrow **42**, with **40** and **41**, does mark the western edge of the cemetery (excluding the cluster of diminutive mounds immediately west of Barrow **40**).

The final form of barrow mounds reflects long, varied histories and may not necessarily be related directly to the status of primary burial or use: primary burials of *infants*, as in Wilsford **40**, disproves any idea that the first act in the creation of a barrow is the burial of a lineage founder. Mis-matches between the outward appearance of barrows and their contents have been apparent for a long time. Describing Barrow **40**, Hoare said:

'The history of this tumulus, which our learned Doctor [Stukeley] would, from its superior size and beautiful form, have styled a KING BARROW, shews what little regard we ought to pay to system; for here, at the vast depth of nearly 14 feet, we find only the deposit of an infant, accompanied by a simple drinking cup: whilst in No. 21, a mean and insignificant barrow, we discover articles of the greatest beauty and importance. The motto of *fronti nulla fides* [the outward appearance is not to be trusted] may be justly and strictly applied to barrows; and the antiquary who makes them his study, must neither be disappointed in finding only a simple interment in the largest barrow, and the finest urns and most precious trinkets in the smallest. Curiosity, however, is equally kept on the alert; and it matters little whether we gain our information by the operations of the spade on a large or a diminutive *tumulus*' (Hoare 1812, 210).

(The reference to Barrow 21, which is Wilsford 50c to the east, must be an error because this did not yield 'articles of the greatest beauty and importance'; it is not clear which barrow Hoare meant as a comparison, though it was presumably either **49** or **50**.)

A further observation, this time by the usually unhelpful Edward Duke, is of some interest. As described above, he noted that the first phase of the mound of Barrow **48** was made of turf and topsoil, which must have been stripped from the surrounding area; only then was chalk taken, presumably from the ditch, to add to the mound. Similar observations apply to other barrows in the Stonehenge area which are largely built of turf, such as some of the King Barrows. Duke also noted that his barrow No 1 contained a layer of flints 1 yard 2 ft (1.5m) thick (Goddard 1908, 583); this is probably either Barrow **47** or **50a** but unfortunately it is not certain which, though the former is more likely. Flint cairns within barrows are rare in the Stonehenge area (Richards 1990, 175).

The landscape position of the Lake barrow cemetery, in relation to its neighbours – Normanton Down, Wilsford, Lake Down and Winterbourne Stoke Crossroads – is of interest. Though the Normanton Down cemetery is, understandably, usually considered in its visual relationship to Stonehenge, it is worth noting the way in which these cemeteries as a group focus on and bracket the dry valley between them. (Previous commentators (Richards 1990, 274; Woodward 2000, 131-2) have noted the importance of the Normanton cemetery visually from the areas to the south and west.) As mentioned above, this dry valley was arguably also a focus of attention in the Neolithic period. It should not be forgotten that the Wilsford Shaft (Ashbee *et al* 1989) also lies at the head of this valley.

The large hollow on the northern edge of Normanton Gorse requires some comment. Stukeley's description of it, full of sweet-smelling heather, contrasts with its current state, full of rubble from military buildings. Whether it is a natural feature, as we believe, or man-made, its location is probably significant: it lies precisely on the alignment of midwinter sunset viewed from Stonehenge. If it is a natural hollow, however, it is the sort of feature in which large sarsen blocks might have been found.

Finally, there is the matter of the four unusual bone objects found by Duke in one of his barrows at Lake. As Grinsell pointed out (1978, 39) there is a remarkable parallel with four bone beads found by Canon Greenwell accompanying the burial of a young woman in his Barrow LXXI at Folkton, Yorkshire, with a food vessel, flint scraper and bronze awl (Greenwell 1877, 54, 274-9). Though the Wilsford objects are tablets, not beads, (DM DZSWS. STHEAD. 188d) the similarity of decorative schemes is remarkable, as Greenwell himself realised: 'one set might almost pass for the other ... the same in shape, number, and material, as well as in the style of ornamentation, but even in the absence of all pattern upon one of the beads in each set' (Greenwell 1877, 279). He thought the Wilsford objects were intended as beads, though not perforated, though in this he was probably mistaken. Nevertheless, comparison (Fig 15) shows that he was right about the similarities. How this can be interpreted is uncertain but pure coincidence can probably

be ruled out; that these symbols, and in particular this combination of symbols including one blank, had some significance seems likely. Hoare suggested that the Wilsford tablets might have been used for casting lots or as pieces in a game (1812, 212) but this is rendered less likely by the Yorkshire finds, which are clearly beads. The uncertainty over which barrow these objects came from is frustrating but, as stated above, is unlikely to be resolved; the most straightforward reading of the evidence suggests that these bone objects were in Barrow 49 (and this was clearly Goddard's view (1908, 582, 584)) but this is somewhat contradicted by Hoare's description of the barrow in which the *other* rich grave goods were found, which also fits Barrow 49 (1812, 212). The four bone pieces from Wilsford were bought at auction in 1895 by the British Museum, in a job lot of antiquities 'all found at Lake' (*Wiltshire Archaeol Mag* 28 1896, 260-2).



Fig 15: Bone beads from Folkton Barrow LXXI (top) and bone tablets, probably from Wilsford Barrow 49 (bottom); all shown at actual size. The fourth, plain, bead from Folkton is not illustrated (Greenwell 1877, fig 50; Hoare 1812, pl XXXI).

Field systems

Traces of extensive 'Celtic' field systems can be seen on aerial photographs and on the existing lidar data across Wilsford Down between the Lake Barrows and The Diamond and stretching to the south-west and north-west towards Winterbourne Stoke cross roads and beyond the WHS boundary (see Fig 2). No fields are apparent, however, to the north-east, in the dry valley or on Normanton Down beyond. There is some variation in the form of the fields, though the great majority are rectangular. Generally the

orientation of the fields is north-east to south-west, conforming to the prevailing pattern noted elsewhere on Salisbury Plain (McOmish *et al*/2002, 53-5). There are many hints of chronological depth; many of the field plots revealed by the aerial photography appear to be exceedingly small but the lidar makes clear that some of the lynchets are much larger than others; when these are isolated they reveal fewer, larger fields (Fig 16) – either there has been a radical re-design of the field system and the earlier lynchets have been nearly, but not quite, obliterated or there have been episodes of sub-division which have not endured long enough to form such substantial lynchets. A division between two parts of the field system is apparent just to the south of The Diamond, where a set of slightly curving lynchets creates a gore (**a** on Fig 16). This division may reflect earlier land use and apparently forms a ditched trackway or droveway. This trackway extends to the north-east (see Fig 2) where it opens out onto what was presumably grazing on Normanton Down (or a sacred area surrounding the Normanton Down barrow cemetery), the area neatly bounded by linear ditches (**f**) and (**g**) following the slopes of the dry valley (see below).



Fig 16: 'Celtic' fields near The Diamond with the more substantial lynchets indicated by lidar emphasised in solid red. Lidar ©Environment Agency (December 2001)

Contemporary with these field systems was some activity at the barrows, witnessed by the deposition of Deverel-Rimbury urns. The Wilsford Shaft, whenever it was originally dug and whatever its purpose, was also in contemporary use with these fields; environmental data from its fills indicates an open, agricultural landscape (Ashbee *et al* 1989).

Linear ditches

Though the linear ditches are probably all of Bronze Age (and mostly later Bronze Age) date, and can certainly be seen in some places to be cutting through the fields, there is chronological depth even within them (see Fig 2). For instance, just by the eastern corner of The Diamond the paired ditches forming the trackway that links to linear ditches (**f**) and (**g**) are crossed by linear (**h**). The RCHM recognised that the linear ditches 'almost certainly represent a number of phases of construction' but concluded that it was not

possible to elucidate the sequence from the surface evidence alone, so badly had the earthworks been damaged by ploughing and other disturbance (1979, 26). In this instance it is probable that linear (h) is later and is blocking the trackway, though the sequence could be the other way round. However, a number of factors point to the former interpretation: as noted above, linear (g) is relatively small in comparison to the usual scale of later Bronze Age linear ditches; in addition, it seems to be connected with the Stonehenge 'Palisade Ditch', which is now dated to the middle Bronze Age or earlier (Josh Pollard, pers comm). Linear ditches (f) and (g) may therefore be part of a much earlier, and extensive, complex of land divisions and quite separate from the later Bronze Age linear system. This adds to the significance of the surviving section of linear (g) within Normanton Gorse, as this is apparently the only part of this important complex which survives as an earthwork.

The crucial question of the relationship of the Lake Barrows to the contiguous linear earthworks has been addressed by this project. Despite the comments of the RCHM, suggesting that the linear ditches are earlier than the barrows (1979, 26), the current fieldwork suggests that barrows 45b and 46 are earlier than earthwork (c-c). The linear ditch seems to cut the – admittedly damaged – perimeter of disc barrow 45b while its accompanying bank overlies the ditch of barrow 46 on the south side of the barrow. Whereas the RCHM Investigators considered that the west end of barrow 46 appeared to cut the boundary, we read the relationship as the boundary diverting slightly around the barrow. This reading restores the expected sequence – early Bronze Age barrows, later Bronze Age linear ditch – but is at variance with accepted interpretation of the excavated evidence obtained in the 1980s. The 1958 excavations by Ernest Greenfield found early Bronze Age pottery in the buried soil beneath the bank (*Wilts Archaeol Mag* 57 1959, 229; Richards 1990, 184-6); this does not date the earthwork but relates to activity here before it was built. In 1983 Richards also found worked flints and three pieces of spotted dolerite as well as late Neolithic and early Bronze Age pottery within the buried soil; however, he also recovered a flint core with some re-fitting flakes and a sherd of beaker pottery, which he describes as 'in extremely fresh condition', on the surface of the buried soil – he argues that this sherd 'can be taken as providing a convincing *terminus post quem* for the bank construction' (1990, 185). This is undoubtedly true but Richards implies that the fresh nature of the sherd indicates that the bank was thrown up *very shortly* after it was deposited and therefore in the earliest part of the Bronze Age; this is not necessarily the case because the sherd could have been lying in the topsoil for any length of time before being thrown out by the ditch diggers at the beginning of their operations and immediately covered by bank material. What these finds do demonstrate is further evidence for late Neolithic and early Bronze Age activity in this area – and possibly a direct link to Stonehenge through the spotted dolerite fragments. Greenfield's excavations of Barrows 51-4 provide further evidence for activity in this area throughout the Neolithic period and into the early Bronze Age – early, middle and late Neolithic pottery and beaker burials (Smith 1991).

The 'North Kite'

A further question concerning the linear ditch (**c-c**) is whether it, with (**e** and **f**), forms an enclosure. It is shown as such on Hoare's 'Map of Stonehenge and its Environs' (1812, opp 170). It was illustrated and discussed as the 'North Kite' enclosure by Crawford and Keiller (1928, 254-6, pl L), who were confident about the identification. Crawford likened it to the enclosure on Rockbourne Down, Hampshire, that had been excavated by Heywood Sumner and shown to be Romano-British, and noted some other possible parallels. Greenfield's trenching in 1958 showed that there had never been any south side to this 'enclosure' but the RCHM (1979, 26-9) and Richards (1990, 184-92) accepted it nevertheless. Richards noted that it was unique but suggested some possible parallels in Sussex (ibid, 188), though they are less than half the size. Following further aerial survey work it now seems likely that the apparent enclosure is actually a fortuitously surviving group of elements of the extensive and complex linear ditch system on this part of the downs, most of which (as noted above) has been severely ploughed. This issue requires further research.

Later activity

Some of the sub-division of the prehistoric field systems noted above might be of much later date. The strip-like nature of some of the plots created by sub-division, to the west of The Diamond, would not be out of place in a Romano-British context. This area is one of the few in the Stonehenge Environs which has a dense concentration of Romano-British pottery from surface collection (Richards 1990, fig 17), suggesting perhaps intensive manuring of fields from a nearby settlement. However, there is an almost complete lack of Romano-British material from the rest of this area, including the 'North Kite'; the tantalising discovery of pewter vessels 'about Normanton Ditch' in the 17th century, which Goddard (1913, 354) interpreted as a Roman hoard, was probably to the north-east of the Normanton barrows, near Luxenborough Plantation (RCHM 1979, 32-3). It is difficult, therefore, to argue convincingly for any significant Romano-British activity in the immediate area covered by this report, except to the west of The Diamond.

An intrusive Saxon burial with spearhead, knife and shield boss was found in one of the Lake Barrows. Grinsell (1957, 198) gave this the number **50b** but it remains unlocated. It is also noteworthy that some of the linear ditches continued to have significance into the historic period; ditch (**a-a**), for instance, is followed in part by the south-western parish boundary of Wilsford-cum-Lake. There are hints at the extreme western edge of the WHS of medieval or later ploughing underlying the current route of the A 360 (RCHM 1979, xix, pl 22). Later ploughing on Lake Down is illustrated by Crawford and Keiller (1928, pl L); straight ridge-and-furrow can be seen running parallel to the north-south section of linear (**c-c**) to the north of the barrows.

Recent military use of the area is attested by the two slit-trenches found by Grimes in Barrows **36g** and **37** and this perhaps also accounts for much of the disturbance and the spreads of rubble within the plantation around the Lake Barrows, though no military installations were listed here by Wessex Archaeology (1998). The nearest recorded military base was the First World War Lake Down Aerodrome at Druid's Lodge, only just over 1 km to the south-west; it is conceivable that some of the rubble derives from the buildings there.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The work described in this report was undertaken as a 'Level 1' survey, with some elements of 'Level 2' work, as defined by English Heritage (Ainsworth *et al* 2007, 23). Locations of individual features were measured with a Trimble GeoXt mapping grade GPS receiver using differential measurement supplied in real time from EGNOS and transformed to OSTN02, giving an accuracy of 0.5m-1.0m. Additional horizontal measurements were taken with fibron tapes; low heights were estimated; the heights of substantial barrow mounds were taken with a pocket level. Barrow **34** was surveyed with survey-grade Trimble GPS equipment.

<i>Monument unique identifier</i>	<i>NMR number</i>	<i>Hoare</i>	<i>Duke</i>	<i>Grinsell</i>	<i>Wiltshire HER number</i>	<i>Scheduled Ancient Monument number (List Entry No)</i>
942923	434	162		2	-	1009617
942927	435	163		2a	841	1009617
942930	436	161		2b	842	1009626
219699	93	170		34	126	1010830
943503	475	2		36f	912	1010863
943514	476	-		36g	913	1010863
943342	460	3		37	897	1010863
943351	461	4		38	898	1010863
943395	462	5		39	899	1010863
943403	463	6		40	900	1010863
219702	94	1		41	133	1010863
943408	464	7		42	901	1010863
943410	465	8		43	902	1010863
943423	466	9		44	903	1010863
943428	467	10		45	904	1010863
943516	477	11		45a	914	1010863
943517	478	12		45b	915	1010863
943430	468	13		45c	905	1010863
943434	469	14/15		46	906	1010863
943457	470	16	1 or 2?	47	907	1010863
943473	471	17	3?	48	908	1010863
943481	472	20	4	49	909	1010863
943485	473	19	20?	50	910	1010863
943488	474	18	1 or 2?	50a	911	1010863
943651	481	-		89	916	1010863
943522	479	-		90	917	1010863
1119310	536	-		91	-	1010863
943650	480	-		92	-	1010863

Table 1: Concordance of barrow numbers; all Grinsell numbers are preceded by W (Wilsford); all NMR and Wiltshire HER numbers are preceded by the OS quarter sheet number SU 14 SW; doubtful ring ditches are not included. The Lake Barrow cemetery as a group is also recorded in the NMR as 219575 (SU 14 SW 51).

<i>Monument unique identifier</i>	<i>Grinsell No</i>	<i>Overall diameter</i>	<i>Mound height</i>	<i>Mound base diameter</i>	<i>Summit diameter</i>	<i>Berm diameter</i>	<i>Ditch width</i>	<i>Outer bank width</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Earthwork phases</i>
943403	40	43	5	32	9		6		bowl	1
943408	42	24	4	24	7				bell	1
943410	43	47	1	32	22	36	8		bell	1
943423	44	38	2	30	10		4		bowl	2
943428	45	36	3	25	10		4		bowl	1
943516	45A	50				24	7		disc	1
943517	45B	63					8	8	disc	1
943434	46	28-35	1	35	19		6		twin bowl	2
943457	47	29	3	23	11	27			bell	1
943473	48	33	5	26	6	30			bell	1
943481	49	31	2	31	15				bowl	1
943485	50	32	4	25	10	29			bell	1

Table 2: Dimensions of round barrows in the Lake Group; all Grinsell numbers are preceded by W (Wilsford).

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