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BARROW EXCAVATIONS
IN THE EIGHT BEATITUDES

THE BRONZE AGE CEMETERY BETWEEN
TOTERFOOT & HALVE MIJL. NORTH BRABANT

II

THE IMPLICATIONS

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BARROW EXCAVATIONS IN THE NETHERLANDS

For many centuries past, the regular round hillocks often found together in groups in the higher sandy regions of the Netherlands have attracted the attention of antiquaries. That they had 'not been made by nature, but by the hand of man', and that they represented the tombs of earlier inhabitants of these regions, was contended as early as 1660 by Johan Picardt, minister of God's word at Coevorden in Drente.¹ 'What these hillocks are, those things testify that lie therein and are dug out therefrom'. The question whether it was the giants, the Celts, the Germanic peoples, or the Romans, who had erected these monuments for their dead, was dealt with at length by Picardt and later writers. They were 'men of horrible stature, great strength, and bestial cruelty, who have feared neither God nor men', 'horrible, brutal, cruel, immoral and impious men'.¹ Naturally, quotations from classical authors play a large part in these verbose disquisitions of earlier days. Dr H. Brunsting, in a recent paper,² has dealt with the history of barrow investigation in the Netherlands, giving special attention to the way in which the problem has been stated from the 17th century onwards.

Particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries, remarkable and repeated efforts were made to discover the secrets of a tumulus by means of the spade. The investigations of Joannes van Lier, in Drente, have become well-known; in his 'Oudheidkundige Brieven' (1760) he points to the peculiar structure of a mound, the 'mixture of sand and earth' of which it is composed, and by which it is distinguished from natural heights.³

In the first half of the 19th century, after the French domination, it was N. Westendorp and C. J. C. Reuvens, the latter the Director of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden, who undertook the study of barrows in the Netherlands. Westendorp arrived at the conclusion that the majority of the tumuli must have been built by the native population, not by the Romans. In his opinion earlier writers had all too often been content 'with a few saws and the quotation of verses from Latin poets'!⁴ Professor Reuvens, it is to be regretted, hardly got down properly to barrow excavations. His interest in them began in 1834, and the excavation in that year of the '*Wittewijvenbult*' near Eefde, Province of Gelderland, is a remarkable one, coming up almost to present-day standards. Samples were taken of the various soils — particularly, it seems, of the podsol and the infiltration veins — and the chemical analysis of these is very striking. The narrow brown horizontal veins in the mound he

rightly considered as secondary, and due to the percolation of water. He intended to publish this tumulus, together with others still to be excavated, and to subjoin 'situation map, plan and section of the tumuli investigated, with the exact location of all heaps of ash and bones and drawings of the most important objects, and of the aspect of the soil dug through and its black and other stains'.⁵ In 1835 this versatile archaeologist died at a relatively early age, and with his death a long stagnation must be considered to have set in. It is true that Dr L. J. F. Janssen, Conservator at Leiden, proceeded to excavate numerous barrows, but he never reached the scientific level of Reuvens' investigation. From the nature of the grave goods Janssen distinguished between Old Germanic, Celtic and Roman barrows.⁶ Occasionally he noted sod structure in the mound.⁷ The three-period system developed in Northern Germany and Denmark was gaining reluctant recognition in the Netherlands at this time,⁸ but it was still many years before an attempt was made to assign barrows to the Stone, Bronze, or Iron Age according to their grave goods.

Besides the official museum authorities the 19th century saw the provincial learned societies, as well as many private persons, taking an interest in barrow excavations. Thus in the Introduction we saw the Westerhoven schoolmaster Panken at work in the Eight Beatitudes, in co-operation with the Society of Arts and Sciences in North Brabant.

In the last quarter of the 19th century we must take notice of the activities of Dr W. Pleyte, first Conservator, later Director of the Museum at Leiden. His monumental compilation '*Nederlandsche Oudheden van de vroegste tijden tot op Karel den Groote*' (Leiden, 1877-1902) gives a comprehensive picture of all that had been collected in Dutch museums in the course of the 19th century, and recovered from investigations in the field. In his own barrow excavations, however, Pleyte still seems to have been content, like most of his predecessors, to collect secondary interments.⁹

* * *

At the beginning of the present century a new era began in Dutch archaeology. The excavation techniques developed in Western Germany, for instance in the excavations at Haltern in Westphalia, began to be applied also in the Netherlands. The careful cleaning of excavation planes led to the observation and interpretation of structural remains — postholes, ditches, foundation trenches, etc. — conspicuous by the abnormal colour of their fillings. The differentiation between made and virgin soil opened wide perspectives for systematic field-work. Grave mounds turned out to be not merely heaps of sand or sods piled up over an interment, but monuments a careful examination of which could yield information concerning their construction and its possible successive phases.

This new understanding led to a considerably improved excavation technique gradually carried to a high level of refinement in the Netherlands. The pioneering work in this field was done by Dr J. H. Holwerda, first Conservator, later Assistant Director and Director of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden.¹⁰

Systematic barrow investigation in the Netherlands commences with Holwerda's excavation of a tumulus at Hoog-Soeren, on the Veluwe, Province of Gelderland, in 1906, where an urn and the remains of a pyre were discovered high in the mound (secondary interment?).¹¹ In the following year, 1907, Holwerda carried on his investigations near Nierssen, in the same vicinity.¹² It is here that we first hear of traces of timber structures in barrows. At first Holwerda interpreted the circular discolorations he observed as the remains of a cylindrical wood-and-earth construction round the grave. Soon after, however, prompted by the results of his excavation in the *Hertekamp* (Deer-park) at Vaassen (1909),¹³ he came to the conclusion that the discolorations were the remains of a collapsed wooden dome. This interpretation has occasioned much criticism.¹⁴ In the first place we may well ask whether such a wooden dome — generally with a diameter of more than 8 metres — covered by a heavy burden of earth, could remain standing even for a short while. That such a wooden construction, as reconstructed by Holwerda, would remain intact over a long period, would remain accessible through an entrance, and could be used again for later burials, seems absolutely out of the question. The fact that the well-known scale-reconstruction in the Leiden Museum¹⁵ of such a dome-shaped vault has been secured by iron nails, has been a silent comment, for more than 40 years now, on this remarkable reconstruction of a grave form held to be ultimately connected with the Mycenaean beehive tombs. What is, in our opinion, certain, is that such collapsed timber constructions with sod covering¹⁶ could never develop into the regular bowl-shaped barrows characteristic of Holwerda's dome grave culture! On reading through the original excavation reports and on studying the photographic records, it is clear that the circular, sometimes polygonal features at the periphery are a very mixed bag. Sometimes we evidently have a number of tangential secondary grave pits, one cutting through the other; the charred walls of the trunk coffins, hollowed out by fire, were then interpreted by Holwerda as the remains of the tangentially interlaced beams of the wooden dome.¹⁷ In other cases we have circular foundation trenches — occasionally containing an (intermediate?) circle of closely spaced upright posts¹⁸ — circular or penannular ditches, or a zone between centre and edge of the barrow where the topsoil was carried away for a temporary covering of the central interment. On the strength of his several excavations on the Veluwe, Holwerda distinguished between barrows of the Beaker culture, with timber structure, his so-called 'dome graves' (*koepelgraven*,

Kuppelgräber), Germanic 'cinerary' mounds, and the scarcely visible low mounds of the urnfields.¹⁹

and once, at Nierssen, he recognized three phases of construction in a barrow.²⁰ In the course of his excavations at the Uddel lake, in 1908, 1910 and 1911, Holwerda also discovered the first monuments with circles of posts,²¹ to which at first he ascribed sacral significance, having in mind a kind of sanctuary, a *temenos* of the Beaker culture, comparable to stone circles like that of Stonehenge. In a later publication, however, he speaks of a 'covered, fortified abode'.

The most important pupil of the Leiden school was Dr A. E. Remouchamps, whose premature death (1927) was a serious loss to archaeology. He investigated barrow cemeteries on the Veluwe at Ermelo (1922),²²

Wageningen (1927),²⁴ all in the Province of Gelderland, and at Hilversum (1925-6),²⁵ Province of North Holland. A number of new 'dome graves' and variants of that type were added by him to those described by Holwerda. Even the fine single widely spaced peripheral postcircle, with additional ring of close-set stakes, discovered by Remouchamps in a tumulus near Goirle, Province of North Brabant (1925), was explained as a collapsed timber structure 'which does not, in this case, seem to have been dome-shaped, but which we must imagine as having a perpendicular wall and a flat conical roof'.²⁶

After Remouchamps the barrow excavations of the Leiden Museum were carried on by Dr F. C. Bursch, also Conservator at the Rijksmuseum. A considerable number of barrows, in nearly all parts of the country, were investigated by Bursch, leading to the identification of ever more 'dome graves', in several variants,²⁷

tions by themselves would, it is alleged, have once again clearly proved the existence of 'dome graves'. His investigations did not involve any serious modifications of the ideas laid down by Holwerda. Bursch's most important excavation sites were again situated on the Veluwe, in the Province of Gelderland, viz. at Putten (1928), Speulde (1928), Bennekom (1929-30), Nol in 't Bosch (1930), Epe (1931), Garderen (1931), Elspeet (1933), and Hoenderloo (1939), and besides at Wijchen (1930).²⁸

North Holland at Hilversum (1934),³⁰

marsum (1930),³¹

in Groningen at Marum (1932),³³ in North Brabant at Oss (1935),³⁴ and in Limburg, finally, at Swalmen (1936-8) and at Helden (1938).³⁵

vator Dr W. C. Braat only excavated tumuli at Ede, Province of Gelderland (1930)³⁶

In 1916, meanwhile, the investigation of Dutch barrows had also been taken up by Dr A. E. van Giffen. Especially after the foundation of the Institute for Biological Archaeology in the University of Groningen, in 1922,³⁸ this eminent scholar, in his quality of Director of that Institute, turned his attention to the systematic investigation of barrows on a large scale. A very considerable number of tumuli were investigated by Van Giffen in the course of many years, particularly in the Northern parts of the country. Of his numerous excavations in the Province of Drente we mention only those in the cemeteries of Weerdinge (1920, 1925-6),³⁹ Hijken (1930),⁴⁰ Balloo (1933),⁴¹ Gasteren (1939),⁴² and especially those in the Municipality of Vries where, from 1916 onwards, many excavations were undertaken, especially in the cultural reserve on the 'Noordsche Veld' near Zeijen.⁴³ Well-known investigations in the Province of Groningen are those in the cemeteries at Wessinghuizen (1927),⁴⁴ and Laudermarke (1922 and 1932),⁴⁵ in the Province of Friesland those at Langedijk (1928).⁴⁶ In other provinces of the Netherlands important barrow cemeteries were also excavated: in Overijssel near Steenwijkerwold (1918)⁴⁷ and Ommen (1930),⁴⁸ in Gelderland at Garderen (1935),⁴⁹ in Utrecht at Baarn (1926-7),⁵⁰ in North Holland at Wervershoof (1942)⁵¹ and in North Brabant at Goirle (1935).⁵² Besides these large cemeteries Van Giffen's excavations comprised many smaller ones, as well as countless other barrows, alone or in small groups.⁵³

The methods and techniques used in these excavations, particularly the quadrant method already discussed above⁵⁴ — first applied in 1916 — led to accurate observation of barrow structure. Direct co-operation was sought and established with the medical and science departments, so that man and his environment could be fully studied. Already at an early date Van Giffen had samples of old surface levels under barrows palynologically analysed.

The circular features interpreted by Holwerda as the remains of wooden domes were also found by Van Giffen. Their nature proved, however, to be quite different.⁵⁵ The 'dome grave' theory in itself, though, — even if based on faulty observation and incorrect interpretation of heterogeneous phenomena — proved valuable as a working hypothesis. In a number of barrows Van Giffen actually found traces of small wooden structures in which the dead had been interred sitting or lying down in a contracted position.⁵⁶ In the vertical sections these structures took the shape of an constricted beehive; in the plane sections they showed as cylindrical pits dug to varying depths, with generally a small single circular foundation trench (1 to 3 m in diameter). Fine examples were discovered at Zeijen, Province of Drente,⁵⁷ at Steenwijkerwold, Province of Overijssel (1918),⁵⁷ and at Onnen, Province of Groningen (1927).⁵⁸ Van Giffen interpreted them as the remains of small beehive-shaped burial chambers of wattled branches. They have become known as 'beehive graves' (*bijenkorfgraven*,

Biennenkorbgräber). Occasionally the initial cylindrical form terminated in a square ground plan (c. 1.30 × 1.50) showing a clear entrance. This variant, which Van Giffen discovered at Eext, Province of Drente (1927),⁵⁹ he gave the name 'hut grave' (*hutgraf*, *Hüttengrab*). Besides being found dug into the subsoil, beehive graves also occurred at ground level. The beehive constructions are always found in barrows of more or less pure sand, on a subsoil still lacking a clearly podsolized surface structure. In almost every case they are attended by corded and herringbone Beakers, stone battle-axes, flint axes and daggers, and thus they must date from Neolithic times. Another grave form of this period consisted of a rounded rectangular grave pit surrounded by a close circular foundation trench from c. 3.30 to c. 5.50 metres in diameter.⁶⁰ Occasionally a circle of close-set stakes was found in the foundation trench (fig. 45: type 1).⁶¹ Possibly this represents a small (temporary) fence of upright stakes round the already filled grave pit, removed before the barrow itself was piled up. The dead in these barrows were generally interred lying on one side in a flexed or contracted position, with grave goods again consisting of corded or herringbone Beakers, perforated stone battle-axes, flint axes and daggers. Further, Van Giffen often found, in the edge of Neolithic and Aeneolithic tumuli, the circular patterns interpreted as the remains of 'dome graves' by the Leiden school. Some of these represented open circular ditches that had once marked the edge of the barrow. In other cases they proved to be foundation trenches (8 to 14 m in diameter) in which single closely spaced circles of upright timbers had once stood, slightly within the edge of the barrow (fig. 45: type 2). The finest example of these is the tumulus at Harenermolen,⁶² Province of Groningen, excavated by Van Giffen in 1922. In some cases shallow circular patterns were found between centre and edge; in all probability these only represented the area where sand had been removed for the (provisional) covering of the central interment. All these structures belong to the Beaker cultures, whereas peripheral stone revetments must be related to the Passage Grave culture. Van Giffen also occasionally found stone cists, passage grave derivatives,⁶³ and stone packings in barrows. The grave goods then consisted, as far as the pottery was concerned, of the '*Tiefstichkeramik*' characteristic for the North-West European megalithic culture which, in the Netherlands, is mainly confined to the Province of Drente, the land of the *hunebedden*.⁶⁴ In the single grave mounds of the central parts of the country, on the Veluwe, the Aeneolithic bell and zone Beakers predominate over the, by and large, undoubtedly Neolithic S-Beakers with corded and herringbone decoration. The latter are especially at home in the Northern parts of the country, where only a few examples of Bell Beakers have been recorded. A relatively large proportion of the Neolithic and Aeneolithic barrows turned out to be devoid of peripheral constructions.

Holwerda tried, with great tenacity, to make out a case for the insufficiency of the

three-period system. Thus this scholar even came to the conclusion that the Bronze Age as such was not demonstrable in the Netherlands.⁶⁵ In the Dutch museums, however, at the beginning of the present century, this culture period was represented by a sufficient number of bronzes, as was first pointed out by Dr P. C. J. A. Boeles,⁶⁶ until recently Conservator of the Friesch Museum at Leeuwarden. That the Bronze Age — though very poor in bronze — was actually an age of great importance in this country from a structural point of view has become very apparent from Van Giffen's barrow excavations. While ringditches and stone revetments persisted, the timber circles gained enormously in importance in this period. The beehive graves and small intermediate single circles of closely spaced stakes embedded in a foundation trench (fig. 45: type 1), frequent in Neolithic tumuli of the Beaker culture, no longer occurred in Bronze Age tumuli; neither did the similarly placed large circles, generally found slightly within the original edge of the barrow (fig. 45: type 2). Instead we now find several types of timber circles (fig. 45: types 3–9) in which each post has been dug or rammed in by itself, right at the edge of the barrow. The mounds were constructed of sods, either on fresh sites or on top of the sand barrows of the Neolithic period. Of these postcircles over 180 specimens have so far been excavated in the Netherlands. The pottery found in immediate association with them belongs to the mostly undecorated, simple, grit-tempered ware to which Sprockhoff gave the name '*Kümmerkeramik*' (Early and Middle Bronze Age).⁶⁷ The only exceptions are a few specimens of type 3, the single widely spaced circle of posts — the most common type, which occurs all over the country (fig. 46). Although it is characteristic for the Early and Middle Bronze Age, this type must still go back to the (Late) Neolithic period, as occasionally it has been found in sand barrows, associated with corded and herringbone Beakers.⁶⁸ In those cases the ring of posts showed a primitive and irregular form, while the postholes were discovered inside the original edge of the barrow.

A rare variant of type 3 is the single circle of widely spaced paired postholes (type 4, fig. 46). Another not very common form is the single closely spaced circle (type 5), which is apparently more at home in the centre and the South (fig. 50). Of the complicated double and triple closely spaced circles (types 6 and 7) and the similar quadruple and multiple circles (type 8) the two former types are very common in the Province of North Brabant (figs 50 and 55). The type, however, consisting of a single circle of close-set stakes (type 9) is fairly rare (fig. 55); such fences also occur as additional elements with circles of types 3, 4, 6 and 7.

Datable bronzes are extremely rare in Dutch postcircle barrows. As a result a detailed chronological differentiation of the monuments cannot yet be given. The few bronzes (fig. 47, 48b: 1, 6; 49 and 54) found in primary graves associated

with types 3, 5 and 7 date these postcircles in periods Montelius II and III of the North European Bronze Age. In numerous cases postcircles occur in two-, three- or even four-period barrows, the stratigraphy of which can contribute to the chronology. Often a barrow of sand is found sealed beneath a capping of sods with attendant postcircle: for types 3-9 the Neolithic Beaker cultures in many cases afford a stratigraphic *terminus post quem*.⁶⁹

In the way of secondary interments, pots are repeatedly recovered from the edges of Early and Middle Bronze Age tumuli — especially in the centre and the South of the Netherlands — which do not show any affinities either with the Neolithic Beakers or with the small, plain, grit-tempered pots of the Early Bronze Age. They are large, tall, bucket- or barrel-shaped vessels of normally fairly soft ill-baked ware with shrinkage cracks, the paste of which has been tempered with large lumps of quartz and pottery grit. Below the rim they usually show an applied or squeezed-out cordon decorated with nail or finger-tip impressions. They are true cinerary urns, in which the cremated bones of the dead were interred. They represent the first pottery vessels used as containers of cremations, and have a sepulchral function quite different from that of the pottery vessels accompanying the dead in earlier times, which probably only contained food or drink for the after life. With the later Urnfield ceramics, on the other hand, they have nothing in common either in form or in technique. To these so-called 'Deverel' urns, which in several cases constitute a *terminus ante quem* for the timbered barrows, we shall hereafter return in detail.⁷⁰

Another *terminus ante quem* for the timbered barrows is supplied by urn burials from Late Bronze and Early Iron Age times. In many cases tumuli form the core of a ringditch urnfield, and then usually one or more ringditches are found dug into the slopes of the tumulus. Two bronze razors (fig. 48b: 8-9) from the Late Bronze Age (Montelius V) were found by Van Giffen in secondary urn burials in the tumulus with postcircles of types 2 and 3 at Harenermolen, Province of Groningen.⁷¹

Van Giffen was the first to recognize continental examples of barrows with enclosing banks. The best known are Hijken, Province of Drente, tumulus 5, where a single widely spaced circle of posts stood between the barrow and the enclosing bank, and tumulus I of the 'Vijfberg' on the Rechte Heide near Goirle, Province of North Brabant. These monuments, too, date from the Bronze Age. Seven specimens of this type of tumulus (*Dutch disc barrow*) surrounded by a ditch with internal bank are now known from the Netherlands.⁷²

Van Giffen's many barrow excavations have been particularly valuable for the many important data they have supplied concerning the burial ritual. Only recently, Sir Cyril Fox once again underlined examination of every tumulus excavated: 'inspired also by the meticulous and

most successful work of Professor Van Giffen of Groningen we preached (and practised) the complete removal of the round barrow, so that no detail of structure, no deposit, could escape discovery and scrutiny'.⁷³ Only by complete removal⁷⁴ can we obtain some idea at least of the sequence of events at the interment, the raising of the barrow — fairly frequently, it seems, in several stages even for one burial — the construction of the peripheral features, etc. Entrances, entrance blockings in postcircles, and temporary mortuary houses were thus first discovered by Van Giffen.

The actual interments in the Neolithic and Aeneolithic barrows have already been described. In the Early Bronze Age inhumation burials predominated in the North of the country. They are found mostly in long trunk coffins placed in oblong pits sunk to a greater or smaller depth. Cremation burials, however, occurred at an early date, at first only in trunk coffins; the oblong sub-rectangular grave form was therefore still retained. Gradually the cremation graves became smaller, sometimes they were still rectangular, but already at an early date and fairly frequently, especially in the Southern parts, the cremated remains of the dead were deposited in an irregular shallow bowl-shaped pit, together with large pieces of charcoal from the pyre. In the Bronze Age the barrow was occasionally raised over the burnt-out remains of the pyre. In addition, however, especially in the Western and Southern Netherlands, earthenware vessels already appeared as containers of cremated bones in Middle Bronze Age barrows. These are the grit-tempered urns of 'Deverel' type already referred to.

At the end of the Bronze Age began the laying out of the large urnfields, often centred on a group of older tumuli.⁷⁵ Generally the fairly low mounds consist of a few sods piled up over the centrally placed cremation-filled urn, and covered with the upcast from the surrounding ditch. These open ringditches, which circumscribed the area of the monuments, show a great diversity in their ground plans. A list of the types found so far in the Netherlands and Western Germany has been drawn up by Van Giffen; it runs to 32 forms and variants.⁷⁶ Among the earliest types we find the keyhole shape (Late Bronze Age), of which, in the Netherlands, examples have only been found in the South Eastern parts of the Provinces of Groningen and Drente.⁷⁷ In two cases these even had the interment surrounded by a — temporary? — miniature circle of close-set stakes.⁷⁸ The keyhole shape probably originated in Westphalia, where it is a common type in the ringditch urnfields, as are the similarly early sub-rectangular ditches with internal rectangular patterns of postholes (Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age).⁷⁹ According to Van Giffen these postholes should be interpreted as a kind of fencing, not as constituting mortuary houses, for the low mounds have not preserved a trace of a collapsed grave structure.⁸⁰ Alternatively these might be temporary constructions. In the Netherlands this form is again

almost wholly confined to the North,⁸¹ the only Southern example having been found by Braat in the large urnfield at Knegsel, Province of North Brabant.⁸² Among the very common types are the round and oval ditches, sometimes showing an entrance gap. The most recent types are the square ditches, which have in two instances been found enclosed by a sub-rectangular fence, open at one side, consisting of small, closely spaced stakes.⁸³ The ringditch urnfields seem to continue down into the days of the Roman empire.

Both by their ringditch types and by their pottery the urnfields in the Netherlands fall into a Northern and a Southern group. The Northern, with its rich variety of ditch types, links up with the urnfields of Westphalia. The Southern is characterized structurally by little more than the round or oval ditch types, though the sub-rectangular so-called 'ridges' — probably arable plots of Iron Age times⁸⁴ — also constitute a marked feature of the Brabant urnfields. These differences are still further emphasized in the rich ceramic material. It would lead us too far to give a comprehensive survey of Urnfield ceramics, but a few remarks may not be out of place.⁸⁵ In the North slip-covered bi-conical urns and high-necked truncated pear-shapes are among the earliest (Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age); later we then meet with the coated (Germanic?) urns of so-called Harpstedt type. In the South white inlaid 'Kerbschnitt' urns are among the earlier pottery. After the slip-covered Hallstatt-like forms and the coated, notch-rimmed (Harpstedt?) ware, we may occasionally, in the later urnfields, find the angular Marnian forms, which only rarely penetrated to the Provinces of Limburg and North Brabant. The rich and very varied ceramic material does not show any relation to the grit-tempered ware of the Bronze Age.

In the Northern and central parts of the country the custom of raising large barrows never wholly fell into disuse throughout the long period characterized by the ringditch urnfields. Local traditions apparently played a large part in this. From a structural point of view the Iron Age tumuli are, however, generally of very little interest. They were usually piled up from sods over the remains of the burnt-out pyre, the supporting piles of which have been found on several occasions, below a layer of charcoal and cremated bone.⁸⁶ These simple sod-piled barrows illustrate Tacitus' words on the Germanic burial practice: *sepulcrum cespes erigit; monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem, ut gravem defunctis, aspernantur.*⁸⁷ It is interesting to notice that in the ringditch urnfield of Laudermarke, in the Province of Groningen, a number of such cinerary barrows were surrounded by rings of close-set stakes. Stratigraphically it is certain that nearly all these tumuli must be later than the ringditch interments.⁸⁸ Possibly Ammianus Marcellinus refers to such late descendants of the Bronze Age postcircles where he says that the Alamanni are afraid of the fenced-in barrows (*circumdata retiis*

busta) of their forbears.⁸⁹ Peripheral constructions of the Laudermarke kind are, however, the exception, where the Dutch excavations are concerned. That the cinerary barrows in question must be placed in the Late Iron Age is also apparent from their being occasionally found situated on the banks enclosing Celtic Fields.⁹⁰ In one case a Roman *terra sigillata* sherd from the second century A. D. was found on the floor of one of these barrows.⁹¹

* * *

The total number of barrows still extant in the Netherlands at the beginning of the present century can be roughly estimated as between 1500 and 2500. Since 1906 some 500 have been systematically excavated, the majority dating from the Neolithic, Aeneolithic and Bronze Ages.

The results of the excavation of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery completely fit into the picture Van Giffen has sketched of the development of the barrow cultures in the Netherlands. Only its extraordinary structural richness, and a certain number of new data provided by it concerning the burial ritual give it special importance.

As the Dutch analogues of the phenomena described are for a large part only to be found in periodicals not generally accessible to foreign students, we did not think it desirable or even permissible to confine ourselves merely to footnotes. A co-ordinating survey of the now available data — especially of the timber circles — is all the more called for as the material has, over the last ten years, appreciably increased. In what follows, such a survey has accordingly been attempted,⁹² though with the restriction that the main emphasis has been placed on those phenomena which we have met with in the description of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery, especially postcircle types 3-9. The preceding Neolithic and Aeneolithic Beaker cultures and their related structural problems — beehive graves, hut graves, timber circles (types 1 and 2) and ringditches, which got no more than passing mention above — will have to be dealt with in a separate monograph at some future date.

What follows will therefore have to be regarded as an attempt, based on the Toterfout-Halve Mijl group, to bring together the knowledge gained so far in the Netherlands concerning the burial ritual for the time covering, by and large, the Bronze Age periods Montelius I-III. Structurally perhaps the richest period of our prehistory, it is undoubtedly the poorest from a material point of view. Sharp indeed is the contrast with the grave furniture of the preceding Neolithic and Aeneolithic barrows, and no less with the Urnfield material from the later ringditch cemeteries of the Late Bronze and the Iron Age. The cordoned cinerary urns of 'Deverel' type, dating from the Middle and Late Bronze Age, will come

in for special consideration. The Iron Age ringditch urnfields, with their interesting timber structures, fall outside the scope of this study. A comprehensive survey of this rich Dutch material is also much to be desired.

¹ Johan Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge van eenige vergetene en verborgene Antiquiteten der Provincien en Landen gelegen tusschen de Noord-Zee, de Yssel, Emse en Lippe*. Amsterdam, 1660, especially pp. 43-6 (VIII. Distinctie. *Van de ronde Berghjes of Heuveltjes*) and pp. 27-9.

² *Gedenkboek Van Giffen*, 1947, pp. 223-53. With extensive references to the Dutch barrow literature.

³ *Oudheidkundige Brieven*, etc. door Mr. Joannes van Lier, uitgegeeven etc. door A. Vosmaer, 's Gravenhage, 1760, p. 9 (the mound of a megalithic monument at Eext).

⁴ *Antiquiteiten, Een oudheidkundig tijdschrift*, I, 1820, pp. 71-85.

⁵ Brunsting, *l.c.*, 1947, pp. 234-5.

⁶ L. J. F. Janssen, *Drentsche Oudheden*, 1848, p. 23.

⁷ *l.c.*, p. 26 (barrow at Balloo, Municipality of Rolde).

⁸ L. J. F. Janssen, *Oudheidkundige Verhandelingen en Mededeelingen* I, 1853, p. 9, *Hilversumsche Oudheden, Eene bijdrage tot de ontwikkelingsgeschiedenis der vroegste Europesche volken*, Arnhem, 1856, pp. 67-72.

⁹ Though we should mention that he repeatedly and correctly used the term 'secondary interment' (*secondaire begraving*) or 'secondary burial' (*secondaire begrafenis*). See for instance *Ned. Oudh., West-Friesland*, p. 7 and *Gelderland*, p. 70.

¹⁰ See W. D. van Wijngaarden, *OM Leiden*, NR XXXII, 1951, pp. 1-14 (*In Memoriam* and *Bibliography*) and W. C. Braat, *Jaarboekje voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde van Leiden en Omstreken*, 1952, pp. 54-7.

¹¹ *OM Leiden*, OR I, 1907, pp. 7-10.

¹² *OM Leiden*, OR II, 1908, pp. 1-17 and 18-24.

¹³ *PZ* I, 1909, pp. 374-9, *OM Leiden*, OR IV, 1910, pp. 1-30. See also *PZ* IV, 1912, pp. 368-73.

¹⁴ E.g. Van Giffen, in *Naschrift to Martin, Soesterberg*, 1924, pp. 26-32, *Bauart*, 1930, p. 99 *sqq.*, pp. 143-63, *NDV* 1946, pp. 76-80 (latest summary of the problem).

¹⁵ For a reproduction, see *OM Leiden*, OR IV, 1910, fig. VII: 2 and NR XIV, 1933, fig. 36.

¹⁶ Holwerda had in mind a covering of the domes by sand and sods (cf. *OM Leiden*, OR IV, 1910, p. 21). The 'decayed or burnt sods', however, in our opinion point to common sod-raised Bronze Age barrows.

¹⁷ As for instance *OM Leiden*, OR IV, 1910, figs 1, III: 4, VII: 1 (tumulus 6 at Vaassen) and fig. 2 (tumulus 8). That secondary graves were interpreted as traces of a circular construction in wood is especially clear from *OM Leiden*, OR II, 1908, p. 14, Pl. VI: 1 (tumulus D₄ at Nierssen).

¹⁸ *OM Leiden*, OR IV, 1910, pp. 7-10, fig. III: 3 (Vaassen, tumulus 5).

¹⁹ J. H. Holwerda, *Nederland's vroegste geschiedenis*, 2nd ed., 1925.

²⁰ *OM Leiden*, OR II, 1908, pp. 10-7 (tumulus D₄ at Nierssen).

²¹ See below pp. 16-7.

²² *OM Leiden*, NR IV, 1923, pp. 1-26.

²³ *OM Leiden*, NR IX, 1928, pp. 58-64.

²⁴ *OM Leiden*, NR IX, 1928, pp. 72-3.

²⁵ *OM Leiden*, NR IX, 1928, pp. 64-72.

²⁶ See below sub postcircle type 3, North Brabant, no 1.

²⁷ Cf. especially *Die Becherkultur in den Niederlanden*, *OM Leiden*, NR XIV, 1933, pp. 39-123.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-5 (Putten), pp. 45-51 (Speulde), pp. 51-7 (Bennekom, Oostereng), pp. 57-8 (Nol in 't Bosch), pp. 63-9 (Epe), pp. 69-76 (Garderen), NR XXI, 1940, pp. 19-22 (Hoenderloo), p. 25 (Elspeet), *ibid.*, 1933, pp. 59-60 (Wijchen).

²⁹ *OM Leiden*, NR XV, 1934, pp. 54-65 (Soesterberg) and unpublished (Maarsbergen).

³⁰ *OM Leiden*, NR XVI, 1935, pp. 45-63.

³¹ *OM Leiden*, NR XIV, 1933, pp. 50-1 and pp. 60-3.

³² *OM Leiden*, NR XVII, 1936, pp. 56-66 and NR XVIII, 1937, pp. 57-62 (Emmen), NR XVIII, 1937, pp. 41-51 (Valthe).

³³ *OM Leiden*, NR XVII, 1936, pp. 53-6.

³⁴ *OM Leiden*, NR XVIII, 1937, pp. 1-3, *Marburger Studien*, 1938, pp. 20-1.

³⁵ Unpublished. See below sub postcircle type 3, Limburg, nos 1-5.

³⁶ *OM Leiden*, NR XIV, 1933, pp. 58-9 (published by Bursch).

³⁷ *OM Leiden*, NR XVII, 1936, pp. 40-3.

³⁸ A. E. van Giffen, *Het Biologisch-Archaeologisch Instituut en zijn taak*, 1922; G. A. Bontekoe, *Gedenkboek Van Giffen*, 1947, pp. 23-42.

³⁹ *NDV* 1924, pp. 134-63, 1926, pp. 69 *sqq.*, *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 33-5, pp. 76-80, *NDI'* 1936, pp. 112-7, 1943, pp. 94-7.

⁴⁰ *NDV* 1935, p. 102, 1939, pp. 130-1, *PPS* 1938, pp. 259-62.

⁴¹ *NDI'* 1935, pp. 67-116.

⁴² *NDV* 1945, pp. 69-121.

⁴³ *NDI'* 1918, pp. 135-75, *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 10-23, pp. 28-32, pp. 122-4, pp. 130-4, *NDV* 1936, pp. 117-21, *NDV* 1949, pp. 93-148.

⁴⁴ *VMG* 1927, pp. 55-75, *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 62-72, 80-4.

⁴⁵ *VMG* 1935, pp. 47-87, *Mannus* 30, 1938, pp. 331 *sqq.*

⁴⁶ *Vrije Fries* XXIX, 1929, pp. 38-50, *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 55-7, 134-5, 142-3.

⁴⁷ *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 52-3 and 135-40.

⁴⁸ Unpublished.

⁴⁹ *Gelre* XL, 1937, pp. 8-15.

⁵⁰ *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 60-2, 128.

⁵¹ *West-Friesland* XVII, 1944, pp. 121-8 *sqq.*

⁵² *Brab. Oergesch.*, 1937, pp. 7-46.

⁵³ Cf. the list of Van Giffen's excavations (to 1947) in *Gedenkboek Van Giffen*, 1947, pp. 545-55. The postcircle monuments of these cemeteries will be examined more closely below. The numerous excavations in Drente have been summarized by Van Giffen in *Drente*, 2nd ed., 1944.

⁵⁴ See Part I, pp. 23-5. A remarkable method was that of J. H. Mulder, Director of the Overijsselsch Geschiedkundig Museum at Zwolle, who excavated (1889) a number of tumuli at Tubbergen, Province of Overijssel, a quadrant at a time. The marks observed in the soil, however, could not yet be interpreted. C. C. W. J. Hijzeler, *Onze Oudheid*, 1944, pp. 36-7; H. Brunsting, *Gedenkboek Van Giffen*, 1947, p. 239.

⁵⁵ See p. 3, note 14.

⁵⁶ Often burials in the grave pits, or at ground level, show up as dark silhouettes. In Neolithic barrows the dead were usually interred in flexed or contracted position. In Early Bronze Age tumuli in Drente silhouettes of extended burials were very often found on the floor of trunk coffins.

⁵⁷ *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 122-4 (Zeijen, tumulus I; see also postcircle type 9, Drente, nos 1-2), pp. 135-40 (Steenwijkerwold, especially tumulus V).

⁵⁸ *VMG* 1927, pp. 80-3, *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 124-8.

⁵⁹ *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 140-2.

⁶⁰ More than 20 specimens recorded so far.

⁶¹ Fine examples in Van Giffen, *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 45-50, 128-30 (Eext, Ketenberg).

NDV 1940, pp. 203-5 (Aalden, tumulus III), both in the Province of Drente, and further in the Province of Gelderland tumulus I at Schaarsbergen (see below sub postcircle type 3, Gelderland, no 4, also *Gelre* LI, 1951, p. 96, in a popular report written by W. Glasbergen and H. Tj. Waterbolk, appropriated and published by Dr P. GLAZEMA, Director of the Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek).

⁶² See below under postcircle type 3, Groningen, no 1 (Harenermolen). See also *OM Leiden*, OR IV, 1910, pp. 7-10 (Vaassen, tumulus 5) and *NDV* 1939, pp. 125-6 (Eext). Six certain examples have been recorded so far.

⁶³ *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 10-23 (Zeijen, tumulus II) and pp. 23-6 (Diever).

⁶⁴ Offshoots outside Drente in the diluvial island of Gaasterland in the extreme SW of the Province of Friesland, in NE Overijssel, and also a few settlements on the Northern Veluwe near Uddel and Elspeet, while the most Southern sherds of 'Tiefstichkeramik' were found at Herpen, in the North of the Province of North Brabant.

⁶⁵ Holwerda, in his writings on prehistoric topics, *passim*. Criticized by Van Giffen, for instance in *NDV* 1923, pp. 178-85 and p. 205, *Naschrift* to Martin, *Soesterberg*, 1924, pp. 26-32, *NDV* 1935, pp. 70-4, etc. Cf. also Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, p. 80 *sqq.*

⁶⁶ *Het bronzen tijdperk in Gelderland en Friesland, De Gids*, 1920, Pt 4, pp. 282-306.

⁶⁷ Van Giffen, *NDV* 1945, pp. 76-7, does not regard this as a separate pottery class, but takes it to be related to and to have developed from the late Passage Grave pottery of so-called *Havelte style*.

⁶⁸ See below *sub* postcircle type 3, p. 25. R. J. C. Atkinson in *Excavations at Dorchester, Oxon.*, I, 1951, p. 93, is not quite correct.

⁶⁹ A comprehensive summary of the Dutch timber circles of types 3-9 will be found below, pp. 16-75.

⁷⁰ See pp. 89-137.

⁷¹ See below postcircle type 3, Groningen, no 1.

⁷² This barrow type — here called *Dutch disc barrow* — is further discussed on p. 129, and pp. 166-70.

⁷³ *Chadwick Papers*, 1950, pp. 53-4.

⁷⁴ Cf. p. 20, note 6.

⁷⁵ For the beginning of the urnfields in the Netherlands cf. Van Giffen, *VMG* 1935, p. 66, *Mannus* 30, 1938, pp. 352-3 (Montelius V/VI), *Drente*, 2nd ed., 1944, pp. 489-92 (c. 750 B.C.), *NDV* 1945, p. 90 (Montelius VI), *VMG* 1944-8 (1949), pp. 65-75; Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, pp. 80-6 (c. 800 B.C.); Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XXIII, 1942, pp. 69-75 (900 & 300 B.C.). — By the Urnfield period in the Netherlands is always understood, for the purposes of this book, the time of the ringditch urnfields, covering the Late Bronze Age (Montelius V/VI) and the Hallstatt and La Tène periods, probably down to the time of the Roman occupation (c. 800 B.C.-A.D.). Cf. also W. Kersten, *Bonn. Jahrb.* 148, 1948, pp. 5-80.

⁷⁶ *NDV* 1941, pp. 136-7, *VMG* 1944-8 (1949), fig. 23. — Type 28 (Braat, Knegsel, 1936), a ringditch with external single circle of closely spaced posts, must rest on a misunderstanding. See below, postcircle type 5, North Brabant, no 1.

⁷⁷ At Wessinghuizen (*VMG* 1927, pp. 24-7, *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 82-3) and Wedderveer (*VMG* 1944-8 (1949), pp. 61-4), both in the Province of Groningen; also Emmen (*OM Leiden*, NR XXVIII, 1937, pp. 51-2), Erica (*NDV* 1948, pp. 114-9), Sleen and Noordbarge (unpublished) in the Province of Drente.

⁷⁸ In the specimens mentioned above under Emmen and Erica. Cf. also p. 70, under postcircle type 9.

⁷⁹ For keyhole-shape ditches in Westphalia see e.g. A. Stieren, *Westfalen* XX, 1935, pp. 247-66 (Sölten, Kreis Recklinghausen); H. Bell & H. Hoffmann, *Germania* 24, 1940, pp. 85-96 and p. 179 *sqq.* (Datteln, Kreis Recklinghausen); H. Kroll, *Germania* 22, 1938, pp. 79 and 226-7 (Hülsten, Kreis Borken). For sub-rectangular ditches with internal

rectangular post settings see e.g. K. Hucke, *Germania* 22, 1938, pp. 92-6 and *Bodenaltertümer Westfalens* VII, 1950, pp. 173-82 (Nienborg, Kreis Ahaus).

⁸⁰ *Mannus* 30, 1938, pp. 354-7, Textfig. 2 (reconstruction).

⁸¹ See for the Province of Groningen: Van Giffen, *VMG* 1935, pp. 72-3 (Laudermarke); for the Province of Drente: Van Giffen, *Mannus* 30, 1938, pp. 331-84 (Vledder), *NDV* 1941, pp. 111-2 (Nijlande), p. 129 and 1945, pp. 79-88 (Gasteren), *NDV* 1936, pp. 110-1 and Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, pp. 121-31 (Zweeloo), Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XVIII, 1937, pp. 53-6 (Emmen); further examples excavated by Van Giffen at Sleen and Noordbarge (unpublished); for the Province of Overijssel: Hijzeler, *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Vereeniging tot beoefening van Overijsselsch Regt en Geschiedenis* 66, 1951, pp. 1-89 (Oldenzaal).

⁸² *OM Leiden*, NR XVII, 1936, p. 39. See especially below, p. 58, *sub* postcircle type 6, North Brabant, nos 15-7.

⁸³ See below, pp. 31, 70 and 72.

⁸⁴ See Part I, pp. 114-5 and p. 119.

⁸⁵ See for these problems, which are outside the scope of this work, especially Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XXIII, 1942, pp. 48-77.

⁸⁶ *NDV* 1940, pp. 196-8 (tumuli I and II at Rhee).

⁸⁷ Tacitus, *Germania*, cap. 27.

⁸⁸ See below under postcircle type 3, Groningen, nos 4-7 and type 9, Groningen, nos 1-12.

⁸⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus XVI, cap. 2, 12: . . . — *nam ipse oppida ut circumdata retiis busta declinant* — . . . This passage was noticed first by F. Langewiesche, *PZ* XV, 1924, p. 137. See also *Bauart*, 1930, p. 84.

⁹⁰ *NDV* 1949, pp. 119-21 (Zeijen, tumulus 28).

⁹¹ *NDV* 1937, pp. 81-3, 1940, pp. 196-7, 1945, p. 141 (Rhee, tumulus II).

⁹² As a rule we only cite the publication containing the original excavation record. Later summaries by the excavator himself, or by others in general surveys, as well as newly reproduced excavation plans have not been cited unless a modified interpretation was given. In interpreting records of Holwerda, Remouchamps and Bursch their explanation of postholes is often ignored.

BARROWS SURROUNDED BY RINGS OF POSTS

The first postcircle monuments in the Netherlands were discovered by Dr J. H. Holwerda in his excavations at the Uddel lake near Uddel on the Veluwe (1908, 1910 and 1911). Altogether four of these monuments came to light here, some of them in indubitable tumuli. The first was situated within the Early Medieval horseshoe rampart, the '*Humeschans*', on the shore of the Uddel lake. The others lay SW of the earthwork.

The mound within the rampart, excavated in 1908, contained a single closely spaced circle of posts (type 5, Gelderland, no 1)¹ within part of a circular foundation trench with traces of stakeholes. Probably this monument was a two-period barrow not recognized as such. Holwerda assigned it to the Bell Beaker culture on the strength of sherds of this ware found on the old ground level (probably only *terminus post quem*). He was struck by the similarity to grave structures of the Beaker culture at Nierssen,² 'only the wall construction was different. It was thus natural to think that here, too, we were concerned with a grave structure, and we accordingly carried out a very careful investigation in that direction, but with a negative result. Not a trace of a grave could be found. Not improbably, therefore, it was a kind of temenos, a sanctuary similar to the sacred area laid out, for example, round royal graves. In this connexion it is also of importance to point out the great similarity in lay-out of our circular feature and of the round megalithic stone monuments (Stone-circles) such as that at Stonehenge in England. Though there, too, the lay-out is not clear, the resemblance to what we find over here is very great, and as the cultures, also, to which the two belong are narrowly related, we shall very probably have to see affinities in the two monuments, also'. Holwerda thought it out of the question that the monument could have been an 'ordinary dwelling', for 'else we should have found some remains of a hut in the round structure'.

Two years later, however, prompted by the excavation of tumulus C at Uddel (1910), with its circle of close-set stakes (type 9, Gelderland, no 1), Holwerda asked himself, with regard to the purpose of such a structure: 'Had it, as we thought before, some sacral meaning, or may these circular structures perhaps, as we should now like to think, have been roofed over — or how could we explain the round barrow that resulted from it — have been no more than some sort of fortified dwelling?'³ In the largely destroyed tumulus B Holwerda found part of a single widely spaced circle of posts (type 3, Gelderland, no 1). A year later (1911) he

discovered two non-concentric single closely spaced postcircles (type 5, Gelderland; nos 2-3), and in this connexion once again referred to his interpretation of 1910 ('old dwellings and no grave structures'). Holwerda never afterwards reverted to his comparison with Stonehenge.

* * *

In later years many timber circles have been discovered in the Netherlands, especially in the excavations of Dr A. E. van Giffen. To the four forms described by Holwerda five have been added. They have invariably proved to be associated with *grave monuments*. Thus we now know from the Netherlands over 200 postcircle monuments, distributed over nine types:

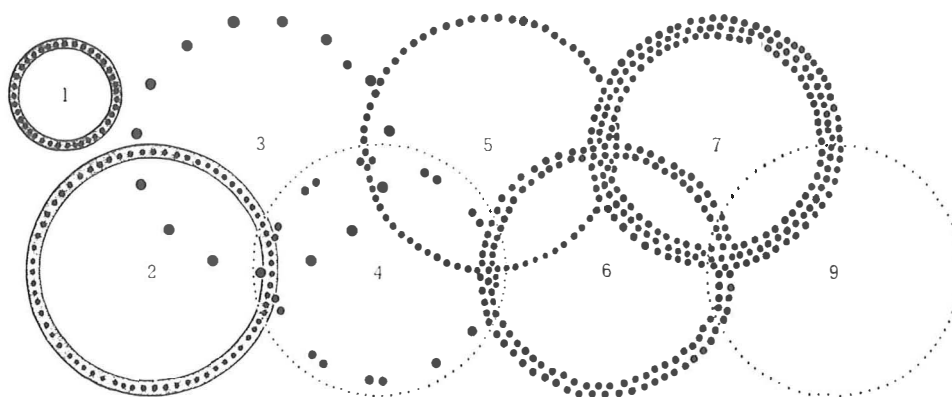


Fig. 45

1. *The intermediate single closely spaced postcircle in foundation trench* (A. E. van Giffen, Eext, 1927); ⁴
2. *The single closely spaced postcircle in foundation trench* (J. H. Holwerda, Vaassen, 1909); ⁵
3. *The single widely spaced postcircle* (J. H. Holwerda, Uddel, 1910);
4. *The circle of widely spaced paired postholes* (W. J. A. Willems, Hooge Mierde, 1934);
5. *The single closely spaced postcircle* (J. H. Holwerda, Uddel, 1908);
6. *The double closely spaced postcircle* (A. E. van Giffen, Wessinghuizen, 1927);
7. *The triple closely spaced postcircle* (W. C. Braat, Knegsel, 1934-5);
8. *The quadruple and multiple closely spaced postcircle* (A. E. van Giffen, Wessinghuizen, 1927);
9. *The circle of close-set stakes* (J. H. Holwerda, Uddel, 1910), also occurring as an additional element with types 3, 4, 6 and 7 (internal, between the postholes, or external).

In what follows, types 3-9 will be dealt with individually.

The tumuli often occur in groups, and in that case they often form part of large complexes of cultural remains. The finest example of this is the cultural reserve on the 'Noordsche Veld' near Zeijen in the province of Drente, with its small passage grave and more than 160 barrows, a few Neolithic and Aeneolithic, several Bronze Age, and a large number Iron Age. Besides these it has a small urnfield, Celtic Fields and other forms of prehistoric arable, and several fortified settlements from the times of the Roman Empire. Similar rich complexes are situated on the Hijkerveld and at Weerdinge, both in the province of Drente. At Weerdinge, besides the usual round barrows, Van Giffen found two long barrows of Bronze Age date, of which only a few examples have so far become known in the Netherlands. Other well-known sites are the large barrow cemeteries at Balloo and at Emmen, in Drente. It was not possible, in the summaries that follow, which deal primarily with those barrows of which the postcircle is a feature, to incorporate all further evidence concerning these large barrow cemeteries; for the smaller ones this has, however, been done whenever possible.⁶

¹ *OM Leiden*, OR III, 1909, pp. 39-42. For the typology of the timber circles see below, p. 17.

² *OM Leiden*, OR II, 1908, pp. 1-17.

³ *OM Leiden*, OR V, 1911, p. 11.

⁴ *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 45-50 and pp. 128-30.

⁵ *OM Leiden*, OR IV, 1910, pp. 7-10, *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 147-8.

⁶ In the summaries of the Bronze Age timber monuments of types 3-9 irregularities in the postcircles have only been mentioned where we considered them of importance. Truly round postcircles are rare; the compound types 6-8, generally slightly oval, often show a polygonal lay-out.

In the descriptions the following abbreviations are used:

pc. = postcircle	h. = height
ph. = posthole	l. = length
rd. = ringditch	w. = width
(int.) dm. = (internal) diameter	int. = interval
sec. = secondary	or. = original
c. = circa	max. = maximum

13 + 5 phh. = incomplete pc.: 13 phh. observed, 5 inferred. The inferred phh. either destroyed before excavation, not excavated, or obliterated by iron pan precipitation or other soil reactions.

The first example discovered of each postcircle type has been indicated in the descriptions by an asterisk prefaced to its provincial number.

Unless otherwise mentioned the tumuli with timber circles of types 3-9 described below were built of sods on a clearly podsolized old surface.

TYPE 3

The single widely spaced circle of posts

Type 3 is the most common form of timber circle in the Netherlands. The first example was excavated in 1910 by J. H. Holwerda, near Uddel in the province of Gelderland. The number of specimens recorded so far is 87.

The diameter of the circle varies between c. 6 and 20 metres, with an average of 11; the number of postholes varies from 5 to 30, between 12 and 15 being the usual number. The most monumental example came from the 'Galgenberg' at Sleenzweeloo (Drente, no 17; ¹ dm.: 20.00; 30 phh.). A quite exceptional feature is the secondary circle placed in the filled-in ringditch of the 'Zwartenberg' at Hoogeloon (North Brabant, no 15; dm.: c. 40).

The posts were set in pits of varying shape and size and often the post itself can be observed as a separate soft core in the posthole. In plan these cores show as round, oval, roughly square to sub-rectangular or even triangular patches; occasionally a semicircular example is found (split timber). In tumulus 8 at Toterfout-Halve Mijl two deeper postholes on the axis of the circle were perhaps intended for higher posts.² Occasionally the posts were charred at the lower end in order to increase their durability. In those cases where the charcoal could be successfully analysed, the wood proved to have been oak. Occasionally the upcast from the posthole can be seen in the section as a lenticle of sand on the old surface around the hole.³

Nearly always the postcircle was placed at the edge of a barrow built from inverted sods. It is only exceptionally that the postholes are found beneath the original slope of the barrow, whilst in one case a single widely spaced circle occurred at the foot of a tumulus surrounded by a ditch with internal bank (Drente, no 2). In another case a ringditch was found inside the postcircle (Drente, no 11). Tumulus 75 in the cultural reserve on the 'Noordsche Veld' near Zeijen (Drente, nos 34-5, fig. 69) was a very singular and complicated monument. A flat berm⁴ seems to have occurred between two circles of widely spaced posts. In a few tumuli in the North of the country Van Giffen claimed direct association between two postcircle types; in one case a single widely spaced postcircle (Groningen, no 1) occurred as an outer circle to type 2, and twice as an external circle to type 6 (Groningen, nos 2 and 3). As an additional element a circle of close-set stakes has sometimes been found between the postholes of a single widely spaced

circle (Groningen, no 4, Drente, nos 6, 18 and 39, North Brabant, no 1); once it seems to have occurred as an external enclosure (Gelderland, no 3).

Entrances in the postcircles, sometimes with blocking post, were recognized as such by Van Giffen from the beginning. They can only be demonstrated where an abnormally large or small interval (Drente, nos 1 (?), 2 (?), 3, 12, 14 (?), 15, 16, 18 (?), 20, 21, 27, 34, 41 & 42 (?), 47 (?), North Brabant, nos 1, 2 & 3) or one or more intermediate postholes make them conspicuous (Drente, nos 19 (?), 22 (?), 28, 34 & 35, 38 (?), North Brabant, nos 4, 6, 9, 12, 13, 14). When dealing with the burial ritual we shall give further attention to these phenomena.⁵ Repairs carried out at a later time, such as the replacing of decayed posts, have been repeatedly observed (*e.g.* Drente, nos 32, 33, 37, 38 and 43).

Numerous tumuli with single widely spaced postcircles have been excavated by Van Giffen, especially in the Northern provinces of the country (58 to date). In the South, too, especially in the provinces of North Brabant (18 specimens) and Limburg (5 specimens), this type seems to have been far from rare. Only in the centre of the country, it seems, have relatively few specimens been excavated so far. The reason for this must be sought in the excavation methods of the Leiden school, which had its main field of operations here.⁶

Regional differences immediately leap to the eye when the interments in the barrows are considered. In the North and centre of the country the central, primary interments were often sub-rectangular grave pits of varying depths, with trunk coffins, hollowed out by fire, in which the dead were laid at full length (Groningen, no 3, Drente, nos 5 (?), 7, 10 (?), 20, 25, 29, 34 & 35, 37, 40, 43, Gelderland, no 4). Often the body still showed as a dark silhouette on the floor of the coffin. This manner of interment was characteristic for the Early Bronze Age in Denmark and North-West Germany. Silhouettes, however, were also found interred without coffins, either in grave pits (Groningen, no 7, Drente, nos 12, 13 & 14, 16, 19, 22) or at ground level (Drente, nos 26, 27, 31 (?), 44 (?)). Once an oblong, shallow grave pit was surrounded by a stone packing (Drente, no 1). On the other hand cremated burials in oblong graves (Drente, nos 2, 3, 4), sometimes with coffins (Drente, nos 8 (?), 28), were a feature from the Early Bronze Age onwards. This manner of interment, in which the old grave form was still retained, was especially characteristic of the Middle Bronze Age. A small central pit with cremated bone (Drente, nos 6, 11 and 15) formed the next evolutionary phase.

In the South, especially in the province of North Brabant, cremations predominated over inhumations. The cremations were deposited in oblong grave pits (North Brabant, nos 1 (?), 3) or haphazardly in shallow pits filled with lumps of charcoal, ashes and burnt sand from the pyre (North Brabant, nos 5, 9, 12, 13, 14). Inhumation at ground level (North Brabant, nos 7 (?), 8 (?), 10 (?),

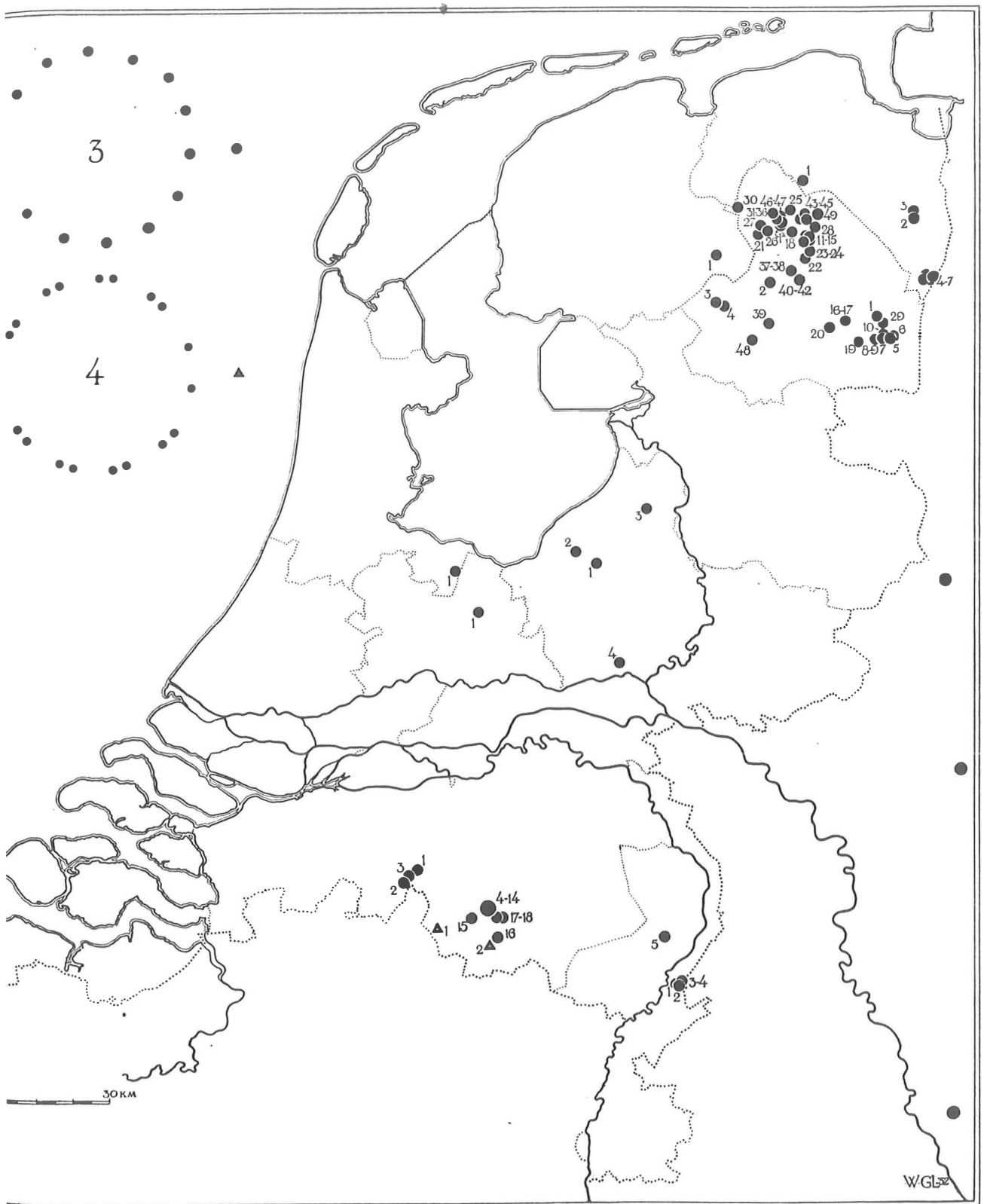


Fig. 46

16, Limburg, no 1?) seems to have played a larger part in these regions than interment in trunk coffins (North Brabant, no 4), though the latter were occasionally used for cremations (North Brabant, no 2). Mortuary houses associated with the primary burials, though mainly of a temporary character, seem to have occurred more frequently in Brabant (North Brabant, nos 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14) than in the North (Drente, nos 8 (?), 11 (?), 20 (?), 28 (?), 34 & 35, 40).⁷ Only exceptionally was an Early or Middle Bronze Age tumulus found raised simply over the burnt-out pyre.

Secondary interments, usually placed tangentially at the edge of the barrow, in the North commonly took the form of sub-rectangular grave pits with trunk coffins, and their number might then even exceed ten. The majority contained inhumations, but quite frequently a few were found containing cremations. These graves must have been dug fairly soon after the construction of the mound. Sometimes allowance was clearly made for the presence of a timber circle that was still standing. Very probably the graves were those of a later generation of clan members who were given their last resting place in the edge of the barrow. Remarkably enough these graves hardly ever intersected; the sites of earlier burials must have been well-known, and may have been outwardly marked. In all probability these tumuli constitute what the Germans call '*Sippenfriedhöfe*', family or clan cemeteries. Secondary cremations, simply deposited in small pits, and urn burials from the Late Bronze and Iron Ages were the other types of secondary interments found. In those tumuli on which gallows were afterwards erected ('*Galgenbergen*'), Medieval and later evil-doers form the last secondary interments.

In the central part of the country, on the Veluwe, many peripheral interments were found. Their number might even exceed 25. As in these cases many intersections occurred, the barrow's edge may have been surrounded by a wide polygonal zone of secondary burials. This might give the impression of being an original feature, and some archaeologists have actually taken it as such.⁸ On the Veluwe the tradition of burying the dead in oblong graves, in the edges of existing tumuli, probably survived much later than elsewhere, throughout the remainder of the Bronze and possibly into the Iron Age. A striking correlation is offered by the scarcity of urnfields on the Veluwe as opposed to the North (Drente and South-East Groningen) and the South (North Brabant and Limburg).

South of the great rivers the evidence concerning secondary interments is quite different from what we saw in the North and on the Veluwe. The cemetery of Toterfout-Halve Mijl clearly illustrates this. Secondary interments were quite rare here; generally the tumuli only covered single graves. It is true, however, that in a number of cases a tumulus was re-used for a second central interment attended by a capping of the existing barrow and the addition of a

new peripheral construction. Generally, however, such secondary interments, situated as they were high in the mound, were destroyed by recent disturbances.

Reconstruction. The postholes have always been found to have contained vertical posts. It is therefore certain that the circles consisted of upright timbers placed at the edge of the barrow. As a rule they were oak. No evidence is available regarding their original height above ground level. It may be

assumed that — with the possible exception of an entrance — a continuous row of lintel beams ran along the tops of the posts. This is made especially probable by the ring of widely spaced paired postholes (type 4).

Dating evidence. Direct dating evidence is exceedingly scarce. Datable bronzes from primary graves were recovered in but a few cases, and then only in Drente. A flat bronze button (fig. 48b : 1), looped on the underside, from tumulus I at Wapse (Drente, no 3) Van Giffen ascribed to periods Montelius II or III. Exceptionally rich grave furniture was recovered from the primary grave of phase 2 of the 'Galgenberg' at Sleen/Zweeloo (Drente, no 16), viz. a bronze palstave (Montelius II), a twisted bronze wristlet, two gold spirals (fig. 47), and the remains of at least 14 bronze arrowheads. A bronze pin (Montelius II) recovered before excavation probably came from the central grave of the second period, with postcircle, of tumulus II at Nijlande (Drente, no 24). A thin, centrally perforated bronze plaque was found in one of the

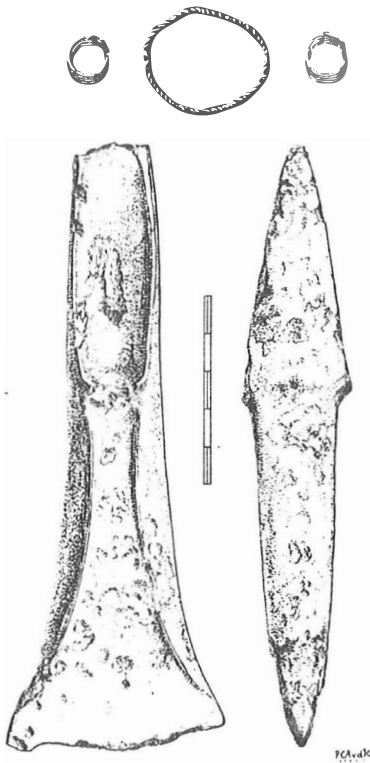


Fig. 47

two small coffin graves inside the mortuary house in the 'Schattenberg' near Westerbork (fig. 67 : 11), which belonged to the first phase of construction (Drente, no 40).

The bronze objects found in secondary graves dug into the barrow edge at an early date are more numerous, but in relation to the very considerable number of these interments a datable bronze find is an extreme rarity. For the monuments in question they provide a *terminus ante quem*. In the first place we must mention a rich woman's grave in tumulus 2 at Weerdinge (Drente, no 1), with two bronze wheel-headed pins (fig. 48a) (Montelius II), a 'Rollkopfnadel', another pin

(fig. 48b : 7), a penannular bracelet and a finger-ring, and a fine necklace of large amber beads. These finds, especially the bronze wheel-headed pins, were characteristic for Montelius II. The bracelet of sheet bronze, with spiral ends (fig. 48b : 5), found in a grave pit within the annexe of tumulus VI at Emmen (Drente,

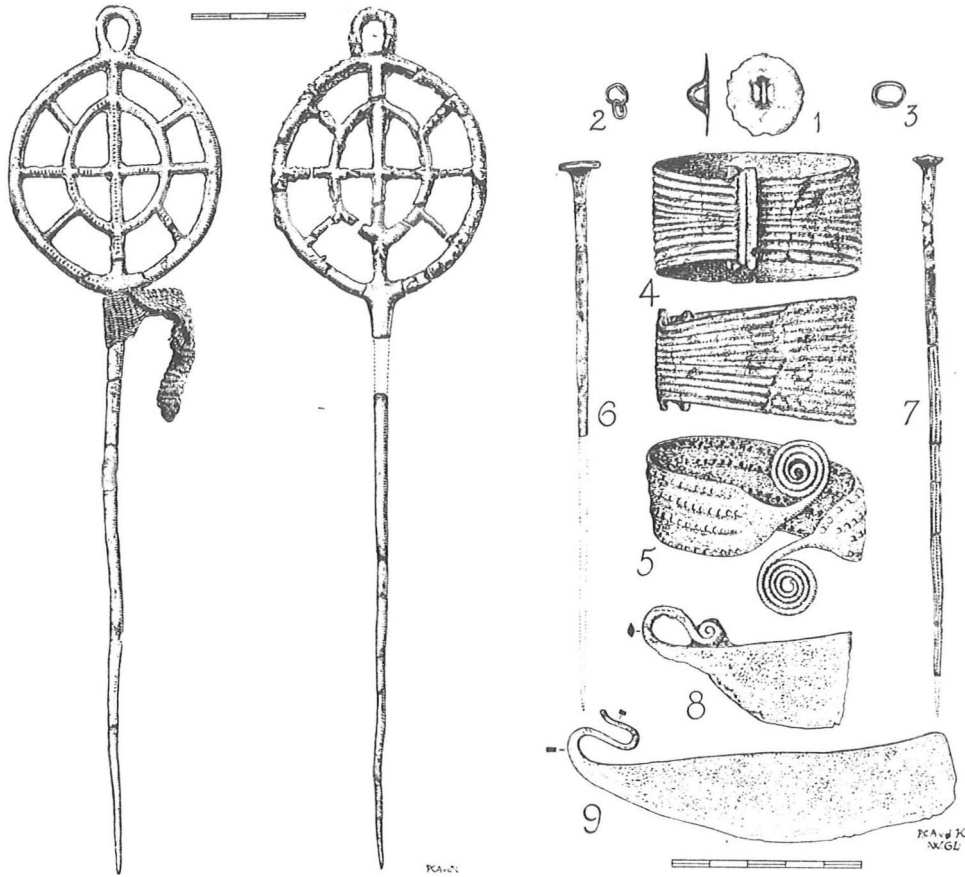


Fig. 48a

Fig. 48b

no 6), argues for the Early Bronze Age; in two other graves of this monument some corroded bronze spiral rings were found. Rich grave furniture was also yielded by a grave in tumulus XI of the cemetery at Emmen (Drente, no 10): a handsome string of amber beads and a bead of rock crystal, a small bronze ring, and two pottery vessels, all clearly from the Early Bronze Age. A nondescript find was the small bronze pin (?) from tumulus VIII. Van Giffen also found some important dating evidence in his excavations in the Balloo cemetery. A secondary grave in phase 1 of tumulus 4 (Drente, no 12) contained cremated bone together with grave goods that had been burnt. They were a polisher of schist, a flint

spearhead, and 3 hollow-based flint arrowheads. These date this grave in the Earliest Bronze Age. In a second grave pit fragments of two bronze pins were found (Montelius II). Three graves with grave goods had been dug into the second phase mound of tumulus 6 (Drente, no 14): no 1 with two broad, horizontally ribbed bronze penannular bracelets (fig. 48b : 4), no 2 with three small gold rings (two of them linked) (fig. 48b : 2-3), and no 3 with a bronze bracelet, square in section, and fragments of a bracelet like that found in grave no 1 (?). These objects also date from the Early Bronze Age, period Montelius II. A secondary grave from the 'Galgenberg' at Sleen/Zweeloo (Drente, nos 16-7), dug into the third construction phase, contained a corroded bronze pin. A fragment of a bronze pin (Montelius II) also came from a secondary grave in phase 2 of tumulus II at Nijlande (Drente, no 24, fig. 48b : 6). The 'Paaschberg' at Weerdinge (Drente, no 29) yielded two secondary interments with bronze grave goods, both dug into the first phase. One of these contained a bronze pin, a small finger-ring and a thick-walled sherd; the other, that of a young girl, contained two bronze wristlets on the lower arms, and a necklace of amber beads at the neck. A bronze pin and two small bronze spirals came from a secondary grave in the 'Schattenberg' near Westerbork (Drente, nos 40-2). Finally, a bronze palstave chisel (Montelius II) (fig. 72) from the primary central grave forms a *terminus post quem* for the monumental postcircle which must have been set up in the filled-in ringditch of the 'Zwartenberg' at Hoogeloon (North Brabant, no 15) at a fairly early date.

The pottery found in primary (Drente, nos 4, 6) and secondary (Drente, nos 6, 10, 28, 29, 31, 37-8, North Brabant, no 3) graves consists of grit-tempered vessels characteristic for the Early and Middle Bronze Age. They are fairly small slip-covered pots, with uneven walls, sometimes decorated with nail impressions, or provided with a horizontal plastic band — reminiscent of late Passage Grave ware —, squeezed-out lugs, or small handles. They probably contained food and drink for the dead.

The grave goods from primary graves, and those from secondaries laid out fairly soon after, indicate a date in the Early and Middle Bronze Age (periods Montelius I-III) for the single widely spaced circle of posts — with the exception of a few prototypes from the (Late) Neolithic or Aeneolithic period which will be mentioned hereafter. The majority have to be assigned to phases II-III. Locally the type may have persisted into period Montelius IV, but no direct dating evidence is available.⁹

Stratified evidence emphasizes this dating. In a number of cases Neolithic sherds came to light from the floor of a barrow with single widely spaced postcircle, affording an unambiguous *terminus post quem*. Often Neolithic or Aeneolithic tumuli dated by Beakers and stone implements were found sealed beneath secondary cappings with postcircles of type 3. The different composition of the

mound was then immediately apparent: the Neolithic central barrow consisting of more or less pure sand was covered by a capping of inverted sods with which the timber circle was related. With only a few exceptions the mounds with which the single widely spaced circle was found associated consisted of inverted sods. In the few exceptional cases the timber circle was anomalous, either irregular in form (Drente, nos 1^a, 7), or situated beneath the slope of the mound (Drente, nos 1^a, 7, 23 — with flexed silhouette in grave pit —, 48, Friesland, no 1?). In some cases the circle was possibly of only a temporary character (Drente, nos 7 and 23). In three or four cases these circles were associated with Beaker graves (Drente, nos 1^a, 7, 48 (?), Friesland, no 1). In fact there is very little evidence till now for a relation between Beakers and the single widely spaced circle. None the less the origin of this type of circle has to be sought in the Late Neolithic period. While, therefore, the Neolithic types 1 and 2, embedded in foundation trenches, generally preceded it, types 4–9, to be dealt with hereafter, were on the whole contemporary or even slightly later, the latter being stratigraphically evident in some cases (Drente, nos 7, 18, North Brabant, no 9). In tumulus I at Westerveelde, on the other hand, Van Giffen found a circle of type 6 (type 6, Drente, no 4) preceding a single widely spaced timber circle (type 3, Drente, no 21). In barrows raised in more than one phase several single widely spaced circles were sometimes found, each delimiting the area of a single phase.

A stratigraphical *terminus ante quem* was further supplied by later sod cappings, sometimes attended by a large ringditch at the edge. In several cases secondary interments in quartz-gritted cordoned cinerary urns of the Middle and Late Bronze Age, also, supplied a useful *terminus ante quem* (Drente, no 4, Utrecht, no 1, North Holland, no 1). Where Bronze Age tumuli formed the nucleus of a later ringditch urnfield (Late Bronze to Iron Age) a few ringditch graves with cremations, with or without urns, were often found on or against the slopes of the barrows. Very often, too, urns were simply interred in small pits in the slopes. Some importance must be attached to burials in a few early urns in the barrow excavated by Van Giffen at Harenermolen (Groningen, no 1). One of these contained a bronze razor, another a similar razor and an awl. The razors (fig. 48b : 8–9) date from the Late Bronze Age (Montelius V).

At Toterfout-Halve Mijl some of the tumuli with single widely spaced circle of posts were shown by palynological analysis to be among the earliest in the cemetery. The principal ones were the large barrows nos 5, 6 and 7; for the slightly later tumulus 8 a ¹⁴C-dating has been obtained (3055 ± 90 years). Here the tumuli with type 3 circle will mainly have dated from the (Early and) Middle Bronze Age, probably Montelius II–III.

The following descriptive list contains all tumuli with single widely spaced circle of posts excavated in the Netherlands so far.

GRONINGEN

- 1 Harenermolen, Municipality of Haren. A. E. van Giffen, 1922. This very important two-period barrow consisted of:
- (1) A mound of fairly clean sand (h.: c. 1.30, dm.: 12.00) surrounded by a single closely spaced pc. (dm.: 8.00, 51 phh.) in a foundation trench (postcircle type 2). The lower ends of the posts had been charred. A sherd of a zoned Beaker was found in the foundation trench. Slightly N of the true centre lay a grave, almost at ground level; the dead person had probably been interred in a flexed position. The grave goods consisted of: a flat wrist-guard of grey schist with linear decoration at one end on the upper surface and two hour-glass-shaped perforations, an amber button with V-shaped perforation, a perforated bi-conical amber bead, a triangular flint arrowhead and two flint flakes. Bell Beaker culture, Aeneolithic. Outside the foundation trench with pc. lay a single widely spaced pc. (dm.: 10.50, 11 phh.), with fairly irregular intervals. Van Giffen assigned this to the same construction phase. The contrast between the very regular, true circle of the trench and the somewhat irregular positioning of the outer pc. is, however, suggestive, the more so as the two circles are not quite concentric but show a slight W to E shift.
- (2) A capping of sods (h.: c. 0.40, dm.: 13.20) over a grave pit with cremation, showing a NE shift. At the edge of this sec. capping was a circular trench, interrupted at several places, which must very soon have been filled in with sods. Possibly this was a zone where sods and sand were removed to build the sec. enlargement of the barrow. In the capping barrow were four cremation-filled urns in vestigial stone cists or simply in small pits. A slip-covered urn of a truncated pear shape with high neck and two handles contained a bronze razor (fig. 48b : 9; Montelius V, c. 700 B.C.), and an inverted handled vessel had been placed on it by way of lid. Another truncated pear-shaped urn with low cylindrical neck contained a fragment of a similar bronze razor (fig. 48b : 8). A third urn, squat and with two handles on the shoulder, contained a bronze awl and a very thin fragment of bronze (also a razor?), a second pot having again been inverted on it by way of lid. The fourth urn was a truncated pear shape, with high neck, and did not contain bronze. Special importance must be attached to the two bronze razors, which form a *terminus ante quem* for the secondary barrow (2).
VMG 1922, pp. 41-57; *PZ* XV, 1924, pp. 52-61; *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 40-3, pp. 44-5.
- 2-3 Wessinghuizen, Municipality of Onstwedde, *tumuli II and I*. A. E. van Giffen, 1927. For these pcc. cf. type 6, Groningen, nos 1-2.
- 4-7 Laundermarke, Municipality of Vlachtwedde. A. E. van Giffen, 1932.
- Strip IV, no 1*, a sod-built barrow, was surrounded by a very widely spaced pc. (dm.: c. 6.50, 5 phh.); between the phh. was found a circle of close-set stakes. Two phh. on the W side showed a smaller interval (c. 2.80). The barrow contained a slightly eccentric cremation burial. *VMG* 1935, pp. 63, 75.
- Strip IV, no 8b*, a sod-piled barrow with incompletely excavated pc. (dm.: c. 7.50, 5 + 7 phh.?), over the remains of the pyre. On the WNW slope a square ditch (no 8a) intersected in its turn by another, rectangular one (no 8). *VMG* 1935, p. 63.
- Strip II, no 9a* had a pc. (dm.: c. 7.80, 12 + 5 phh.?) half of which was excavated. It consisted of fairly small phh. or stakeholes with intervals of some 1.30 metres, and cut across a circular rd. (no 9) lying under the barrow. *VMG* 1935, pp. 57, 75.
- Strip III, no 71* consisted of a SW-NE grave pit (inhumation), bounded on the E side by a segment of a very small pc. or stakecircle (dm.: c. 2.50, 5 + 5 phh.). *VMG* 1935, pp. 61, 75.
- Mention must further be made of *Strip III, no 68*, consisting of a very small oval

circle of stakes (dm.: c. 2.50, 9 + 2 stakeholes), surrounded by a concentric rd. (int. dm.: c. 3.50). At the centre lay a cremation burial. We have here a survival of the single widely spaced pc., probably dating from advanced Iron Age times. This monument was intersected by the square or sub-rectangular ditches nos 65-7, which in turn intersected or were intersected by other ditches. *I'MG* 1935, p. 61. The pcc. of the Laudermarke cemetery form a group by themselves, which must largely be dated in the Late Iron Age as has been proved stratigraphically in many cases. For a survey of this large cemetery and the description of the 12 tumuli with stakecircles cf. type 9, Groningen, nos 1-12.

FRIESLAND

- 1 Langedijk, Municipality of Ooststellingwerf, *tumulus I*. A. E. van Giffen, 1928. This is perhaps a two-period monument, consisting of:
- (1) A barrow of yellowish sand with rd. (int. dm.: c. 13) and central oval E-W grave, containing a corded Beaker and six flint flakes. Neolithic.
 - (2) An incomplete pc. (dm.: 8.00-9.00, 11 + 10 phh.?), not concentric with the rd., showing a NE shift. Apparently the inferred phh. did not reach into the subsoil. Van Giffen here assigned both rd. and pc. to the same period. In a pit high up in the mound was a notch-rimmed urn (Late Iron Age) with cremation, together with fragments of another pot apparently used as a lid. Among the cremated bone lay two fragments of a burnt and distorted tubular bronze object, perhaps a bronze bracelet. *Vrije Fries* XXIX, 1929, pp. 39-46; *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 55-7.
- The Neolithic tumuli II and III were also systematically excavated here.

DRENTE

- 1 Weerdinge, Municipality of Emmen, *tumulus 2* of the cemetery near the 'Kamper Eschje'. A. E. van Giffen, 1926. In this barrow the pc. (dm.: 12.00, 25 phh.) showed wider intervals on the S and W, possibly connected with an entrance. At the centre lay a partly disturbed oblong NW-SE grave, in a stone packing. Within the pc. were found 4 tangential sec. graves with trunk coffins; one of these was a woman's grave, containing 2 elaborate bronze wheel-headed pins (fig. 48a), a necklace of amber beads, 2 other bronze pins (a 'Rollkopfnadel' and a 'Nadel in Form eines Nagels', fig. 48b: 7), a bronze bracelet and a finger-ring (Early Bronze Age, Montelius II). Through the action of copper oxide remains of woollen fabric had been preserved on one of the wheel-headed pins (fig. 48a). *Hunebedden* II, 1927, pp. 305-6; *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 76-80.
- 1^a Zeijen, Municipality of Vries, cultural reserve on the 'Noordsche Veld', *tumulus III*. A. E. van Giffen, 1925-8. Two- or three-period barrow, consisting of:
- (1) A primary barrow of fairly clean sand, surrounded by a rd. (int. dm.: c. 10). At the centre lay a stone packing below which were discovered the remains of what was probably a domed structure built over a N-S grave pit. In the grave lay a Beaker decorated with a herringbone pattern, a squat short-necked pot with similar decoration, and a small flint knife (Neolithic).
 - (2) A covering barrow of mixed soil and topsoil, separated from the primary barrow by a layer of charcoal. Perhaps a fairly irregular incomplete pc. (dm.: c. 8, 6 + 5 phh.?) might belong to this phase (according to Van Giffen to phase 1). The central burial had been destroyed.

(3) A casing of sods built up against the slope of the second phase mound. To this probably belonged a second, concentric rd. (int. dm.: c. 16), lying outside the first. A possible central grave may have been destroyed by a recent disturbance.

In this tumulus 9 sec. tangential graves were found, one with a coffin. In another of the graves lay a fine silhouette; a third contained a cremation.

Hunebedden II, 1927, p. 303; *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 130-4. Cf. also nos 31-6 (tumuli 111, 112 and 75), 46-7 (tumulus 117) and type 9, Drente, nos 1-2 (tumuli 28 and I).

2 Hijkerveld, Municipality of Beilen, *tumulus 5*. A. E. van Giffen, 1930.

The barrow had a core of grey sand with sod covering on a podsolized old surface. Fine specimen of a barrow enclosed by a ditch with internal bank (int. dm. rd.: c. 16). The pc. (dm.: 9.60, 12 phh.) was placed between mound and bank. A smaller interval on the E side of the pc. possibly indicated an entrance. Central NW-SE grave with cremation; 6 sec. graves, of which one with trunk coffin, and 2 with cremation. Two small pots, one of them decorated with nail impressions, came from the mound itself.

NDV 1935, p. 102; *PPS* 1938, pp. 260-2; *Drente*, 2nd ed., 1944, pp. 481-3. Cf. also type 5, Drente, no 1 (tumulus 18).

3-4 Wapse, Municipality of Diever, the 'Tweeënbarg'. A. E. van Giffen, 1931. Twin barrows.

Tumulus I, a four-period barrow, consisted of:

(1) A barrow of fairly clean sand, with hardly any sods, surrounded by a rd. (int. dm.: c. 5), and covering a SE-NW grave pit with clear silhouette. Aeneolithic.

(2) Capping of sods on a thin layer of ashes, with central cremation burial (cremation on the spot) within a rd. interrupted on the E side (int. dm.: c. 6.50). Late Aeneolithic or Earliest Bronze Age.

(3) Capping of sods with pc. (dm.: c. 13, 17 phh.) showing an entrance on the E side; central grave with cremation, containing a flat bronze button looped on the underside (Montelius II or III, fig. 48b: 1).

(4) A rd. (int. dm.: c. 6) with at its centre a Harpstedt urn containing a cremation. Early Iron Age.

In phase 1 or 2 a sec. grave with trunk coffin was dug in on the NE side. A few flint artifacts and some sherds of Passage Grave and Beaker pottery ('*potbeker*') found in the subsoil formed a *terminus post quem* (Late Neolithic to Aeneolithic).

NDV 1936, pp. 79-85.

Tumulus II, a two-period barrow, consisted of two phases corresponding to (3) and (4) of tumulus I:

(1) A primary barrow of fairly clean yellowish sand, surrounded by a rd. (int. dm.: c. 9), at the centre of which a SW-NE grave with trunk coffin containing a cremation. In and near the coffin were fragments of at least two small bucket-shaped pots decorated with a zone of small pits below the nicked rim. On the N side a sec. N-S grave. Early Bronze Age.

(2) A covering mound of sods with pc. (dm.: 13, 16 phh.), lying over a SW-NE grave with a cremation, and again with fragments of a small bucket-shaped vessel decorated with two zones of upright nail-impressions at and just below the rim. Two sec. graves with trunk coffins hollowed out by fire, and containing cremations, and another grave in which nothing was found. This mound also contained remains of a thick-walled barrel urn of 'Deverel' type, with finger-tipped cordon below the rim, on the ENE side, and a small bucket-shaped pot on the E side. On the SE side 4 phh. of the pc. stand in the rd. of phase 1.

NDV 1936, pp. 85-91.

The contiguous urnfield with round, oval and sub-rectangular rdd. yielded a number

of urns from Late Bronze and Early Iron Age times. Van Giffen assigns to Montelius VI (750-600 B.C.) a burnt bronze 'Wendelring' found in a Harpstedt type urn. A number of small ritual structures (shrines?) in the form of four phh. placed in a rectangle also came to light here.

5-10 Emmer Dennen, Municipality of Emmen. F. C. Bursch, 1931-2.

Tumulus IV (1931) contained within its pc. (dm.: 6.70, 10 phh.) three graves with coffins, viz. 2 tangentially in the E, and one, WSW-ENE, in the SW, all with inhumation, and each showing a silhouette. High up in the mound a sherd of an urn was found. At the edge of the barrow, on the N side, part of an oval (?) rd. of the contiguous urnfield showed around a patch of cremated bone.

OM Leiden, NR XVII, 1936, pp. 58-9.

Tumulus VI (1931), an elongated mound of greyish sand, was a very remarkable monument. Within the irregular pc. (dm.: c. 9.50, c. 11 phh.), with traces of a fence of stakes between the phh. on the E side, were the remains of a central pyre, viz. 2 patches of charcoal; the most Southerly contained cremated bone, the other yielded some sherds of thick-walled, slip-covered ware. In the edge, on the W side, lay 2 graves with silhouettes in stone packings; in one of these was a shallow dish of thick-walled, fairly coarse ware. On the E side lay 2 further graves with trunk coffins, showing head silhouettes. One had been dug through a patch of charcoal with cremated bone. Within the pc. several sherds of another dish were found. Partly in an annexe, consisting of fairly irregularly placed phh., linking up with the pc. on the SW side, lay a row of 6 NNW-SSE graves with trunk coffins, some with very fine silhouettes, cremated bone being found in one coffin, and much charcoal in its pit. Some of the coffins were kept level by supporting stones. In the two W graves, near the fingers, lay some badly preserved rings of bronze wire, probably spirals; the most Westerly body had moreover been provided with a fine bracelet of sheet bronze with spiral ends (fig. 48b: 5). Two of the graves yielded a sherd each of coarse pottery reminiscent of 'potbeker' ware, of which many fragments were found scattered through the mound. S of the row of graves a similar grave came to light, WSW-ENE. The barrow further contained several sec. urn burials belonging to the contiguous urnfield.

OM Leiden, NR XVII, 1936, pp. 59-61.

Tumulus VII (1932), a two-period barrow, consisted of:

(1) A primary mound of sand on a faintly podsolized subsoil, surrounded by a shallow oval rd. (int. dm.: c. 7-8) interrupted on the W side. Within the ditch appeared a circle of 5 widely spaced phh. (dm.: c. 4.25, 5 phh.) round a central E-W grave with indistinct traces of a trunk coffin and a faint silhouette. In this grave were found an S-beaker with vertical herringbone pattern and a coarsely worked small flint knife.

(2) A covering barrow of sods with double closely spaced pc. (int. dm.: c. 10.50) to be dealt with under type 6, Drente, no 1. Central cremation; at the edge 2 tangential graves with trunk coffins, one with good silhouette.

OM Leiden, NR XVII, 1936, pp. 61-3.

Tumulus VIII (1932) was a heavily damaged two-period barrow of sods over a slightly eccentric pyre, near which the cremation had been placed in a shallow pit, possibly in a coffin. Remains of probably 2 pcc. (dm.: c. 10). Across the mound lay a row of 4 grave pits, each NNW-SSE, with trunk coffins and good silhouettes; grave goods from one of these comprised a small bronze pin (?), a flat flint disc and some sherds of coarse, gritty ware; more fragments of this ware were found in the body of the mound, amongst them a piece with a finger-tipped zone below the rim; on the finger-tipped zone was a horizontal lug. The central grave was flanked on the

SSE side, at the foot, by two large pph., 1.75 metres apart (remains of a mortuary house?), not mentioned by Bursch. Could this have been the principal grave of the sec. barrow? The arrangement of the graves suggests simultaneous or a quick succession of interments.

OM Leiden, NR XVII, 1936, pp. 63-4.

Tumulus XI (1932) contained a very widely spaced pc. (dm.: c. 7.50, 6 pph.), within which lay 2 tangential graves with coffins, showing silhouettes. One of these yielded a necklace of 32 beads: 31 of amber, one of rock crystal; further grave goods included a small bronze ring and 2 pots, viz. a truncated pear-shaped vessel with two upright handles below a rim provided with horizontal lugs at regular intervals, and a small handled pot. Two sec. cremation burials.

OM Leiden, NR XVII, 1936, pp. 64-6.

The traces of postholes in the incompletely dug tumuli 9 and 12 were too scanty or irregular to be interpreted as postcircles. Cf. also type 5, Drente, no 2 (tumulus I) and type 6, Drente, no 1 (tumulus VII, phase 2).

- 11-5 Ballooërveld, Municipality of Rolde. A. E. van Giffen, 1933. Large cemetery of 38 tumuli. The first phase of tumuli 2, 4, 6 and 8 had been built of fairly pure yellowish sand on an as yet hardly podsolized old surface.

Tumulus 2, a three-period barrow, consisted of the following phases:

(1) Mound with rd. (int. dm.: 7.50) and internal bank (h.: 0.40, w.: 2.00). Central cremation burial, accompanied by 3 irregularly placed pph. Near the grave were found a small flint scraper and several undecorated sherds.

(2) Capping of sods and yellow or grey sand, with pc. (dm.: c. 11, 14 + 3 pph.) (at first, 1935, assigned to phase 1). The lack of 3 pph. on the NE side is probably due to recent disturbances. Two graves near the centre of the barrow, and 7 sec. tangential graves at the edge, viz. 5 sub-rectangular graves, 2 of them with trunk coffins, and 2 cremation burials, probably all dug in phase 2. Two further cremation burials were found near the centre, one of them perhaps the principal grave of this phase.

(3) Capping composed of sods and yellow sand, probably with central trunk coffin in a pit.

As with tumuli 4, 6 and 8, square and rectangular ditches of an urnfield, open towards the barrow, linked up with the monument at its edge and formed a stratigraphic *terminus ante quem*.

NDV 1935, pp. 94-102; *Brab. Oergesch.*, 1937, p. 13, note 2.

Tumulus 4 was also a three-period monument, consisting of the following phases:

(1) A very regular pc. (dm.: 16.00, 19 pph.), with a larger interval, possibly an entrance, on the S side, and a central WNW-ESE grave. In the subsoil were discovered two sherds of Passage Grave pottery, a rim and a base fragment, giving a *terminus post quem*, and also 2 cremation burials antedating the barrow. One of the cremations lay on a patch of charcoal, possibly an *ustrinum*. Of 5 sec. graves 3 contained trunk coffins; in 4 the dead had been buried in extended position, one contained cremated bones with grave goods that had been burnt, viz. a polisher of schist, a flint spearhead, 3 hollow-based flint arrowheads, and some indeterminate flint fragments (Earliest Bronze Age). The coffinless inhumation grave contained remains of 2 bronze pins (Montelius II, c. 1500-1200 B.C., according to Van Giffen) affording a *terminus ante quem*.

(2) A capping of sods, in which no grave could be found.

(3) A further capping of topsoil, partly on tumulus 3, and overlying two inverted urns (dated by Van Giffen to Early La Tène times, c. 400 B.C., on the strength of a similar urn found at Zeijen with the remains of a pyre beneath a sod-built barrow, and dated by a knobbed fibula. *NDV* 1918, p. 165).

Tumulus 3, raised from sods on a pyre, which partly overlay phase 2 of tumulus 4, on the W side, afforded a further stratigraphic *terminus ante quem*.

Van Giffen summarized the stratigraphic history of tumulus 4 as follows: first came the Late Neolithic barrow with pc. (1), surrounding an inhumation grave (c. 1800 B.C.); in this barrow 5 sec. graves were dug during the Early Bronze Age: a cremation burial dating from the Earliest Bronze Age (Montelius I, c. 1800-1500 B.C.) and 4 trunk coffin graves characteristic for the Early Bronze Age (Montelius II-III, c. 1500-1000 B.C.); next the capping of sods (2), and tumulus 3, from the Late Bronze Age (Montelius IV-V, c. 1100-750 B.C.) or Early Iron Age (Montelius VI, c. 750-500 B.C.); finally the Early La Tène urn burial (La Tène I, c. 500-300 B.C.) (3).

NDV 1935, pp. 76-83.

Tumulus 6, the 'Mandenberg', a two-period barrow, consisted of:

(1) A barrow of fairly pure yellowish sand on a scarcely podsolized subsoil. The tumulus was surrounded by an incomplete irregularly spaced pc. (dm.: 9.00, 14 + 8 phh.). At the centre of the barrow was found a deep central SW-NE grave pit without grave goods; a second, regular, outer pc. (dm.: 15.00, 18 + 3 phh.) possibly had an entrance on the SE. Van Giffen suggested that the 2 pc. belong to the same phase, and that the building of the barrow may have temporarily ceased when the first was in position. In the subsoil some sherds of Passage Grave pottery, some flint flakes and 2 fragments of flint axes were found.

(2) A rd. (int. dm.: 11.50) intersecting a ph. of the outer pc., surrounding a SSW-NNE inhumation grave. From the upper filling of this grave pit came a small double-handled pot and a small bowl, which did not belong to the grave; a similar bowl, an isolated sherd and a cremation-filled four-handled urn were found in the vicinity. On the analogy of the Harenermolen finds Van Giffen placed this pottery in the 6th century B.C. (*terminus ante quem* for the barrow). A total of 7 tangential sec. graves with trunk coffins were dug after the first but before the last phase of construction, as some are cut across by the rd. The position of several of these shows beyond doubt that the still intact outer pc. was a factor in siting them. Two of the trunk coffins had been kept on an even keel by supporting stones, and the traces of supporting cross-beams showed for two others. Three of the graves contained grave goods, viz.: (1) 2 broad bronze penannular bracelets, ribbed horizontally (fig. 48b: 4); (2) 3 small gold rings, 2 of them interlocking (fig. 48b: 2-3); and (3) a bronze bracelet, square in section, and fragments of perhaps similar bracelets as those in (1). All were found on the floor of the grave pits and date from the Early Bronze Age (Montelius II, c. 1400 B.C.). Finally a small cremation grave came to light, and, as in tumulus 4, an *ustrinum*. The small tumulus 7, situated on the ENE edge of tumulus 6, was a two-period monument. Each phase was enclosed by a rectangular ditch, open towards tumulus 6. The secondary ditch was enclosed by parts of a rectangular fence of close-set stakes (after Early La Tène, but probably pre-Roman). A few objects were recovered from other graves of the ringditch urnfield, amongst them a cobalt blue glass bead (mid La Tène) from a cremation pit.

NDV 1935, pp. 83-94.

Tumulus 8, a two-period barrow, consisted of:

(1) A primary sand core with central NNW-SSE cremation burial at ground level.

(2) A capping of sods with pc. (dm.: 9.00, 10 phh.), surrounding a central cremation burial in a shallow pit. On the E side the pc. showed an entrance. A thick-walled base sherd of a large barrel-shaped cinerary urn, which Van Giffen assigned to the Deverel group, was all that remained of a secondary interment.

NDV 1935, pp. 103-4.

Cf. also type 9, Drente, no 3 (tumulus 10).

- 16-7 Sleenerzand, Municipalities of Sleen and Zweeloo, the 'Galgenberg'. A. E. van Giffen, 1934 & 1938. This impressive three-period barrow consisted of:
- (1) A primary mound showing somewhat more strongly developed sod structure than tumulus I of the 'Tweeënberg' (cf. no 3), and surrounded by a rd. (int. dm.: 11.60) with at its centre a NW-SE inhumation grave containing a schist polisher (Aeneolithic or Earliest Bronze Age, Montelius I). An oval hollow in the NW quadrant may represent a 'ritual' pit.
 - (2) A capping of sods, surrounded by a pc. (dm.: 15.00, 18 phh.) with an interruption on the W side, and at its centre a NNW-SSE grave. The latter contained a bronze palstave (Montelius II), a twisted bronze wristlet, 2 gold spirals (fig. 47), and the remains of at least 14 flat, slightly barbed bronze arrowheads with bark fibres and the remains of wooden shafts still attached. The time that elapsed between phases 1 and 2 cannot have been long.
 - (3) A second capping of sods, surrounded by a large pc. (dm.: 20.00, 30 phh.), the central grave of which had been destroyed by recent disturbances. Four tangential sec. graves with coffins, one in phase 2, the others in phase 3; one of the latter contained a corroded bronze pin. At the edge of the barrow, to the S of the outer pc., another coffin came to light. At and near the edge of phase 3 two urn burials were found, viz. a base fragment of a La Tène or later urn, and a notch-rimmed bi-conical urn containing a fairly large handled basin-shaped accessory vessel (Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age).
- NDV* 1936, pp. 104-10; 1940, pp. 207-9.
- Features of a contiguous urnfield were 2 sub-rectangular ditches with internal rectangular post settings, round and oval ditches, and a 'ridge', probably old arable. A cremation barrow (Late Iron Age) covered several of these ringditch interments. Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, pp. 121-31.
- 18 Peeloo, Municipality of Assen. A. E. van Giffen, 1936. The Eastern remnant of a largely destroyed three-period barrow, consisting of the following phases:
- (1) With ringditch (probably Neolithic).
 - (2) With pc. (original dm.: c. 14 (?), 6 + 9 phh.?), with additional circle of close-set stakes between phh.; entrance on the E side where the row of stakeholes ends?
 - (3) With irregular triple closely spaced pc. to be dealt with under type 7, Drente, no 1.
- NDV* 1938, pp. 112-3.
- NE of the mound a beehive-shaped grave (Neolithic or Aeneolithic), and a number of circular Urnfield ditches.
- 19 Diphooorn, Municipality of Sleen. A. E. van Giffen, 1937.
- At the centre of the pc. (dm.: c. 11, 11 phh.) a SW-NE grave. On the SW side 2 intermediate phh., probably connected with an entrance blocking. On the S side, just outside the pc. and near the entrance, 4 phh. in a rectangle (c. 1.60 by 1.00), interpreted by Van Giffen as a shrine or sanctuary. In the SE of these phh. were found remains of a pot.
- NDV* 1939, pp. 134-6.
- 20 Aalden, Municipality of Zweeloo, tumulus II, the 'Schepersbergje'. A. E. van Giffen, 1938.
- The irregular, more or less rounded rectangular pc. (dm.: c. 12.50, 15 + 1 phh.), with interruptions on the NW and SE sides, surrounded two contemporary WSW-ENE graves with trunk coffins; the Northernmost of these between 3 phh. (of an original 4, placed in a rectangle?), probably of a mortuary house (c. 2.30

by 1.30); a ph. still further W may represent a stele. In this grave a clear silhouette, the head lying towards the W. The SE interruption in the pc. may be due to a recent disturbance, two shepherd's shelters having here been dug into the barrow (hence its name, 'Shepherds' mound'). Six tangential sec. graves, 4 with trunk coffin, all lay within the pc. The NW coffin showed a clear silhouette.

NDV 1940, pp. 205-7.

In the vicinity some Neolithic tumuli and an urnfield with circular ditches.

21 Westervelde, Municipality of Norg, *tumulus I*. A. E. van Giffen, 1938.

Three-period barrow, consisting of:

(1) A mound of sand on unpodsolized subsoil, with a ditch interrupted in 2 places, and open towards the E (int. dm.: c. 8.50), with at its centre a WSW-ENE grave containing 2 sherds, one of a corded Beaker, the other of a Beaker with herringbone pattern, and 2 flint flakes (Late Neolithic).

(2) A capping of sods with double closely spaced pc. to be dealt with under type 6, Drente, no 4.

(3) A second capping of sods with pc. (dm.: 14.80, 17 phh.), with an entrance on the E side. Three tangential sec. graves, all cutting the pc. of phase 2. The central graves of phases 2 and 3 had been destroyed by recent disturbances.

NDV 1940, pp. 210-2. Cf. also type 6, Drente, no 5 (tumulus II).

22-4 Nijlande, Municipality of Rolde. A. E. van Giffen, 1939.

Tumulus I, a two- or three-period barrow, consisted of:

(1) A central mound of yellow sand on unpodsolized subsoil with SW-NE grave containing a cremation, a flint flake and the blade ends of two thick-butted axes (Late Neolithic).

(2) A capping of sods with pc. (dm.: 14.00, 17 phh.) round a NNW-SSE grave; on the NE side 3 extra phh. in the pc., irregularly spaced, possibly connected with an entrance blocking. Nine sec. graves at the periphery.

(3) In the S-SW edge of the barrow part of a rd. (int. dm.: c. 10), cutting across 3 phh. of the pc. mentioned under (2).

NDV 1941, pp. 108-10.

Tumulus II, a two-period barrow, consisted of:

(1) A primary barrow of brownish-yellow sand to which apparently belonged an incomplete widely spaced pc. (dm.: c. 7.50, 7 + 4 phh.), which must have stood in the slope, not at the edge of the barrow. Central, shallow WSW-ENE grave with flexed silhouette; a stone hammer-axe found before the excavation may belong to this grave.

(2) A capping with pc. (dm.: 11.00, 15 phh.); a bronze pin found before the excavation may have come from its destroyed central grave. Five tangential sec. graves, 2 with trunk coffin and 2 with silhouette, one with a bronze pin (fig. 48b: 6) like that from the barrow centre. In the edge of the barrow an urn burial.

NDV 1941, pp. 110-1.

ESE of tumulus II a sub-rectangular ditch with 8 internal phh. arranged in a rectangle, around an urn of Harpstedt type (Early Iron Age). A similar urn damaged in digging the ditch.

25 Vries, Municipality of Vries, *tumulus III*. A. E. van Giffen, 1939 & 1949.

Two-period barrow, consisting of:

(1) Primary mound of yellow sand, with NW-SE stone packing (passage grave derivative); from the mound a fine sherd of so-called 'potbeker' ware (Aeneolithic).

- (2) Capping of sods, with pc. (dm.: 13.80, 15 + 1 phh.) around E-W grave with coffin, a supporting stone being placed at each corner. Five sec. graves, viz. one at the centre with trunk coffin, and 4 tangential, one of them with trunk coffin. *NDI* 1941, pp. 117-9.
- 26 7 Zuidvelde, Municipality of Norg. A. E. van Giffen, 1939.
Tumulus I contained at the centre of its pc. (dm.: 12.50, 16 phh.) a grave at ground level. 11 tangential sec. graves, 5 with trunk coffin; in one coffin a silhouette. One small cremation burial.
NDV 1941, pp. 122-3.
Tumulus II also contained a primary grave at ground level at the centre of a pc. (dm.: 11.00, 13 phh.) in which a smaller interval on the S side showed an entrance. Two tangential graves, and a two-handled urn (Late Bronze Age).
NDV 1941, pp. 123-4.
- 28 Gasteren, Municipality of Anloo, *tumulus 37*. A. E. van Giffen, 1939.
Mound of greyish sand on a subsoil with incipient podsolization. Within the pc. (dm.: 7.00, 9 phh.) a slightly eccentric NNW-SSE grave with carbonized oak coffin containing cremated bones of a 10 to 12 years old child. In the edge of the grave pit lay a number of irregularly placed stakeholes, probably from a wooden lining of upright stakes. S and SW of the grave were 3 of a probable 4 small phh. placed in a rectangle which Van Giffen explained as the supporting stakes of the pyre. They might also be interpreted as a temporary mortuary house. On the SE side an intermediate ph. in the pc. probably indicates an entrance blocking. Four tangential sec. graves with trunk coffins, one showing remains of a silhouette and yielding a small dish (probably Early or Middle Bronze Age). Another sec. grave contained a bucket-shaped vessel with raised band below the rim (Early Bronze Age, probably Montelius II), which Van Giffen related to the late Passage Grave pottery of so-called Havelte style. Van Giffen would not date these sec. interments before 1350-1200 B.C.
NDV 1945, pp. 73-8.
This tumulus forms part of a large cemetery, with *inter alia* a Neolithic tumulus (no 44), an urnfield (Late Bronze Age, Early and Middle Iron Age) with many circular and several oblong sub-rectangular ditches with internal rectangular timber structures (Late Bronze Age — Early Iron Age), and a number of barrows with cremations (Iron Age, down to Roman Imperial times). Cf. also type 7, Drente, no 2.
- 29 Weerdinge, Municipality of Emmen, *tumulus II*, the 'Paaschberg' or 'Schattenberg'. A. E. van Giffen, 1934 & 1941.
Two-period barrow, consisting of:
(1) Central mound of sods; within the incomplete pc. (dm.: c. 10.50, 8 + 6 phh.?) a NW-SE grave with trunk coffin, containing a silhouette with the head towards the NW. Seven tangential sec. graves — several cutting one across the other and destroying phh. of the pc. — all with trunk coffin and 6 with silhouette. The most Southerly of these was probably a woman's grave and contained a bronze pin, finger-ring, and a thick-walled sherd. The silhouette of a young girl in the NW quadrant had 2 bronze wristlets on the lower arms, and 29 amber beads at the neck. In the mound a small barrel-shaped pot (Late Bronze Age).
(2) Capping of sods in which no grave was found. The pot may have belonged here.
NDV 1943, pp. 94-7.
In the vicinity of this tumulus urns have been found on several occasions (Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age).

30 Eenerschans, Municipality of Norg. A. E. van Giffen, 1944.

Three-period barrow, consisting of:

(1) A sod-built core with rd. (int. dm.: 11.80), on already podsolized surface. From the destroyed primary grave came a Bell Beaker of 'Batavian' type with 5 legs (Aeneolithic).

(2) A capping of grey sand, also with rd. (int. dm.: 15.20) interrupted in 3 places.

(3) A second capping of sods with incomplete irregular pc. (original dm.: c. 15, 6 + 14 phh.?). Central graves of phases 2 and 3 also destroyed by recent disturbances. *NDV* 1946, pp. 75-83.

31-6 Zeijen, Municipality of Vries, cultural reserve on the 'Noordsche Veld'. A. E. van Giffen, 1919 & 1944.

Tumulus 111 (1944), probably a two-period barrow, with 2 pcc. (dm.: 10.00, 9 + 2 phh. and dm.: 12.40, 17 phh.?). Van Giffen assumed a flat berm between the inner and outer pc. Many double phh. in the outer pc., with several intersections, indicating replacements on one or two occasions; 2 phh. (int.: c. 1.25) out of line on the NW side showed an entrance. Inhumation at ground level for period 1? Destroyed stone packing high up at the centre of the barrow, and 11 tangential sec. graves, one with trunk coffin and 4 with vestigial stone packing; by one of these latter a small bucket-shaped pot (Early or Middle Bronze Age) and a bi-conical urn (Late Bronze Age) containing a cremation. Some of the sec. graves cut across phh. of the inner circle.

NDV 1949, pp. 113-4.

Tumulus 112 (1919 & 1944), sod-built barrow in two phases, with peripheral stone revetment and pc. (dm.: c. 13, 14 + 4 phh.). Several phh. double through repairs. Four secondary pottery vessels, three small bucket shapes (Early to Middle Bronze Age), one truncated pear-shape (Late Bronze Age).

Bauart, 1930, p. 31; *NDV* 1949, pp. 114-5.

Tumulus 75 (1944) (figs 67: 10 and 69) turned out to be one of the most interesting timber monuments in the Netherlands. It consisted of:

(1) A central mound of sods, surrounded by a very fine pc. (dm.: 12.00, 17 phh.), with an entrance on the NE side, flanked by 2 rectangular phh. (int.: c. 2). Within this circle eight large round, oval and rectangular phh. of another, incomplete and irregular pc. (dm.: 7.00, 8 + x phh.). On the SSE side an avenue, some 35 metres long, blocked by a post at the SSE end, and consisting of two parallel rows of posts, 1.40 metres apart, linked up with the outer pc. At about 8.50 metres outside the pc. a square ph. occurred in either row. At the centre of the barrow was found a cairn (c. 2.30 by 2.30, 0.45 high), oriented NW and SE, on which a probably sec. cremation burial with a sherd. SSE of the cairn lay a WSW-ENE grave with trunk coffin, covered by a few stones. At each corner of the cairn was a round ph. with clear core (dm.: 0.27). Below the cairn were 4 NW-SE graves, three of them with trunk coffin. The largest grave lay at the centre; between the corner posts on the SW side lay 2 small graves (of children) in a direct line, only the most South-Easterly containing a coffin. The sod-built barrow and the central group of 5 graves formed a contemporary whole; probably a man, woman and two children were buried within a square mortuary house (2.30 by 2.30, fig. 67: 10), another person being buried outside it. 4 sec. tangential graves, 3 with clear trunk coffins; 4 further graves with coffins, in a NNW-SSE row, began just NNW of the NW ph. of the mortuary house. Phh. stood at the corners of these latter graves; one, of the most SSE grave, was a double hole (replacement), while the NE ph. intersected its SE counterpart of the next grave. Possibly 3 of these graves lay each within its own mortuary house (c. 2.40 by 1.40), viz. the most SSE, which lay entirely

inside the outer pc., the next, which does so in part, and then the NNW grave, which is lying entirely outside the outer pc. In the 2 central of these 4 graves one and three amber beads were found. Van Giffen assumes that the inner pc. marked the edge of the barrow and that there was a circular berm between the two pcc. The mortuary house has parallels in NW Germany. Early Bronze Age.

(2) A secondary capping of sods must be assigned to a second construction phase, to which must also belong an arc of 6 large rectangular phh. that do not go down to the virgin soil. The arc lies on the SW side between the two pcc., and opposite the entrance in the outer pc.

NDV 1949, pp. 106-113. — Cf. also no 1^a (tumulus III), nos 46-7 (tumulus 117), and type 9, Drenthe, nos 1-2 (tumuli 28 and I).

- 37-8 Hooghalen, Municipalities of Beilen and Rolde. A. E. van Giffen, 1947.
Two-period barrow of very fine sods, with 2 pcc. (dm.: c. 9.70, 12 + 1 phh. and dm.: 11.00, 13 phh.); some renewed phh. in both. The outer with entrance blocking on the E side? Eccentric NW-SE primary grave with trunk coffin; 6 tangential sec. graves, 5 with trunk coffin; one of these yielded a small vessel (Early or Middle Bronze Age).
- 39 Spier, Municipality of Beilen, *tumulus 2*. A. E. van Giffen, 1949.
Heavily damaged barrow of sods with pc. (dm.: 12.00, 14 phh.), with remains of a circle of close-set stakes between phh. on NW and SE sides. Centre destroyed; 6 tangential sec. graves with coffins, one with fine silhouette.
Cf. also type 6, Drenthe, no 6 (tumulus 1).
- 40-2 Hooghalen, Municipality of Westerbork, the '*Schattenberg*'. A. E. van Giffen, 1950.
Three-period barrow, with 3 pcc. (dm.: 11.00, 12 + 2 phh.; dm.: 13.80, 17 + 1 phh.; and dm.: 15.30, 20 phh.). The middle and outer probably had an entrance, on the SE and E sides respectively. Phase 1 had a central WNW-ESE mortuary house (1.70 by 1.40) of 4 phh., with traces of boards which continued up into the mound (fig. 67: 11). In the enclosed grave pit two small children's coffins, one with silhouette, the other yielding a small circular plaque of sheet bronze with central perforation. Above the coffins the pit had been filled in with grey soil, on and against which the sods had been piled. Close on the mortuary house, on the N side, a WNW-ESE grave with trunk coffin contained the silhouette of an adult, the head towards the ESE; the grave had been filled in with sods. This interment must be contemporary with those inside the mortuary house. The central graves of phases 2 and 3 were probably destroyed in recent times. Three sec. graves with trunk coffins, one with a bronze pin (approximately fig. 48b: 6; Montelius II) and two small bronze spirals. A barrel-shaped pot (Early Bronze Age) was recovered from a ph. of the pc. of the third phase, on the W side.
- 43-5 Oudemolen, Municipality of Vries. A. E. van Giffen, 1950.
Tumulus 7 contained at the centre of the pc. (dm.: 7.80, 7 + 3 phh.) a NW-SE grave with trunk coffin. 3 tangential sec. graves, 2 of them with trunk coffin. One of the phh. turned out to have been shifted or renewed twice.
Tumulus 8 had a pc. (dm.: 11.20, 14 phh.) within which no primary grave could be found (probably inhumation at ground level). Within the pc. 5 tangential sec. graves, 4 with trunk coffin.
Tumulus 9 had been largely destroyed; only the E part of the pc. (original dm.: c. 12.50, 7 + 10 phh.?) was still there. Centre totally destroyed; 3 tangential sec.

graves in the E edge, one with coffin and very fine silhouette (bones partly preserved); a number of puzzling phh. and stray holes.

Cf. also type 6, Drente, no 7 (tumulus 12). The other excavated tumuli of this cemetery were built of sods on the remains of a pyre (nos 1-5); one (no 4) was lying on old arable with fine plough-markings, and dated by a La Tène 'Segelohring'. An interesting feature were a group of 7 graves (4 with trunk coffin, 2 with silhouette, 4 with cremation), in the vicinity of which were observed two small configurations of 4 phh. each in a square, and one of 6 phh. forming a rectangle. No traces were found of a mound.

- 46-7 Zeijen, Municipality of Vries, cultural reserve on the 'Noordsche Veld', *tumulus 117*. A. E. van Giffen, 1951.

Probably a two-period barrow, with very faint sod structure; 2 pcc. (dm.: c. 8.50, 9 phh. and dm.: 12.00, 13 phh.), the outer possibly with an entrance on the E side. Small central cremation burial. Three tangential sec. graves. Old arable across the barrow, with plough-markings, in which were 7 square to rectangular configurations of phh., N, NE and S of the barrow, possibly shrines or granaries.

Cf. also nos 1^a (tumulus III), 31-6 (tumuli 111, 112 and 75) and type 9, Drente, nos 1-2 (tumuli 28 and I).

- 48 Ruinen, Municipality of Ruinen, the 'Galgenberg'. W. Glasbergen, 1951.

Remnant of a three-period barrow, consisting of:

(1) A primary barrow of brownish-grey sand without sod structure, on hardly perceptible old surface (washed-out gravel). Pc. (original dm.: c. 13, 6 + 10 phh.?) somewhat to the inside of the edge of the barrow.

(2) and (3) The two other phases showed no peripheral constructions; phase 2. a sand capping of the primary barrow, had a magnificent podsol band separating it from phase 3, equally of sand.

Of the central grave of phase 1 only a small tip remained. Objects found in this barrow on earlier occasions were a small globular Beaker with everted rim, with herringbone pattern on the neck and a raised cordon on the shoulder with 4 vertically perforated lugs, and further a zoned Beaker sherd and a small flint knife (from the primary grave?). Neolithic.

- 49 Schipborg, Municipality of Anloo, *tumulus III*. A. E. van Giffen, 1952.

Heavily damaged two-period barrow, consisting of:

(1) A barrow of grey sand with pc. (dm.: c. 14.50, 13 + 5 phh.). On the S side a very large interval. Primary central grave not found.

(2) Capping of sods. — Three sec. tangential graves, of which 2 certainly dug in phase 1, and one an eccentric sec. NNW-SSE grave with corpse silhouette (after phase 2).

GELDERLAND

- *1 Uddel, Municipality of Apeldoorn, *tumulus B*. J. H. Holwerda, 1910.

This barrow is already to be found on a map by Dr L. J. F. Janssen, who carried out an investigation in 1842. Janssen found a few apparently sec. cremation burials, generally close to the surface. Professor Sandifort determined one as an adult. The excavation also brought to light 3 scraps of pottery. After this investigation the tumulus was largely levelled by neighbouring farmers, when the central grave was probably destroyed.

It consisted of greyish-brown sand with dark horizontal infiltration veins — according to Holwerda due to a collapsed construction of wood — and contained

Barrows surrounded by Rings of Posts

the first single widely spaced pc. (dm.: c. 11, 7 + 11 phh.) discovered in the Netherlands. The mound partly covered remains of a Neolithic settlement: a hard-trodden floor, pit dwellings, postholes, numerous flint fragments, and Neolithic pottery, generally undecorated, but a few sherds with incised decoration (such as Passage Grave ware).

Janssen, *NB IV*, 1844, pp. 85-6; Holwerda, *OM Leiden*, OR V, 1911, p. 11; cf. also Van Giffen, *Bauart*, 1930, p. 111.

Excavated together with tumuli D and E, Beaker barrows with circular (foundation?) trenches (?), again interpreted by Holwerda as the remains of dome-shaped grave constructions, and tumulus C, with circle of close-set stakes (type 9, Gelderland, no 1), interpreted by Holwerda as the remains of a collapsed timber structure. The tumuli are situated outside the Early Medieval 'Humeschans' linking up with the Uddel lake. Cf. also type 5, Gelderland, nos 1-3 and type 9, Gelderland, no 1 (tumulus C).

2 Speulde, Municipality of Ermeloo, *tumulus* 7. F. C. Bursch, 1928.

From the vague description of this incompletely dug tumulus it can be deduced that a pc. (dm.: c. 9, 7 + 4 phh.) was found in a surrounding trench (?). At its centre a rectangular N-S grave was surrounded by a number of irregularly spaced stakeholes. Three sec. tangential graves with trunk coffins, also situated in the trench (int. dm.: c. 9), were interpreted by Bursch as charred beams of a dome structure. Fairly high up in the mound a sec. cremation was found and, also at a high level, 2 coarse undecorated sherds.

OM Leiden, NR XIV, 1933, p. 48.

3 Epe, Municipality of Epe, *tumulus* 2. F. C. Bursch, 1931.

This incompletely dug mound, piled up from grey sand with numerous charcoal particles, contained a pc. (original dm.: c. 9.50, 4 + 3 phh.?) surrounded by a stakecircle (original dm.: c. 12.50), with a slightly eccentric shallow N-S grave showing a skull silhouette at the S end. Just below the top a sec. cremation burial which Bursch correlated with a sec. capping of the mound. The stakecircle might be connected with this second phase of construction. Only one small thick-walled undecorated sherd was found, which Bursch assigned to the Bell Beaker culture. *OM Leiden*, NR XIV, 1933, pp. 65-6.

4 Warnsbörn, Municipality of Arnhem, *tumulus* 3, the 'Meelworstenberg'. H. Tj. Waterbolk and W. Glasbergen, 1947-8.

Three-period barrow, consisting of:

(1) A central mound already showing traces of sod structure; no grave found (probably at ground level).

(2) A capping of sods surrounded by a discontinuous quarry ditch. Partly in this ditch — the majority of phh. dug through its outer lip — a pc. (dm.: c. 16, 18 phh.) round a central grave with coffin.

(3) A capping of brownish-yellow sand. The central grave of this phase was not found. There were some 12 tangential sec. graves which yielded several very fine silhouettes in trunk coffins; one of the coffins was supported by sods. Parts of the femora and the left patella of one of the dead had been preserved. The pc. was restored after excavation. This tumulus belongs to a partly excavated group, with 2 Neolithic barrows, one with intermediate palisade trench (type 1) round a grave with flexed silhouette, containing a corded Beaker, a small flint axe and knife (Neolithic). Among the others were 4 sod-built barrows without peripheral constructions, with graves containing fine extended silhouettes (Early Bronze Age).

Gelre LI, 1951, pp. 93-4 (see also p. 6, note 61).

UTRECHT

- 1 Soesterberg, Municipality of Soest, *tumulus 2*. F. C. Bursch, 1932.
A smaller interval on the W side of the pc. (dm.: 10.00, 9 phh.) of this sod-built barrow probably indicated an entrance. Five cremation burials were found. In several cases a few sherds of 'Deverel' type probably indicated the urns which had been destroyed by recent disturbances. Fragments of an eccentrically interred 'Deverel' urn, found at a high level in the mound, were taken for the primary interment. *OM Leiden*, NR XV, 1934, pp. 55-6; *Marburger Studien*, 1938, p. 22.
Situated beside the Bronze Age tumulus with stone revetment excavated by H. Martin and A. E. van Giffen in 1922-3, in which 2 sec. 'Deverel' urns (fig. 57: 12 and 13) were discovered. Both belonged to a group of Neolithic and Bronze Age barrows. In this region quite a number of urns of 'Deverel' type have been found on earlier occasions. See below, pp. 95-6.

NORTH HOLLAND

- 1 Laren, Municipality of Laren, the '*Zeven Bergjes*', *tumulus 2*. A. E. Remouchamps, 1925-6.
Within the incompletely excavated, very irregular pc. (dm.: c. 35 (read c. 9), 9 + 1 phh.) on the S side a grave with E-W trunk coffin, with remains of a silhouette, the head to the W; at the neck 4 amber buttons with V-shaped perforation. At the centre a charcoal-filled pit; according to Remouchamps this must have contained a post supporting a roofing construction. High up in the mound a cremation burial; according to Remouchamps a number of La Tène sherds, some decorated with nail impressions belonged to this burial (probably a 'Deverel' urn). On the NNW side a SW-NE rectangular pit filled with sods, possibly a tangential sec. grave like the first-mentioned.
OM Leiden, NR IX, 1928, pp. 66-7.
The barrow belongs to a group of 10 Neolithic and Bronze Age tumuli; one, no 9, with foundation trench containing phh. (?) (type 2 ?), and central grave with very fine Bell Beaker sherds. No 8, a two-period tumulus, consisted of a primary barrow of sand, with at its centre a SW-NE grave containing a trunk coffin with 4 supporting stones. In the coffin remains of a silhouette (the head to the SE?). Sec. covering mound of sods, with central cremation burial in cordoned 'Deverel' urn.

NORTH BRABANT

- 1 Goirle, Municipality of Goirle, *tumulus 4*. A. E. Remouchamps, 1925.
Three-period barrow, with:
(1) A very fine pc. (dm.: c. 11, 8 phh.) with circle of close-set stakes, partly outside and partly between the phh., but lacking between 2 phh. on the E side where an entrance must have been. On the S side the stakecircle had been doubled between 3 phh.
(2) and (3) A wide ringditch (int. dm.: c. 14), and, cutting across it with a centre more towards the SW, a very narrow circular ditch (int. dm.: c. 16, w.: c. 0.25). The rd. of phase 2 was further intersected by a segment of another circular ditch lying on the NNE slope of the barrow, whilst on the E side one of a group of 5 long sub-rectangular ditches ('ridges', prehistoric arable strips?) linked up with it.
In May 1909 the centre of this barrow was dug out by an amateur. At 1.50 below the top of the mound he discovered an oblong E-W grave with ash and fragments of cremated bone. (According to Remouchamps we have here a collapsed wooden

construction with vertical walls and an obtuse conical roof. Lying in his open grave the buried man would have been partly cremated by a fire made above it.)

OM Leiden, NR VII, 1926, pp. ci-v; cf. also Van Giffen, *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 112-4. Contiguous urnfield with circular ditches and some 'ridges' (Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age). From one of the urns came an iron ringed pin; some 100 metres S of the urnfield some further urns were found, one containing a double-bladed razor (Late Bronze Age to Hallstatt period) and a small accessory pot.

- 2-3 Rechte Heide, Municipality of Goirle, the '*Vijfberg*'. A. E. van Giffen, 1935. *Tumulus III*. The grave at the centre of the pc. (dm.: 10.00, 13 phh.) had been destroyed. A large interval on the E side indicated an entrance. On the W side a trunk coffin with cremation had been interred tangentially among the sods; it cannot thus be secondary. In the S edge of the barrow a small sec. grave, without cremation (child's grave).
Brab. Oergesch., 1937, pp. 27-9.
Tumulus IV, a two-period barrow, consisted of:
(1) Barrow of sods with pc. (dm.: 10.00, 11 phh.) round an eccentric SSW-NNE grave with cremation and a flintflake. Around the grave much oak charcoal. Narrower intervals in the pc. on the S and N sides. On the E side a small sec. rectangular cremation grave containing a small barrel-shaped vessel (Bronze Age).
(2) Secondary capping of topsoil, with a ringditch (int. dm.: c. 9) intersecting four of the phh. of the pc.
Brab. Oergesch., 1937, pp. 29-31.
Excavated together with nos I (with enclosing bank and ditch), II (type 5, North Brabant, no 2), V (type 6, North Brabant, no 1), VI (type 7, North Brabant, no 4) and VII (with ringditch).
- 4-14 Toterfout-Halve Mijl, Municipality of Veldhoven, tumuli 3, 5 (twice), 6, 7, 8, 11 (twice), 14, 15 and 16, in all 11 specimens. See Part I.
- 15 Hoogeloon, Municipality of Hoogeloon etc., the '*Zwartenberg*'. H. Brunsting, 1950. See Part I, pp. 10-1, 118, Part II, pp. 128, 167-8.
- 16 Waalwijk, Municipality of Riethoven, *tumulus I*. H. Brunsting, 1950. This tumulus contained a single widely spaced pc. (dm.: 9.60, 10 phh.). Cf. further type 6, North Brabant, nos 19-21 (tumuli III and IV) and type 7, North Brabant, no 12 (tumulus II).
- 17-8 Knegsel, Municipality of Vessem. Cemetery of 8 barrows on the E and SE bank of the Huismeer, between Knegsel and Zandoerle (Part I, fig. 2), drained 15 to 20 years ago. C. C. W. J. Hijzeler, 1951-2.
Tumulus III, remains of a mound of yellow sand — Stone Age according to Hijzeler — surrounded by an inner double closely spaced pc. (type 6, North Brabant, no 22) and by a few phh. of an outer single widely spaced pc. (int.: c. 4). Central grave destroyed. On the mound 3 intersecting rdd. of an encroaching urnfield; inside one of them an urn (Iron Age). The largest rd. showed a gap on the SE side.
PSSAIN III, 2, April 1952, p. 27; Beex, *BH IV*, 1952, pp. 15-6.
Tumulus VI was a barrow of sods raised on a still incompletely podsolized subsoil. Slightly outside the edge of the barrow were remains of an incomplete pc. Central, roughly circular grave pit, containing a cremation and large fragments of burnt logs. The mound was apparently raised over a burnt-out pyre. Early Bronze Age, according to Hijzeler.
PSSAIN III, 2, April 1952, p. 27; Beex, *BH IV*, 1952, p. 16.
The cemetery, over which an urnfield with circular ditches was later laid out,

probably bordered a prehistoric road (E-W) between bogs and fens. On this road may also have lain the large cemetery near Knegsel (see postcircle types 5, 6 and 7) and other archaeological sites. The distance from the hamlets of Toterfout and Halve Mijl is some 1500 and 2200 metres respectively as the crow flies. — For the other pcc. of this cemetery cf. type 5, North Brabant, no 7 (tumulus V), type 6, North Brabant, nos 22-4 (tumuli III, IV and V) and type 7, North Brabant, nos 13-4 (tumuli I and II). Between tumuli II and III post markings (c. 15 large phh.) the meaning of which has not become clear. Two further tumuli were too much damaged to afford data about their construction.

LIMBURG

- 1-4 Swalmen. F. C. Bursch, 1937. During the excavations of a number of barrows near Swalmen in 1936-8 — among which were some very fine Neolithic and Aeneolithic barrows of the Beaker culture, with beehive-shaped graves, etc. — several single widely spaced pcc. were discovered. The barrows were generally not completely excavated.

Tumulus 2 (1937) contained an inhumation burial at ground level (?) within its pc. (dm.: c. 11.50, 5 + 5 phh.), and a sec. cremation burial.

Tumulus 3 (1937), probably raised in several phases; inside the pc. (dm.: c. 9, 5 + 7 phh.) a number of phh. by a slightly eccentric SW-NE grave with remains of a silhouette; high up in the mound a cremation burial.

Tumulus 4 (1937), probably a two-period barrow, with:

(1) A very irregularly spaced pc. (dm.: c. 9, 8 + x phh.).

(2) Fine pc. (dm.: c. 12, 5 + 6 phh.) of very large phh. — At the centre the two graves corresponding to these pcc. This sod-built barrow contained much charcoal. Urn burial near a ph. of the outer pc.

- 5 Koningslust, Municipality of Helden. F. C. Bursch, 1938.

A very fine pc. (dm.: 7.80, 8 phh.) placed on the inner lip and partly in the filling of a large rd. (int. dm.: c. 7.80) in the E part of the urnfield. At the centre, which had been destroyed, a small sherd was found.

¹ The numbers *Drente, no 1* etc. correspond with the numbering in the descriptive list at the end of each type and on the maps, figs 46, 50 and 55.

² Cf. also 2 square phh. approximately placed on the axis of the circle of round phh. in tumulus II on the Rechte Heide near Goirle (type 5, North Brabant, no 2).

³ In digging and cutting sods long narrow oak spades were probably used.

⁴ Dr C. C. W. J. Hijzeler claimed to have observed this phenomenon in a tumulus near Knegsel (see postcircle type 5, North Brabant, no 7 and type 6, North Brabant, no 24).

⁵ See pp. 153-6.

⁶ The sphere of activity of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden (Drs J. H. Holwerda, A. E. Remouchamps and F. C. Bursch) lay mainly on the Veluwe. They often confined themselves to partial excavation, generally by a sizable trial trench through the centre of the barrow. In many incompletely dug tumuli peripheral constructions — especially timber circles — may thus have gone unobserved, and this, we think, is one of the reasons why the Veluwe is shown on the distribution maps (figs 46, 50 and 55) with no more than a sprinkling of them. In the relatively few excavations carried out here by Van Giffen several pcc. have been found. At the same time it is true that tumuli without any clear peripheral structures are not rare on the Veluwe.

In a number of cases Bursch observed traces of posts in the edges of Veluwe barrows,

without being able to fit them into any recognized postcircle type. Among them are Putten, tumulus 12 (F. C. Bursch, 1928; *OM Leiden*, NR XIV, 1933, pp. 43-5: part of a type 3 postcircle (?), according to Bursch perhaps supporting posts of a dome); Oostereng near Bennekom, tumulus 12 (Bursch, 1929; *OM Leiden*, NR XIV, 1933, pp. 53-5). In North Holland: Hilversum, tumulus 2 (Bursch, 1934; *OM Leiden*, NR XVI, 1935, pp. 50-2: irregularly spaced phh. round grave), tumulus 4 (*ibid.* 1935, pp. 52-4: very incompletely dug barrow with 6 phh. in the edge).

⁷ For the Dutch mortuary houses see pp. 142-9, figs 66-7.

⁸ *E.g.* by Holwerda; see p. 3.

⁹ This pc. type seems to make a belated appearance locally in the (Late) Iron Age, viz. in the ringditch urnfield at Laudermarke (cf. Groningen, nos 4-7), where one of the specimens must certainly be later than a ringditch of the urnfield (no 6). — Although a direct relationship may be doubted we may perhaps also make passing mention of three very small pcc. (graves 8, 9 and 10; dm. pcc.: c. 2.50; number of post- or stakeholes: 5, 6 and 7 respectively) observed by Holwerda (1926) in the Merovingian cemetery of Putten on the Veluwe. Within no 8 lay fragments of a Merovingian bi-conical urn with wheel-stamped decoration; no 10 contained a few sherds of grey ware and, isolated from these, fragments of a coarse-walled Merovingian urn, together with cremated bones. Probably 6th-7th century A.D. A number of sub-rectangular grave pits with coffins, containing clear silhouettes — generally E-W — were surrounded by sub-circular or oval ring-ditches. *OM Leiden*, NR VII, 1926, pp. cx-cxxv, especially p. cxvi.

TYPE 4

The circle of widely spaced paired posts

Type 4 is the rarest form of timber circle in the Netherlands. No more than two specimens have been recorded so far, both situated in the 'Eight Beatitudes' (fig. 46). The first of these was excavated in 1934 by W. J. A. Willems, near Hooge Mierde, the second near Bergeik in 1951 by P. J. R. Modderman. In both cases the circle consisted of 20 postholes, viz. 18 in pairs and 2 single holes, the latter doubtless representing an entrance, on the E side in both cases. The whole was surrounded by a circle of close-set stakes. The diameters of the two postcircles were respectively c. 10.80 and c. 10 metres, of the stakecircles c. 12.20 and c. 13.50 metres.

Reconstruction. We are again concerned with a ring of upright timbers round the foot of the barrow. As to the height of the posts all relevant data are lacking. Their disposition in close-set pairs suggests that the posts were connected by lintels at the top, with the exception of the entrance. The position is reminiscent of the Stonehenge trilithons, whose remarkable mortise and tenon joints probably derived from constructions in wood such as we may have in the type 4 postcircle. With regard to the enclosing stakecircle it is a safe assumption that the stakes were connected by wattling.

Dating evidence. Direct dating evidence is not available. The podsolization and composition of the mounds indicate that these are post-Neolithic monuments. Secondary burials in 'Deverel' urns in both cases afford a *terminus ante quem*. Type 4 would accordingly also belong to the Early and Middle Bronze Age.

NORTH BRABANT

- *1 Hongerensche Heide, Municipality of Hooge en Lage Mierde, *tumulus b.* W. J. A. Willems, 1934.

This tumulus, with exceptionally fine podsolization, was surrounded by a regular single circle of 18 phh. placed in pairs (dm.: 10.50-11.20), and two further single phh., with an interval of 2 metres, on the E side, making a total of 20 phh. ($9 \times 2 + 2$). The two single holes doubtless represent an entrance. The pc. was surrounded by a circle of close-set stakes (dm.: 12.00-12.40). At the centre lay a WSW-ENE grave with the remains of a coffin (?) containing a cremation. In the grave pit some stakeholes were found. A completely crushed 'Deverel' urn with raised cordon formed a sec. interment.

Urnenvelden, 1935, pp. 134-7; see also Van Giffen, *PPS* IV, 1938, pp. 269-71. Postholes also came to light in tumuli *a* and *c* — in *c* even 4 sets of paired phh. — but these could be interpreted variously. A cremation had been deposited in one of the phh. of tumulus *a*, which had apparently been built over the remains of a pyre. This barrow yielded 4 sec. cremation burials and 3 cremation-filled 'Deverel' urns (fig. 59: 8, 11, 15). In tumulus *c*, which had also been raised over the remains of a pyre, 3 sec. urnless cremations and 5 sec. 'Deverel' urns (fig. 59: 9-10, 12-4) were found.

2 Bergeik, Municipality of Bergeik. P. J. R. Modderman, 1951.

A sod-built barrow recently investigated here was almost identical with no 1. The pc. (dm.: c. 10, 9 × 2 + 2 = 20 phh.) had an entrance on the E side, and was equally surrounded by a stakecircle (dm.: c. 13.50, c. 130 stakeholes). Apart from the central primary inhumation grave there was a similar contemporary grave. Both were surrounded by traces of posts. 7 cremation-filled 'Deverel' urns were secondaries, several of them decorated with a finger-tipped raised cordon below the rim. On top of the barrow an Urnfield ringditch.

Beex, *BH* III, 1951, p. 47.

At some 500 metres S of the barrow lay another, of clean sand, surrounded by a shallow rd. (dm.: 11.40) interrupted on the E side. A second barrow at this spot, of similar composition, had no peripheral constructions. Near these barrows lay two rdd. belonging to a nearby urnfield.

In this connexion mention must also be made of three sets of paired phh. in a barrow at Emst, Municipality of Epe, Province of Gelderland, excavated in 1910 by J. H. Holwerda. *OM Leiden*, OR V, 1911, pp. 21-2. These might have formed part of a circle of widely spaced paired phh. — Two sets of paired phh. were also found on the E side of tumulus 1^B of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl group. See Part I, fig. 9.

TYPE 5

The single closely spaced circle of posts

Type 5 is not a very common type of postcircle. The first examples were discovered in 1908 and 1911 by J. H. Holwerda near Uddel (Gelderland, nos 1-3). The number of specimens recorded so far is 13.

The diameter of the circles averages some 9 metres, and the average number of postholes is about 40.

The posts were set in more or less closely fitting holes. The diameter of the posts is from 0.10 to 0.20 metres. A striking feature were two square postholes on the SW-NE axis of the circle,¹⁰ otherwise consisting of round postholes, surrounding tumulus II of the 'Vijfberg' group on the Rechte Heide near Goirle (North Brabant, no 2). Possibly these were intended for higher posts. A vestigial entrance was seen in tumulus 3 on the Bergsham near Garderen (Gelderland, no 4), excavated by Van Giffen. This barrow also contained the finest mortuary house discovered in the Netherlands (fig. 67: 5), and was dated by a bronze find (fig. 49). An external doubling of the postcircle, over a distance of c. 5.50 metres, in one of the Uddel circles (Gelderland, no 3) may also be connected with an entrance blocking. In tumulus 18 on the Hijkerveld (Drente, no 1) a postcircle and internal ringditch seem to belong to the same phase of construction. In several cases it is difficult to distinguish between types 5 and 9.

In Drente type 5 is very rare (2 specimens). On the Veluwe 4 specimens have so far been found, in North Holland 1, and in North Brabant 7. The distribution area of the single closely spaced postcircle seems therefore mainly to be confined to the centre and South of the country (fig. 50). It is the more remarkable that one specimen was found in the low country in North Holland, at Zwaagdijk, the base of which lay at — 1.66 NAP (North Holland, no 1).

The evidence concerning primary and secondary burials agrees more or less with that for type 3.

Reconstruction. The postholes show that they must once have contained upright timbers standing at the foot of the barrow. The original height above ground of the posts can again only be guessed. In view of the close spacing of the postholes the presence of lintels would seem unlikely for this type. The original appearance of a barrow with single closely spaced postcircle will not have differed consider-

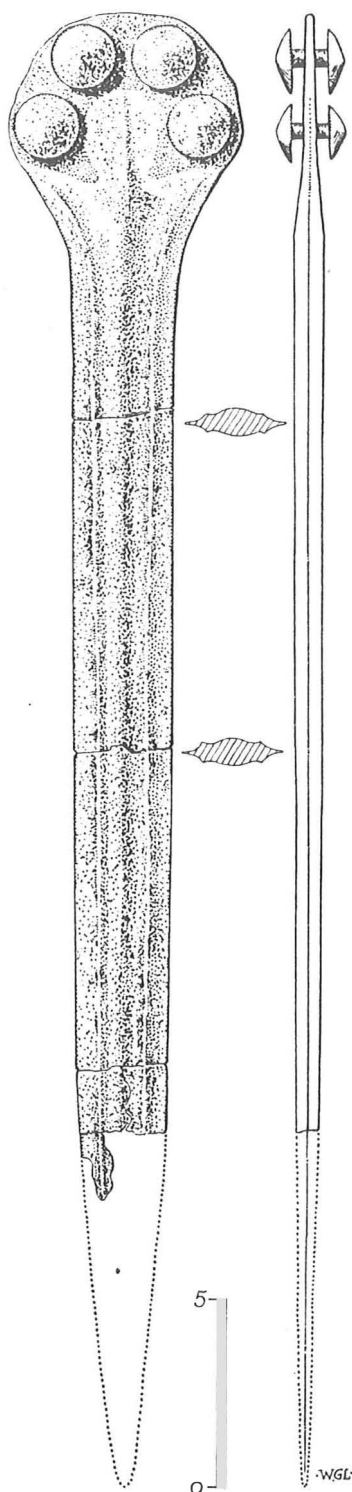


Fig. 49

ably from that of a barrow with type 2 circle, the latter being placed slightly within the base of the mound.

Dating evidence. On the top of the remains of the mortuary house in tumulus 3 on the Bergsham near Garderen (Gelderland, no 4) Van Giffen found a broken bronze rapier (fig. 49), with 4 rivets, dating from the Early Bronze Age (Montelius II, c. 1300 B.C.). Tumulus 18 on the Hijkerveld (Drente, no 1) Van Giffen still dates in the Aeneolithic period. The tumuli excavated by Holwerda at Uddel (Gelderland, nos 1-3) should probably be placed in the Earliest Bronze Age.

In one case a type 5 postcircle was probably older than one of type 6 (North Brabant, no 7), in another case older than one of type 8 (North Brabant, type 5, no 3 and type 8, no 1). In this last tumulus a secondary interment in a barrel-shaped 'Deverel' urn formed a *terminus ante quem*. In two cases two type 5 postcircles occurred in a two-period monument (Gelderland, nos 2-3 and North Brabant, nos 5-6).

The single closely spaced circle of posts, type 5, which must be related to the Aeneolithic type 2, probably mainly dates from the Early Bronze Age, and goes on into the Middle Bronze Age.

DRENTE

- 1 Hijkerveld, Municipality of Beilen, *tumulus 18*. A. E. van Giffen, 1930.

Central barrow of grey sand, with oval rd. (int. dm.: 5.20-6.40) within which was an eccentric NNE-SSW grave with trunk coffin containing a cremation. Outside the rd. an angular pc. (dm.: 11.00-12.00, 54 + 5 phh.) with a straight section on the SE side, and some phh. missing on the NW side. The pc. was possibly accompanied by a sand capping, clearly showing in one of the sections. Van Giffen assigned rd. and pc. to a single phase of construction, and postulated a bank outside. He dated the monument to the Aeneolithic period. It is a possibility that this was a two-period monument. A fragment of a perforated stone hammer(-axe?) was found in the edge.

NDV 1935, p. 102; *PPS* 1938, pp. 261-2.
Cf. also type 3, Drente, no 2 (tumulus 5).

- 2 Emmer Dennen, Municipality of Emmen, *tumulus I*. F. C. Bursch, 1931.
 Remains of a barrow, the pc. of which had already been more than three quarters destroyed. The main grave consisted of a large, irregularly rectangular discoloration with local patches of charcoal and a few stones. Two sec. tangential graves, each with its trunk coffin; one of the latter contained a fine silhouette, the head towards the NNW.
OM Leiden, NR XVII, 1936, pp. 56-7.
 Cf. also type 3, Drente, nos 5-10 (tumuli IV, VI, VII, VIII and XI) and type 6, Drente, no 1 (tumulus VII).

GELDERLAND

- *1-3 Uddel, Municipality of Apeldoorn, *tumulus A*. J. H. Holwerda, 1908, 1911.
 Inside the 'Humeschans', an Early Medieval horseshoe rampart linking up with the Uddel lake, lay a low mound. It consisted of 'ashy, greyish-brown sand'. Possibly it was a two-period barrow; in the first period it was probably surrounded by the foundation trench (dm.: c. 20), in which Holwerda saw traces of small posts (possibly a single closely spaced pc. in foundation trench, type 2). The second period would then correspond to the incomplete, fairly closely spaced pc. (dm.: c. 16) of rammed-in small posts (dm.: c. 0.10). On the E side, where no phh. were found, the pc. would, according to Holwerda, have been open (towards the rising sun), but it seems more likely that a number of phh. had been destroyed, or went unnoticed during excavation. Within the pc. — where 6 further phh. were found — the ground had been 'paved with small stones'. Three 'fire pits' — possibly graves — were discovered here by Holwerda; one of them contained 'scraps of animal bones'. 'These hearths were still filled with black charcoal'. Centrally at ground level a fairly large stone was found, the upper surface of which showed clear traces of polishing. A number of Beaker sherds were also discovered, as well as Passage Grave ware, flint fragments, and part of a perforated stone hammer(-axe?) (Neolithic-Aeneolithic). On the N edge of the barrow, traces of a probably Early Medieval turf bank were visible. — The monument offered the first Dutch instance of a circle of posts (1908). Holwerda assigned it to the 'Bell Beaker culture' and drew attention to 'the great resemblance' to British stone circles, e.g. Stonehenge.
 In 1842 Dr L. J. F. Janssen drove two trenches (E-W and N-S), which must have destroyed much important evidence, crosswise through this barrow. Only a quantity of charcoal, a scrap of coarse pottery and a flint flake were found. *NB IV*, 1844, p. 81.
OM Leiden, OR III, 1909, pp. 39-42; cf. also Van Giffen, *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 107-10.
 Another monument excavated here (1911), situated S of the 'Humeschans' near tumulus B (type 3, Gelderland, no 1), was composed of brownish-grey soil. Probably it was another two-period barrow not interpreted as such. In the subsoil were two non-concentric, fairly irregular pcc.: the inner (dm.: c. 8, 46 phh.) consisting of smaller, the outer (dm.: c. 10, 44 phh.) of larger phh. On the SW side an extra row of 8 phh. ran outside the outer circle over a distance of c. 5.50 metres. The outer pc. showed a clear shift to the NE; two of its intervals, diametrically opposed on the N and S sides, were somewhat larger than the rest. 'At the centre of the round palisade structure the soil was burnt red, and much charcoal was present, mixed with some fragments of bone, and round about in the circular structure burnt bones had been interred in several places'. According to Holwerda these were traces of fairly incomplete cremation. A few inconspicuous fragments of Bell Beaker pottery were discovered in this barrow, particularly in the filling of some phh.; and a small bronze button was found by one of the shallow cremation burials

We may also note that Holwerda's ground plan probably indicates a rectangular tangential grave pit on the N side, while at the centre of the barrow some pits were also marked. Many stakeholes — some in rows — showed in the area enclosed by the pcc.¹¹

OM Leiden, OR VI, 1912, pp. 11-2.

The Bell Beaker ware found in the barrows in all probability indicates no more than a *terminus post quem*.

Cf. also type 3, Gelderland, no 1 (tumulus B) and type 9, Gelderland, no 1 (tumulus C).

4 Garderen, Municipality of Barneveld, the 'Bergsham', *tumulus 3*. A. E. van Giffen, 1935.

This partially excavated tumulus, consisting of grey sand and sods, had a fine pc. (dm.: c. 10.30, 35 + c. 15 phh.). Two phh. were outside the circle on the S side, 3.20 metres apart. They may have belonged to an entrance, or a reminiscence of one, for the pc. did not show a corresponding anomaly at this place. At the centre lay a small NW-SE grave pit with a carbonized coffin (0.20 by 0.40), containing cremated bones (of a child, *Infans I*). At 0.65 above it lay a thick layer of cremated bone and charcoal. On this layer was discovered a broken bronze rapier (l.: 0.40), with four rivets at the broadened head (fig. 49) (Early Bronze Age, Montelius II, c. 1300 B.C.). The charcoal layer was bounded by 7 phh., and traces of two parallel boards on the SW side. At a deeper level these appeared as a trapezoid configuration of 8 phh. (1.20 by 2.30), with NW-SE longitudinal axis (fig. 67: 5). The primary cremation burial lay inside it, at the NW extremity. Van Giffen interpreted these phenomena as the remains of a collapsed rectangular mortuary house, 1.20 by 2.30 metres, with planked walls between four corner posts and four intermediate posts. The building seemed to have stood to a height of 0.80 and to have been surrounded by a sloping revetment of sods. Above the central grave structure 6 further small cremation burials were encountered, one with two small bronze rings, and one with a small handled pot. According to Van Giffen these were either secondary interments or offerings. The W slope of the mound contained five graves with cremations, sunk from different levels corresponding to at least 3 later additions to the barrow slope on that side. Thus the space between tumulus 3 and tumulus 3' (linking up with it on the W side) was gradually filled in. *Tumulus 3'*, a two-period monument built of grey sand and sods, contained a central primary grave pit lined by carbonized beams. Inside lay two patches of cremated bone (double grave?). A second central grave was not found. In the excavated part of this barrow 6 sec. interments were discovered. One of these was a deep grave pit with trunk coffin, showing a skull silhouette at the E end; among the others were several large cremation burials from various periods, one again in a trunk coffin. Outwardly tumuli 3 and 3' formed one apparently homogeneous oblong oval tumulus, the excavated part of which yielded no less than 20 interments at the least.

Gelre XL, 1937, pp. 11-3.

This cemetery, very picturesquely situated on the highest point of the 'Bergsham', comprises 6 tumuli, of which 3 have been partially excavated. Tumulus 2, of dark sand and sods, had been built over the remains of a pyre. Three sec. graves were found, one with a trunk coffin in which a skull silhouette could be seen. This tumulus would also appear to be a two-period monument of the Early Bronze Age. Tumulus 5 showed at least 5 successive phases of construction. A shallow primary NW-SE grave with cremation was found at the centre. Only two trenches were made in this barrow: one diametrically, and one on the SW side. In the edge no less than 21 sec. tangential graves were found, dug from the slopes of the successive phases

(11 cremation burials, including 6 in large graves, further graves with trunk coffins containing inhumation burials). Many intersections occurred. Some 50 burials may well have been made in this monument. Sherds of a large vessel with raised cordon, decorated with vertical nail impressions, were also found in the barrow (Late Bronze Age).

NORTH HOLLAND

- 1 Zwaagdijk, Municipality of Wervershoof, *tumulus II*. A. E. van Giffen, 1942. This barrow (floor: — 1.66 NAP) had been built from inverted turves on arable soil (tilled old dune or sea sand). The monument was possibly erected in two phases, the first having an oval pc. (dm.: 7.00–7.50, 32 phh.), the second a rd. (int. dm.: 10.00). A (primary) burial was not found; it was probably an inhumation burial at ground level. Van Giffen dates the barrow to the Early or Middle Bronze Age (c. 1400–1000 B.C.). In the upper levels the remains of six variously oriented mutilated skeletons were found, not all of adults. We may perhaps think of the 'warriors of Count William II' (d. 1256) who are popularly believed to have been interred here.

West-Friesland XVII, 1944, pp. 127–8.

The barrow was one of a group of 20 tumuli, 3 of which have so far been excavated. Tumulus I was a two-period monument with two rdd., the outer of which was trapezoid in shape. Both phases of construction had a central cremation burial; the silting of the outer rd. yielded an amber bead. This mound was also built of turves on an arable surface (c. — 1.75 NAP) with plough-markings. Tumulus III (floor: — 1.68 NAP) was also a two-period monument with 2 rdd. — Notwithstanding their low level, at c. — 1.70 NAP, the tumuli had a fresh water environment. No marine types were found among the mollusca. Tumuli V–IX and XX are ringditch tumuli.

NORTH BRABANT

- 1 Knegsel, Municipality of Vessem, *tumulus B*. W. C. Braat, 1934–5. This low tumulus had a pc. (dm.: c. 6.40, 17 + 13 phh.?) which had largely been destroyed by two non-concentric rdd. dug on the mound.¹² These, in their turn, were intersected by a 'ridge' type field, which was itself cut across by a third rd. lying against the barrow on the W side. On the W side 2 further phh. were found outside the pc. 'The centre of the tumulus consisted of pure sand, but turned out to have been completely disturbed, so that no trace could be found of the interment'.

OM Leiden, NR XVII, 1936, pp. 40–1, 43.

Cf. type 6, North Brabant, nos 14–6 (tumuli E and F), and type 7, North Brabant, nos 1–2 (tumuli C and D). See also Holwerda & Smit, *Cat.* 1917, pp. 32–8.

- 2 Rechte Heide, Municipality of Goirle, *tumulus II* ('Galgenberg?'). A. E. van Giffen, 1935.

Two-period monument, consisting of:

(1) Sod-built mound with pc. (dm.: 8.40–9.20, 34 phh.) raised over a shallow, rectangular SW–NE grave with cremation. Two carbonized oak beams lay in the grave lengthwise, and near the SW end 2 deeper patches of charcoal occurred. The latter Van Giffen interpreted as stakeholes belonging to the pyre, charcoal from which lay also spread over the old surface around the grave pit; perhaps they could also be

explained as two stakeholes of a temporary mortuary house. A remarkable feature were two diametrically opposed phh. in the SW-NE axis of the pc., which is almost parallel to that of the primary grave to the NW of it. Where all other phh. were round, these two had been squared, and the intervals on either side of them were slightly larger than elsewhere. On the SE side the pc. ran straight, perhaps in connexion with an entrance blocking.

(2) A small addition of sods on the NE slope apparently accompanied a tangential grave high on the slope. Among the cremated bones of this grave was a trapezoidal bone plaque, decorated with circles, probably part of a comb. Another tangential sec. grave pit with cremation was discovered outside the pc. on the WSW side. Slightly N of the primary grave lay a WNW-ESE grave with coffin, in which a few back teeth and a cervical vertebra were found, indicating burial with the head to the WNW. Probably these were the remains of a criminal from the 16th or 17th century, as the barrow seems to have served as a gallows mound.

Brab. Oergesch., 1937, pp. 23-7.

For the other barrows with pcc. of this group cf. type 3, North Brabant, nos 2-3 (tumuli III and IV), type 6, North Brabant, no 1 (tumulus V), type 7, North Brabant, no 4 (tumulus VI).

3 Oss, Municipality of Oss, *tumulus 3*. F. C. Bursch, 1935.

Probably a two- or three-period monument. The very low tumulus was surrounded by:

(1) A probably primary single closely spaced pc. (dm.: 5.80, 29 + 5 phh.?).

(2) An irregular double to quadruple pc. (cf. type 8, North Brabant, no 1).

(3) An oval rd. (max. int. dm.: c. 17), its main axis WSW and ENE.

At the centre the primary grave was found, a grave pit lying WNW and ESE, with a skull silhouette at the ESE end. Near the edge of the grave a 'Deverel' urn, with finger-tipped cordon (fig. 58: 15), formed a sec. interment. Among the cremated bones in the urn was a burnt bone pin.

OM Leiden, NR XVIII, 1937, pp. 2-3; *Marburger Studien*, 1938, pp. 20-1.

Cf. also type 7, North Brabant, no 3 (tumulus 2).

4 Toterfout-Halve Mijl, Municipality of Veldhoven, tumulus 12 (dm. pc.: 6.20-6.60, 26 + 19 phh.). See Part I, p. 62.

5-6 Hoogeloon, Municipality of Hoogeloon etc., the 'Zwartenberg'. H. Brunsting, 1950.

For the small single closely spaced pc. and a segment of another, lying by the 'Zwartenberg' on the E side, cf. Part I, pp. 10-1 and postcircle type 3, North Brabant, no 15.

7 Knegsel, Municipality of Vessem, cemetery on the S and SE bank of the Huismeer, *tumulus V*. C. C. W. J. Hijzeler, 1951-2.

This mound (h.: c. 1, dm.: c. 10.50), raised from inverted sods, was surrounded by two pcc.: an inner, oval, single closely spaced pc. (dm.: c. 7.25), and an outer, fairly polygonal, double closely spaced pc. (dm.: c. 10.50; type 6, North Brabant, no 24). The outer ring showed a clear entrance blocking on the ESE side. Hijzeler considered the pcc. as concentric and assumed that they formed part of one and the same design. The inner stood at the exact foot of the barrow; between the two pcc. there would have been 'a circular road running round the monument proper' (width: 0.75-1.25). Slightly eccentric grave in the shape of a

pile of charcoal with a small quantity of cremated bone. Early Bronze Age, according to Hijzeler. On the mound an urnfield rd. In our opinion the pcc. belong to two different phases of construction.

PSSAIN III, 2, April 1952, p. 27, fig. 2; Beex, *BH* IV, 1952, pp. 15-6. See for the other pcc. of this cemetery type 3, North Brabant, nos 17-8 (tumuli III and VI), type 6, North Brabant, nos 22-4 (tumuli III, IV and V), type 7, North Brabant, nos 13-5 (tumuli I and II).

¹⁰ Cf. also tumulus 8 at Toterfout-Halve Mijl.

¹¹ For Holwerda's interpretation of the grave structure see also pp. 16-7.

¹² See p. 9, note 76.

TYPE 6

The double closely spaced circle of posts

Type 6 is, after type 3, the commonest form. The first instance was discovered by A. E. van Giffen at Wessinghuizen, Province of Groningen, in 1927. The number of specimens recorded so far is 35.

The internal diameter of the circle varies between 4.60 and 13 or 14 metres, the average diameter is some 9 metres; the number of postholes varies between c. 70 (Groningen, no 1) and c. 163 (Friesland, no 1), 110 being the average. The most impressive examples were the 'Galgenberg' at Westerbork (Drente, no 2) and tumulus 12 at Oudemolen (Drente, no 7), both excavated by Van Giffen, where the internal diameter of the postcircle was some 13 or 14 metres. The smallest was found by H. Brunsting under tumulus III near Waalwijk, Municipality of Riethoven (North Brabant, no 19), with an internal diameter of 4.60 metres. By and large, the different postcircle types have larger internal diameters in the North of the contry than in North Brabant, especially types 6 and 7 (some 11 and 8 metres respectively, on an average).

As regards posts and postholes we can almost repeat what was said of type 5. In the majority of cases the posts must have been rammed in, but occasionally they were sunk into more or less closely fitting holes dug at the foot of the barrow. The shape of the ring is quite frequently oval, or even polygonal, the oblong oval of tumulus 22^A of Toterfout-Halve Mijl being a very remarkable case.¹³ Blocked entrances occur frequently. They appear as a local expansion or contraction of the circumference. As an additional element a circle of close-set stakes was found in two cases. In the one, in the 'Biesterfeldheuvel' near De Knolle (Friesland, no 1), the stakecircle was internal; in the other, the second phase of tumulus 8 at Toterfout-Halve Mijl (North Brabant, no 2), it was external. In the first case the very clear entrance blocking in the postcircle on the NNW side corresponded with a gap of 4.50 metres in the stakecircle.

In the North of the country postcircles of type 6 are relatively scarce compared to those of type 3 (11 and 58 specimens respectively; figs 46 and 50). Mostly the circle marks the circumference of a secondary sod capping on an older barrow (Drente, nos 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7). On the Veluwe no tumulus with double closely spaced circle has so far been recorded. In North Brabant it is the commonest type (24 examples). For the central graves and the secondary

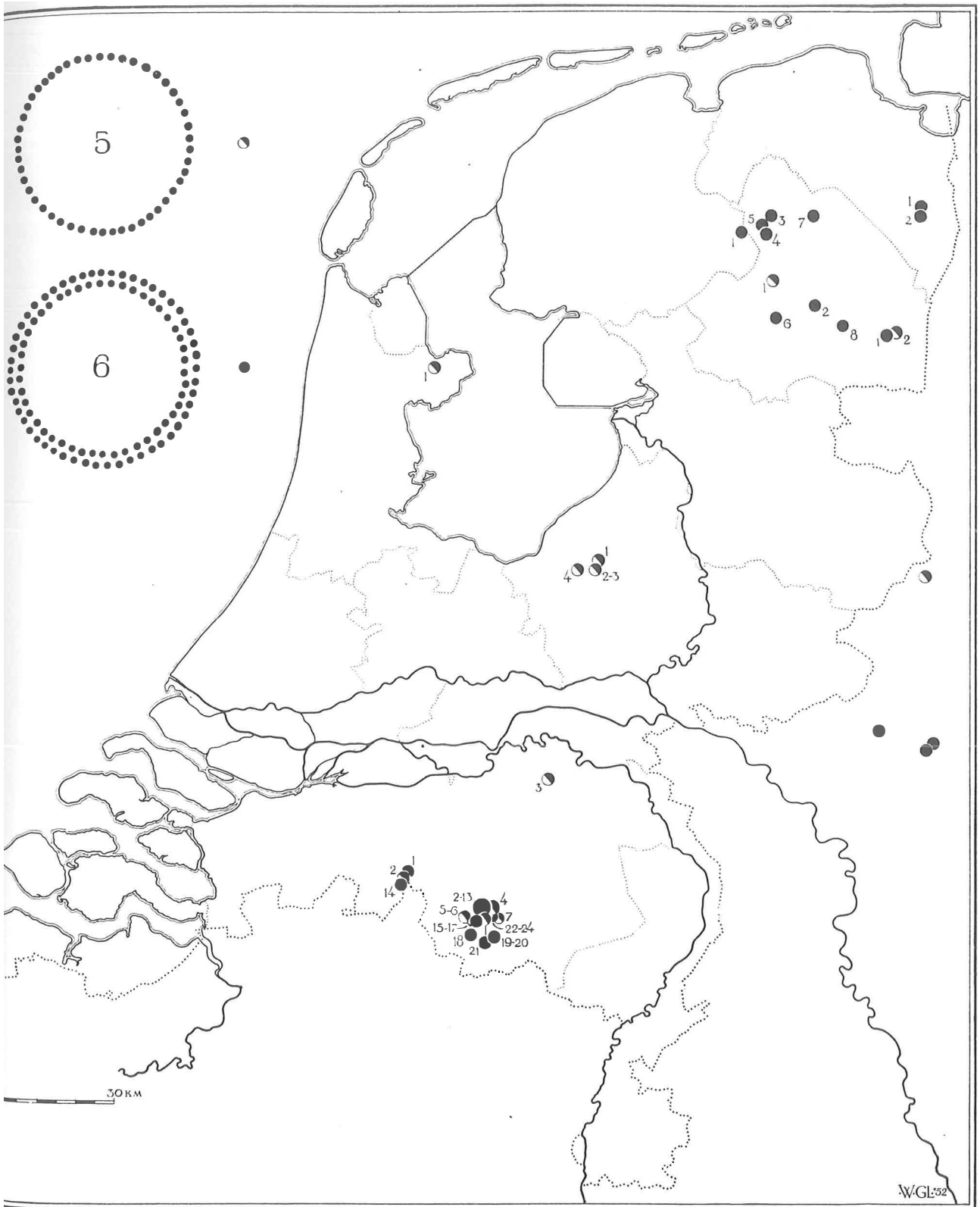


Fig. 50

interments practically the same considerations apply as for those of type 3.

Reconstruction. The postholes again indicate upright timbers placed round the foot of the barrow. In view of the close spacing there can be no more question of lintels here than with type 5. The height of the posts above ground can again only be guessed.

Dating evidence. Direct dating evidence is not available.¹⁴ In a three-period monument at Knegsel (North Brabant, nos 15-6) a centrally interred cinerary urn (fig. 59: 6, Pl. XXIII: 1-2) must belong to phase 1 with a type 6 postcircle.¹⁵ According to Waterbolk, period 1 of this tumulus must be contemporary with phase 7 of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery (fig. 74: 7).

In one case a type 6 circle proved earlier than one of type 3 (type 3, Drente, no 21 and type 6, Drente, no 4), in another (type 3, North Brabant, no 9 and type 6, North Brabant, no 2) it was later. In two cases a type 6 circle proved younger than one of type 7 (type 6, North Brabant, nos 11 and 14 and type 7, North Brabant, nos 9 and 11). Twice Van Giffen postulated a type 6 circle in direct association with a single widely spaced postcircle (type 3, Groningen, nos 2-3 and type 6, nos 1-2).¹⁶ In North Brabant two double closely spaced circles occurred in several cases in two-period barrows, and in a number of cases a barrow with type 6 circle was sealed beneath a secondary capping with ringditch. For the rest, the stratified evidence agrees with what we saw for type 3. In the province of Drente a Neolithic barrow was in five cases found sealed beneath a capping of sods with double closely spaced postcircle (Drente, nos 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7). Once a secondary burial of a 'Deverel' urn formed a *terminus ante quem* (North Brabant, no 14), as did ringditches elsewhere (Groningen, no 1, Drente, no 5) and simple urn burials (Groningen, no 2, Friesland, no 1) from Urnfield times (Late Bronze to Iron Age).

The double closely spaced circle of posts probably made its appearance in the Early Bronze Age, and was in vogue in the Middle Bronze Age. Reminiscences of this elaborate circle of posts are no longer found in the Iron Age.

GRONINGEN

*1-2 Wessinghuizen, Municipality of Onstwedde. A. E. van Giffen, 1927.

Tumulus II, raised from fairly pure sand with many charcoal particles, contained a pc. (int. dm.: c. 7). Possibly this belonged to a second phase of construction of the mound, as the phh. penetrated the virgin soil only to a very shallow depth and could be followed upwards to some height in the sections. Perhaps they should be related to an old (vegetation?) horizon found below the modern covering podsol. Outside the pc. five further phh. were found on the W side, and one on the E. These may have formed part of a pc. of type 3 (Groningen, no 3), the centre of which showed a slight SW shift (dm.: c. 9.50, 6 + 6 phh.?). In the made soil

filling a disturbed central grave were found a hollow-based flint arrowhead, two flint flakes, as well as a sherd of a herringbone Beaker and a sherd of Passage Grave pottery. In part these finds might derive from a shallow primary Beaker grave, scarcely penetrating the subsoil. In the edge of the barrow a number of semi-microlithic flint scrapers were found. Three sec. tangential graves, one containing a clear trunk coffin, two of them cutting across the pc. On the SE side a circular rd. (int. dm.: c. 2.50) of the contiguous urnfield lay in the slope of the barrow.

VMG 1927, pp. 58-60; *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 64-7.

Tumulus I, an exceptionally fine sod-built barrow, was surrounded by a double closely spaced inner pc. (int. dm.: 9.00-10.00) and a non-concentric single widely spaced outer pc. (dm.: c. 12.50, 16 phh.) of oak posts. The double pc. showed a slight NE shift. On the W side 2 phh. of the single pc. had been more closely spaced, probably in connexion with an entrance, while on the S side there was a large interval. A straight stretch in the double pc. on the NE side, where the phh. are more closely spaced, may have been connected with an entrance blocking. Van Giffen assigned both pc. to the same phase of construction. Slightly out of the true centre lay a deep E-W grave pit with trunk coffin. Two sec. tangential graves, each with its trunk coffin, lay within the double pc., whilst a third cut across a number of phh. of this pc. An urn with cremation (Early Iron Age) constituted a further sec. interment.

VMG 1927, pp. 60-5; *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 67-72.

Cf. also type 3, Groningen, nos 2-3, and type 8, Groningen, no 1 (tumulus III). Tumuli I-III at Wessinghuizen are situated within a ringditch urnfield with keyhole-shaped and circular ditches. The pottery mainly consists of bi-conical urns and high-necked vessels of truncated pearshape with small handles on the shoulder (Late Bronze — Early Iron Age).

FRIESLAND

- 1 De Knode, Municipality of Ooststellingwerf, the '*Biesterveldheuzel*'. A. E. van Giffen, 1928.

This sod-built mound was surrounded by a slightly oval pc. (int. dm.: 12.00-13.00), with internal circle of close-set stakes (dm.: 11.20-12.20). A 4.50 metre stretch on the NNW side of the pc. was set back, corresponding exactly with an interruption in the stakecircle. The present example was the first case of a blocked entrance discovered in the Netherlands. The charcoal in the phh. was found to be of oak. Somewhat outside the true centre lay a shallow, hardly noticeable depression, probably an inhumation at ground level. Slightly to the N of the centre a sec. interment came to light in the shape of a heavily damaged urn. A number of microlithic artifacts were recovered from the mound.

Vrije Fries XXIX, 1929, pp. 50-4; *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 72-4.

DRENTE

- 1 Emmer Dennen, Municipality of Emmen, *tumulus VII*. F. C. Bursch, 1932.

Two-period barrow, consisting of:

(1) A primary barrow of sand with oval rd. (int. dm.: c. 7-8), interrupted on the W side, surrounding an E-W grave with indistinct traces of a trunk coffin and faint silhouette. From the grave an S-Beaker with vertical herringbone pattern, and a roughly worked flint knife; between the rd. and the grave some five irregularly spaced phh. (dm.: c. 4.25, 5 phh.) (cf. type 3, Drente, no 7).

- (2) A sec. addition of sods with partly excavated pc. (int. dm.: c. 10.50), with an anomaly on the W side. At the centre, above the primary burial, lay a heap of cremated bone, representing the burial belonging to the pc. Two sec. tangential graves with coffins probably belong to the sec. barrow. In the most Easterly of these a clear silhouette, the head to the NE.
OM Leiden, NR XVII, 1936, pp. 61-3.
 Cf. also type 3, Drente, nos 5-10 (tumuli IV, VI, VIII & XI) and type 5, Drente, no 2 (tumulus I).
- 2 Westerbork, Municipality of Westerbork, the 'Galgenberg'. A. E. van Giffen, 1934. Partly destroyed two-period barrow, consisting of:
 (1) Primary barrow of fairly clean sand, with rd. (int. dm.: 8.50) round an eccentrically placed WSW-ENE grave, surrounded by a grey band. From the grave some flint fragments. Late Neolithic.
 (2) Capping of sods with irregular pc. (int. dm.: 13.30) which was single over a distance of some 8 metres on the NE side, possibly in connexion with an entrance blocking. Bronze Age.
 A few struck flints from the mound and the subsoil (among them a finely worked small lancehead and a scraper) and some pottery sherds (among them a fragment of a corded Beaker) form a *terminus post quem* for the monument. The lower end of the gallows and skeletal remains probably of three criminals showed that the 'Gallows Mound' did not bear its name for nothing.
NDV 1936, pp. 101-3.
- 3 Zuidvelde, Municipality of Norg, *tumulus II*. A. E. van Giffen, 1937. This mound, consisting of fairly grey soil, was surrounded by an incomplete pc. (int. dm.: 11.00), with a shallow depression and charcoal fragments at its centre. E of this lay a sec. grave.
NDV 1939, p. 128.
 The barrow lies SW of tumulus I, a Neolithic barrow with rd. (int. dm.: 10.20) with a magnificent stone battle-axe in the central grave.
- 4-5 Westervelde, Municipality of Norg. A. E. van Giffen, 1938.
Tumulus I, phase 2 of this three-period barrow described under type 3, Drente, no 21. The grave at the centre of the pc. (int. dm.: c. 11.50) had been destroyed by a large recent disturbance. A prominent irregularity on the SE side of the pc. may again be connected with an entrance blocking.
NDV 1940, pp. 210-2.
Tumulus II possessed a fine pc. (int. dm.: c. 6.50) with an irregularity on the NE side. The centre had been destroyed by a recent disturbance; probably it contained a WNW-ESE grave. In the edge 3 sec. cremation burials were found. Against the SW slope of this tumulus lay a WSW-ENE 8-shaped ditch (Late Bronze Age).
NDV 1940, pp. 212-3.
- 6 Spier, Municipality of Beilen, *tumulus 1*. A. E. van Giffen, 1949. Four-period barrow, consisting of:
 (1) Primary mound of sand with very fine contracted silhouette at the centre; on the floor some sherds of Passage Grave ware and a herringbone-patterned Beaker (Neolithic).
 (2) A covering of upright sods; no grave found.
 (3) A covering of sods with shallow SSW-NNE grave, containing traces of a trunk coffin, within a pc. (int. dm.: c. 12.50) which showed an inward bulge on the SE side.

(4) A covering of greyish-yellow sand. Fine sec. tangential grave with silhouette in coffin, and 3 further cremation burials.
Cf. also type 3, Drente, no 39 (tumulus 2).

7 Oudemolen, Municipality of Vries, *tumulus 12*. A. E. van Giffen, 1950.

Four-period barrow, consisting of:

(1) Primary barrow with faint sod structure over a central NW-SE grave with coffin, containing a flexed silhouette with the head to the SE.

(2) Capping with incomplete pc. (int. dm.: 13.00-14.00).

(3) Another capping with rd. (int. dm.: c. 9.50).

(4) Final capping with narrow foundation trench (int. dm.: c. 8) containing some stakeholes (dm.: c. 0.10).

These latter two, fairly concentric, peripheral constructions lay high in the barrow slope. A sec. grave was cut by the foundation trench. Six small cremation burials were found, four of them at the centre of the barrow; two of the latter probably were among the primary graves of phases 2-4.

8 Zweeloo, Municipality of Zweeloo. A. E. van Giffen, 1952.

Levelled barrow in urnfield. In the subsoil a pc. (int. dm.: c. 10.80) within rd. (int. dm.: 14.00). Eccentric patch of charcoal.

NORTH BRABANT

1 Rechte Heide, Municipality of Goirle, the '*Vijfberg*', *tumulus V*. A. E. van Giffen, 1935.

At the centre of the pc. (int. dm.: 7.50) a NW-SE grave with cremation. On the NE side an irregularity in the pc.

Brab. Oergesch., 1937, pp. 31-3.

Cf. also type 3, North Brabant, nos 2-3 (tumuli III and IV), type 5, North Brabant, no 2 (tumulus II) and type 7, North Brabant, no 4 (tumulus VI).

2-13 Toterfout-Halve Mijl, Municipality of Veldhoven, tumuli 8, 8^A (twice?), 19 (twice), 22 (twice?), 22^A, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28, making 11 to 14 specimens in all. See Part I.

14 Rechte Heide, Municipality of Goirle. W. Glasbergen & H. Tj. Waterbolck, 1949. Fig. 51. This barrow (h.: c. 0.90, dm.: c. 15) was situated in a cut-down fir wood, some 1500 metres SSW of the '*Vijfberg*' (cf. types 3, 5, 6 and 7, North Brabant, nos 2-3, no 2, no 1 and no 4 respectively). As a result of deep ploughing the monument was in bad condition, rabbit warrens and recent intrusions also having wrought havoc with it.

Two-period barrow, consisting of:

(1) A primary barrow of grey topsoil with few sods on a podsolized old surface. The mound was surrounded by a triple closely spaced pc. (int. dm.: 7.00) (type 7, North Brabant, no 11), the posts of which had been driven into a shallow trench (width: c. 1) filled in with sand and sods. In the sections it could be seen that the upcast from the trench had been partially thrown outwards on the old surface. The pc. was surrounded by a circle of close-set stakes (dm.: c. 10.50), showing duplication on the NW and S-SW sides. An irregularity in the triple pc. on the W side possibly corresponds with this. At the centre an irregular, small NW-SE pit was found (1.32 × 0.46) filled with burnt sand and charcoal fragments. Immediately N of this pit was an oval grey stain (0.90 × 0.46), and W of it a patch of charcoal.

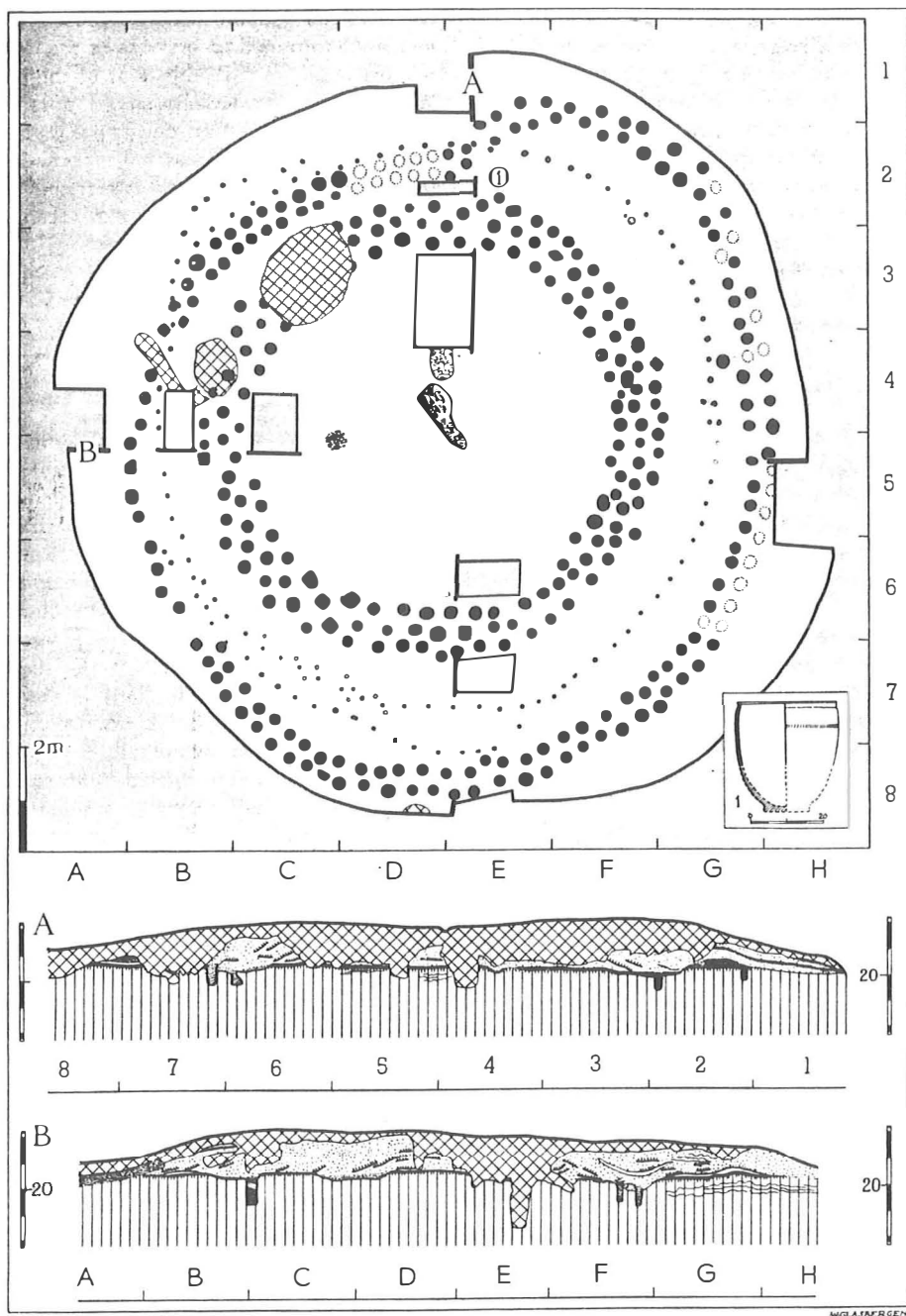


Fig. 51

(2) A capping of grey topsoil with an irregular double closely spaced pc. (int. dm.: c. 12). A number of phh. could not be determined on account of the deep ploughing. A remarkable feature was an outward bulge on the NNE side of the pc., while over a distance of some 6 metres on the W side it was only single, possibly in connexion with a blocked entrance. In this case, also, the second-period pc. showed a shift towards the NE. The grave belonging to this phase must have been destroyed by the plough. From the mound a number of large wall and rim fragments were recovered of a large, slip-covered, grey to ochreous 'Deverel' urn (original height: c. 0.31) with thick black incrustations below the outer lip (fig. 59: 7).¹⁷ The paste was tempered with quartz grit and fragments of pounded pottery. At 0.06 below the horizontally flattened rim ran a zone of upright nail impressions; the width at the mouth was originally some 0.27, the wall thickness 0.015.

After excavation the mound was replaced, the double secondary pc. being set up afresh at the edge of the barrow.

- 15-7 Kneegsel, Municipality of Vessem, tumuli E & F. W. Glasbergen, 1950. These tumuli are situated some 2 kilometres S of Halve Mijl (Part I, fig. 2) near an urnfield with circular ditches and one sub-rectangular ditch with interior rectangular post pattern. On the basis of a palynological analysis of a sample from the ditch silting Waterbolk equated the latter lay-out with phase 9 or 12 of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery (see figs 75-6). A number of 'ridge'-type fields were also found in and near this cemetery. The urnfield, which partly surrounded a fen, had developed round a number of older tumuli (cf. type 5, North Brabant, no 1, and type 7, North Brabant, nos 1-2), and had been excavated in 1934 and 1935 by Dr W. C. Braat, Conservator of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden. In the early spring of 1950 the reclamation of the site was taken in hand, and a quick excavation of the yet unexplored tumuli E and F and of some of the 'ridges' was possible. — After our excavations in 1950, a very low barrow, with rd., was investigated here, at the centre of which 3 out of 4 stakeholes placed in a rectangle probably represented a temporary mortuary house.

Tumulus E (fig. 52, fig. 59: 6, Pl. XXIII: 1-2), a few hundred metres SW of the urnfield (Part I, fig. 2), was not discovered by Mr Beex until after the moorland had been ploughed up; before then the barrow could hardly be seen. Below the almost flat modern podsol lay a stratum of some 0.20 thickness with exceptionally heavy mottling (Pl. XXIII: 2). The tumulus showed three phases of construction: (1) and (2) With pc. (int. dm.: 7.50 and 10.00).

(3) With rd. (int. dm.: c. 8) which destroyed a large number of phh. of the pc. mentioned under (1).

A protuberance of the pc. under (2) on the SW side argues for an entrance blocking. At the centre lay a deep rounded pit (0.80 by 0.68), with by its W wall a large cinerary urn, a stained grey to ochreous yellow and warm brownish orange in colour (Pl. XXIII: 2). This urn (Pl. XXIII: 1; fig. 59: 6) was a truncated pear-shape with inverted rim (h.: 0.32, w. of the oval mouth: 0.25-0.28, dm. of the slightly squeezed-out base: 0.15/0.16, wall thickness: c. 0.015). The paste had been tempered with large lumps of quartz (up to 0.01 in size) and fragments of pounded pottery. The contents were cremated bones (*Männlich Adult*, according to Dr C. Krumbein), with only a few charcoal particles. Several fragments of charcoal were found in the pit, as well as a sod. The palynological examination by Waterbolk proved that this interment must belong to period 1 and that it is contemporary with phase 7 of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery (fig. 74: 7). On the NE side outside the pc. another round pit (dm.: 0.72) with a cremation burial was located. Before the excavation Mr Beex had found a number of fragments of a large violet-brown urn (wall thickness:

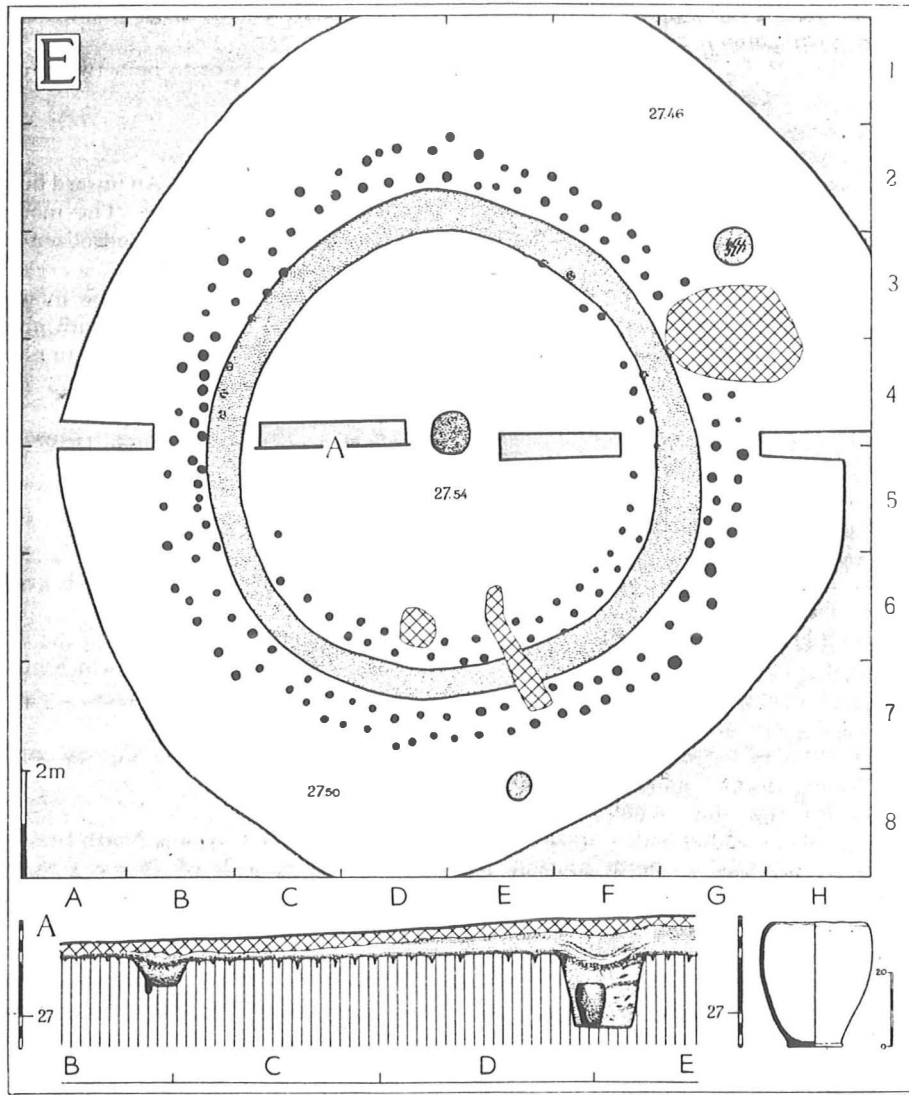


Fig. 52

0.01-0.015), the paste of which had been tempered with fairly large fragments of pounded pottery.

Tumulus F (fig. 53), on the W side of the urnfield, turned out to be a two-period barrow, consisting of:

- (1) A pc. (int. dm.: c. 8).
- (2) A wide and deep rd. (int. dm.: 5.40).

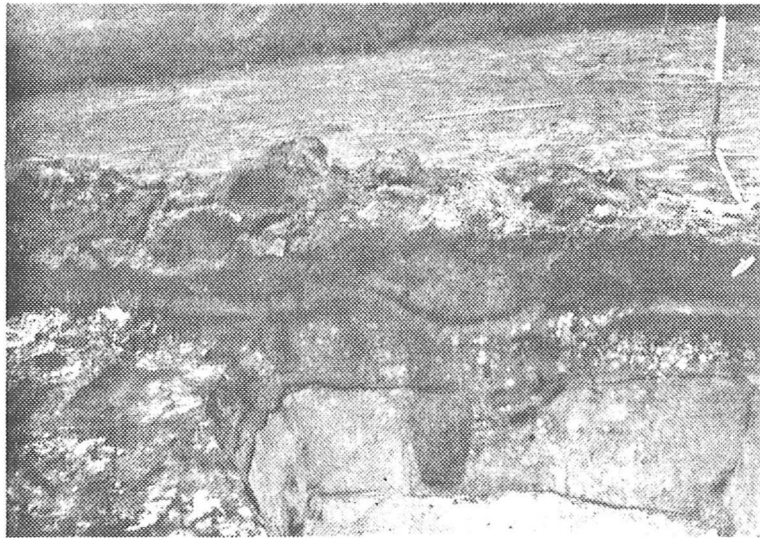
Outside the centre a piece of charcoal was found on the old surface. An inward bulge in the pc. on the NW side may again indicate a blocked entrance. The mound (h.: 0.28) consisted of black topsoil and had been raised on a clearly podsolized old surface, which again lay on a strongly mottled yellowish subsoil.

On the NE side two 'ridges', bounded by trenches, linked up with the mound. According to Waterbolk the primary monument must be contemporary with phase 7 (fig. 74: 7) of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery; the rd. must be dated to phase 10, the ridges in phase 8.

- 18 Hapert, Municipality of Hoogeloon etc., *tumulus I*. H. Brunsting, 1950. See Part I, p. 10.
- 19-21 Waalwijk, Municipality of Riethoven. H. Brunsting, 1950.
- Tumulus III*, a three-period barrow, consisted of:
- (1) Primary barrow with pc. (int. dm.: 4.60) round a large central SW-NE grave.
 - (2) Capping (?) with pc. (int. dm.: c. 6.40).
 - (3) Rd. (int. dm.: c. 5), cutting across the pc. under (1), and leading to the destruction of a number of phh. on the E and W sides. The pc. under (2), which intersected that under (1) on the SW side, showed a number of anomalies.
- Tumulus IV*, a two-period barrow, consisted of:
- (1) Primary barrow with pc. (int. dm.: c. 8.50) round a central NW-SE grave. The pc. showed some anomalies.
 - (2) Rd. (int. dm.: 6.60).
- Excavated together with 5 other tumuli: I and II with pc. (cf. type 3, North Brabant, no 16, and type 7, North Brabant, no 12); V with very wide rd. (w.: c. 1.70, int. dm.: 12.50); VII a three-period barrow of yellow sand with at the centre a primary beehive-shaped grave (Aeneolithic). The latter lay eccentrically within a small ditch or foundation trench (int. dm.: 2.20). At the old surface level lay a layer of charcoal in which cremated bone and some scraps of bronze were found. The peripheral constructions consisted of 3 rdd. (int. dm.: 10.00, 11.00, and 16.00), one for each phase. The primary rd. was the smaller, and was cut by the second, the third and largest being cut across on the WSW side by an oval Urnfield ditch (max. int. dm.: 4.90) with a cremation burial at its centre.
- 22-4 Kneegsel, Municipality of Vessem. Cemetery on the S and SE bank of the Huismeer. C. C. W. J. Hijzeler, 1951-2.
- Tumulus III*, cf. sub type 3, North Brabant, no 17.
- Tumulus IV* was surrounded by a handsome pc. intersected by a rd. Central trunk coffin grave, containing a cremation. Early Bronze Age, according to Hijzeler. *PSSAIN* III, 2, April 1952, p. 27; Beex, *BH* IV, 1952, p. 16.
- South of tumulus IV a further segment (one row) of a destroyed pc. monument (type 5 or 6?).
- Tumulus V*, cf. sub type 5, North Brabant, no 7.
- For the other pcc. of this cemetery cf. type 3, North Brabant, no 18 (tumulus VI), type 7, North Brabant, nos 13-5 (tumuli I and II).



1



2

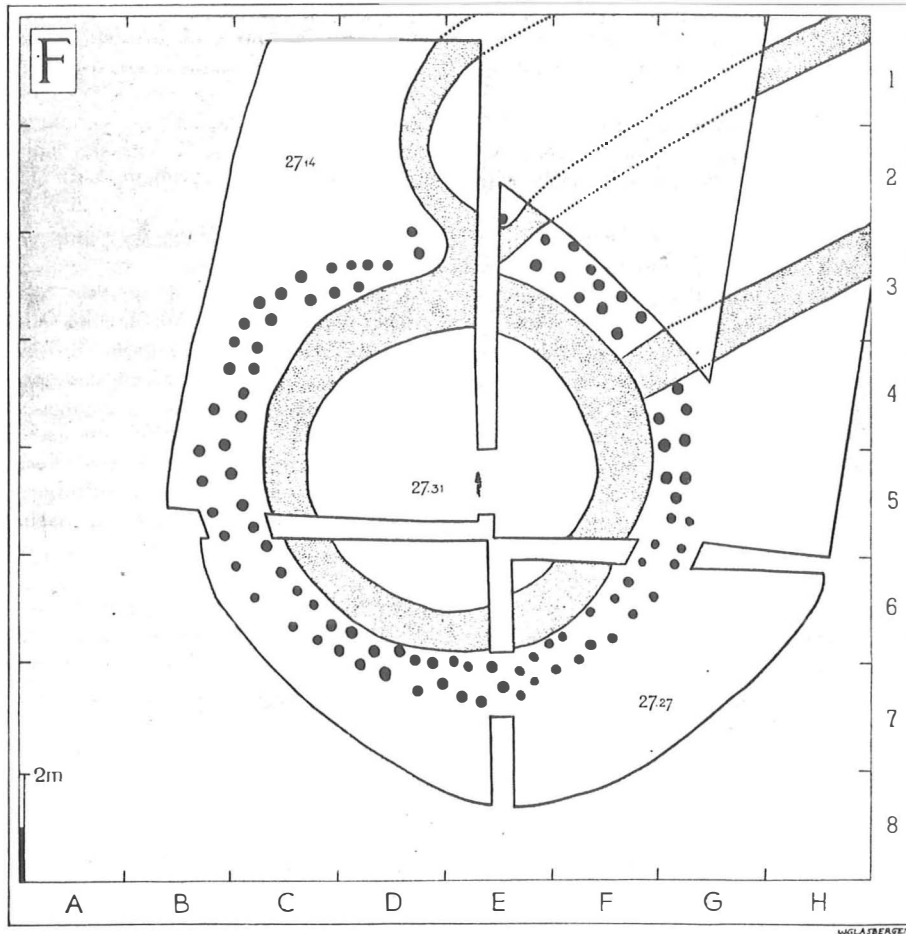


Fig. 53

¹³ Cf. also, however, type 7, North Brabant, nos 13-4 (Knegsel, tumulus I).

¹⁴ We think it doubtful whether the few Neolithic sherds from a recent disturbance at the centre of tumulus II at Wessinghuizen (Groningen, no 1) came from a destroyed primary grave.

¹⁵ Waterbolk's pollen analysis of a sod from the filling of the pit and of a sample from the ditch silting (phase 3) showed that the urn must belong to phase 1, with pc. He was able to equate the urn palynologically with phase 7 of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery (cf. fig. 74: 7).

¹⁶ Cf. also tumulus V at Knegsel with two pcc. (type 5, North Brabant, no 7 and type 6, North Brabant, no 24) which Hijzeler assigned to a single lay-out.

¹⁷ These charcoal-like incrustations were submitted for chemical analysis to Mr S. K. Wadman, chem. drs, Zuiderziekenhuis at Rotterdam, who reported that the sample contained both organic and inorganic material. On microscopic examination the brown product appears to be heterogeneous. It contains a considerable amount of fine sand grains. The degree of carbonization is, however, so high that little can be said as to original composition of the material. The presence of fats and carbohydrates could not be demonstrated (reaction for glycerine or sugars negative after acid hydrolysis). Protein was present, free amino-acids were easily shown by paper chromatography after acid hydrolysis.

Chemical composition: Organic material and water 68 %; inorganic material insoluble in HCl (SiO₂, silicates) 24.5 %; Al₂O₃ 2-3 %; Fe₂O₃ 0.5 %; traces of Na, K, Ca, SO₄, Cl, PO₄.

Conclusion: Although the hydrolysate contained small quantities of amino-acids and the benzidine reaction was slightly positive, it is not very probable that iron derives from haemoglobin. The considerable quantity of aluminium rather indicates contamination by groundwater or clay minerals. Traces of plant proteins may be responsible for the amino-acids.

TYPE 7

The triple closely spaced circle of posts

Type 7 occurs less frequently than type 6, with which it is closely related. The first examples were discovered by W. C. Braat at Knegsel, province of North Brabant, in 1934-5. The number recorded so far is 17.

The internal diameter of this type of circle varies between c. 4.40 and 12 metres, the average being about 8 metres; the number of postholes varies between c. 100 (North Brabant, no 3) and c. 275 (Drente, no 2), with an average of c. 170. The

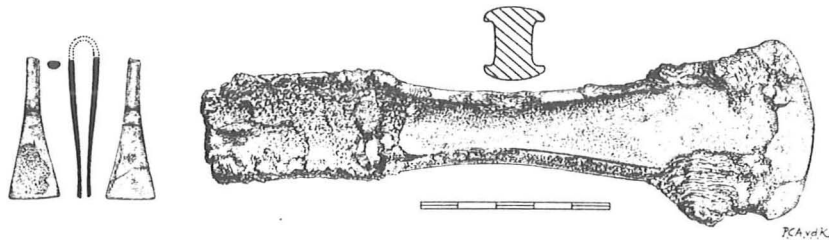


Fig. 54

most impressive example was excavated by Van Giffen at Gasteren, in 1939 (Drente, no 2); the smallest was the circle belonging to the first phase of tumulus 26 at Toterfout-Halve Mijl. From Drente only two tumuli with type 7 circle are known; the other 15 are in North Brabant, mainly in the Eight Beatitudes. The type thus seems more at home in the South (fig. 55). In one case (North Brabant, no 11) the posts were placed in a dug-out circular trench, about 1 metre wide, and this circle had an external circle of close-set stakes in addition. Remarkably enough, inhumation in an oblong grave pit has been observed a few times in North Brabant in this type (North Brabant, nos 2 and 3). For the rest the description of type 6 applies.

Reconstruction. The only difference with type 6 is that type 7 has a further ring of postholes.

Dating evidence. The central primary grave of tumulus VI of the 'Vijffberg' on the Rechte Heide near Goirle (North Brabant, no 4) consisted of a coffin at floor level in which were found a bronze flanged axe (Montelius II, fig. 54), two small trapezoidal bronze plaques, an incomplete small bronze ring, a broken pair of tweezers (fig. 54) and remnants of three flat strips of bark (?).

In one case a type 7 circle was clearly later than one of type 3 (type 3, Drente, no 18, type 7, no 1), and in two cases a type 7 circle proved earlier than one of type 6 (North Brabant, nos 9 and 11), though in a third case it proved later (North Brabant, no 8). In a single case two type 7 circles were found in a two-period barrow (Toterfout-Halve Mijl, tumulus 17).¹⁸

Two instances are known of a Neolithic or Aeneolithic tumulus sealed beneath a capping with triple closely spaced circle of posts (Drente, nos 1 and 2). Twice a secondary burial with a 'Deverel' urn was found (North Brabant, nos 4 and 11); twice a secondary capping with ringditch covered a barrow with a type 7 circle (North Brabant, nos 4 and 8), and in two cases, finally, the barrow structure was cut by ringditches of an urnfield (North Brabant, nos 1 and 2).

Type 7 will therefore also date from the Early and especially the Middle Bronze Age.

DRENTE

- 1 Peeloo, Municipality of Assen. A. E. van Giffen, 1936.

Phase 3 of the fragmentary tumulus described under type 3, Drente, no 18, was surrounded by an irregular double to triple pc. (or. int. dm.: c. 13?), with an interruption on the NE side, where only a set of 4 phh., grouped together, was found *NDV* 1938, pp. 112-3.

- 2 Gasteren, Municipality of Anloo. A. E. van Giffen, 1939.

Two-period barrow, consisting of:

(1) A primary mound of fairly pure bright yellow sand, thrown up on a layer of arable topsoil, 0.08 in thickness, with plough-markings. Eccentric irregular SE-NW grave almost at surface level, containing a Beaker-like vessel with degenerated whipped cord decoration (hybrid of North-West European Passage Grave culture and late Beaker culture). In the mound itself two similarly decorated sherds were found. Aeneolithic.

(2) A capping with pc. (int. dm.: c. 12) showing an interruption on the NE side, filled by only a few phh. On the SE side locally 2 rows of phh. over a distance of some 3 metres. Eccentric WNW-ESE grave pit with much charcoal. High up in the centre of the mound was another sec. grave.

NDV 1941, pp. 129-31.

The mound lay in an isolated position, more than 1 kilometre NW of a group of tumuli forming the nucleus of a large urnfield. Cf. type 3, Drente, no 28.

NORTH BRABANT

- *1-2 Knegsel, Municipality of Vessem. W. C. Braat, 1934-5.

Tumulus C, a very low mound, was surrounded by a pc. (int. dm.: c. 7.25), the NE part and centre of which had been destroyed by a recent disturbance. Two not quite concentric sec. rdd., one cutting across the other, and lying within the pc., had destroyed a number of phh. on the SE side. On the same side, where the pc. showed an anomaly, some phh. were removed by a segment of a circular ditch lying on the SE slope of the barrow.

OM Leiden, NR XVII, 1936, pp. 41-2.

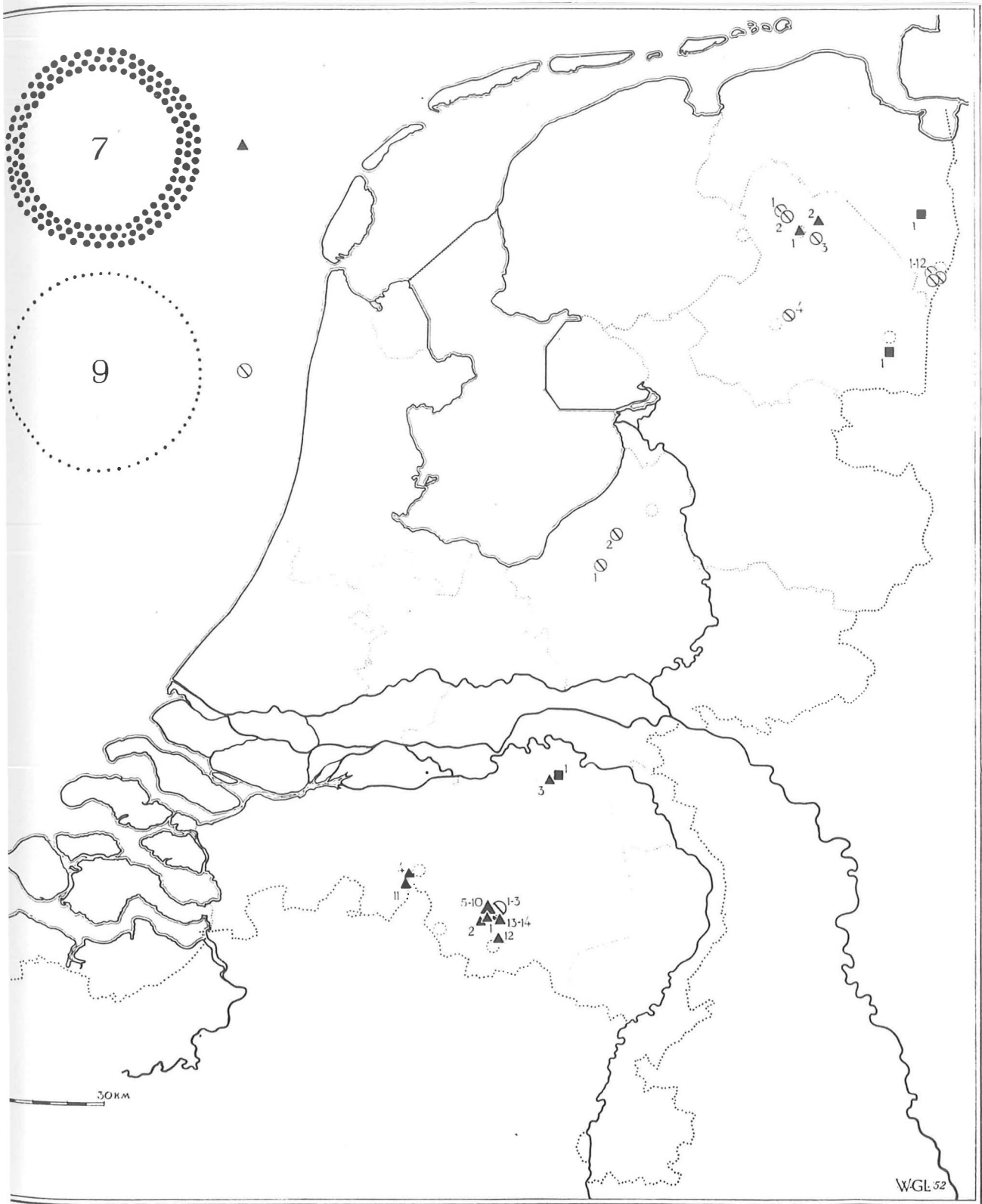


Fig. 55

Tumulus D had a very irregular pc. (2-4 rows of phh., int. dm.: c. 7.50?), which was cut across by a SW-NE 'ridge' field. The latter was in its turn intersected on the NE side by a circular rd. A second, probably circular, rd. cut across the pc. on the NW side. The latter rd. was partly situated on the slope of the barrow. The pc. showed extra phh. on the SE and SW sides. Two intersecting eccentric grave pits lay on the NE side; the lower, NW-SE, showed a faint grey stain (skull?). The upper, SSW-NNE, contained no trace of an interment.

OM Leiden, NR XVII, 1936, p. 42.

For the other tumuli and the urnfield cf. type 5, North Brabant, no 1 (tumulus B) and type 6, North Brabant, nos 14-6 (tumuli E-F).

3 Oss, Municipality of Oss, *tumulus 2*. F. C. Bursch, 1935.

This very low tumulus was surrounded by a pc. (int. dm.: c. 5.50), a large segment of which had been destroyed on the NE side, according to Bursch. On the occasion of a re-examination in 1935 Willems recorded that the lower ends of the phh. missing on this side on Bursch's ground plan clearly showed in the subsoil. At the centre was an oval E-W grave pit with silhouette, the head lying towards the E. *OM Leiden*, NR XVIII, 1937, p. 2; *Marburger Studien*, 1938, p. 20.

Like tumulus 3 (cf. type 5, North Brabant, no 3 and type 8, no 1) this tumulus lies near the so-called 'Chieftain's Grave', a Hallstatt barrow (probably c. 500 B.C.), published by J. H. Holwerda (*OM Leiden*, NR XV, 1934, pp. 39-53). Bursch supposes that the material of the very low tumuli 2 and 3 contributed to the monumental 'Chieftain's Barrow' (dm.: c. 52). Tumulus 1, some 100 metres farther W, was an Aeneolithic barrow with rd. and WSW-ENE grave in which were found cremated bone, a Bell Beaker of 'Batavian' type, and a triangular flint arrowhead. Above this grave lay a sec. cremation burial. The mound rested on a podsolized old surface, and sods were found in it. Bursch interpreted the rd. as the foundation of a dome-shaped grave structure.

4 Rechte Heide, Municipality of Goirle, the '*Vijfberg*', *tumulus VI*. A. E. van Giffen, 1935.

Two-period barrow, consisting of:

(1) A primary barrow surrounded by a regular pc. (int. dm.: 10.50), single or double over a distance of slightly more than 3 metres on the NW side, probably in connexion with an entrance blocking. At the centre a SW-NE coffin at surface level, the head of the dead man probably towards the NE. In the coffin, at the NE end, lay a bronze flanged axe (Montelius II; fig. 54), remnants of three flat strips of bark (?), 2 small trapezoidal bronze plaques, an incomplete small bronze ring and a broken pair of tweezers (fig. 54).

(2) A sec. capping of grey topsoil, surrounded by a rd. (int. dm.: c. 9). The central grave of this mound turned out to have been destroyed by a recent disturbance. In the primary barrow a small rectangular cremation grave had been dug on the S side, and in the SE quadrant a small, irregular and a small rectangular cremation grave were further discovered, both having been dug into the sec. barrow. In or on the last-mentioned burial, which had been dug through the rd., lay fragments of a 'Deverel' urn with finger-tipped cordon below the rim. See below, p. 106. *Brab. Oergesch.*, 1937, pp. 33-9.

For the other barrows with pcc. of this group cf. type 3, North Brabant, nos 2-3 (tumuli III and IV), type 5, North Brabant, no 2 (tumulus II), type 6, North Brabant, no 1 (tumulus V).

5-10 Toterfout-Halve Mijl, Municipality of Veldhoven, tumuli 8^A (?), 17 (twice), 18, 22, 26 and 30, a total of 6 or 7 monuments. Cf. Part I.

- 11 Rechte Heide, Municipality of Goirle. W. Glasbergen & H. Tj. Waterbolk, 1949.
The primary mound of this two-period tumulus (fig. 51), fully described under type 6, North Brabant, no 14, was surrounded by a triple closely spaced pc. (int. dm.: 7.00), the posts of which had been driven into a shallow gully (w.: c. 1). The pc. was surrounded by a circle of close-set stakes (dm.: c. 10.50).
- 12 Waalwijk, Municipality of Riethoven, *tumulus II*. H. Brunsting, 1950.
Two-period barrow, consisting of:
(1) A primary barrow with rd. (int. dm.: 6.00).
(2) An additional covering with pc. (int. dm.: 7.80), double over a stretch of 2.50 metres on the SSW side, probably in connexion with an entrance blocking. The central graves had been destroyed through recent disturbances.
For the other barrows of this group cf. type 3, North Brabant, no 16 (tumulus I) and type 6, North Brabant, nos 19-21 (tumuli III and IV).
- 13-5 Knegsel, Municipality of Vessem. Cemetery on the S and SE bank of the Huismeer. C. C. W. J. Hijszeler, 1951-2.
Tumulus I (h.: c. 0.75, dm.: c. 10) had been raised from somewhat dirty yellow sand with traces of sods only in the SW part. The barrow was surrounded by a triple pc. Two parallel, triple rows of phh. (SW-NE, 5.50 to 6.00 apart), linking up with the pc. on the SW side, could be followed over a distance of at least 16 m. At the SW end they had been destroyed by a sandpit. The length of the whole design was some 25 m. According to the excavator the two arms of triple rows of phh. would constitute one whole with the pc. enclosing the mound. This opinion, however, we think decidedly incorrect. On looking at the plan of this remarkable configuration it is at once clear that we have here two intersecting post patterns: one a roughly circular triple closely spaced pc., the other a post setting of a very unusual, oblong form, somewhat comparable to the double pc. in tumulus 22^A of the Toterfouthalve Mijl group. Hijszeler's comparison of the Knegsel monument with West European stone alignments like those in Brittany and England and the 'avenue' of tumulus 75 on the Noordsche Veld near Zeijen (type 3, Drente, nos 34-6, fig. 69), would seem rather risky.
The central primary grave under the barrow had been completely destroyed. 'Transition period or very early Bronze Age' according to Hijszeler. On the mound 4 later rdd. of the urnfield, and between the arms of the 'avenue' a cremation burial (the interment belonging to the oblong post pattern?).
PSSAIN III, 2, April 1952, pp. 26-7, fig. 1; Beex, *BH* IV, 1952, p. 15; Mariën, *Oud-België*, 1952, pp. 206-7, fig. 191.
Tumulus II was surrounded by respectively a rd. and a triple to quadruple pc. (type 7 or 8?). Central grave destroyed. According to Hijszeler 'transition type'. On the mound 4 rdd. with urn burials (Iron Age).
PSSAIN III, 2, April 1952, p. 27; Beex, *BH* IV, 1952, p. 15.
For the other pcc. of this cemetery cf. type 3, North Brabant, nos 17-8 (tumuli III and VI), type 5, North Brabant, no 7 (tumulus V), type 6, North Brabant, nos 22-4 (tumuli III, IV and V).

¹⁸ A further remarkable occurrence is a triple closely spaced pc. intersected by an oblong pattern lined by a triple row of closely spaced posts. Cf. North Brabant, nos 13-4.

TYPE 8

The quadruple and multiple closely spaced circle of posts

Type 8 is the rare, elaborate form of types 6 and 7. It probably represents a later development or rather degeneration, as is shown by the careless, irregular way in which the rings of posts have been sited. The first example was excavated in 1927 by A. E. van Giffen at Wessinghuizen (Groningen, no 1). Only three specimens are known, viz. one each from the provinces of Groningen, Drente and North Brabant.

The internal diameters of the circles were respectively c. 9, c. 12 and c. 7.20 metres, and the numbers of postholes c. 315, c. 275 and c. 150 (?). Perhaps the four circles of posts or stakes in tumulus 22 at Toterfout-Halve Mijl might also belong to this type.

In tumulus III at Wessinghuizen (Groningen, no 1) a cremation burial was the primary interment, while graves with inhumations were secondary. This was also the case for the 'Hankenbergh' at Erica (Drente, no 1), where cremated bones of an adolescent were found in the centre, and six secondary inhumation graves in the edge.

Reconstruction. This is the same as for types 6 and 7.

Dating evidence. A high-necked urn of a truncated pear shape, with two small handles on the shoulder, matching the urn from Harenermolen (type 3, Groningen, no 1) which was dated by a bronze razor (fig. 48b: 9; Montelius V), formed a good *terminus ante quem* for tumulus III at Wessinghuizen. On the slope of the barrow, moreover, lay a segment of a ringditch of the contiguous urnfield. The barrow at Erica was sealed beneath a capping with a peripheral stone revetment lying on a pyre. At Oss (North Brabant, no 1) the double to quadruple circle was very probably later than a type 5 circle (type 5, North Brabant, no 3). In this barrow a secondary burial in a barrel-shaped 'Deverel' urn (fig. 58: 15) provided a *terminus ante quem*.

Type 8 will have to be dated in the Middle Bronze Age.

GRONINGEN

- *1 Wessinghuizen, Municipality of Onstwedde, *tumulus III*. A. E. van Giffen, 1927. This sod-built barrow was surrounded by an irregular triple to sextuple pc. (int. dm.: c. 9). Possibly it was an originally triple or quadruple pc. repaired several times, especially on the S and SE sides. A double or triple segment on the NE side may indicate an entrance blocking. An eccentric E-W grave pit containing

a cremation was cut across at its E end by a more centrally placed sec. grave pit with trunk coffin, whilst a similar grave cut across its W end. E of the central sec. grave lay a third sec. grave pit. All three sec. graves lay SSW and NNE, and all contained inhumations; they were evidently later than the primary cremation burial. A fourth sec. grave lay tangentially on the NE side, and cut across the pc. A high-necked urn of a truncated pear shape, with two small handles on the shoulder, was found high up at the centre of the barrow. It agrees in form with the urn, dated by a bronze razor (fig. 48b: 9; Montelius V, c. 700 B.C.), from the Harenermolen tumulus (type 3, Groningen, no 1). A segment of a probably circular rd. cut the W slope of the tumulus.

VMG 1927, pp. 65-8; *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 80-4.

Cf. also type 3, Groningen, nos 2-3 and type 6, Groningen, nos 1-2 (tumuli II and I).

DRENTE

- 1 Erica, Municipality of Emmen, the 'Hankenberg'. A. E. van Giffen, 1944.

Two-period monument, consisting of:

(1) A natural accumulation of blown sand, some 0.40 metres high, on an old surface of greyish sand with local charcoal particles, surrounded by a fairly regular quadruple pc. (int. dm.: c. 12). The inner row of large phh. showed an interruption on the SE side, a clear entrance, 3.20 wide. The three outer rows of smaller phh. showed anomalies on the SW side. Possibly the pc. was composed of an inner single closely spaced pc. and an outer, concentric, triple closely spaced pc. (two phases of a single plan?). A slightly eccentric cremation of an adolescent in a small sub-rectangular pit probably belonged to this first construction phase with pc., and so, perhaps, did a grave pit with cremation (adult) found just inside the (blocked?) entrance on the SE side. Transition from Early to Middle Bronze Age.

(2) A barrow on the remains of a pyre and having a circular stone revetment (int. dm.: c. 6.75) on its slope. The stone revetment lay within the pc. and showed a NE shift in relation to it. A layer of ashes, which attained a thickness, locally, of 0.30, and contained large carbonized shells of charred beams, was covered by a layer of yellowish-brown sand, some 0.50 in thickness, above which lay another 0.25 of recent made soil. The layer of ashes continued under the stones of the revetment. The central cremation of this sec. barrow was that of an adolescent. Other cremation deposits, some primary, some secondary, were also found (Late Bronze Age). Six other sec. tangential graves were discovered in this barrow, four of them with clear remains of a trunk coffin (inhumation). One of these graves cut through the pc.

NDV 1948, pp. 119-23.

A keyhole-shaped ditch was discovered in a small contiguous urnfield. The bi-conical two-handled urn with low cylindrical neck buried within it was surrounded by a (temporary?) oval ring of close-set stakes (dm.: 1.40 by 1.65, 38 stakes). The urn probably dates from the Late Bronze Age (Montelius V/VI, 7th-6th century B.C.); it contained cremated bones of an adult and, in and about the neck, those of a child (very minute).

NORTH BRABANT

- 1 Oss, Municipality of Oss, *tumulus* 3. F. C. Bursch, 1935.

The second phase of this tumulus (cf. type 5, North Brabant, no 3) was surrounded by an irregular, oval, double to quadruple pc. (int. dm.: c. 7.20).

OM Leiden, NR XVIII, 1937, pp. 2-3; *Marburger Studien*, 1938, pp. 20-1.

Cf. also type 7, North Brabant, no 3 (tumulus 2).

TYPE 9

The circle of close-set stakes

Type 9 is not of very frequent occurrence. The first example was excavated, in 1910, by J. H. Holwerda at Uddel in the province of Gelderland. The number of specimens recorded so far is 21.

The diameter of the stakecircle varies between 3.80 (Groningen, no 9; 31 stakes) and 16.20 metres (Drente, no 1; 155 stakes); some 9.50 metres is the average, and the average number of stakes is about 75. The stakeholes are some 0.08 to 0.10 metres in diameter. In the Uddel tumulus Holwerda found that the stakes had been cut to a triangular point at the lower end. There are some transition forms between types 5 and 9, where the dividing line is difficult to draw.¹⁹

Generally the stakecircle stands at the foot of a sod-built barrow. In one case, tumulus 8 at Toterfout-Halve Mijl, an oval circle of close-set stakes was found to have surrounded the temporary mortuary house and to have been removed together with it, before the raising of the mound. With types 3, 4, 6 and 7 stakecircles occur as additional elements. With type 3 the stakes are usually found to have been driven in between the widely spaced dug postholes (Groningen, no 4, Drente, nos 6, 18 and 39, North Brabant, no 1); with types 4, 6 and 7 the stakecircle as a rule encloses the postcircle (type 4, North Brabant, nos 1-2, type 6, North Brabant, no 2 and type 7, North Brabant, no 11). In one case (Friesland, no 1) an internal stakecircle occurred with type 6, and an interruption in the circle on the NNW side corresponded with an entrance blocking in the postcircle. In tumulus 2 at Epe (type 3, Gelderland, no 3) a type 3 postcircle was enclosed by a stakecircle; this might, however, conceivably be a two-period monument. It may be assumed that wattling was generally present between the stakes.

The distribution area of the stakecircle comprises the North, centre and South of the country (fig. 55). In excavating the Laudermarke cemetery (Groningen, nos 1-12) Van Giffen found clear stratified evidence that in the North of the country this type persisted down to the Late Iron Age and that there it flourished anew.²⁰

Type 9 is generally found with cremation burials.

Reconstruction. The stakecircle probably surrounded the barrow at its foot as

a low fence. Where it occurred as an external element additional to a main postcircle, it lay somewhat beyond the foot of the barrow.

Dating evidence. In tumulus 10 at Toterfout-Halve Mijl a small bucket-shaped vessel (Part I, Pl. XII: 1, fig. 42b: 52) of very gritty texture was found among the cremated bones of a very remarkable ritual burial (North Brabant, no 2). It must belong to the Middle Bronze Age. In tumulus 16 of the same cemetery a similar pot (fig. 42b: 56) came to light among the sods of the slope of the primary barrow with type 3 postcircle. This pot provides a *terminus post quem* for the stakecircle belonging to phase 2 of this mound. The temporary stakecircle preceding phase 1 of tumulus 8 at Toterfout-Halve Mijl must date from the Middle Bronze Age (^{14}C -date: 3055 ± 90 years). Where a stakecircle occurs as an additional element with a postcircle, it is thereby dated to the (Early or) Middle Bronze Age.

In two cases (Drente, no 2 and Gelderland, no 1) Neolithic or Aeneolithic relics, and once (North Brabant, no 2) a tumulus with type 3 postcircle were sealed beneath a barrow with stakecircle. Tumulus 28 on the 'Noordsche Veld' at Zeijen (Drente, no 1) was built from sods on a bank belonging to a complex of Celtic Fields, and thus probably dates from the (Late) Iron Age. A secondary coarse cinerary urn was discovered in a barrow at Vierhouten (Gelderland, no 2). A number of the stakecircles at Laudermarke (Groningen, nos 1, 2, 3, 4 and 10) were stratigraphically more recent than ringditches of the urnfield, in some cases more recent actually than the square ditches (nos 2, 3, 4 and 10) which are the most recent ditch type (Late Iron Age, down to the times of the Roman Empire).

We may further mention that a miniature stakecircle was twice found round the primary burial within a keyhole-ditch in South East Drente. The first was found by Bursch in 1931-2 near Emmer (dm.: 2.80 by 3.30, 51 very thin stakes), the second was discovered in 1944 by Van Giffen at Erica (dm.: 1.40 by 1.65, 38 stakes).²¹ Mention must also be made here of a similar small circle (dm.: c. 2.50, 9 + 2 stakes?) within an oval ringditch at Laudermarke. These small (temporary?) stakecircles must date from the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age. Some of the late stakecircles at Laudermarke show a resemblance to these miniature forms. Twice, at Balloo and at Laudermarke, Van Giffen found a square ditch enclosed on three sides by a fence of close-set stakes (cf. type 3, nos 13-4 and type 9, nos 1-12). These must date from the Late Iron Age.

The stakecircle therefore appears to occur from the Early Bronze Age onwards, and locally remained in use until the Late Iron Age, possibly down to the times of the Roman Empire. It was perhaps to these descendants of the Bronze Age postcircles that Ammianus Marcellinus referred where he mentioned that the Germanic peoples avoided the '*circumdata retiis busta*' of their forefathers (XVI, 2, 12).

GRONINGEN

1-12 Laudermarke, Municipality of Vlachtwedde. A. E. van Giffen, 1932.

This extensive cemetery (c. 300 by 100 metres) was largely excavated in 1932, when the Northern part had already fallen a victim to reclamation. A total of 176 interments, small shrines, etc. were recorded, viz. round, oval, lozenge-shaped, square and sub-rectangular ditches, several with internal or external timber structures — generally rectangular configurations of posts —, and 15 tumuli enclosed by timber structures: 12 of them stakecircles, and 3 or 4 single widely spaced pcc. (cf. type 3, Groningen, nos 4-7). One of these latter had a circle of stakeholes through the pch. Once a SW-NE (temporary?) mortuary house (1.00 by 1.40, fig. 67: 4) was found, covering a grave with an inhumation burial (*Strip III, no 70*). A number of small, isolated shrines, in the form of sets of 4 pch., were also found. The tumuli with stakecircles must be monuments dating *after* the square ditches, which are the most recent type. This is stratigraphically proved in several cases through intersections. Accordingly we have here a class of barrows with surrounding fences that was appreciably later than the majority of the Dutch timber circles. That no burials were found within quite a number of the Laudermarke ringditches is due to the extreme speed at which this emergency excavation had to be carried out; in part, however, as Van Giffen thinks, the ringditches without burial might be cenotaphs for people who had died elsewhere, an interpretation prompted by Stieren's hypothesis in his description of the Sölten cemetery.²² In strong contrast to the rich structural variation, the finds consisted of no more than a few urns. Urnless cremations predominated.

The tumuli with stakecircles, which were usually more or less oval or polygonal in outline, were the following:

Strip I, no 4a, with incomplete stakecircle (dm.:²³ c. 9.50) overlying a tumulus with rd. (no 4) and remains of a pyre. *VMG* 1935, pp. 56, 75.

Strip II, no 8. Barrow of sods, with stakecircle (dm.: c. 8.70), overlying a pyre; the circle intersected a square ditch (no 7). *VMG* 1935, pp. 57, 75.

Strip III, no 47. Barrow of sods, with stakecircle (dm.: c. 8) intersecting a square ditch (no 32). On the SE side the circle showed a remarkable inward bend. *VMG* 1935, pp. 60, 75.

Strip III, no 56. Tumulus, with stakecircle (dm.: c. 5.10) intersecting a rectangular ditch (no 55). *VMG* 1935, pp. 61, 75.

Strip III, no 74e. A five-period barrow of sods, the last phase of which had an incomplete stakecircle (dm.: c. 12.30). *VMG* 1935, pp. 61, 75.

Strip III, no 80. Barrow of sods, with a segment of a stakecircle (original dm.: c. 9); much charcoal at the centre. *VMG* 1935, pp. 62, 75.

Strip III, no 81. Barrow of sods — half of which was excavated — with stakecircle (dm.: c. 10); much charcoal at the centre. *VMG* 1935, pp. 62, 75.

Strip IV, no 2. Barrow of sods with stakecircle (dm.: c. 7.70). *VMG* 1935, pp. 63, 75.

Strip IV, no 3. Small mound of sods, with miniature stakecircle (dm.: c. 3.80), lying on remains of a pyre. At the centre a rectangular cremation burial. *VMG* 1935, pp. 63, 75.

Strip IV, no 10. Four-period monument, consisting of: 10a, a square ditch with cremation burial; 10b, a rectangular ditch with cremation burial, intersecting 10a; 10c, an oval ditch with cremation burial, intersecting 10b; 10d, a barrow of sods with stakecircle (dm.: c. 12), covering 10a-c, with a sec. cremation burial in the NE edge. *VMG* 1935, pp. 63, 75.

Strip IV, no 12. Barrow of sods with incomplete stakecircle (dm.: c. 13.70), lying on the remains of a pyre. *VMG* 1935, pp. 63, 75.

Strip IV, no 13. Barrow of sods with incompletely excavated stakecircle (dm.: c. 9.50), over remains of a pyre. *VMG* 1935, pp. 63, 75.

A remarkable feature, finally, was *Strip III, no 78*, a square ditch (int. N-S dm.: c. 6.60), surrounded by a fence of close-set stakes on three sides (open towards the W), like a similar specimen at Balloo (cf. type 3, Drente, nos 13-4); the ditch cut across a circular ditch (no 77). *VMG* 1935, pp. 62, 75.

FRIESLAND

An internal stakecircle occurred as an additional element in type 6, Friesland, no 1.

DRENTE

1-2 Zeijen, Municipality of Vries, cultural reserve on the 'Noordsche Veld'. A. E. van Giffen, 1924, 1944 and 1949.

Tumulus 28 (1944), which had been built from sods on a bank (h.: c. 0.45) of the complex of Celtic Fields, was surrounded by a stakecircle (dm.: 16.20). On the SE side the circle had been almost totally interrupted over a distance of at least 4.00; to the N of the interval a larger ph. was found. The central burial had been destroyed by a large recent disturbance. In the NE quadrant a cremation burial and a group of 5 large stones were found; in the SW quadrant a tangential sec. (?) grave, with a cremation in a trunk coffin, contained a small pot. In the NE quadrant, near the centre, a trapezoidal configuration of 5 large phh. was conspicuous; it probably represented some kind of building. SSE of these lay another isolated ph.

NDV 1949, pp. 119-20.

Tumulus I (1924 & 1949), of clean yellow sand, had in its centre a fine specimen of a beehive-shaped grave (dm. of pit: c. 2; dm. of beehive: 1.40-1.70). On the floor of this grave were found a stone axe and a flint knife. An Aeneolithic sherd came from the mound. The re-examination of 1949 showed that the base of the mound contained part of a stakecircle (dm.: c. 11.50) which probably belonged to a sec. capping of topsoil. A stone packing, probably sec., was in all probability excavated in this barrow by J. Hofstede in 1809.

Bauart, 1930, pp. 122-4.

Cf. also type 3, Drente, nos 1^a (tumulus III), 31-6 (tumuli 111, 112, 75) and 46-7 (tumulus 117).

- 3 Ballooërveld, Municipality of Rolde, *tumulus 10*. A. E. van Giffen, 1933.
This barrow had the remains of a stakecircle (dm.: c. 7) in an indistinct foundation trench(?). Only a small part on the SSE side was clear. Apart from an eccentric NW-SE grave a sec. (?) tangential grave was recorded.
NDV 1935, p. 103.
Cf. also type 3, Drente, nos 11-5 (tumuli 2, 4, 6 and 8).
- 4 Wijster, Municipality of Beilen, *tumulus II*. A. E. van Giffen, 1952. Cemetery of 6 tumuli on the Emelange.
This heavily damaged barrow of sods was surrounded by a stakecircle (dm.: c. 11), partly cut away on the N side. On the S and W sides the stakecircle was double. Beneath the mound a sub-rectangular 'ridge'-type field (probably Iron Age).
NDV 1954, pp. 168-9.
A stakecircle occurred as an additional element in the tumuli listed under type 3, Drente, nos 6, 18 and 39.

GELDERLAND

*1 Uddel, Municipality of Apeldoorn, *tumulus* C. J. H. Holwerda, 1910.

This barrow, consisting of greyish-brown sand with horizontal infiltration veins, was surrounded by a circle (dm.: 11.00) of close-set rammed-in stakes cut to a triangular point. The centre contained a SW-NE grave. Sec. cremation burials were found at several places in the mound. In the floor of the tumulus a large number of undecorated Neolithic sherds, some sherds with cord impressions, and some of Passage Grave ware were found, as well as a number of flints (Neolithic). Holwerda interpreted the various barrow structures as deriving from a collapsed wooden structure.

OM Leiden, OR V, 1911, pp. 9-11; cf. also Van Giffen, *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 110-1. A number of stakeholes on the E and W sides were probably destroyed by a trench dug in 1842 by Dr L. J. F. Janssen, who discovered only two — apparently sec. — cremation burials high in the centre of the mound. Professor Sandifort determined the cremated bones as human. *NB* IV, 1844, p. 86.

Cf. also type 3, Gelderland, no 1 (*tumulus* B) and type 5, Gelderland, nos 1-3.

2 Vierhouten, Municipality of Ermelo, *tumulus* 9. A. E. van Giffen, 1939.

Two-period barrow, consisting of:

(1) A very low mound of sand surrounded by a stakecircle (dm.: 11.00). At the centre lay a cremation burial, almost at floor level.

(2) An additional capping of sods with at its centre a deep N-S grave pit with coffin. Some 20 sec. graves came to light, nearly all with coffins, and with many inter-sections. Three of these cut across the stakecircle. A barrel-shaped urn of very gritty texture, containing cremated bone, was also discovered in this barrow. — Excavated together with 8 other tumuli, without peripheral constructions. In *tumulus* 7 two Bell Beakers were found in the central grave.

An external stakecircle occurred as an additional element in *tumulus* 2 near Epe (type 3, Gelderland, no 3). Possibly, however, this might be a peripheral construction belonging to the sec. capping of the *tumulus* recognized by Bursch.

NORTH BRABANT

1-3 Toterfout-Halve Mijl, Municipality of Veldhoven, tumuli 8 (temporary circle; ¹⁴C-date: 3055 ± 90 years), 10 and 16, a total of 3 specimens. See Part I.

A stakecircle occurred as an additional element in type 3, North Brabant, no 1 (partly between the phh. of the pc., partly external), type 4, North Brabant, nos 1-2 (external), type 6, North Brabant, no 2 (external) and type 7, North Brabant, no 11 (external).

¹⁹ E.g. type 5, Gelderland, no 1.

²⁰ Occasionally a circle of stakes in a narrow foundation trench — descendant of the Neolithic type 2? — occurred in the (Late?) Bronze or in the (Early?) Iron Age. Cf. phase 4 of *tumulus* 12 at Oudemolen (see type 6, Drente, no 7), and *tumulus* 10 at Balloo (type 9, Drente, no 3). Brunsting found (1950) a single row of stakes in a fairly narrow but deep trench in a barrow at Hooge Mierde (entrance on the NE side?). A central grave was not found, but a cremation burial had been made in the edge, and the foundation trench also contained some cremated bones.








²¹ This grave type is very common in Westphalia. Cf. e.g. A. Stieren, *Westfalen* XX, 1935, pp. 250-6 (Sölten, Kr. Recklinghausen); H. Kroll, *Germania* 22, 1938, pp. 79, 226-7 (Hülsten, Kr. Borken). Cf. also p. 9, note 79 and p. 80.

²² *Westfalen* XX, 1935, pp. 252-3.

²³ This is invariably the largest diameter.

IN CONCLUSION

From 1908 to 1952 a total of 179 timber circles of types 3-9, not counting 11 additional stakecircles, were excavated in the Netherlands.¹

DUTCH BRONZE AGE TIMBER CIRCLES		Groningen	Friesland	Drente	Gelderland	Utrecht	North Holland	North Brabant	Limburg	Total
Type 3		7	1	50	4	1	1	18	5	87
Type 4		—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2
Type 5		—	—	2	4	—	1	7	—	14
Type 6		2	1	8	—	—	—	24	—	35
Type 7		—	—	2	—	—	—	15	—	17
Type 8		1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	3
Type 9		12	—	4	2	—	—	3	—	21
additional		1	1	3	1	—	—	5	—	11
Total	7	22 (+1)	2 (+1)	67 (+3)	10 (+1)	1	2	70 (+5)	5	179 (+11)

The corpus assembled above reflects, in compact form, some 45 years' archaeological investigation in the Netherlands. Though many problems remain

unsolved, the Dutch barrow excavations eloquently illustrate the fact that even monuments preserving little or no remains of the material culture of their time constitute valuable documents for the study of the past.

In future barrow excavations it will be a prime requisite to investigate entire barrow groups. Only thus will it be possible, in excavating numbers of barrows without datable grave goods, to turn to account the rather adverse conditions, and in particular to obtain a relative chronology by means of pollen analysis. For Brabant the '*Vijfberg*' on the Rechte Heide near Goirle, excavated by Van Giffen, forms the first, the Toterfout-Halve Mijl group the largest example of a completely investigated barrow cemetery.

¹ The above corpus of the Dutch Bronze Age timber circles was finished in July 1952. Through a number of excavations since carried out (1952) the total has now (January 1953) risen to c. 185. (Barrow between Vesse m and Hal ve Mijl, Province of North Brabant, specimens of types 6 and 9, Part I, fig. 2, *BH IV*, 1952, pp. 57-9, *PSSAIN IV*, 1, Juni 1953, pp. 8-9; Elspeet, Province of Gelderland, specimens of types 3 and 9; Hijken, Province of Drente, type 3.) At Hijken a number of pcc. of types 3 and 9 were excavated in the summer of 1953.

CONTINENTAL AND BRITISH ANALOGUES OF POSTCIRCLE TYPES 3-9

Monuments resembling the Dutch postcircle types treated above are still relatively unknown in Western Europe. This is mainly due to the unequal intensity of the systematic barrow excavations in the several countries. Conclusions as to origin and distribution of these timber monuments are thus hardly justified in the present state of knowledge.

Comparable prehistoric timber circles have been discovered only in Britain, Germany and Denmark. For Belgium and France¹ the distribution map still depends entirely on the traditional savage pictures and elephants to dispel the blanks of our ignorance.

We shall here briefly review the continental parallels. Completeness must not be expected, as new and yet unpublished instances may have been discovered in recent years.

DENMARK

From Denmark examples of types 3 and 9 only have so far been recorded.

A very fine specimen of a type 3 timber circle (dm. E-W: 12.00, N-S: 13.00, 14 phh.) was discovered by G. Rosenberg as early as 1908 in a tumulus at Vesterlund (parish of Vester, district of Vejle) in Jutland. The mound had been built on old arable with plough-markings. It was not until 1941 that this discovery was published, from Rosenberg's exemplary record, by Professor G. Hatt.² Rosenberg had considered the postholes as supports of a round hut and interpreted the plough-markings — in two directions at right angles — as the traces of fallen wattle walls. — The central grave of the subsequently enlarged and heightened mound contained an undatable bronze sickle ('*Seglblad*'), also pointing to agriculture. Among the later grave goods were two bronze '*Bojlænaale*' (Bronze Age period 3 after Sophus Muller),³ affording a *terminus ante quem* for the postcircle.

Of late years some further timber circles have been excavated in Jutland which, however, all belonged to the Neolithic Jutland single grave culture.⁴ In 1941-2 G. Kunwald excavated seven barrows out of a cemetery of some 15 tumuli near Bratbjerg (parish of Hee and Hover, hundred of Hind, district of Ringkøbing) some 10 kilometres NE of Ringkøbing in Jutland. Two of them were

enclosed by a ringditch containing traces of posts (dm.: 0.15-0.20). In the one a single closely spaced circle (type 2 or 5?) was situated on the inner lip of the ditch; in the other a number of widely spaced posts (type 3) were found to have been placed at regular intervals in the ditch. Kunwald assumes that the post-circles stand in close connexion to the ringditches frequently occurring in Neolithic single grave barrows. In a five-period barrow at Esbjerg, in SW Jutland, excavated by H. Andersen (1949) and G. Kunwald (1950), traces were found of a circle of quite slender stakes (dm.: 0.04-0.05, int.: 0.30-0.40) that had probably supported an original fence of hurdling.

GERMANY

On two instructive maps H. Hoffmann has recorded the 'distribution' of barrows with timber structures in Germany (1940).⁵ The number of monuments from Germany and Denmark that he assigned to the class of '*Palisadenhügel*' was 28 (26 and 2 specimens respectively). A number of doubtful or certainly misinterpreted cases will be omitted from our discussion.⁶

We shall here review the analogues for our Bronze Age types 3, 5, 6 and 7. We may remark that the Neolithic types 1 and 2 are also represented, each by a single monument.⁷ The Late Iron Age structures, which Hoffmann also recorded, and which are especially to be found in the Trier region, will not be taken into account.⁸

TYPE 3

Westphalia

Haltern, Kreis Recklinghausen, *Site I*. In A. Stieren's excavations (1932) in the well-known Roman 'Hauptlager', the NW corner of the so-called *fabrica* produced some Beaker sherds, a 'Grünsteinbeilchen' of rectangular section, an arrowhead and a few flint flakes. In the immediate vicinity a rd. (int. dm.: 6.70) with concentric internal pc. (dm.: c. 5, 8 phh.) was discovered, which had probably belonged to a barrow levelled in laying out the Roman fortress. An interment could not be found.

A. Stieren, *Germania* 18, 1934, p. 59 and *Westfalen XIX*, 1934, p. 116; C. Albrecht, *Westfalen XIX*, 1934, p. 127.

Herne. Two partly destroyed single widely spaced pcc., not quite concentric, showed in the subsoil. The inner (9 + 8 phh.) measured some 8 to 9 metres across, the outer (15 + 7 phh.) some 10 to 11 metres. On the surface no trace of a barrow remained. This was, in our opinion, a two-period monument. The inner circle may have had two extra phh. on the NW side. A ph. slightly inside the true line of the outer circle on the NNW side may indicate an entrance blocking, and an empty WNW-ESE grave pit may have belonged to the earliest pc. On the site of the presumed barrow a few sherds were found of a thick-walled vessel of very gritty texture with whipped cord ornament.

Albrecht, *Westfalen XIX*, 1934, pp. 128-9.

The above monuments have been described by Albrecht in his survey of the Neolithic barrows in Westphalia (1934).⁹ In our opinion it is quite likely that they date from the Early Bronze Age.

Wext near Nienborg, Kreis Ahaus. K. Hücke, 1937-8.

Tumulus 5 (dm.: 6.50, or. h.: 0.50) was surrounded by a pc. (dm.: c. 6, 11 phh. and 3 other extra phh.). Six secondary interments in urns were found in this barrow, five of them destroyed. Probably we have here an Iron Age descendant of the type 3 postcircle. The tumulus lay in a ringditch urnfield with sub-rectangular rdd. containing internal rectangular configurations of posts, and with round and square ditches.

Bodenaltertimer Westfalens VII, 1950, p. 174.

Rhine Province

Altenrath, Siegkreis. In the necropolis of some 600 tumuli on the Wahner Höhe. C. & E. Rademacher, 1930.

Tumulus 5 (dm.: 16.00, h.: 1.20), of sods, was surrounded by a pc. (dm.: 12.00, 17 + 12 or 13 phh., dm. phh.: 0.60, dm. posts: 0.15) a large part of which had been destroyed by gravel workings. Inside the pc. remains of tangential beams were found lying against the timber uprights; according to the excavators they formed part of a 0.75 high three-course revetment of horizontal beams. The round grave pit at the centre (dm.: 2.00) had been destroyed. It was surrounded by a rd. (dm.: 6.00). We may further note that one of the tumuli here is said to have been enclosed by a circle of 12 widely spaced stones.

Mannus XXIV, 1932, pp. 532-5.

Giershofen, Kreis Neuwied. K. H. Wagner, 1936-7.

Tumulus 1 (1936) (dm.: 22.00, h.: 1.00) contained a fine pc. (dm.: 16.50, 23 phh., probably 17 of the actual pc. and 6 further intermediate phh. in 5 or 6 intervals on the W side) surrounding a NW-SE coffin of heavy planks at ground level. The coffin contained a bronze dagger with 4 rivet holes (ältere süddeutsche Hügelgräberbronzezeit). On the E side the barrow contained an older grave pit with trunk coffin, cut across by a ph. of the pc. On the N side, outside the pc., lay a cremation burial with a few sherds (Urnenfelderkultur?). In the body of the mound remains of bronze objects were found, among them two arm spirals with doubled-back end, as well as pottery sherds — one a rim sherd (Late La Tène).

Bonn. Jahrb. 143/144, 1938/39, pp. 362-5.

Tumulus 3 (1937) (dm.: 24.00, h.: 1.50), probably of sods, contained another fine pc. (dm.: 16.00, 21 + 1 phh.). The ph. wanting on the W side may represent an entrance. At the centre lay an E-W trunk coffin at ground level, more than half destroyed by a recent disturbance. The body of the mound contained a few sherds.

Bonn. Jahrb. 143/144, 1938/39, p. 366.

Baden

Huttenheim (Bruchsal). Group of barrows 20 km N of Karlsruhe, between Graben and Philippsburg, NW of Huttenheim. A. Dauber, 1938.

Tumulus 9 (dm.: 14.00, h.: 0.70 according to the text, 0.90 according to the drawing) contained a pc. (dm.: c. 7.50, 11 phh.) which, Dauber thought, originally stood within the edge of the barrow. In the large irregular holes a stain with much charcoal indicated the place of each post (dm.: 0.10-0.20). There was a noticeably larger interval on the SSW side, and an intermediate ph. on the N side perhaps represented an entrance blocking. At 0.40 below the top of the barrow, slightly E of the centre, lay a N-S inhumation grave ('das Grab', according to Dauber), perhaps of an adult woman interred with the head to the S. Near the skull lay sherds of a blackish grey handled cup (Henkelnapf).

In a dark stain (remains of leather) near the sherds on the N side lay a bronze 'Schleifenhalsnadel' (l.: 0.095) ending in a 'Vasenkopf' (Hallstatt D). NE of the legs two parallel N-S boards were found, the N ends linked by a crossboard. Between the boards and close together lay four animal metacarpals and one carpal, with a tubular bone somewhat farther S. Remarkably enough the grave is not shown in the section; from its high position (0.40 below the top of a barrow at least 0.70 high) it should, we think, be deduced that this must be a secondary interment. Perhaps a primary interment at ground level went unnoticed. The bronze 'Schleifenhalsnadel' thus would give only a *terminus ante quem* for the monument. On the S side, just in the slope of the barrow, lay a well. Dauber attributed a ritual function to the pc., viz. as a dividing line between the living and the dead.

Badische Fundberichte XV, 1939, pp. 64-73, especially pp. 65-71.

TYPE 5

Westphalia

Epe, Kreis Ahaus. An irregular circle of fairly closely sited pph. (dm.: c. 14) enclosed a very eccentric WSW-ENE grave pit (SE of pc. centre). The grave lay within a roughly square trench with rounded corners (dm.: 3.00-3.50, width: 0.50; 'Bienenkorbgrab' according to Hoffmann). No trace of a barrow remained. In the NW corner of the grave (2.00 × 1.00) an undecorated S-Beaker with foot was found; on it lay a flint knife, and beside it a small flint axe. Late Neolithic. To the NE two parallel foundation trenches and several pph. linked up with the pc. According to Albrecht they belonged to a 'Rechteckbau' of 7.00 by 12.00 'mit zweigeteiltem Innenraum'. No trace of a hearth was found. Albrecht assumed that it was not a dwelling but a 'Kultbau', immediately connected with the timber circle. The entrance might have been on the W side.

Albrecht, *Westfalen* XIX, 1934, pp. 123-4.

TYPE 6

Lower Saxony

Logabirum, Kreis Leer. H. Schroller. Cemetery of originally 52 tumuli of which 10 remained (Neolithic and Bronze Age).

Tumulus 6, of dirty brown sand with few inverted sods, could hardly be adequately observed on account of sand digging (dm.: between 12.00 and 20.00). In our opinion it must have been a two-period monument:

(1) An irregular double closely spaced pc. (int. dm.: c. 8) round a slightly eccentric WNW-ESE grave pit (S of pc. centre; 3.00 × 1.20) with extended silhouette, the head to the W. Sec. tangential WNW-ESE grave on the NE side, filled with clear sods, also containing a silhouette. This had the head to the E, and a low conical cup (probably Early Bronze Age) had been buried with it.

(2) Fine triple closely spaced pc. (int. dm.: c. 10) with a slight SE shift and showing a straight section on the SE side.

In the pph. traces of decayed wood could often be observed. — Schroller, who assigned the five rings, with a total of 314 pph., to one and the same monument, further observed that the pc. stood just outside the original foot of the barrow. 'Der Zweck des Kranzes wird darin bestanden haben, den heiligen Bezirk des Grabes abzugrenzen'. From its sod structure — already increased in the filling of the sec. grave pit — and the pot in the sec. grave, Schroller assigned the monument to an early phase of the Early Bronze Age.

Nieders. Urgesch. 10, 1936, pp. 4, 12-7.

Westphalia

Hülsten, Kreis Borken. E. Kahrs & H. Kroll, 1926-36. Cemetery on the Radberg, comprising 149 grave monuments: 4 tumuli and many Urnfield ringditches, the majority of these keyhole-shaped (a number of them with small internal stakecircles).

-*Tumulus II* (dm.: 20.00, h.: 1.85) was a three-period barrow, consisting of:

(1) A primary barrow (dm.: c. 9, h.: 1.15) with central WNW-ESE grave pit (2.60 × 1.20) with traces of an oak coffin. The grave lay in a quadrilateral configuration of 7 pph. (mortuary house). Two metres NE of the grave on the old surface lay a stone battle axe which Kroll considered as a grave gift. Two cremation interments had been made in the mound.

(2) Secondary capping (dm.: c. 14, h.: 0.55) with oval (SSW-NNE) pc. (int. dm.: c. 13.50-15.50) showing some anomalies.

(3) Another capping, covering the pph. of phase 2.

Kroll assumed that the barrow was not built until after 'natürlicher Verwitterung bzw. absichtlicher Beseitigung' of the mortuary house. The two cremation burials could have been the occasion for the first capping of the barrow and of the pc. The shape of the pc. — not circular but irregularly polygonal with straight sections of about 4 metres — led Kroll to believe that the spaces between the vertical posts had been filled with horizontal beams some 4 metres in length, revetting the mound with a heavy palisade of tree trunks. Two single pph. on the S and SW sides might be explained as 'die mit einem Pfosten verstellten Eingänge'.

Kahrs, *Germania* 14, 1930, pp. 245-6; *PZ* XXIII, 1932, pp. 299 *sqq.*; Kroll, *Germania* 22, 1938, pp. 80-2 (cf. especially the reconstruction, Abb. 4); Albrecht, *Westfalen* XIX, 1934, pp. 129-30.

Tumulus III (dm.: c. 18, h.: 1.75) was a two-period monument, consisting of:

(1) A primary barrow (dm.: 11.00, h.: 1.00) 'aus hell- und dunkelgrau marmoriertem Sande' (sod structure?), with approximately central WNW-ESE grave pit (2.75 × 1.50) containing a flexed silhouette (head to the W) in the remains of a coffin. On the chest, among decayed wood and well-preserved pieces of birch bark (from a wooden box?), lay fragments of a bronze arm spiral or several arm rings. At the edge of the interment, near the SW corner, lay remains of a crushed oak 'Holzgefäß', an oval dish (max. dm.: c. 0.35, h.: c. 0.15); near this, among some flint artifacts (2 arrowheads and a number of 'Rundschaiber') and flakes, lay three sandstone implements, viz. an egg-shaped hammerstone and two arrowshaft polishers ('Pfeilstrecker'). Alongside of these lay a long hollow wooden cylinder (l.: 0.70, dm.: 0.10). South of the interment lay another wooden vessel. Near the periphery were 5 grave pits: In the SE quadrant a tangential WSW-ENE grave with an unusually clear flexed silhouette (head to the SW) and traces of a coffin; to the W of this a tangential NW-SE grave with indistinct silhouette (head NW); in the W part of the tumulus an oval E-W grave with traces of a coffin at either end; at the S extremity a tangential oval WNW-ESE grave with cremation but no trace of a coffin which, according to Kroll, must have been present. In the NE quadrant, finally, under the edge of phase 1, another NW-SE tangential grave with traces of a coffin and a faint silhouette (head NW?). In a round hole in the SW quadrant a small barrel-shaped pot was found, decorated with two horizontal rows of nail impressions (and standing on a decayed wooden dish?), which we would assign to the Early Bronze Age. Eight irregularly sited pph. were observed under phase 1, and in the SE quadrant lay decayed tangential wooden beams, c. 1 metre long, continuing as a dense ring of decayed wood in the NE and NW parts of the mound. They were lacking on the SW side, probably as a result of the digging of the grave pits there. A pc. (int. dm.: c. 12), almost complete on the W side but fragmentary elsewhere, lay beyond the foot of phase 1 but was covered by phase 2. Kroll assigned it to the primary barrow.

(2) A capping of light yellow soil, related to a number of cremation burials. In the SE quadrant lay another cremation burial covered by an inverted 'Beaker' ornamented by nail impressions, paired chevronwise, over its entire surface. To the S of this were two charcoal patches; in the S and E were two further cremation burials (the second later than phase 2). On the SE side a bucket-shaped pot (Early Bronze Age), lying on its side with some sherds of a 'Becher' (?) above it, had been interred in phase 2; to its NE lay charcoal (ritual fires?). A bi-conical cremation-filled urn of the Urnfield period constituted the final interment in this tumulus. Kroll explained the traces of posts under phase 1 as the remains of a configuration of upright timbers (mortuary house?) and of a revetment of horizontal beams surrounding three grave pits. The mound of phase 1, he claimed, was not piled up until after the digging of further grave pits, as nothing showed that these graves had been dug through the mound. At this stage the pc. would have been erected, unless indeed the barrow was built inside a previously erected pc. In our opinion the pc. should rather belong to phase 2. The tangential secondary interment on the NE side is probably later than phase 1, possibly even later than 2. The cremation burials are later still.

Kahrs, *Germania* 14, 1930, pp. 245-6; *PZXXIII*, 1932, pp. 299 *sqq.*; Kroll, *Germania* 22, 1938, pp. 83-7; Albrecht, *Westfalen* XIX, 1934, pp. 129-30 (wrongly assigning the pottery vessels to the Beaker culture). Tumulus I contained a pyre; tumulus IV, enclosed on the W and S sides by a rd. with an internal bank lying on irregularly sited phh., was thought to resemble the Dutch barrows with enclosing bank and ditch. (Röder, *Bonn. Jahrb.* 148, 1948, p. 113, would rather see here 'eine halbkreisförmige Sitzbank um das Grab' such as was discovered elsewhere.) Kroll dated tumuli II-IV to the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age respectively.

Marbeck, Kreis Borchen. K. Hucke, 1937.

Remains of a Neolithic barrow (dm.: 15.00, h.: 1.40), very probably with sec. Bronze Age capping. In the edge three grave pits, one containing a plain Beaker and a granite quernstone. Two of the graves were cut across by the pc. (original int. dm.: c. 8.50). The central grave had been destroyed. The barrow lies in an urnfield with circular ditches and a 'ridge'-type field.

Deutsche Vorz. 14, 1938, pp. 290-3; *Bodenalttümer Westfalens* VII, 1950, p. 14.

Brackwede, Landkreis Bielefeld. W. R. Lange, 1940.

Remains of a (Neolithic?) tumulus with rd. (original dm.: c. 14, w.: 1.00) and remains of a type 6 pc. (original int. dm.: c. 9?) which should in our opinion belong to a sec. capping. The excavator must have been mistaken where he explained the phh. of the outer row, with heavy iron pan precipitation, as fir roots belonging to a later vegetation that followed the foot of the barrow. Within the rd. lay a tangential, probably secondary, oblong grave pit.

Bodenalttümer Westfalens VII, 1950, pp. 48-9.

Hessen

Baierseich, Kreis Darmstadt. In the park of Kranichstein hunting seat, near the Forsthaus Baierseich, 9 kilometres N of Darmstadt, close to the Darmstadt-Frankfurt road. F. Kofler, 1903.

This barrow lay in a group of nineteen, five of which were excavated in 1901. They contained inhumation graves from the Early Bronze Age with fine grave goods, many bronzes amongst them. In 1903, besides three other barrows, a tumulus was excavated with graves from the same period. No cremations occurred.

The barrow (dm.: c. 12, h.: 0.73), which consisted of blown sand, contained a fine regular double closely spaced pc. (int. dm.: c. 11) with phh. some 0.30 to 0.40 in diameter. Charcoal particles were observed in these holes. In either row a number of phh. on the S side, where the subsoil was rock, could not be found; probably the posts here rested on the rock. On the SW and SE sides some further phh. were wanting. On the W, S and SW sides — but also at one spot on the N side — several grave pits were observed inside the pc.: two, on the S side, were tangential, the others lay SW-NE or WSW-ENE. Several empty trough-shaped pits closer to the centre may also have been graves. In one of the first-mentioned graves, on the W side, a few child's teeth were found, stained green by a small tubular bronze spiral below them, probably a neck ornament. Another, SW-NE, contained much decayed bones, probably of an adult, accompanied by a bronze bracelet. A third yielded some pottery sherds and two very small 'Handspiralen (?)' that can only have been worn by a child. At the centre, where according to Kofler no primary interment was found, lay a WSW-ENE oval spread of deep black earth, some 0.20-0.25 thick and measuring 2.60 by 2.00-2.20, mixed with sparse charcoal particles. No bones were found in it, but some pottery sherds lay at its N extremity. At either end, approximately on its longitudinal axis, four phh. came to light in a row, dividing the space within the pc. into two fairly equal parts. The discovery of a heavily damaged quern of quartz made Kofler suspect that the structure might be a dwelling. Remains of wattle and daub were wanting, however, as were traces of a stone-walled hearth. Kofler wondered whether perhaps only poor members of the clan were interred here, and whether the large burnt patch at the centre was an 'Opferstätte', since neither here nor in any of the other barrows excavated by him had any trace of cremated bones ever been found in the burnt patches. The three graves in the edge of the barrow, on the other hand, seemed to contradict the idea that the monument was only a place of sacrifice, enclosed as a sacred site. Surely we should have here a tumulus with pc., central grave, and some later secondary interments.

Kofler, *ZfE* 36, 1904, pp. 108-12; Van Giffen, *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 97-8.

In the 'Koberstadt', between Darmstadt and Frankfurt, Kofler excavated three timber structures, each in a rd., which he described as some kind of dwelling. They were each found under a prominence. In one case the structure was an irregular rectangle (3.80 × 7.00), the other two were true pcc. The rdd. were 2.25 to 2.45 wide, and penetrated the subsoil to a depth of 0.71. No traces of habitation were found whatever, not even hearths. Kofler concluded that they were some kind of tents, or houses walled with wattle. A few sherds were found, and numerous charcoal particles. The Hallstatt dating is uncertain. One of the pcc. may be taken as a small, incomplete, double closely spaced pc. (int. dm.: c. 3.80), and possibly the other as well.

Kofler, *Archiv f. hess. Gesch. u. Altert.*, NF III, 1904, pp. 243 *sqq.*; Van Giffen, *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 96-7.

TYPE 7

Lower Saxony

Logabirum, Kreis Leer. H. Schroller.

Phase 2 of *tumulus* 6, cf. above, type 6, p. 79.

ENGLAND

The first timber circle in the history of prehistory to be properly recorded was discovered as early as 1868 by J. R. Mortimer;¹¹ it was in *Barrow 23* (dm.: 70 feet, h.: 4½ feet) of the Calais Wold group, in the East Riding of Yorkshire.

Mortimer began by digging a large central hole in March and April 1865. This led to the discovery of an oval, trough-shaped grave, nearly under the centre of the barrow. Nothing was found in it that pointed to an interment. 'The mound consisted of a central core, mainly of clay, with lines of dark matter and traces of fire'. The core measured 24 feet across, 'and reached half way to the apex of the barrow'.

More experience in barrow-digging caused Mortimer to believe afterwards that he had not found the grave. On re-opening the barrow, May and June 1868, this turned out to be the case. 'Within about 14 feet west of the centre, holes made by stakes and posts' were observed in the subsoil. Under the central pit already found in 1865 an elliptical grave was discovered, cut into the rock. On the floor of this grave — which had been missed by only a foot in 1865! — lay an adult male, partly on his back, in a flexed position. The head was to the South, in front of the face lay a crushed Food Vessel, ornamented with stamped impressions, and close to the left shoulder lay a perforated stone axe-hammer with decayed remains of a handle. The skeleton was closely surrounded by large pieces of chalk.

The stakeholes, it appeared, formed part of two non-concentric circles (dm.: resp. 21½ and 28 feet, resp. 25 and 27 stakeholes) the outer of which showed a shift to the West. The spacing is somewhat irregular, and some large intervals occurred, especially on the WNW side in the outer circle. On the NE side 5 extra stakeholes were found between the two circles. A few holes on the N side had a diameter of 12-15 inches, but the majority were no more than 3 inches in diameter. Their depth varied from 1 to 2½ feet, and some reached upwards into the mound for 2 or 3 feet. Outside the circles 4 further postholes occurred.

Mortimer took plaster casts of some of the smaller holes and could determine 'that some of the stakes had been roughly pointed and driven into the ground, whilst the larger — and even some of the smaller ones — had been placed in holes previously made for them, with their thick ends downwards'. He interpreted the circles as 'the upright posts of the wattled walls of a circular hut, which would be bedaubed or plastered with clay, and probably having a conical roof'. The space between the two walls could have served for storing grain. The four postholes outside the circles 'may have held posts or strong pegs by which the exposed roof of a dwelling was stayed and kept in position by ropes, which, from numerous

impressions on cinerary urns and food vases, we know the Britons possessed'. The dead owner was thus, according to Mortimer, interred in his house, the walls and roof of which were pushed inwards before the barrow was piled over it. The barrow was also enclosed by a flat-bottomed ditch (dm.: 100 ft). A few flint flakes were found in the mound.

The reconstruction drawing given by Mortimer of the 'British hut' is very remarkable. — The (temporary?) stakecircles correspond to our type 9.

Timber structures directly comparable with the Dutch types 3-9 are still scarce from British barrows.¹² The setting of stout posts within a penannular ditch in the sepulchral monument of Bleasdale, Lancs.,¹³ was like our type 3. Type 4, which might suggest the trilithon construction of Stonehenge, is not found in England. The compound types 6, 7 and 8 are equally wanting as yet.

The peripheral and non-peripheral stakecircles discovered by Sir Cyril Fox in a number of Bronze Age barrows in South Wales¹⁴ correspond entirely to our type 9. A similar intermediate temporary stakecircle was found by H. J. Case (1950) at Poole, Dorset,¹⁵ in a turf barrow surrounded at the edge by a single widely spaced timber circle (type 3). It possessed an entrance flanked by posts and corresponding with a causeway in the penannular external ditch.

The peripheral rings of practically contiguous posts, bedded in a foundation trench, which Dr H. N. Savory found in two Middle Bronze Age barrows at Letterston in Pembrokeshire,¹⁶ are related to our Neolithic type 2 rather than to type 5.

* * *

Rings of timber uprights have therefore, for over half a century, been playing a part in the published West European archaeological record.¹⁷

Though they had already been excavated in 1868, Mortimer did not publish his discovery of two stakecircles in an East Yorkshire barrow until 1905. At that time the first timber circles from continental barrows were also becoming known. In the Darmstadt area a German, Kofler, excavated several such monuments. The excellent way in which Rosenberg, a Dane, recorded his observations, in 1908, in a Jutland tumulus — they were not completely published till Hatt did so in 1941 — can quite hold its own with Mortimer's. In the same year, 1908, Holwerda discovered the first Dutch timber circle monument. In each case the excavator had the ground plan of a house in mind. It has since become quite clear, however, that where timber circles are found under mounds we have, as a rule, monuments of a sepulchral character. A roofing construction and a direct relation to the ground plan of circular houses were, however, still postulated not so very long ago by Piggott for these monuments.¹⁸ British timber circles such as Woodhenge and 'The Sanctuary' he explains as the remains of roofed structures,

but not Arminghall and Bleasdale. The majority of the timber circles (of our types 3, 6 and 8) from Dutch barrows are viewed by him in the same way: 'In general it seems likely to me that the majority of the Dutch palisade-barrows began with a burial made in the floor of a hut, which was then either pulled down over the burial or collapsed.'¹⁹ This view is certainly incorrect since in the Dutch barrows with timber circles an undisturbed podsolized old surface normally forms the floor.

The very variable intensity of barrow investigation in Western Europe during the following decennia resulted in a marked disproportion in our knowledge of barrow structure for the individual areas. 'Distribution maps' can only mislead here, especially if it is remembered that in such a small country as the Netherlands already over 250 Neolithic and Bronze Age timber monuments have been recorded, while investigations in the rest of Western Europe have not yet yielded anything like half this number. The question of the origin of the timber circle tradition thus remains difficult to answer. How complicated it is appears clearly from the divergent views of the various investigators. It is commonly supposed that there must be some connexion between the British stone and timber circles on the one side and the Dutch, German and Danish timber circles on the other. Differences exist over the form in which the connexions between such classes of monuments as stone and timber circles, stone kerbs, stone revetments, circular enclosing ditches and banks, etc. should be imagined. The supposition that the timber circle represents a precursor of monuments like Stonehenge is perhaps supported by the postcircle type 4 — rare, it is true — in the Netherlands. For its twin uprights suggest an articulated lintel system with mortise and tenon joints, clear examples of which in stone are found at Stonehenge. The view that the occurrence of timber circles is tied to areas which yielded no suitable lithic material for people who surrounded their barrows with stone circles or stone revetments has sometimes been propounded. In its generality, however, this is not very acceptable since the use of timber instead of stone also occurs in areas where lithic material was available in more than sufficient quantity.

It is not our intention here to deal at any length with the opinions on the origin and meaning of the timber circle published by such scholars as Van Giffen, Clark, Childe, Varley, Fox, Piggott, Savory, Atkinson, Röder, and others.²⁰ It may suffice to remark that Van Giffen directly relates the Dutch timber circle monuments to the British 'hengés' and also drew the Bell and Disc barrows into his considerations. Childe sees the Dutch Neolithic timber circles as the prototypes of the English monuments. His publication of the excavation of the timber monument at Arminghall was the occasion for Clark, in 1936, to inquire more deeply into the origin of this class of monuments.²¹ He emphasized that — although there is some resemblance in plan, even a close resemblance in some instances —

the British 'henge' monuments differ fundamentally in function from the Dutch palisade barrows. Clark is of the opinion that the resemblance claimed to amount to 'an identity of idea' between the two groups is actually more apparent than real. The first were sacred places with a bank to accommodate an audience -- the latter, however, formed part of simple tombs, on a much smaller scale, viz. partly incorporated in the material of the mound, or else defining the edge of the tumulus which occupied all the enclosed space. 'In neither case do these Dutch barrow types really compare with the British monuments; although both incorporate circles of wooden posts the wooden 'henge' monuments of Britain and the palisade barrows of Holland and the Rhineland are essentially different things.' For close British parallels to the Dutch palisade barrows he points to barrow 23 on Calais Wold,²² a stakecircle in a barrow on Caerbetin Hill, Kerry, Montgomeryshire,²³ and also Bleasdale. Clark thinks it quite possible that similar constructions within round barrows in Britain did go unnoticed in many cases at earlier excavations.

What is certain is that the origin of the timber circles lies in the late Neolithic period. At some future date we hope to deal more fully with the origin of this class of monuments, in a study of the Beaker cultures in the Netherlands. A corpus of the Late Neolithic timber circles of types 1 and 2, as well as of the early specimens of type 3, will find a place there. Not until the distribution area of these features shall have been reasonably defined will it be possible to obtain a sound approach to the solution for the origin of the postcircles. In future it will also be necessary to keep the attention directed at the possibility of finding, on the Continent, sanctuaries from wooden uprights, possibly the precursors of the great flourishing of the timber circles beneath barrows, but now no longer betraying themselves on the surface by a mound.

Most important, in our opinion, is the idea at the base of the timber circle, which will certainly have undergone changes in the course of its development. In the final chapter we shall still have occasion to give it passing consideration.²⁴

¹ The French publications cited by A. Vayson de Pradenne, *Antiquity* XI, 1937' p. 87, concerning timber structures in tumuli in the La Boixe region described by Gustave Chauvet (e.g. *Deux dolmens en bois à Fouqueure (Charente), Matériaux . . .* 1882-83, pp. 539-40), do not deal with timber circles.

² G. Hatt, *Aarbøger* 1941, pp. 161-5; Van Giffen, *West-Friesland* XVII, 1944, pp. 134-5.

³ *Aarbøger* 1909, figs 36 and 40.

⁴ Information kindly supplied by G. Kunwald, Copenhagen.

⁵ *Westf. Forsch.* III, 1940, pp. 183-92, Karten 1 (*Kuppelgräber & Bienenkorbgräber*) and 2 (*Palisadenhügel*). Further literature cited. The distribution in the central Netherlands of the Bronze Age 'palisade' barrows is incorrect.

⁶ Nos 5, 12-5, 27-8. The rings of posts, for instance, which H. Müller-Brauel claimed to have found in tumuli in the area between the mouths of Elbe and Weser rest on the in-

correct interpretation of naturally occurring 'Ortsteinzapfen'. The extent to which such interpretations may develop in the literature is well illustrated by J. Strzygowski's article *Die Voraussetzungen der „Gotik“ in Volkskunde und Vorgeschichte*, *Mannus* XXIV, 1932, pp. 383-99, and also F. W. Freiherr von Bissing's *Kunstforschung oder Kunstwissenschaft? Eine Auseinandersetzung mit der Arbeitsweise Josef Strzygowskis. Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Neue Folge, Heft 31, 1950, especially pp. 145-6. See also Van Giffen, *West-Friesland* XVII, 1944, pp. 163-4.

⁷ *Type 1*: Horbach, Kreis Gelnhausen (1932). Sub-circular foundation trench (int. dm.: c. 4.50) round a rectangular 'hut grave' (?) (1.60 by 1.20); from the central grave a herringbone Beaker, conical cup, flint knife and probably two stone axes. K. H. Wagner, *Germania* 17, 1933, pp. 252-5.

Type 2: Altenrath, Siegkreis, Wahner Heide (1935). Dm.: 11.00-11.50; from the central grave a corded Beaker. *Bömm. Jahrb.* 142, 1937, pp. 204-7 (W. Buttler).

⁸ See P. Steiner, *Germania* 19, 1935, p. 66; *Trierer Zeitschr.* X, 1935, pp. 99-115, especially 106-9; tumuli 12, 2 and 4 at Schleidweiler-Rodt (Landkreis Trier), with remarkable descendants of the type 3 pc. (Early La Tène); also pp. 110-4, timber structures at Rückweiler, Restkreis Baumholder (Late Iron Age), and pp. 114-5, Pantenburg, Kreis Wittlich, descendant of type 3? — For a miniature circle cf. W. Kimmig, *PZ* XXXIV/V, 1949/50 (1950), pp. 288-313, especially pp. 303-4 (Singen; Hallstatt B). For a list of the postcircle monuments in the Rhine Province see J. Röder, *Germania* 25, 1941, note 17 (pp. 226-7).

⁹ *Westfalen* XIX, 1934, pp. 122-49.

¹⁰ A few German timber circles might perhaps be added to this list.

In 1906 C. Schuchhardt investigated a large tumulus (dm.: 20.00) near Geestemünde which had already yielded a stone cist with grave furniture of the Early Bronze Age. In the excavated part of the barrow he found five phh. on an arc at 6.30 metres from the centre, within a revetment (?) of boulders piled up some 0.50 high. Perhaps this was a segment of a type 3 circle. C. Schuchhardt, *ZfE* 40, 1908, p. 814; Van Giffen, *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 98-9. — WESTPHALIA. In 1937 Professor Van Giffen visited Professor Dr H. Reinert's excavations not far from Örlinghausen in the Detmold region, just South of the Teutoburger Forest. A sod-built barrow contained an almost square mortuary house (1.20 × 1.50), the corners of which had been marked by heavy posts. 'In etwas grösserem Abstand um' the mortuary house lay a clear double ring of posts (type 6), externally surrounded by a ditch. No grave goods came to light. Probably Bronze Age. Cf. Van Giffen, *De tijd van vorming van Heidepodsolprofielen aan de hand van archaeologische waarnemingen, Besprekingen over het Heidepodsolprofiel*, 18 & 19 April, 1941, pp. 14-5. — Flaesheim, Kreis Recklinghausen, 1934, a group of 4 tumuli. *Tumulus 2* (h.: 0.90, dm.: c. 7 metres), Early Bronze Age, contained an intermediate circle of 10 fairly irregularly spaced phh. (dm.: c. 4 m, width: 0.60), surrounded by a circular trench (int. dm.: c. 5 m) in which 8 irregularly spaced phh. were observed. A stray ph. occurred within the first-mentioned pc. on the N side. The central grave pit (1.00 × 0.70) contained cremated bones; slightly NW of the grave was found a bronze dagger blade (l.: c. 0.135) with 2 rivet holes and remains of wood. C. Albrecht, *Westfalen* XIX, 1934, p. 149; K. Huckle, *Deutsche Vorz.* 14, 1938, p. 293. — Finally just before the last war Fräulein Dr Schlicht investigated a number of tumuli in the region of Sögel in the Hümmling, not far from the Dutch border. One of these was surrounded by a timber circle (record lost during the war).

For TYPE 6, *Lower Saxony* (p. 79), mention should have been made of the following:

Samerh, Kreis Grafschaft Bentheim. H. Keuneke, 1942.

Tumulus II, a sod-built barrow on a clearly podsolized old surface, had a fine pc. (int. dm.: 16.50; c. 170 phh.). Much charcoal in the mound. The central grave had been destroyed by a large recent disturbance. 5 cremation burials, probably all sec.; one of them with

a fragment of a thick-walled vessel. A number of flint artifacts came from the subsoil; there were 4 stray Beaker sherds from the excavated soil.

Tumuli I and II here lay in an urnfield.

Die Kunde 12, 1944, pp. 23-46.

¹¹ *Forty years' researches in British and Saxon burial mounds of East Yorkshire*, London, 1905, pp. 153-6.

¹² For a survey, in the form of a summary, of the timber circles in barrows so far discovered in Britain, see H. J. Case, *PPS* XVIII, 1952, p. 153, note 4.

¹³ *Ant. Journ.* XVIII, 2, 1938, pp. 154-71.

¹⁴ *Stake-Circles in Turf Barrows: a record of excavation in Glamorgan, 1939-40*, *Ant. Journ.* XXI, 1941, pp. 97-127; *A Datable 'Ritual Barrow' in Glamorganshire*, *Antiquity* XV, 1941, pp. 142-61; *A Beaker Barrow, enlarged in the Middle Bronze Age, at South Hill, Talbenny, Pembrokeshire*, *Arch. Journ.* XCIX, 1943, pp. 1-32. Summary in *Chadwick Papers*, 1950, pp. 51-73.

¹⁵ *The excavation of two round barrows at Poole, Dorset*. *PPS* XVIII, 1952, pp. 148-59.

¹⁶ H. N. Savory, *Arch. Cambr.* 1948, pp. 82-5.

¹⁷ H. J. Case, *PPS* XVIII, 1952, p. 153, note 4, however, points out a circle of postholes in a tumulus at Beedon, Berks., described by C. Long as early as 1850. See C. Long, *Arch. Journ.* VII, 1850, pp. 65-7 (p. 66: 'The workmen found seven perpendicular holes, formed almost in a circle, around the centre of the barrow; they were about a foot in depth, and two inches in diameter, and were partly filled with charred wood.').

¹⁸ S. Piggott, *Timber circles: a re-examination*. *Arch. Journ.* XCVI, 1939 (1940), pp. 193-222.

¹⁹ *l.c.*, p. 218.

²⁰ For the relevant literature cf. *Bibliography*, pp. 196-8 (sub 'Works on timber circles abroad').

²¹ *The Timber Monument at Arminghall and its Affinities*. *PPS* II, 1936, pp. 1-51, especially pp. 30-9.

²² Cf. *supra*, pp. 83-4.

²³ Clark, *l.c.*, p. 33, quoting H. Noel Jerman, *Montgomeryshire Historical and Archaeological Coll.*, 1932, pp. 176-81. We have been unable to see this publication. For an illustration of the Caerbetin stakecircle, with two or three larger phh. on the axis, cf. Piggott, *Arch. Journ.* XCVI, 1939 (1940), p. 215, fig. 10: 5.

²⁴ See below, pp. 178-80.

THE DUTCH CORDONED CINERARY URNS OF THE MIDDLE AND LATE BRONZE AGE

The *Hilversum* and *Drakenstein* groups

The name 'Deverel urn' has been frequently used above to describe vessels, containing cremations, which were secondary interments in round barrows with timber circles of types 3-8.¹ This name, introduced by Lord Abercromby (1912),² derives from the cinerary urns which W. A. Miles discovered in 1825 in the Deverel Barrow in Dorset, England.³ Abercromby grouped them with the urns from the flat cemetery at Rimbury, in the same county, as the Deverel-Rimbury type.

The coarse manufacture of the continental urns referred to is very striking; it finds a close resemblance in British Bronze Age ceramics. The paste is tempered with pounded quartz and pottery, fragments of which may be up to 1 cm in size. The thickness of the wall is normally from 1 to 2 cm. The very uneven surface was generally smeared over with a thick slip and shows many shrinkage cracks. On the outside the striations of the wooden implement used to smooth the surface or the slip covering can often be observed. Through firing in an open fire the outer walls of the thick-walled urns show strong local colour variations varying from a deep red, brown or orange to ochreous yellow or grey and grey to black, while the inside is usually greyish to black. The fracture in many cases shows a deep black core. The thick wall near the base nearly always has an outward sag; on the whole the pots are often lop-sided, and sometimes they will not even stand. Probably the pots tended to sag when drying, before they were fired. The rim usually presents a wavy surface, and only rarely does one find a good horizontal rim.

The main shapes occurring in the Netherlands are a roughly cylindrical *bucket* and a more or less truncated pear-shaped *barrel* urn, both in several variants. Occasionally the profile is carinated and shows a pronounced sloping collar; the urn thus becomes unequally bi-conical. Globular vessels which might be related to the British Deverel globular form, are unknown from the Netherlands so far.

The decoration, in the form of a squeezed-out or applied moulding or cordon, encircling the vessel not far below the rim, is very characteristic. Usually the cordon is decorated by finger-tip or nail impressions, which may, however, occasionally

occur as a horizontal decorated band without cordon. The cordon may be emphasized on either side by a shallow groove or low ridge, produced in squeezing it out. Only four Dutch cinerary urns have two cordons. Horizontal or vertical lug handles or knobs are also rare (two examples).

Much importance should be attached, in the writer's opinion, to the rim shapes (fig. 56). These show a considerable variety, to which no attention has so far been paid. Often it is bevelled internally (rim type B), and in some instances the bevel is concave and was pressed outwards to form a sharp edge on either side (rim type A). This latter form occurs on some of the most carefully finished, slip-covered specimens, which we take to be the earliest. It is this type of rim, again, which was sometimes nicked diagonally, pie-crust fashion, at the top. In the majority of cases, however, it is fairly flat at the top, with

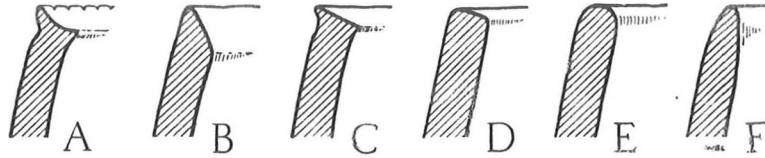


Fig. 56

a slight internal bevel and sharp pressed-out edges (rim type C) or rounded (rim type D); or it is semicircular (type E) or rounded to a point (type F) in section. This typological succession (A/C-D/F) may have some value as a chronological sequence. Nail impressions are occasionally found on the outer face of the rim. Finally, a wide but shallow groove just below the rim on the outside is not unusual.

The base — especially of the barrel shape — was usually squeezed out slightly, so that the foot was clearly accentuated. The thick bases are generally flat on the underside, with the inside hollowed out to a basin shape — a common feature of Bronze Age pottery.

Although the tall urns described generally have a friable and biscuit-like appearance, the majority are very much less fragile than is commonly thought. On account of their size they were easily crushed in the ground, and, in addition, the manner of interment — as a rule as secondaries in shallow pits just below the surface of barrows — was such that damage by heather and other plant roots took place in most cases. Beautifully slip-covered sturdy specimens are, however, not exceptional, and now and then such a large pot impresses by its bold, monumental form and the gradations of its patches of colour.

The urns generally contain only cremated bones.⁴ Only in five cases did an urn contain an associated find. Specimens found at Bergeik, Province of North

Brabant (fig. 58: 9), and on the Leusden Heath, Province of Utrecht (fig. 57: 8), contained a small accessory cup. One of the urns from the Soest Heath, Province of Utrecht (fig. 57: 6, 7 or 15), contained a peculiar bronze pin, broken off at either end.²¹ In an urn from Oss, Province of North Brabant, a bone pin was discovered amongst the cremated bones (fig. 58: 15); two similar pins were found in one of the secondary urns in tumulus 1^B of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery (fig. 59: 3; Part I, Pl. XII: 2, 61*b* and 61*c*). Direct dating evidence is therefore not available.

As has already been emphasized,⁵ in the Netherlands these vessels form the first *urnae* proper. It is to be noted, however, that in many cases the inner, and more particularly the outer wall, below the rim, shows black to ochreous charcoal-like incrustations that must probably be interpreted as remains of contents boiling over the top. Presumably the pots served for domestic purposes, as cooking pots or storage vessels, before they were marked out for containers of cremated bones.

Their stratigraphical place in the framework of Dutch prehistory has been made clear by Van Giffen and Willems. They are usually found as secondaries in Early and Middle Bronze Age barrows, which accordingly form a stratigraphical *terminus post quem*. On the other hand they do not occur in association with ringditch urnfields, from which it can be inferred that they must be dated before the Iron Age. As far as we can see, the handsome urn with corded decoration found in the remarkable ∞-shaped lay-out with enclosing bank and ditch, tumulus 1^B, at Toterfout-Halve Mijl, is the only one which was certainly the primary interment in a barrow.⁶ We may further note that Willems believed that several 'Deverel' urns excavated in 1841 by J. A. van Spaendonck, at Tilburg, came from a flat cemetery, and were not secondaries from an older tumulus. Besides some cremation-filled urns described by Hermans, urnless cremations were also found at Tilburg.⁷

* * *

In order to prevent misunderstandings we must emphasize beforehand that in what follows we shall consider as so-called continental 'Deverel' urns only those vessels that belong in the category described, on account of *technique, form* and *decoration*, if any. Finger-tipped cordons by themselves, for instance, we think meaningless!

'Deverel' urns have been found frequently in several regions of the Southern and Western Netherlands (fig. 65). They are very common in North Brabant, especially in the neighbourhood of Alphen, Baarle-Nassau, Tilburg, in the Eight Beatitudes, and also in the region of Oss. In the Province of Limburg,

as far as we can see, they are extremely rare. North of the great rivers they occur in dense concentration on the Utrecht range of hills, especially on the Soest and Leusden Heaths near Amersfoort, near Baarn, Province of Utrecht, and also at Hilversum and Laren, in the Province of North Holland. From the old dune region along the coast of Holland, the prehistory of which is only imperfectly known, some specimens of cordoned urns have also been recorded. On the Veluwe they are rare, and in the North only fragments of two specimens have been found in Drente.⁸ In this area, which has been intensively investigated by Van Giffen, they seem to play a subordinate part in the archaeological record, as do the Aeneolithic Bell Beakers.

* * *

It was not originally our intention to collect the 'Deverel' material from the Netherlands. In visits to the Museums at Leiden, Amersfoort, Utrecht, 's-Hertogenbosch, Wijchen, Oss and Hilversum,⁹ however, as well as in working through earlier published and unpublished records, we found that there was really a surprising amount of material available, much more than Bursch's survey of 1938 would have led one to expect.¹⁰

Even earlier antiquarian amateurs did not scorn these nearly always crushed urns; hence their comparatively early appearance in museums. 'Deverel' urns appear among the antiquities collected about the middle of the last century by Dr C. R. Hermans for the Genootschap at 's-Hertogenbosch,¹¹ amongst them the urns from Tilburg already mentioned; and in the vicinity of Amersfoort a whole series of them were excavated on the Leusden and Soest Heaths in the years 1878-9, and are still preserved there in the Museum Flehite. In Dr Pleyte's work some can be found reproduced; in fact, Pleyte was present at one of these excavations.¹²

The earliest discoveries of cordoned cinerary urns in this country, however, were recorded as early as 1793 in a detailed publication by Canon A. Heylen,¹³ the archivist of the Premonstratensian Abbey at Tongerlo, in the present Belgium. During the French occupation of the Southern — then Austrian — Netherlands, after the Revolution, the exiled abbot of this abbey, Godefridus Hermans, found a temporary refuge in the presbytery at Alphen. In this period the village was situated in the Dependencies (*Generaliteitslanden*) of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces, which was to drag out its existence till 1795. The abbot was interested in the circular mounds found thereabouts 'which seemed to him rather to have been made by the hand of man than to have thus been put there by the Creator. Well knowing, or at least with reason guessing that in such works, erected by our Forefathers or their Overlords to a certain remembrance, some memorials commonly rest, generally very useful and serviceable for the instruction of the enquiring, and furtherance of the arts and sciences, he decided, for the love he bears unto these objects, to have those sand-hills dug through, and to have their bowels searched'. In 1791 he had the two largest barrows, situated near one another, to the West of the presbytery and the

windmill, 'cut through cross-wise' to begin with. In the one, 6 or 7 feet high, was found 'an old yellowish ill-baked earthen pot, very nearly high $1\frac{1}{2}$, and wide 1. foot: which having been searched through, nothing was observed therein but ashes, and fragments of well-nigh burnt bones, with which the same was filled again. In the other was found a similar pot, being filled like the former; but much smaller in size. Their matter being very ill and brittle, and consequently very easily subject to cracks and fractures, I have, in order to leave to posterity a true idea thereof, had them engraved with some others, and thus their shape is here pictured N^{ro} 1. and N^{ro} 5.' In the engraving, published by Heylen, we see plainly no 1 as a bucket urn, with plain, raised cordon above which is indicated a row of finger-tip impressions. Through a large crack we can see a bucket-shaped small (accessory?) vessel, not mentioned in the text. The urn no 5 was a fairly small bucket, undecorated as far as can be seen. Encouraged by 'so happy a discovery' the abbot, on 17 July, 1792 'had the spade taken up another time for cutting through the little elevated sand-hills situated to the North-East of the aforesaid Presbytery house'. The new undertaking had an equally successful start: 'for hardly had the spade entered the earth when it met the *Urn*, here to be seen N^{ro} 3'. This urn, a large barrel, apparently with a finger-tipped cordon below the rim, was also filled with cremated bones and ash, and undoubtedly represented a secondary interment. In the following days some 20 further supposed grave monuments were dug through, and three urns were discovered, nos 2, 4 and 6 of the engraving. All were filled with cremated bones. They were respectively a small bucket urn with plain cordon, a medium-sized bucket-barrel urn with raised cordon, above which was a finger-tipped zone, and finally a very large barrel urn which, to judge from the engraving, may have had two horizontal cordons, above and between which nail impressions seem to have been indicated, the upper zone just touching the rim, which was apparently flat on top. Nos 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 showed a more or less squeezed-out base. The rims were not drawn very clearly; probably the majority were flat or rounded on top. The engraver greatly emphasized the large shrinkage cracks in the walls of the vessels. As Heylen informs us,¹⁴ several of the urns discovered were then, with some others, kept in the abbey at Tongerlo; they are now no longer there. They had to be treated with every care 'as being so brittle that they may hardly be handed across without danger of breaking'. An eye-witness could inform Heylen, finally, that in the year 1770 three urns of the same shape, and filled with cremated bones, had been discovered at Alphen.¹⁵

Heylen argued¹⁶ that — although it is usual in these regions when cremation-filled pots are discovered, at once to think of graves of the Romans or their subjects — in his opinion the Alphen urns would contain the ashes and bones of 'our Heathen Forefathers, of the ancient and free natives of this region'. In favour of this view he adduced observations such as that Roman pottery always proved to have been well hardened in firing, whereas the present urns 'have hardly tasted the fire!' The forms also differed greatly. As the subjected natives of these regions would have imitated the Roman way of firing pottery, Heylen had no doubt that the Alphen urns must date from before the coming of the Romans.

The industrious canon then began to look for further urns, and to that end he went for information to the neighbouring farmers. Thus, at several places, he was given all manner of details about other urns that had come to light there. Of some urns found near Ravels, in the present Belgium, in 1770, Heylen informs us¹⁷ that they were identical with those of Alphen, though somewhat smaller. One of them, a small bucket urn, is reproduced in the engraving (no 9), reconstructed from details given by a chaplain who had witnessed the excavation. In fact, as Heylen was told, some of the Ravels urns had been taken to the abbey of Tongerlo. After much searching he finally saw one of them, a broken urn, the matter of which was 'not unlike' the urns described. — Thanks to the remarkable description by the deserving canon we have thus no fewer than ten cinerary urns of 'Deverel' type recorded from the end of the 18th century.

Belgium is of the greatest importance in any investigation into the origin of the Dutch Bronze Age cordoned cinerary urns. Several urns from Belgium which we have been able to record will be found illustrated on fig. 60. A visit to the Museum Taxandria at Turnhout made us acquainted with a very fine specimen (fig. 60: 7). Dr M. E. Mariën, conservateur-adjoint aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire at Brussels, provided us with drawings of two urns there (fig. 60: 6 and 9) — one of them from Beesel, in Dutch Limburg (fig. 60: 9). On a visit, in 1951, to the excavation which Professor Dr S. J. L. de Laet and Dr H. Roosens were carrying out of a tumulus on the Mont de l'Enclus near Ruien in East Flanders, we were shown the fragments of a very handsome urn with corded decoration, a secondary interment (fig. 60: 8). Professor Van Giffen drew for us three very characteristic specimens (fig. 60: 2-4) in the Musée Archéologique at Mons, in Southern Belgium, and was enabled to take fragments of two other specimens with him to Groningen for study (fig. 60: 1 and 5), a courtesy for which we have to thank Mr J. Houzeau de Lehaie, Conservateur of the Museum. Although they are still fairly rare in the Belgian museums, we may assume that 'Deverel' urns were not in fact rare in that country, especially in the North, in the Campine region.

Our record comprises c. 130 specimens from the Netherlands, and c. 12 from Belgium.¹⁸

Distributed over the Dutch provinces, we get the following picture.

Province	Region of	Total
Utrecht	Amersfoort	25-30
	De Vuursche	7
North Holland	Hilversum	10-3
South Holland	dune region	2
Gelderland	the Veluwe	3-4
	Wijchen	7
Drente	Western Drente	2
North Brabant	Oss	9
	Nunen	1
	Eight Beatitudes	30
	Alphen-Tilburg	26-32
Limburg		3
Total		125-40

Possibly the store-rooms of the Leiden and 's-Hertogenbosch museums still harbour sherds that could have filled gaps on the distribution map (fig. 65). We have, however, lacked both time and opportunity to investigate. Also, we have unfortunately not seen the collection of the late Louis Stroobant, a Belgian who, at the beginning of the present century, dug many barrows on both sides of the Netherlands–Belgian frontier, as for instance at Alphen, Province of North Brabant.¹⁹ The collection is almost certain to contain 'Deverel' material.

UTRECHT

Leusden Heath, Municipality of Leusden.

Tumulus 1, 1878. Probably secondary interment. Fairly thin-walled, atypical barrel urn. Fig. 57: 4
Below the slightly everted rim three rows of finger-tip impressions. Ochreous grey; very gritty. Height: 0.21. MFA: Ca 1.

Pleyte, *Ned. Oudh., West-Friesland*, pp. 7–8, Pl. II: 9.

Tumulus 2, 1878. Probably secondary interment. Barrel urn with raised cordon, decorated with impressions of a tubular bone or reed (dm.: 0.005). Below the cordon, on the wall, three horizontal rows of similar impressions, and another between the cordon and the rim, the top of which is missing. Pleyte, who apparently drew the urn when a small fragment of the rim was still available, gave a further row of circular impressions just below the rim. Impressions irregularly spaced. Slip-covered; brown to ochreous; no (or only sparse?) grit. Original height: c. 0.25. MFA: Ca 4. — In the urn was a small tulip-shaped accessory vessel with very uneven, thin wall. Stained grey to ochreous; no grit. Height: 0.06. MFA: Ca 5.

Pleyte, *Ned. Oudh., West-Friesland*, p. 7, Pl. II: 6 and 4; Bursch, *Marburger Studien*, 1938, p. 22 (incomplete description).

Soest Heath, Municipality of Soest.

Probably all secondary interments; cf. the description by C. A. Nairac, *Barnevelder Courant*, Dec. 1879.²⁰ On November 5, 1879, a bronze pin (MFA: Ca 39) was found in one of the urns (Ca 27, 28 or 29, from tumuli 3, 4 and 5), a secondary interment in *tumulus 3*.²¹

Tumulus 2, 1879. Central (primary?) interment at ground level, 1 metre below the top of the barrow. Large barrel urn, the base of which was surrounded by flat stones and pieces of granite. Farther away, heavy boulders formed an enclosure (stone revetment). The urn contained only a very small quantity of cremated bone. Below the rim (approximately type B) two finger-tipped cordons. Slip-covered; ochreous to grey; very gritty. Height: 0.42. MFA: Ca 25.

Holwerda, *Vr. Besch.*, 1907, p. 57, Pl. IV: 2.

Tumulus 13, opposite *Kampoord*, 1879. Upper part of an (atypical?) barrel urn. At 0.024 below the rim (approximately type C) a row of finger-tip impressions. Original height: c. 0.39 (?). MFA: Ca 26.

Tumulus 3, 4 or 5, 1879. Secondary interment. Plain bucket urn. Rim missing (type E?). Fig. 57: 7
The base markedly concave. Grey to ochreous brown; very gritty. Height: c. 0.33. MFA: Ca 27.

Tumulus 3, 4 or 5, 1879. Secondary interment. Plain bucket urn. Rim type E. Base Fig. 57: 6
missing. Slip-covered; warm ochreous; very gritty. On the external wall clear striations caused by a smoothing implement. Original height: c. 0.345. MFA: Ca 28.

Holwerda, *Vr. Besch.*, 1907, p. 57, Pl. IV: 1 (?).

- Fig. 57: 15 *Tumulus 3, 4 or 5*, 1879. Secondary interment. Barrel urn. Below the rim (type B) a finger-tipped cordon. Slip-covered; ochreous; very gritty. Badly restored. Height: c. 0.22 (?) (at present: 0.31!). MFA: Ca 29.
- Fig. 57: 9 1879. Distorted barrel urn, with zone of finger-tip marks below a rim (type A/B) nicked diagonally at the top, pie-crust fashion. Slip-covered; ochreous to grey; very gritty. Height: 0.29. MFA: Ca 30.
- Fig. 57: 16 *Tumulus 6 or 9*, 1879. Barrel urn with large finger-tipped cordon just below a rim (type B) nicked at the top, pie-crust fashion. Greyish brown; very gritty. Height: 0.27. MFA: Ca 32.
- Fig. 57: 3 1880. Low, unequally bi-conical vessel with everted rim (approximately type E). Slip-covered; grey; very gritty. Height: 0.11. Probably related to the cordoned cinerary urns. MFA: Ca 9.
- Vlasakkers*, 1895. Base of a cinerary urn. Very gritty. MFA: Ca 20.
- Opposite *Kampoord*, 1896. Many sherds of a large thick-walled barrel urn. Just below the rim (type D) a decoration of oblique finger-tip impressions, and below it a raised cordon with large finger-tip marks. Grey; very gritty. MFA: Ca 37.
- Bases of two or three further urns. Exact findspots unknown. MFA.
- Bronze Age barrow with peripheral stone revetment, excavated by H. Martin, 1922-3. Two secondary burials:
- Fig. 57: 12 Barrel urn. Below the rim (type A) — nicked diagonally, pie-crust fashion, at the top — a raised cordon decorated with oblique nail impressions. Slip-covered; violet or brownish red; very gritty. Height: 0.29; wall thickness: 0.011. RML: f 1923/8¹; cast MFA: Ca 47.
- Martin, *Soesterberg*, 1924, pp. 11-2, fig. VII (on left), IX and XI (on left); Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XV, 1934, p. 61, fig. 38 (on left); *Marburger Studien*, 1938, Pl. 9: 7; Hawkes, *PPS* 1942, Pl. V: 2.
- Fig. 57: 13 Barrel urn. Below the rim (type D) a narrow cordon decorated with nail impressions. Slip-covered; warm bright ochreous brown; very gritty. Height: 0.25; wall thickness: 0.015. MFA: Ca 48.
- Martin, *Soesterberg*, 1924, pp. 11-3, fig. VII (to the right), VIII, XI (to the right).
- Tumulus 4*, sod-built barrow with ringditch (int. dm.: 8.70), excavated by Bursch, 1932.
- Fig. 57: 11 Barrel urn, according to Bursch primary interment; possibly more urn burials in the barrow. Below the rim (type E), nicked on the outside, a row of finger-tip impressions. Bright ochreous yellow; very gritty (large particles of pounded quartz). Height: 0.28. RML: f 1932/11⁸.
- OM Leiden*, NR XV, 1934, pp. 56-8, pp. 61-4, fig. 35 (to the left).
- From *tumuli 2, 3 and 9* sherds of 4 or 5 similar urns. RML: f 1932/11⁴⁻⁷.
- In *tumulus 2*, a sod-built barrow with single widely spaced pc. (type 3, Utrecht, no 1), five cremation burials — some of them probably in 'Deverel' urns — were discovered at a fairly high level in the mound and disturbed by recent digging. According to Bursch one of them, an eccentric cremation burial with some sherds, was the primary interment.
- OM Leiden*, NR XV, 1934, pp. 55-6; *Marburger Studien*, 1938, p. 22.
- Tumulus 3*, a two-period barrow, consisted of: (1) A 'dome grave' with central grave pit (near the corners four stakeholes) containing a herringbone Beaker and a small vessel with similar decoration; (2) Capping of sods, in which was found a patch of cremated bone and sherds of a 'Deverel' urn.
- OM Leiden*, NR XV, 1934, p. 56.
- Tumulus 9* was a two-period barrow, with a secondary capping of sods in which was found a small sherd of a 'Deverel' urn.
- OM Leiden*, NR XV, 1934, p. 59.

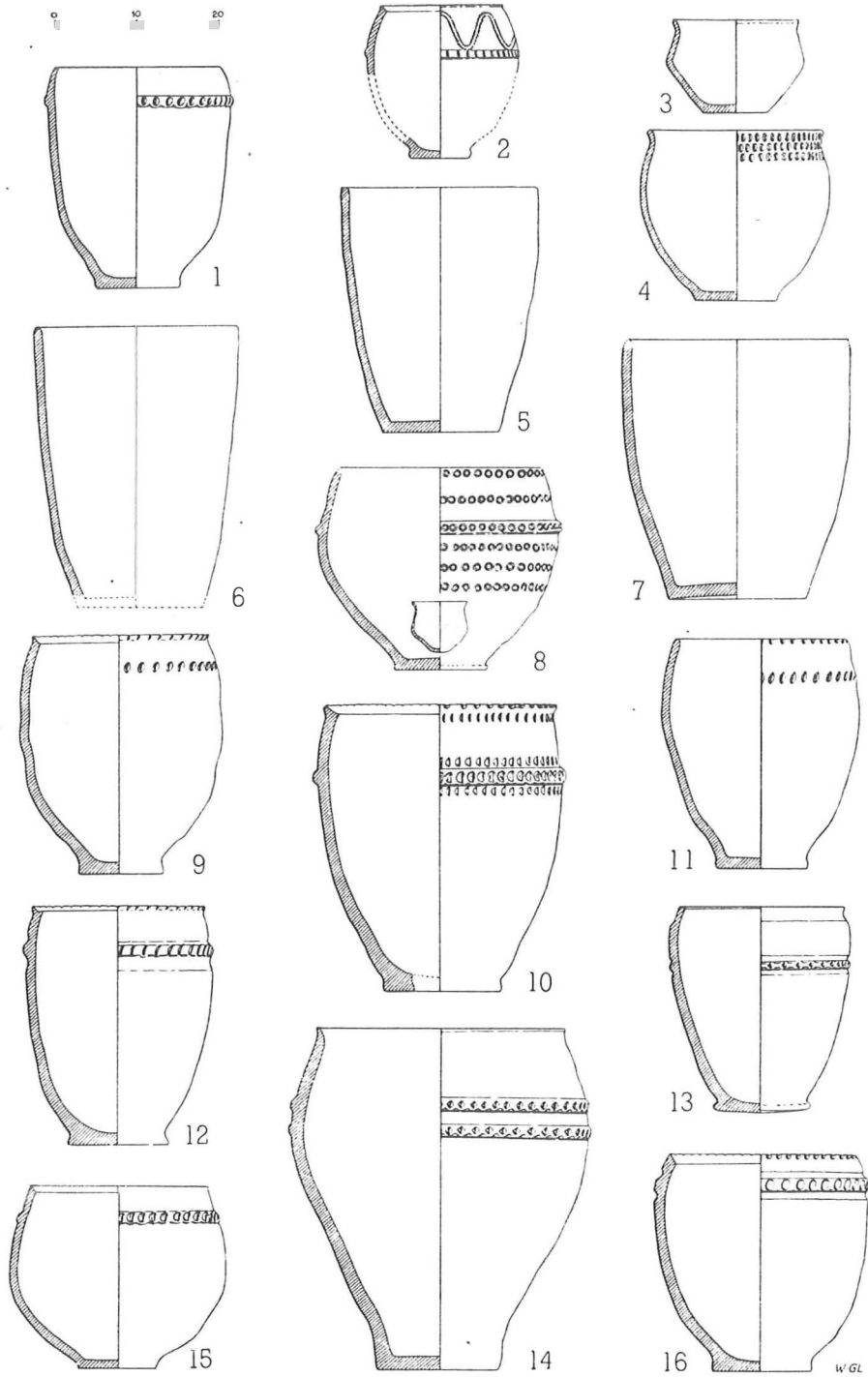


Fig. 57

De Vuursche, Municipality of Baarn, Estate 'Pijnenburg', etc. Excavations by A. E. van Giffen, 1926.

Tumulus IX, Neolithic or Aeneolithic barrow, surrounded by a circular foundation (?) trench (dm.: c. 9.50). Two secondary interments:

Fig. 57: 2 Three rim and wall sherds, and a base fragment, probably belonging to the same small barrel urn. Below the rim (type A) a raised cordon decorated with nail impressions. On the zone between rim and cordon a double cord-impressed sinusoid. Internally and externally slip-covered; ochreous yellow; gritty. Original rim diameter: c. 0.17 (?); height: c. 0.19 (?); base diameter: 0.07; wall thickness: c. 0.008-0.01. MU: 1926/v¹⁷. — Lower part of a cremation-filled barrel urn with exceptionally high base. Base diameter: 0.11; wall thickness: 0.013. Slip-covered; orange to ochreous; very gritty. MU: 1926/v¹⁰.

Bauart, 1930, p. 61.

Tumulus X, sod-built barrow with ringditch (dm.: c. 7.40) surrounding a WSW-ENE grave pit.

Rim and base fragments of an urn with raised finger-tipped cordon. Immediately below the rim another row of finger-tip marks. Probably secondary interment; found in a recent disturbance. MU: 1926/v¹⁵.

Tumulus I, from the centre of the barrow (Bronze Age).

Large rim fragment and many sherds of a barrel urn. At 0.053 below the rim (type A?) a finger-tipped cordon. Slip-covered; ochreous brown to grey; very gritty. On the external wall, striations caused by a wooden smoothing implement. Original rim diameter: c. 0.27; wall thickness: 0.012. MU: 1926/v¹.

Base of a large barrel urn. Slip-covered; ochreous yellow to orange; very gritty. On the external wall, striations caused by a wooden smoothing implement. Base diameter: 0.155; wall thickness: 0.015. MU: 1926/v¹.

Base of a large thick-walled urn. Slip-covered; dark brown; very gritty. Base diameter: 0.15; wall thickness: c. 0.02. MU: 1926/v¹.

Tumulus II (Neolithic), secondary interment. Wall sherd; greyish brown; very gritty. MU: 1926/v⁸.

Estate 'Groot-Drakenstein', A. E. van Giffen, 1927.

Tumulus II, Aeneolithic barrow with degenerated peripheral stone revetment round a grave containing a perforated stone battle axe and a flint knife. Secondary interment.

Fig. 57: 10 Large fragments of a fine but friable barrel urn. The rim (type A) was nicked pie-crust fashion at the top; immediately below it ran a row of nail impressions. Raised finger-tipped cordon, flanked by two rows of finger-tip marks. Slip-covered; violet brown to grey; very gritty. Original height: c. 0.35 (?). MU: 1927/v⁷.

Van Giffen, *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 61-2, Pl. 55: 7; Hawkes, *Conference on the Problems and Prospects of European Archaeology, Occasional Paper No. 6 by the University of London Institute of Archaeology*, 1944, pp. 51-2, fig. 1.

NORTH HOLLAND

Laren, Municipality of Laren (N.-H.), 1851. Discovered by Dr L. J. F. Janssen in a barrow (height: 1.50; diameter: 20.00) at a depth of 0.60 metres. Probably secondary interment. Plain bucket urn. Rim type D. Brownish red to ochreous; the paste tempered with large fragments of quartz grit. Height: 0.305; wall thickness: 0.01-0.015. RML: La 1.

Fig. 57: 5

Pleyte, *Ned. Oudh., West-Friesland*, p. 13 (according to Pleyte analogous sherds from the Laren Heath in the RML); Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XV, 1934, p. 61, fig. 38 (on the right; findspot given as Leusden Heath); *Marburger Studien*, 1938, Pl. 9: 6 (findspot given as Soesterberg); Hawkes, *PPS* 1942, Pl. V: 4 (findspot given as Amersfoort).

The 'Zeven Bergjes', A. E. Remouchamps, 1925-6.

Tumulus 8; possibly a secondary interment in a two-period (?) barrow, consisting of: (1) A Neolithic sand barrow; (2) A capping of sods. Rim and wall sherds of a bucket-barrel urn. Below the nicked rim a raised cordon decorated with nail impressions. Very gritty. RML.

OM Leiden, NR IX, 1928, p. 70, fig. 35: 4.

Tumulus 2, sod-built barrow with single widely spaced postcircle (type 3, North Holland, no 1). Probably a secondary interment in a cinerary urn decorated with nail impressions. RML.

OM Leiden, NR IX, 1928, pp. 66-7.

Tumulus 4. Possibly a secondary cremation burial in a cinerary urn, destroyed by a recent disturbance. RML.

OM Leiden, NR IX, 1928, p. 67.

Tumulus 7. Possibly a secondary cremation burial in a cinerary urn, destroyed by a recent disturbance. RML.

OM Leiden, NR IX, 1928, p. 69.

Between Laren and Hilversum, Municipality of Hilversum, 1938. Sandpit Utrechtse Waterleiding. Rim fragment of a barrel urn. Below the rim (type B nicked pie-crust fashion at the top) a finger-tipped cordon. Grey to ochreous; very gritty. MGH: B 165. Rim fragment of a barrel urn. Below the rim (type B nicked pie-crust fashion at the top) two finger-tipped cordons. Outside ochreous grey to reddish brown, inside grey; gritty. MGH.

Blaricum, Municipality of Blaricum, 1935. Wall sherds of six cinerary urns, one with a zone of finger-tip marks on the shoulder. MGH.

SOUTH HOLLAND

Lisse, Municipality of Lisse, Estate 'Veenenburg', between Lisse and Hillegom. From a settlement?

Rim fragments of a large cordoned vessel. Below the rim (type A) a finger-tipped cordon; decorated between rim and cordon by columns of vertical nail impressions arranged in blocks of three columns each (width of blocks: c. 0.045; undecorated intervals: c. 0.09). To the left of one of these blocks of decoration an hour-glass-shaped perforation. On the external wall striations of a wooden smoothing implement. Slip-covered; ochreous grey; tempered with much quartz grit. Internally black; black charcoal-like incrustations. Rim diameter: c. 0.34; original height: 0.43-0.47 (?). RML: h 1930/7¹. Fig. 62

Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XIV, 1933, pp. 80-1, Pl. V: 7; XV, 1934, p. 63 (Overhanging Rim urn, according to Bursch).

The Hague, 1948. Rim fragment of a barrel urn. Just below the rim (type C) a row of finger-tip impressions. Cordon just missing (?). Wall thickness: 0.017. External wall very uneven. Brownish grey; very gritty.

GELDERLAND

Stroe, from a barrow, *tumulus 9*, excavated by Dr W. Pleyte, 1872, near the 'Konijnenkolken'. Very coarse, cremation-filled barrel urn, with a zone of finger-tip marks below the rim. Height: 0.27. RML.

Ned. Oudh., Gelderland, pp. 68-9, Pl. XVIII: 7.

Environment of Kootwijk, 1874. Barrel urn. Below the rim (type F) a finger-tipped cordon. Stained greyish violet to ochreous brown; very gritty. Height: 0.27. RML: KW 15. Fig. 57: 1

Fig. 58: 1 Harderwijk, former Collection J. Bezaan. Bucket urn. Below the rim (type F) a zone of finger-tip impressions. Ochreous brown to blackish grey; tempered with sparse, fine grit. Height: c. 0.21. RML: e 1940/17¹.

Bennekom, Municipality of Ede, Buurtheide, *tumulus* 2. A. E. van Giffen, 1935. Aeneolithic barrow with ringditch (dm.: 10.10) surrounding a central grave with fine Bell Beaker of 'Batavian' type. Among the fragments of several secondary urn burials sherds of a barrel urn with finger-tipped cordon below the rim (type D?). Very gritty. Height: c. 0.25. Former Collection Dr W. A. J. Oosting.

Gelre XL, 1937, p. 7, fig. 4: 20.

Wijchen, sites B, F, G, H, V and WB. According to Mr F. J. G. H. Bloemen the majority of the sites near Wijchen represent settlements.²²

Fig. 58: 2 *Site B*. Tall barrel-shaped vessel. Immediately below the rim (type A nicked on the outside) a zone of finger-tip marks, and further two finger-tipped cordons, on which three of a probable four vertical lugs. Slip-covered; grey; very gritty. Height: 0.473. MW: 183. Cast RML: e 1924/10¹. — Found by Mr Bloemen at a depth of c. 1.50 metres at the centre of a barrow of brown sand (height: 2.00–2.50 metres; dm.: c. 15.00). Not filled with cremated bones, and probably belonging to an inhumation grave. In the vicinity of this vessel Mr Bloemen discovered a small collared flask (height: 0.077) with flat base. Slip-covered; brownish orange to ochreous brown; gritty. MW:

P. J. R. Modderman, *OM Leiden*, NR XXXII, 1951, p. 31, fig. 2: 1 (inaccurate drawing).

Fig. 58: 4 *Site F*, West of the Wijchensche Ven. Small barrel urn. Below the rim (type E) a finger-tipped cordon. Slip-covered; ochreous brown; very gritty. Height: 0.135. MW: 1330.

Fig. 58: 5 *Site H*, South of the Wijchensche Ven. Carinated vessel. Rim type E. Slip-covered; ochreous pink to greyish brown; very gritty. Black incrustations on the wall. Height: 0.204. MW: 1329.

Fig. 58: 3 *Site G*, South of the Wijchensche Ven. Small barrel urn. Rim type F. Ochreous grey; gritty. Height: 0.105. MW: 537.

Fig. 58: 7 *Site H*, South of the Wijchensche Ven. Peculiar globular form, with slightly outbent rim. Ochreous pink to grey; very gritty, with fragments of pounded pottery. Height: 0.232. Certainly related to the cordoned urns. MW: 70.

Fig. 58: 6 *Site V*, on the South bank of the Wijchensche Ven, probably the earliest settlement (lake dwelling?). Tall barrel-shaped vessel, with everted rim (approximately type D). On the shoulder four horizontal lug handles. Slip-covered; ochreous to pinkish; very gritty. Height: 0.28. Certainly related to the cordoned urns. MW: 1331.

Site WB, Wezelsche Bergen. From a barrow (?). A. E. van Giffen, 1949. Large number of rim and wall fragments of a cremation-filled barrel urn. At 0.085 below the rim (type C) a plain raised cordon, triangular in section. Ochreous grey to pinkish; tempered with much quartz grit and also fragments of pounded pottery.

DRENTE

Wapse, Municipality of Diever, the 'Tweeënburg', *tumulus* II. A. E. van Giffen, 1931. Cf. postcircle type 3, Drente, no 4.

Secondary interment. Large fragment of a barrel urn. Below the rim (type F) a finger-tipped cordon. Base missing. Slip-covered; stained ochreous yellow to brownish orange or grey; gritty. On the external wall striations of a wooden smoothing implement. Original height: c. 0.22; maximum wall thickness: 0.015. MA: 1931/IX²⁴.

NDV 1936, pp. 86–9, pp. 91–2, figs 3–5: 24; *Drente*, 2nd ed., 1944, p. 487.

Hijken, Municipality of Beilen, *tumulus* 1. A. E. van Giffen, 1952–3. Secondary interment. Lower part of a barrel urn. Very gritty. Wall thickness: c. 0.012.

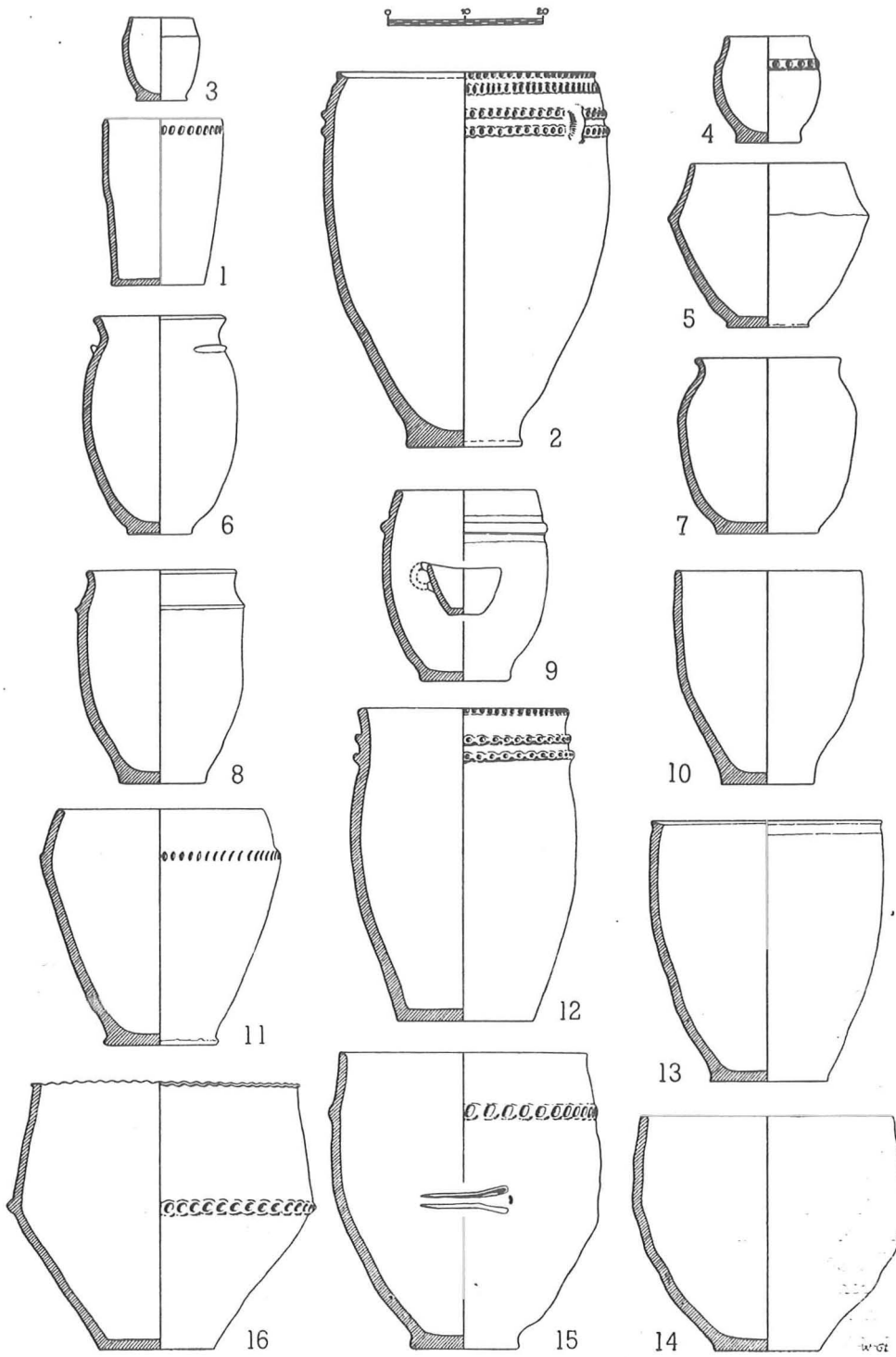


Fig. 58

NORTH BRABANT

Alphen, *Molenheide*, 1770, 1791-2. Nine urns in all; three barrel urns and three bucket urns (one of them with an accessory vessel?). Probably all secondary interments in barrows.

Heylen, 1793, pp. 3-7; cf. *supra*, pp. 92-3.

In *tumulus XXIV* of this large cemetery P. Cuypers discovered (1843) sherds of another coarse cinerary urn, probably destroyed by Hermans or by shepherds. The other barrows excavated by Cuypers yielded a number of fine specimens of La Tène pottery.

Cuypers, *NB IV*, 1844, p. 191; Hermans, *NO*, 1865, pp. 56-60.

A fine bucket urn (height: 0.42), with a row of finger-tip impressions below the rim, from Alphen, figured by L. Stroobant, *Ann. ARAB LIV*, 5e Série, Tome IV, 1902, Pl. II. 11, is not described in the text.²³

Brakel, near Riel, 1842. Lower part of an urn with squeezed-out base. Slip-covered; whitish grey; the paste tempered with large particles of pounded quartz grit. Wall thickness: 0.01. CMH: 156.

Hermans, *NO*, 1865, pp. 60-1; Holwerda & Smit, *Cat.* 1917, p. 45, no 156.

Very coarse, squat, thick-walled (0.012) (domestic?) vessel. Height: 0.19. Rim type C. CMH: 140.

Hermans, *NO*, 1865, pp. 60-2 (?); Holwerda & Smit, *Cat.* 1917, p. 44, no 140, Pl. 3: 140; Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, p. 141, fig. 34: 4.

Tilburg, '*Jan Aarten Boimke*', 1841. Flat urnfield.

Fig. 58: 13 Plain bucket urn. Rim type C. Grey to ochreous brown; very gritty, especially much pottery grit. On the external wall vertical striations of a wooden smoothing implement. Height: 0.327; wall thickness: 0.015. CMH: 154.

Fig. 58: 11 Unequally bi-conical urn, the shoulder decorated with oblique nail impressions. Rim type D. Ochreous brown to orange; very gritty, with much pottery grit. Height: 0.30; wall thickness: 0.018. CMH: 155.

Hermans, *Gesch. Mengelwerk II*, 1841, p. 305; *NO*, 1865, p. 53, nos 2 & 3, Pl. III: 14 & 16; Holwerda & Smit, *Cat.* 1917, p. 45, nos 154 & 155, Pl. 3: 154 and Pl. 4: 155; Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, p. 140, fig. 34: 9 & 8.

Stokhasselt, 1845. From a barrow.

Fig. 58: 12 Barrel urn with slightly everted rim (type D), nicked on the outside. Below the rim two finger-tipped cordons. Grey to ochreous; very gritty. Incrustation on the rim. Height: 0.396; wall thickness: 0.02. CMH: 152. Cast RML: k 1927/12¹.

Hermans, *NO*, 1865, pp. 54, 58, Pl. IV: 2; Holwerda & Smit, *Cat.* 1917, pp. 44-5, no 152, Pl. 3: 152; Holwerda, *Nederland's vroegste geschiedenis*, 2nd ed., 1925, p. 105, fig. 39; Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, p. 140, fig. 34: 6; Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XXIII, 1942, p. 56, fig. 27: 7 (after the Leiden cast; according to Bursch from Alphen, and ascribed to his Urnfield group D: Marnian ware, 'vases carénés').

Tilburg, no further indication of findspot ('*Jan Aarten Boimke*'?). Remains of a barrel (?) urn, with squeezed-out base. Ochreous grey; very gritty. CMH.

Fig. 58: 10 Baarle-Nassau, between Bedaf and Baarle-Hertog, 1843. Probably from a barrow. Plain bucket urn. Rim type E. Pinkish ochre to grey; very gritty, with much pottery grit. Height: 0.261-0.283. CMH: 121.

Hermans, *NO*, 1865, p. 63, no 2, Pl. V: 9; Holwerda, *Vr. Besch.*, 1907, p. 57, Pl. IV: 3; Holwerda & Smit, *Cat.* 1917, p. 42, no 121, Pl. 3: 121. Cf. also Stroobant, *Ann. ARAB LIV*, 5e Série, Tome IV, 1902, p. 381.²³

From a barrow. Two bucket urns, one of them placed upside down in the other, filled with a large quantity of cremated bone, possibly the remains of more than one person. Found by Jhr Mr H. de Grez. Only the standing urn in CMH.

Hermans, *NO*, 1865, p. 63, Pl. VII: 2.

Molenheide, 1844. Fragments of several destroyed coarse urns from tumuli III, VI (?), XII (?), XIII (?), and XVIII, excavated by P. Cuypers.

Large fragment of a bucket urn with plain raised cordon. Rim type D. Ochreous brown; very gritty. RML: C.G. 6. Large fragment of a bucket urn with raised finger-tipped cordon. Brownish; very gritty. RML: C.G. 3.

Cuypers, *NB V*, 1847, pp. 49-74.

Nunen, 1863. Peculiar, thick-walled vessel, with slightly everted rim (approximately type D) and concave collar sloping outwards to a narrow plain cordon. Slip-covered; grey to ochreous; very gritty. Height: 0.27; wall thickness: 0.015. CMH: 98. Fig. 58: 8

Hermans, *NO*, 1865, p. 101, no 1 (?); Holwerda & Smit, *Cat.* 1917, p. 40, no 98, Pl. 4: 98.

Bergeik. Barrel urn with plain raised cordon. Rim type E. Warm brownish red; very gritty. Height: 0.24. RML: k 1907/10¹⁸. — Small handled accessory cup; handle broken off. Grey to ochreous; the paste tempered with sparse grit. Height: 0.062. RML: k 1907/10¹⁹. Fig. 58: 9

Bursch, *Marburger Studien*, 1938, Pl. 9: 3 (accessory cup not mentioned; the findspot as given here — Levsden = Leusden, Province of Utrecht? — must be an error); Hawkes, *PPS* 1942, Pl. V: 3 (findspot given as Amersfoort).

Bergeik. Seven cremation-filled 'Deverel' urns, some of them with finger-tipped cordons. Secondary interments in a barrow with postcircle type 4 (North Brabant, no 2).

Beex, *BH III*, 1951, p. 47.

Knegsel, from the large ringditch urnfield, excavated by W. C. Braat, 1934-5. Found eccentrically inside a circular (?) ditch. Peculiar bi-conical urn, with corrugated rim. At the largest circumference a finger-tipped cordon. Warm reddish brown; gritty. Height: 0.345. Possibly related to the cordoned cinerary urns. RML: k 1936/4⁶. Fig. 58: 16

Braat, *OM Leiden*, NR XVII, 1936, fig. 30: 55; Bursch, *Marburger Studien*, 1938, pp. 23-4; *OM Leiden*, NR XXIII, 1942, fig. 21: 4^A (here ascribed to his Urnfield group A: predecessor of the later notch-rimmed Harpstedt urns).

1910-2. Secondary interment in a barrow E of the fen. Unequally bi-conical urn. On the sharp shoulder a decoration of finger-tip impressions. The slightly everted rim flattened on top. Dark ochreous brown; the paste tempered with fragments of pounded pottery. Height: 0.251; wall thickness: 0.011. CMH: 653.

Holwerda & Smit, *Cat.* 1917, p. 37-8, no 653, Pl. 4: 653.

Tumulus E, 1950. Primary interment of phase 1 of a barrow with type 6 timber circle. Cf. postcircle type 6, North Brabant, nos 15-6. Cf. *supra*, pp. 58-60, fig. 52, Pl. XXIII: 1-2. Inbent rim, type E. Fig. 59: 6

Luiksgestel. From a barrow. Plain bucket-barrel urn. Slip-covered; ochreous brown to grey. Black incrustations on the inside of the rim (type D). Height: 0.295. RML: k 1912/2¹. Fig. 58: 14

Fragment of a large urn. CMH: 55.

Panken II, p. 272; Hermans, *NO*, 1865, pp. 80-2; Holwerda & Smit, *Cat.* 1917, p. 24.

Hongerensche Heide, Municipality of Hooge en Lage Mierde. Excavation W. J. A. Willems, 1934.

Tumulus a. Three secondary interments:

Bucket urn. Below the rim (type C) a raised cordon decorated with nail impressions. Slip-covered; yellowish ochre to warm bright brownish orange or violet brown; very gritty. Black incrustations below the rim on the outside. Height: 0.355; wall thickness: 0.013-0.015. CMH: 8298. Fig. 50: 15

- Fig. 59: 11 Small barrel-bucket urn. Below the rim (type D) a plain raised cordon. Slip-covered; ochreous brown to dark brown; very gritty. Black incrustations below the rim on the outside. Height: 0.195; wall thickness: 0.013. CMH: 8299.
- Fig. 59: 8 Bucket-barrel urn. Below the rim (type C) a plain raised cordon. Warm dark brown; very gritty. Black incrustations below the rim on the outside. Height: 0.28; wall thickness: 0.012. CMH: 8381.
 Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, pp. 133-4, p. 144, nos 12-3, p. 142, no 1, fig. 33, nos 12-3, 1, fig. 34: 7 & 5, fig. 32: 1; Van Giffen, *PPS* 1938, fig. 7.
Tumulus b. Secondary interment. Cf. postcircle type 4, North Brabant, no 1.
 Completely crushed and sodden cinerary urn, with raised cordon. Remaining sherds stolen by the public.
 Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, pp. 135-6.
Tumulus c. Five secondary interments.
- Fig. 59: 9 Barrel urn with plain raised cordon. Rim type B/E. Dark brown; very gritty. Height: 0.27; wall thickness: 0.013. CMH: 8384.
 Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, p. 137, p. 143, no 5, figs 32-3: 5; Van Giffen, *PPS* 1938, fig. 7.
- Fig. 59: 10 Bucket urn with plain raised cordon. Rim type C. Ochreous brown; very gritty. Black incrustations on the rim. Height: 0.32; wall thickness: 0.011. CMH: 8386.
 Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, p. 137, pp. 143-4, no 7, figs 32-3: 7; Van Giffen, *PPS* 1938, fig. 7.
- Fig. 59: 12 Barrel urn, with finger-tipped cordon. Rim type D. Dark ochreous brown; very gritty. Incrustations below the rim on the outside. Height: 0.325; wall thickness: c. 0.011. CMH: 8383.
 Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, p. 137, pp. 142-3, no 4, figs 32-3: 4; Van Giffen, *PPS* 1938, fig. 7; *Westf. Forsch.* I, 1938, fig. 15a: 4.
- Fig. 59: 13 Large plain bucket urn, very coarse specimen. Rim type C. Dark brown to ochreous; very gritty. Height: 0.345; wall thickness: 0.016. CMH: 8382.
 Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, p. 137, p. 142, no 3, figs 32-3: 3.
- Fig. 59: 14 Unequally bi-conical urn. Slip-covered; warm brownish orange to yellowish ochre; very gritty. Black incrustations on the external wall below the rim (type A/C). Height: 0.33; wall thickness: 0.013. CMH: 8385.
 Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, p. 137, p. 143, no 6, figs 32-3: 6; Van Giffen, *PPS* 1938, fig. 7; *Westf. Forsch.* I, 1938, fig. 15a: 6; Kersten, *Bonn. Jahrb.* 148, 1948, p. 45, Pl. 11: 4.
- Oss, from the so-called 'Chieftain's Grave' ('*Vorstengraf*'); no stratified evidence. Base of a barrel urn (dm.: 0.12). Ochreous; very gritty. RML: k 1933/7²².
Tumulus 3, near the so-called 'Chieftain's Grave'. Excavation F. C. Bursch, 1935. Cf. postcircle type 5, North Brabant, no 3 and type 8, North Brabant, no 1. Secondary interment.
- Fig. 58: 15 Large barrel urn. Below the rim (type D/E) a finger-tipped cordon. Warm ochreous brown to dark grey; very gritty (large particles of quartz grit). Height: 0.38. RML: k 1936/1³. — Among the cremated bone was found a burnt distorted bone pin, probably made from one of the long bones of a bird. Length: 0.10. RML: k 1936/1⁴.
 Bursch, *Marburger Studien*, 1938, pp. 20-1, Pl. 9: 5, Pl. 10 (in this publication the barrow is called *tumulus 2*); *OM Leiden*, NR XVIII, 1937, pp. 2-3, fig. 1; Hawkes, *PPS* 1942, Pl. V: 5.
 Oss Heath, stray finds. Fragments of seven specimens. MO.
 Fragment of a very coarse, primitive urn. Inside and outside very uneven. Below the rim — decorated at the top with finger-tip impressions — a probably applied finger-tipped cordon, square on section. Ochreous grey; sparse quartz grit and pottery particles. Wall thickness: 0.006-0.01.

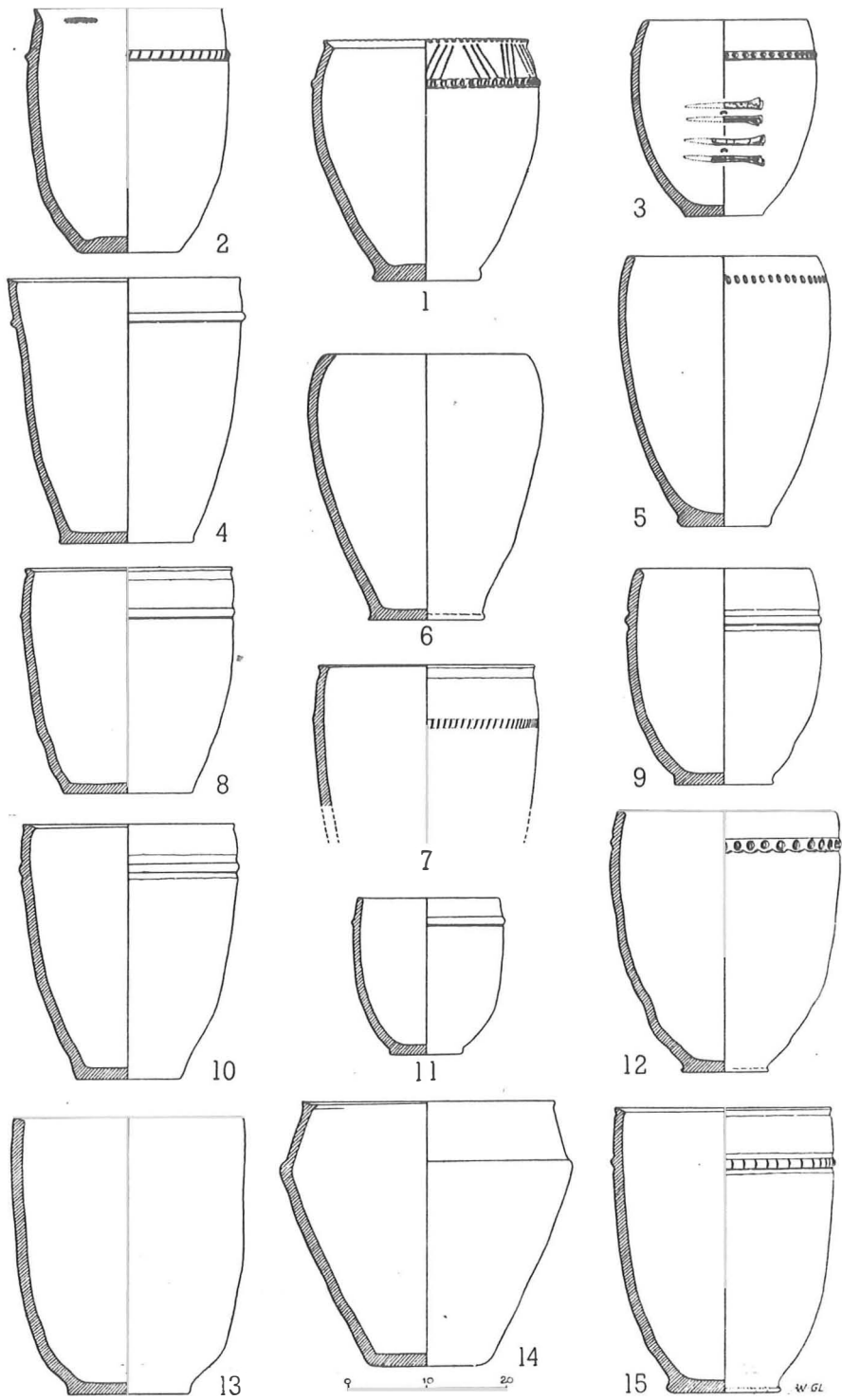


Fig. 59

Wall sherd of a large urn with finger-tipped cordon. Pinkish to ochreous; very gritty, also fragments of pottery. Wall thickness: c. 0.015.

Wall sherd of a similar urn.

Fragment of a large urn. Below the rim (type B with finger-tip impressions) a thick cordon with large finger-tip marks. Greyish ochre to pinkish; with sparse quartz grit and pottery fragments. Wall thickness: 0.009.

Wall sherd of a similar urn, rim missing. Same texture and cordon as the preceding fragment. Pinkish to ochreous. Wall thickness: 0.009.

Fragment of an urn with applied plain cordon. Grey to ochreous brown; with sparse quartz grits and fragments of pounded pottery. Wall thickness: 0.008.

Base of a very brittle and friable urn.

Rechte Heide, Municipality of Goirle, the 'Vijfberg'. Excavated by A. E. van Giffen, 1935. *Tumulus VI*; cf. postcircle type 7, North Brabant, no 4. Secondary interment.

Fragments of a barrel urn with finger-tipped cordon. Rim type C. Ochreous grey; very gritty. Wall thickness: c. 0.009. CMH: 8136.

Van Giffen, *Brab. Oergesch.*, 1937, pp. 35-9, fig. 24: 55.

Fig. 59: 7 Tumulus, some 1500 metres SSW of the 'Vijfberg', 1949. Cf. postcircle type 6, North Brabant, no 14 and type 7, North Brabant, no 11; fig. 51: 1. Secondary interment. Rim type C. Cf. *supra*, pp. 56-8.

Toterfout-Halve Mijl, Municipality of Veldhoven. Eight specimens.

Tumulus 1, 1948. Secondary interment. Base of a cinerary urn (no 1). Cf. Part I, p. 34.

Fig. 59: 1, 5, 3, 4 & 2 *Tumulus 1^B*, 1950. Primary interment (no 73). Rim type A. ¹⁴C-date: 3450 ± 100 years. Cf. Part I, p. 37, fig. 9: 73 and Pl. VI: 1-2. Four secondary interments (nos 60, 61, 62 and 65). Rim types D, E, C and approximately B. Cf. Part I, pp. 37-8, fig. 9: 60, 61, 62 and 65, Pl. VII: 2, VIII: 1, VIII: 2 and VII: 1.

Tumulus 9, 1950. Primary interment? Base and wall sherds of an urn (no 83). On the shoulder a decoration in the shape of a horizontal row of circular impressions of a tubular bone or reed. Cf. Part I, p. 58, fig. 42c.

The Urnfield, stray find. Base of a coarse cinerary urn (no 35b)? Cf. Part I, p. 97.

LIMBURG

Fig. 60: 9 Beesel. From a barrow. Distorted barrel urn. Below the rim (type F) a plain raised cordon. Base markedly concave. Dark reddish brown; very gritty.

Height: 0.353; wall thickness: c. 0.015. MB.

De Loë, *Belgique Ancienne II*, 1931, p. 64, no 3; Mariën, *Handelingen Gent*, NR IV, 2, 1949-50 (1950), p. 72; *Oud-België*, 1952, fig. 224.

Hunsel. Large urn ornamented with finger-tip impressions. Blackish grey. Related to the cordoned cinerary urns? MB.

De Loë, *Belgique Ancienne II*, 1931, p. 64; Mariën, *Handelingen Gent*, NR IV, 2, 1949-50 (1950), p. 72.

Caberg, 1927. From a settlement site excavated by Dr J. H. Holwerda. First occupation of the site was by the Neolithic 'Bandkeramik' people.

Rim fragment. At 0.045 below the rim (approximately type B/D) a finger-tipped cordon. Outside ochreous grey to warm brownish red, inside blackish grey. Core deep black. The paste tempered with fairly large fragments of pounded quartz. Perhaps related to the cordoned cinerary urns.²⁴ RML: I 1927/4³⁰.

J. Sprenger, *OM Leiden*, NR XXIX, 1948, p. 20 (La Tène ware according to Holwerda and Sprenger).

BELGIUM

Ravels, Province of Antwerp, 1770. Several urns. Cf. p. 93.

Heylen, 1793, p. 26.

From a tumulus (dm.: c. 40-5 paces, h.: c. 3 m), the 'Wetsberg', 1901. One of two urns found 'à hauteur d'homme'.

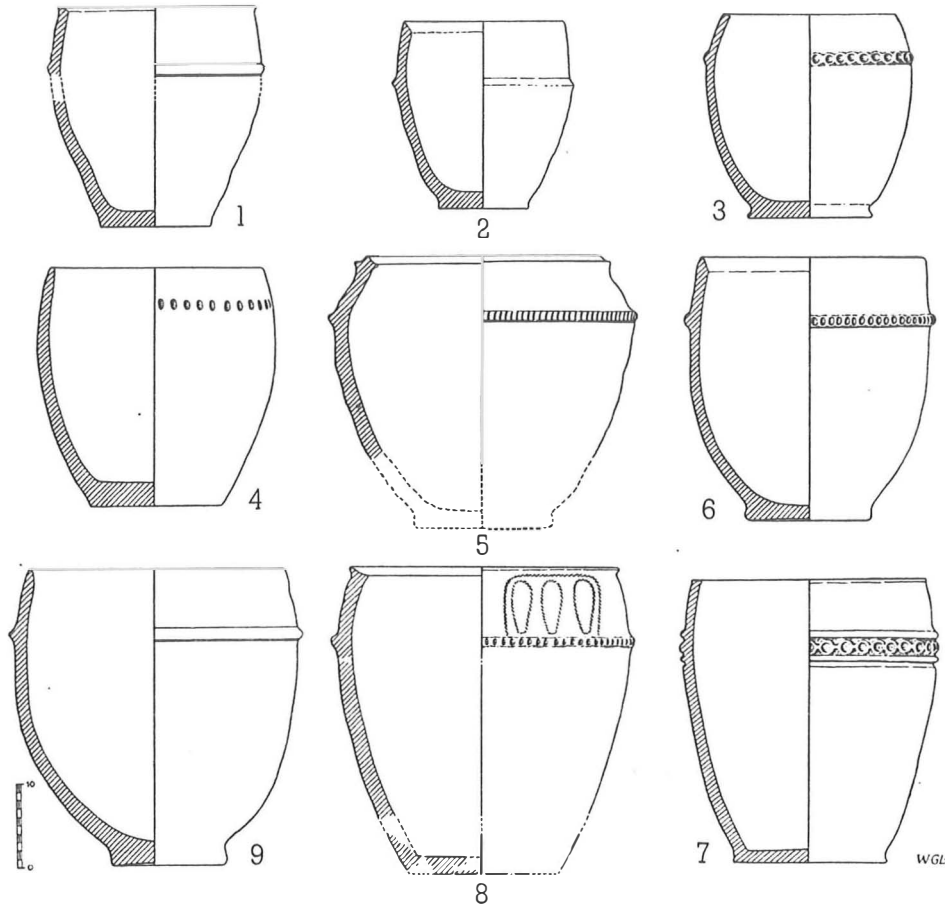


Fig. 60

Barrel urn. Below the rim (type B) a finger-tipped cordon. The base markedly concave. Fig. 60: 6
Reddish brown; very gritty. Height: 0.313; wall thickness: c. 0.013. MB.

Stroobant, *Ann. ARAB* LIV, 5e Série, Tome IV, 1902, pp. 389-91, Pl. II, 11; De Loë, *Belgique Ancienne* II, 1931, p. 64, no 5; Mariën, *Handelingen Gent*, NR IV, 2, 1949-50 (1950), p. 72.

Turnhout, Province of Antwerp, Estate 'Philipkensvijver', 1905.

Fig. 60: 7

Fine bucket-barrel urn. Below the rim (type C) a finger-tipped cordon flanked by two narrow mouldings. Slip-covered; greenish yellow to ochreous; the paste tempered with fragments of pounded pottery, no quartz grit. On the external wall the vertical striations of a wooden smoothing implement. Height: 0.337. MT.

Mariën, *Handelingen Gent*, NR IV, 2, 1949-50 (1950), p. 72 (Turnhout-Loooy); *Oud-België*, 1952, fig. 225: 2.

Possibly from the region of the Mont de l'Enclus, near Renaix, Province of East Flanders. Former Collection Joly. All cremation-filled urns.²⁵

- Fig. 60: 1 Base, wall sherds and a rim fragment (rim type B/C) of a barrel urn. On the rim fragment probably just the beginning of a plain raised cordon. Slip-covered; whitish grey to ochreous brown; gritty. Original height: c. 0.26-0.27; wall thickness: c. 0.015. MM: 4 (?).
- Fig. 60: 2 Barrel urn. Below the rim (type B) a plain raised cordon. Gritty. Height: 0.222. MM: 2.
- Fig. 60: 3 Barrel urn. Below the rim (type C/D) a finger-tipped cordon. Gritty. Height: 0.24. MM: 1.
- Fig. 60: 4 Barrel urn. Below the rim (type F) a zone of finger-tip marks. Gritty. Height: 0.285. MM: 3.
- Fig. 60: 5 A number of fitting rim and wall sherds of a peculiar, unequally bi-conical urn with exceptional rim (related to type A). On the shoulder a narrow cordon decorated with oblique nail impressions. Base missing. Slip-covered; yellowish grey to warm ochreous brown; the paste tempered with much fine grit, only one fragment of pounded pottery (?). Very uneven surface. Original height: probably c. 0.30; wall thickness: 0.015-0.018. MM: 5 (?).

Mont de l'Enclus, Municipality of Ruien, Province of East Flanders. Two-period barrow, heavily damaged by amateurs in 1949, the remainder afterwards (1951) systematically excavated by Professor Dr S. J. L. de Laet and Dr H. Roosens. The monument consisted of: (1) A mound of greyish yellow sand — probably raised over a central cremation burial and a patch of charcoal, destroyed in 1949 — with surrounding ditch (width: c. 1.20; dm.: c. 14) (Middle Bronze Age?) which intersected an older cremation burial in a shallow irregular pit with much charcoal and burnt sand, on the W side (belonging to a flat cemetery, late Early Bronze Age or early Middle Bronze Age?). (2) Sand addition with irregular stone revetment, after the ringditch had been filled in. Central cremation grave destroyed in 1949? Three patches of charcoal and burnt sand (ritual purificatory fires?) probably belong to this phase (Middle Bronze Age?). — A crushed cordoned urn, found in 1949 by Chevalier A. Behaegel de Bueren in the SE quadrant, represented a later interment. The badly fired urn, filled with cremated bones and charcoal, was placed upside down in a hollow of a slab of ironstone and surrounded by smaller standing slabs of ironstone. Below the rim (type A) a squeezed-out cordon decorated with vertical tool cuts. On the zone between rim and cordon four cord-impressed patterns, each consisting of three upright ovoids, broadest at the top, and two neighbouring patterns surrounded on three sides by a corded line. The yellowish brown external and the more greyish internal wall well-finished. Core dark grey; sparse grit. Height: c. 0.36; wall thickness: 0.017-0.02; rim diameter: c. 0.30-0.32; cordon diameter: c. 0.36; base diameter: c. 0.205. — Two worked flints, from the vicinity of the urn, would belong to the material of the mound.

De Laet, *Archéologie* 1952, 2, pp. 406-7; Mariën, *Handelingen Gent*, NR IV, 2, 1949-50 (1950), p. 72, *Oud-België*, 1952, p. 246.

The above corpus describes the special class of coarse cinerary urns which made its appearance in the literature in 1930 as a continental 'Deverel' group.

In the first place the derivation and development of this pottery type in the Netherlands must now be investigated. We shall begin by analysing more closely what has been written of importance in the past regarding the Dutch cordoned cinerary urns.

The Dutch writers — first Van Giffen (1930), then also Bursch (1934) and Willems (1935) — who emphasized the relations with British sepulchral pottery, at first thought of English influences in the Netherlands in pre-Urnfield times. In this country this opinion held the field, notwithstanding the contrary pronouncements of Doppelfeld (1930), Hawkes (1933) and some other British authors, who regarded the Dutch 'Deverel' urns as precursors of the English Deverel-Rimbury culture. The basic idea, since proved wrong, in these discussions was that the continental 'Deverel' urns were in some way directly connected with the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age Urnfield movements which led to their appearance in England.

Later investigations in the Netherlands led to a closer definition of dates and cultural connexions. Tumulus 1^B of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery, with its primary urn burial, has in our opinion contributed materially to a final settlement of the question. The principal new facts were Waterbolk's relative dating by means of pollen analysis and the equation with the '*Zwartenberg*' at Hoogeloon, which is dated by a bronze palstave chisel (Montelius II/III; fig. 72). In addition we now have the ¹⁴C-date (3450 ± 100 years) by Professor Hl. de Vries. This made it certain that the traditional dating of the Dutch 'Deverel' urns to the Late Bronze Age (Montelius IV) — although substantially correct — will want reconsidering now that their origin is seen to lie in the Middle Bronze Age (Montelius III). The origin of this culture is brought out of reach, chronologically, of the Urnfield invasions.

All the same it is possible to find in the earlier publications by Van Giffen, Willems and Bursch ²⁶ more or less clear suggestions that had already, we think, come near to the final solution of the problem. What we ourselves add in conclusion to the discussion of the opinions of other writers on this subject is in the first place based on a study of the greater part of the available original material.

* * *

Since Heylen, Hermans and Pleyte, cinerary urns of our group have been illustrated by Holwerda (1907), Martin (1923) and Remouchamps (1928), who still speak of coarse Germanic ²⁷ pottery or La Tène urns.²⁸

In 1930 Van Giffen, however, pointed out the striking resemblance between British Bronze Age cinerary urns and a cordoned urn (fig. 57: 10) found as a secondary interment in a Late Neolithic tumulus with vestigial stone revetment on the estate '*Groot-Drakenstein*' near De Vuursche, Province of Utrecht.²⁹ Van Giffen was by now suspicious of Abercromby's theory that the Deverel-Rimbury urns were not native to England. Should Abercromby be right, the Groot-Drakenstein urn could form a direct link on the way to England; if,

however, the culture was native to England, the Drakenstein specimen could be considered as an example of English influences Eastward.

It is the merit of Dr O. Doppelfeld to have carried out the first investigation into possible continental parallels and prototypes of the English Deverel urns. In 1930 he published a paper under the promising title '*Die Herkunft der Deverel-Urnen*'.³⁰ Taking for his starting point the view that the Deverel group was intrusive in South-East England, Doppelfeld attempted to trace the continental route by which this group came to the country where it was later to receive its archaeological name. The highly characteristic technique of manufacture of the British urns, however, was not taken into account. Doppelfeld saw the origin of the 'Deverel' urns entirely within the larger framework of the European Urnfield movements in the Early Iron Age. He then constructed a route from Central Europe to England with the help of the globular type — which is, however, not very common in England.³¹ The English globular form he considered a debased 'Kegelhalsurne', for which it would not be possible to find forerunners in England, and which would there constitute something 'ganz Neues, Fremdes, „Exotisches“'. It would be impossible to find 'Kegelhals-profile' in Western Europe before the Hallstatt period, but they would be a 'typisch mitteleuropäische Erscheinung und schon in der Megalithkeramik scharf ausgeprägt'. 'Im lausitzisch-frühhallstattischen Kreise' they occur as the principal types around 1000 B.C.

In his quest for intermediate sites on the long way from Central Europe to England, Doppelfeld takes us to the Rhine Province, Belgium and the Netherlands. The vessels cited (Abb. 7-10), which according to Doppelfeld are closely related to the English Deverel globular form, are, however, delicate slip-covered urns characteristic of the urnfields. As an undoubted prototype we are asked to consider an urn from a cemetery near Weert (Dutch Limburg), to which fell the honour of being christened the '*Weerter Typus*', 'der direkte typologische Vorläufer der Deverel-globular-Urne'. It would be equally certain that the '*Weerter Typus*' is related to the Central European 'Kegelhalsgefäße'. This latter relation, indeed, we would not deny. Doppelfeld, who did not believe in a circuitous route to England by way of South-West France — as suggested by Abercromby³² — observed: 'Die Herleitung aus der frühhallstattischen Urnenfelder- und Lausitzer Kultur ist die einzig mögliche'. Doppelfeld thought the Deverel globular urns a type from the Early Hallstatt period, occurring 'stark verflaut' in England, and placed them mainly in the 'mittlere Hallstattzeit', *i.e.* Period VI of the North European Bronze Age.

In proceeding to deal with the cylindrical (bucket-barrel) urns, Doppelfeld gave passing mention to the thick walls; the technique, however, was again ignored. This form, often with finger-tipped cordon, was also, according to him, an entirely

new phenomenon in England, which could not be explained in terms of the native Bronze Age; it did, however, have a strong influence on the traditional forms. Like the globular urn with which he associated it, the bucket was recruited by Doppelfeld in Central Europe, and began its march to England in the 'lausitzisch-frühhallstädtische Kreis'. The original form with raised cordon he found as the '*Utrechter Typ*' in the region of the Lower Rhine. And here he mentioned the only continental 'Deverel' urns that we think are to be found in his whole paper (Abb. 12 & 13), although he considered the latter, from Tilburg, with double cordon, as being early La Tène.³³ Barring a few late offshoots Doppelfeld also dated the bucket-barrel urns to the Middle Hallstatt period. Their profusion of vertical, oblique and arched ornamental bands would not have developed until a later time, in England. 'Abschliessend kann gesagt werden, dass die Deverel-Urnen Spätformen der Urnenfelderkultur sind und etwa zu Beginn der mittleren Hallstattzeit vom niederrheinischen Raum nach England gelangten'. This immigration into England Doppelfeld saw as a movement of people, fairly certainly a first Celtic invasion of England. On his distribution map and in his list of findspots a motley crowd of continental Urnfield pots masquerade as 'Deverel' urns in a company where five at the most can claim any right to this title.

By taking the globular form as his starting point, by linking the question to the Urnfield movement, and finally by ignoring the gritty texture of the Dutch bucket and barrel urns, Doppelfeld was bound to be side-tracked.

In 1934 Bursch, in discussing his barrow excavations at Soesterberg, gave an account of the Dutch 'Deverel' urns that had come to his notice.³⁴ On two occasions at Soesterberg he believed that 'Deverel' urns were secondaries in 'dome graves', on two others primary burials. As to one of the latter, found in a tumulus with single widely spaced postcircle (postcircle type 3, Utrecht, no 1) he was clearly mistaken, the position of the urn in the barrow being much too high; the other (fig. 57: 11), found in a barrow with ringditch, is in our opinion suspect stratigraphically. Bursch considered these urns as being foreign to the Netherlands and stressed the coarse technique.

As the occurrence of the bucket-barrel form seemed to be restricted to the neighbourhood of Amersfoort, Province of Utrecht — with the exception, perhaps, of the dune region on the Westernmost higher diluvial soils of the Netherlands — he thought Doppelfeld's name '*Utrechter Typus*' justified. For the rest he considered the continental distribution as given by Doppelfeld — viz. over other regions of the Netherlands and also in adjoining parts of Germany — as incorrect. The '*Weerter Typus*' he equally rejected. In respect of the theory, abandoned in England, of a native development there from traditional forms such as the Overhanging Rim urns, Bursch remarked that Doppelfeld's

article clearly ruled out the Netherlands as the country of origin. He preferred to see English influence in the Dutch 'Deverel' urns which are foreign to our urn culture;³⁵ the manner of interment also seemed to point wholly to England. Bursch suspected an immigration from England, and wondered whether perhaps only the globular form was foreign to England, the bucket being a local development from older native ceramics under its influence.

Van Giffen took up the problem of the continental Deverel urns in consequence of a number of excavations in Drente, and especially in discussing the excavation of the barrow cemetery the 'Vijfberg' on the Rechte Heide near Goirle, Province of North Brabant. In 1935, in discussing the Balloo cemetery,³⁶ he still followed Doppelfeld as regards distribution, but suggested the Aeneolithic and Middle Bronze Age 'potbakers' found in the upper levels of the Drente passage graves, as their prototypes. He placed the Dutch 'Deverel' group in the earliest Iron Age or Late Bronze Age; in England, where there is the greatest differentiation, the type then reached its zenith.

The next year, 1936, Van Giffen discussed a fragment with finger-tipped cordon, found in secondary position in the Eastern slope of tumulus II of the 'Tweeënberg' at Wapse, Province of Drente.³⁷ In our opinion this is the only urn from Drente which can certainly be counted to the 'Deverel' group. The other urns cited for Drente partly belong to a coated ware that is not directly related to it.³⁸

The fragment of the urn with finger-tipped cordon found as a secondary interment in the two-period tumulus VI of the 'Vijfberg' on the Rechte Heide at Goirle, Province of North Brabant (cf. postcircle type 7, North Brabant, no 4) led to a detailed discussion (1937).³⁹ The bronze flanged axe (fig. 54) in the primary grave of this barrow offered a good *terminus post quem* (Montelius II). Van Giffen could not now agree with Doppelfeld's grouping, as its components seemed far from homogeneous. The strong admixture of quartz grit in the paste led Van Giffen to the conclusion that this pottery is naturally restricted to the gravels, especially the Southern diluvium, and in the last resort to the great waterways: Rhine, Meuse, etc. Van Giffen, in opposition to those British authors who assumed immigration from the Netherlands and the region of the Lower Rhine, adhered to the older view that the Deverel-Rimbury group could be derived from English prototypes,⁴⁰ the Food Vessels, which were sometimes used as cinerary urns. From these would have developed the Overhanging Rim Urns, typical of the Middle Bronze Age. The Deverel-Rimbury type would then be a further debasement. The continental bronze imports from England would show that in this period cultural influences certainly extended across the North Sea from Britain. In current chronology Van Giffen now fixed his earlier dating (earliest Iron Age or Late Bronze Age) at 1000-600 B. C., in any case before the latter

date. In his latest pronouncement, in 1944, Van Giffen gave a Late Bronze dating, Montelius Period IV.⁴¹

The important find of nine 'Deverel' urns (fig. 59: 8-15) as secondary interments in tumuli *a*, *b* and *c* on the Hongerensche Heide at Hooge Mierde, Province of North Brabant, in 1934 (cf. postcircle type 4, North Brabant, no 1), had in the meantime (1935) led W. J. A. Willems to publish a review of this pottery group for the Netherlands.⁴² His paper was the first to give good reproductions of Dutch 'Deverel' urns. Willems emphasized the point that in this country they usually occurred as secondaries in tumuli, as was also the case in England, *e.g.* in the Deverel Barrow itself. Only once, at Tilburg in 1841, had they been found in flat graves, in digging of a flat arable plot. Besides a number of urns this site also yielded urnless cremation burials. This agreed with the evidence of the flat cemetery at Rimbury, in England. Willems further stressed the stratigraphical place of the Dutch 'Deverel' urns, *viz.* in the transition period between interment in barrows and burial under the small mounds of the ringditch urnfields. Willems was of the opinion that this class of urns came to the Netherlands from elsewhere. Doppelfeld's theories he thought unacceptable, because the diffusion of the globular type afforded anything but proof that the bucket-barrel took the same route. He also thought it difficult to explain how the Deverel urns should have been distributed most widely in Southern England, *outside* their original area. Size and shape, as well as the use of quartz grit to temper the paste, were in his opinion all reminiscent of the older English ceramic forms; the applied finger-tipped cordons pointed to a new technique and to an affinity with older English pottery. The cordons reminded him of a twist of straw, or at least a twisted or pleated band holding a wooden tub or bucket together: the pottery was an imitation of an already familiar coopering technique. This native English culture made its way across the sea, and by way of the big river-mouths extended along the smaller tributaries both into Brabant and into the more Northerly parts of the Netherlands.

An English origin also seemed likely through the rareness of urns with more than a single cordon, whereas the more debased, thick-walled, entirely undecorated forms were commoner. Willems rejected the Westerly movement from the region of the Lower Rhine assumed by Doppelfeld, and hence by Hawkes,⁴³ as it was not possible to derive this pottery from some older, native form, or to interpret it as the product of a new — or at least imitated — technique. Willems also investigated the distribution in the Netherlands, and was the first to cite the urns from Alphen, Province of North Brabant, published by Heylen as early as 1793, and the subsequent specimens from North Brabant published by Hermans in 1841 and 1865.⁴⁴ It was thus clear that the distribution area of the

urns was not limited merely to the neighbourhood of Amersfoort, as Bursch had thought in 1934.

In 1938 Bursch then published a paper '*Zur Frage der Deverel-Urnen in den Niederlanden*'.⁴⁵ His point of departure was the secondary 'Deverel' urn (fig. 58: 15) found in a barrow with postcircle at Oss, Province of North Brabant (post-circle types 5 and 8, North Brabant, nos 3 and 1 respectively). Thanks to the earlier finds from North Brabant cited by Willems the distribution map published by Bursch was a great advance⁴⁶ on that of Doppelfeld. Bursch by now had completely revised his views as to the origin of the Dutch 'Deverel' urns. The interment in barrows, even if mostly as secondaries,⁴⁷ seemed to him to point to a link with Neolithic and Bronze Age barrow construction. On the other hand, burial in a 'Behälter aus Ton' was not, to his knowledge, practised in pre-Urnfield times in the Netherlands. Bursch then pointed to some cordoned urns from urnfields that might in some way be related to 'Deverel' urns. Here, he thought, there were two possibilities: On the one hand the well-executed cordoned urns occasionally occurring in the urnfields might have influenced the native population to make large cordoned vessels in their own primitive technique, and also use them for interments — not in the urnfields but in the barrows of their forefathers; this view would find support in the occurrence of 'Deverel' urns, both in Brabant and in Utrecht, at the periphery of or outside the area of the Urnfield culture. On the other hand the fine, slip-covered cordoned pots might be native urns executed in a better technique as the native population was absorbed by the Urnfield culture and also began to bury in the large ringditch urnfields. In both cases, therefore, we should have a reaction of the original population to the Urnfield invasions.

Bursch finally drew the attention to a coarse Harpstedt urn of unusual appearance, with finger-tipped cordon, from the cemetery at 'De Hamert', near Venlo, Province of Limburg. 'Man möchte annehmen, dass diese Urne die ältere Gattung der Deverel-Urnen vertritt, in der modernen Form der Harpstedter Urne'; Bursch thus thought that the Harpstedt urns might be for the North what the Deverel urns were for the South — a native reaction to the appearance of the Urnfield culture. 'We might even go so far as to raise the question whether perhaps the whole class of Harpstedt urns could not be derived from types such as our Deverel urns'. These hypotheses are then concluded: 'Diese Frage, denn mehr will sie nicht sein, zu beantworten, möchte ich der deutschen prähistorischen Forschung überlassen'. Bursch assumed in his final conclusion that the 'Deverel' urns could be placed chronologically on the boundary between the Bronze Age and the Hallstatt period, or a little later, and that they represent pottery made by the native population on the example of the Urnfield people, to give better protection to the cremated bones of their dead. While in the

South a part of these natives was absorbed by the people of the 'niederrheinische Kerbschnittornamentik', another part emigrated across the North Sea to England.

When in 1942, in his paper on the Dutch urnfields, Bursch once again considered the question, the 'Deverel' urns were relegated to group F, one of the small groups of the Dutch Urnfield culture, of only local importance.⁴⁸ Here he assumed that, under the influence of the coming of the earliest urnfields, the older Bronze Age population began to cremate its dead, but continued to make its pottery after the old tradition and also continued to use the barrows, their ancient heritage, in the old way. 'Deverel' urns would be found everywhere in the vicinity of Amersfoort, but also in a few examples in Brabant and in the East and North of the country.⁴⁹

In a posthumously published paper (1948) on '*Die niederrheinische Grabhügelkultur*'⁵⁰ the continental 'Deverel' urns were briefly reviewed by W. Kersten as Late Bronze Age precursors. These urns — according to Kersten — were difficult to distinguish from 'Dolien' of the Urnfield culture, and also from the coarse-walled vessels 'that are often assigned to the Harpstedt style'. Kersten saw the technique as an important characteristic, for instance the fact that the surface would be 'rauh'. Both Doppelfeld's study and map Kersten thought useless, if only because this sort of analysis ought to be based on the original objects. The existing relations to the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age material seemed to suggest that the 'Deverel' urns developed from the Beaker culture of the final Neolithic period. '*Die Übereinstimmung des Verbreitungsbildes der Deverel-Urnen mit den endneolithischen Bechern des Veluветyp fällt auf*'. This pronouncement must rest on an insufficient knowledge of Dutch geography, as on Kersten's map only two Veluwe findspots are recorded. Kersten based his distribution map on that of Bursch, adding a few recent finds.⁵¹ He further thought it possible to widen the distribution area by the inclusion of a few urns from the Rhineland.⁵² These specimens, however, seem highly dubious, as it is apparently only their coarse fabric which merits their inclusion.⁵³ His theory that the 'Deverel' urns were native in the Lower Rhenish region Kersten derived from several circumstances: 'so schliesst sich in den Niederlanden ihr Verbreitungsgebiet von dem der niederrheinischen Grabhügelkultur aus. Wo niederrheinische Grabhügelkultur gefunden wird, fehlen Deverel-Urnen und umgekehrt'. Allowance would have to be made for their continuation into the time of the 'niederrheinische Grabhügelkultur', for their affinity to the 'Harpstedter Rauh-töpfen' seemed clear enough. The English view⁵⁴ that the British Deverel-Rimbury culture must be explained as an invasion from the Continent he doubted on account of the paucity of the material from the Rhine and Meuse delta. Rather, he thought, the English Deverel urns, like their continental relatives,

were native developments from the Beaker culture. 'Die gleichen Wurzeln führen, ohne dass gegenseitige Beeinflussung notwendig ist, zu einer ähnlichen Entwicklung. Die Benennung 'Deverel-Urnen' für die kontinentale Gruppe wäre dann freilich nur irreführend und sollte bald aufgegeben werden. Hier genügt aber die Feststellung, dass wir in den 'Deverel-Urnen' am Niederrhein das oder zum mindesten ein bodenständiges Kulturelement zur Zeit der Einwanderung der Urnenfelderleute zu erblicken haben'.

M. E. Mariën, in a recent study of the Late Bronze Age in Belgium,⁵⁵ noted that the Deverel urns appeared in the Campine tumuli as a new feature at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (Hallstatt A, 1000-750 B.C.). This group seemed to form part of a culture extending from Lower Saxony,⁵⁶ by way of Drente, the centre and South of the Netherlands, the Campine, the West of Belgium and beyond the Scheldt as far as Picardy. Almost certainly the Deverel culture here would have continued till at least the coming of the Urnfield people. Only under the pressure of new elements — represented by the cemeteries with Hallstatt type C urns — following the first Urnfield invasions, would some have emigrated to Southern England, while others were assimilated by the new invaders. Mariën supported these theories by a survey of the Belgian findspots of 'Deverel' urns now known, viz. in the Province of Antwerp at Ravels (fig. 60: 6), at Turnhout (fig. 60: 7), in the Province of Limburg at Lommel (stray find),⁵⁷ in the Province of East Flanders on the Mont de l'Enclus (fig. 60: 8) and perhaps at Denterghem, and further in the Province of Hainaut at Thuillies.⁵⁸

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In England it was and is usually assumed that the Deverel-Rimbury group reflects invasions of continental Urnfield people. At least one author, however, derived the bucket urns from long-established native types, the Food Vessels, which were sometimes used as cinerary urns. According to Clay these developed into the Overhanging Rim Urns, especially the bipartite type (Middle Bronze Age), and the latter into the Deverel-Rimbury bucket form.⁵⁹ This was the opinion of Van Giffen and Willems, who also pointed to the influences extending in this period from England to the Continent, as shown, for instance, in the export of bronzes.⁶⁰

What has been published on the English Deverel-Rimbury culture need not be reviewed here.⁶¹ A few remarks on some important recent publications discussing its continental origin may suffice.

Doppelfeld's paper discussed above had for some time a considerable influence in England. Professor C. F. C. Hawkes took as his premiss that immigrations in England into the Late Bronze Age were universally admitted.

Bronze implements and weapons showed that foreign influences and incursions had begun to reach Britain not later than 1000 B.C. on current chronology. The Deverel-Rimbury pottery did not form the ceramic counterpart of any group of exotic bronzes in England, but only a component movement that had to be studied by itself — owing to the rarity of bronzes in association.⁶² At first Hawkes followed Doppelfeld as to the origin of the globular urns of 'Weert type' and the bucket urns of 'Utrecht type', and he also saw the source of the movement bringing the Urnfield culture to England in the Low Countries. He made the culture cross over to Britain from the Lower Rhenish region and the Netherlands, especially from the environs of Amersfoort. 700 B.C. was assumed as an approximate central date. Hawkes reproduced Doppelfeld's distribution map with the addition of a number of English findspots.⁶³

In 1942 Hawkes published a very remarkable find from Ramsgate in Kent.⁶⁴ A hand-made, barrel-shaped pottery vessel of sparsely flint-gritted ware was found, in 1929, in an ancient excavation in the chalk rock, filled with earthy chalk rubble. The flat top of the rim was decorated with finger-tip impressions, and below it ran a row of similar impressions. Inside the vessel were three large pins of cast bronze — with expanded head and perforated swelling below the neck — while the earthy chalk rubble contained a small number of ancient animal bones and teeth (horse, ox), and shells of the common sea mussel (*Mytilus edulis*). Hawkes concluded that the excavation was certainly not a grave pit; the 'urn' in this case had no sepulchral function, and the pit was probably a storehole in a settlement site. In form and fabric, however, the pot is identical with the Late Bronze Age cinerary urns of Deverel-Rimbury type in Southern Britain, and further it seemed 'closely similar to the Continental 'Deverel urns,' best known from the Amersfoort district in the Netherlands,⁶⁵ one of the regions of Europe whence the makers of this sort of pottery crossed over to Britain in that period. Situated here above the shore of the Narrow Seas, the Ramsgate discovery appears to mark a primary settlement by a group of these immigrant people'.

Hawkes then went further into the matter of the associated Swollen-neck pins, for which he found as English parallels a stray find from the parish of St. Margaret's-at-Cliffe (1938), South of Ramsgate, overlooking the Straits of Dover, a specimen from the Thames at Wandsworth (1854), and an incomplete pin found together with two bronze torcs and two sherds of large vessels of the Deverel-Rimbury globular type on a Late Bronze Age site at Plaitford, Hants. (1928).

From the Continent Hawkes adduced four similar pins from Picardy in Northern France — one from the hoard of Caix on the Somme, East of Amiens, a stray find from Amiens, and two from the hoard of Villers-sur-Authie, North

of the Somme. This made a total of ten pins in all, distributed over an area from Picardy to London. This type of pin, with expanded head and perforated swelling below the neck, is foreign in Britain, and the primary home must lie in Northern France. Hawkes proposed to call it the *Picardy type*. Typologically this kind of pin is an outgrowth of the Perforated-neck pins (*Lochhalsnadeln*) of the Middle Bronze Age Tumulus culture of West-central Europe (which culture extended into Northern France), and a specialized and enlarged version of the Swollen-neck group (*Lochnadeln mit geschwollenem Hals*). The Picardy pins in most cases display ornament executed in fine shallow grooving, viz. horizontal girth lines, alternating diagonal hatching, chevrons etc.

Hawkes considered the Picardy pins as the product of an isolated and retarded group of the Tumulus culture surviving — somewhere in Northern France — from the Middle into the Late Bronze Age, so that the ornament and the disc element in their head form would be somewhat modified by Urnfield influence. On the basis of the Villers-sur-Authie and Caix hoards, dated c. 900 B.C. in 1942, Hawkes now (1952) places this group c. 850–750 B.C. (= Late Montelius IV). Under pressure from the immigrant neighbours a part of the population of the Lower Seine region would have gone over to Sussex, and those from the Somme would have gone over to Kent; this would be the explanation of the Ramsgate settlement site and the six British Picardy pins. These events would then have to be dated round about 800 B.C.

Hawkes finally discussed the importance of the Ramsgate Deverel urn, citing Bursch's theory of 1938. As a 'domestic storage-vessel' the Deverel urn seemed to have occurred in the North-West of the Continent long before and independently of the Urnfield culture. In the Netherlands coarse urn-like vessels of this sort would go back to the 'rusticated' or all-over finger-tip ornamented 'bell-urns' (*Glockenurnen*, or *potbekers*) of the Beaker period, and the simpler Bronze Age pottery: we would here have Beaker influences on local Neolithic pottery, showing again later in the coarser domestic ware of the Tumulus Bronze Age Culture.⁶⁶ After 1000 B.C., when the influence of the Urnfield culture first became noticeable, we would first meet with such vessels as cinerary urns: the Dutch Deverel urns, occurring at the periphery of the earliest local Urnfield area. From the newcomers the local Tumulus people — who used to bury their cremated dead without any urn heretofore — adopted the interment in a cinerary urn — an urn-like pot of the native tradition — though retaining the traditional barrow. As the pressure of the Urnfield invaders increased they emigrated in part to Britain. In this manner both Tumulus and Urnfield influences would have come to England. As the majority of the urns in South East Britain were found in flat graves, the main migration would have taken place when the Urnfield culture had already strongly penetrated the

Tumulus people of Neolithic stock. With this great migration the British Late Bronze Age II would begin, c. 750 B.C. Belgium — though much less is known about this area — would have gone through a similar development. And in Picardy, where a group of Tumulus people stemmed the Urnfield advance for some time, Hawkes expects the domestic pots to be of Deverel type — ‘and its association at Ramsgate with the Picardy pin is only what should be expected’.

* * *

Pleyte, in his '*Nederlandsche Oudheden*',⁶⁷ reproduced a large rim fragment of a 'finely decorated urn of rough ware', found in reclaiming moorland near the 'Trompenberg' in the Spijkerpolder at Hilversum, Province of North Holland (RML: g 1899/5^{1a-d}). 'There are four sherds. The upper part of the urn seems to run vertically, it was therefore cylindrical. To this kind of band a diamond-shaped decoration has been applied by means of impressed cords. The probable height of the urn is c. 30 cm, its width c. 24 cm.' Pleyte compared the piece — apparently because of its grit-tempered texture — with the urn excavated by Janssen at Laren (h.: 0.305, w.: 0.215) already described above (fig. 57: 7).

Bursch briefly discussed the sherds (three rim fragments and about half the base) in 1933 and reproduced all four fragments. He interpreted them as certain import from England. 'Zusammen mit den Cinerary-Urnscherben aus Hillegom (= our fig. 62) sind es die einzigen Keramikfunde von sicher englischer Provenienz'.⁶⁸

In 1936 G. C. Dunning published a '*Note on two Urns of Overhanging-Rim Type found abroad*'.⁶⁹ Dunning's handsome reconstruction drawing of the urn from Hilversum — here reproduced by courtesy of the author (fig. 61) — shows a large vessel (h.: c. 0.315, rim dm.: 0.245, base dm.: 0.13) with a deep collar (h.: 0.09) sloping outwards to a raised cordon decorated with tool cuts (not nail impressions). Similar cuts can be seen on top of the everted rim. The collar shows a trellis pattern of impressed cord bordered by two simple corded lines, and a similar corded line marks the inner bevel of the rim. The paste of the coarse and imperfectly fired vessel had been tempered with large particles of pounded quartz grit. The surface is ochreous grey, with black core.

The fragments of the second continental urn come from Marquise, 7 miles NE of Boulogne-sur-Mer in North-West⁷⁰ France.⁷¹ The decoration consists of a chevron pattern of deeply impressed corded lines.

Dunning related the two specimens to the Middle Bronze Age urns of Overhanging Rim type on the British Isles. As to type the Hilversum and Marquise urns were, he thought, late, on account of the deep collar and the presence of a cordon instead of an overhanging rim 'so that the profile approaches a biconical form'. The incisions on the Hilversum cordon should also argue for a late date, and might be explained as due to influence from the barrel and bucket urn group. Though they are more fragile than the many gold and bronze objects that crossed the Channel by way of trade during the Bronze Age, Dunning in 1936 considered the two urns described as evidence 'that pottery was also occasionally traded'.

More than half a century before Pleyte, however, in 1844, we have P. Cuyper's description⁷² — also with a good reproduction! — of the remains of a similar large grit-tempered urn with corded decoration on the collar. As far as we can

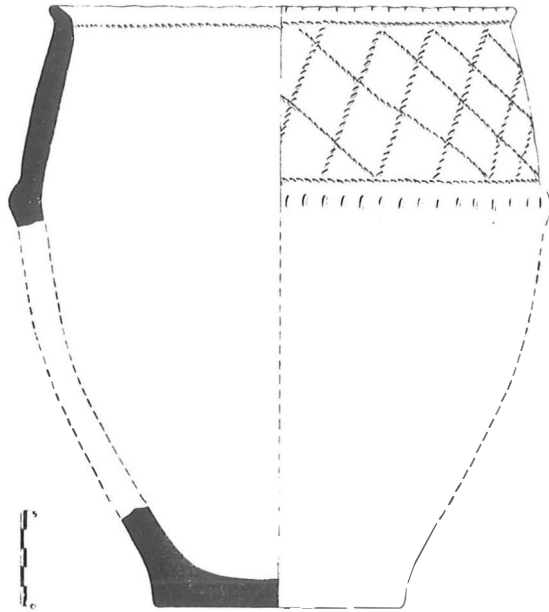


Fig. 61

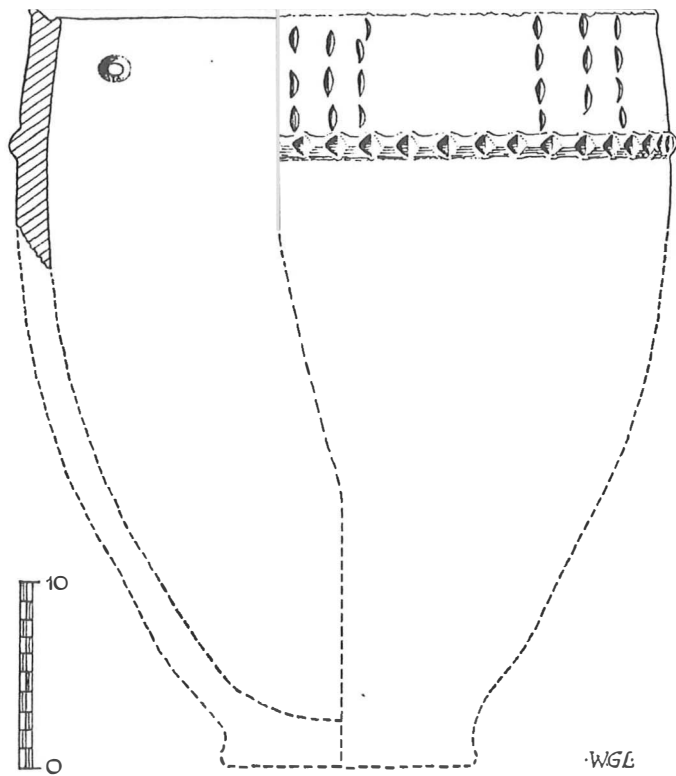


Fig. 62

see it constitutes the first discovery of a continental specimen of this pottery class. It was excavated by Cuypers in a tumulus on the Bedaf Heath near Baarle-Nassau, Province of North Brabant.

Cuypers found many barrows here, the majority of which had already been levelled by sod-cutting. The urns, which had in most cases been thus destroyed, he described as being 'of the coarsest sort', 'of badly fired loam admixed with a multitude of grits, in one word, of that kind which is to this day generally taken for Germanic *ash jars*'.

His attention was particularly drawn to a tumulus (h.: 1 ell, circumference: 49 to 50 ells) which had already been burrowed through at an earlier date. On a re-opening Cuypers located an extraordinary amount of charcoal, locally 0.80 thick, at 0.30 below the surface. At the barrow centre, at 0.10 below the charcoal, a coarse urn was found (h.: 0.10), filled with black ash. At 0.55 to the North of this stood 'an uncommonly large urn of the coarsest ware yet found by me, its foot resting on the hard white subsoil.'⁷³ It had decayed almost completely, and disintegrated into countless fragments on being uncovered, so that it was impossible for me to note and determine the exact shape. — One fragment (no. 2), however, enabled me to notice that the so-called triangular decorations found on it had been applied by means of a cord or string made of two strands, while a second sherd, belonging to an urn of which the other parts were no longer present, was also decorated in a peculiar and similar way (no. 3).' To the South, at a distance of almost 3 ells and a depth of 0.25–0.30, lay a number of large urn sherds, over and besides one another, in an area of c. 0.50 square. On top of these lay a multitude of badly formed loam balls that were again covered with other urn sherds. Three large perforated loam balls (mean circumference: 0.16) lay round the smaller. The whole was surrounded by a large amount of charcoal. — The sherd reproduced (no. 2) is a fine rim fragment of a large urn, the collar of which is ornamented with a zigzag pattern bordered by simple corded lines. This decoration zone seems to be bordered off below by a row of vertical finger marks or tool cuts.

The sherds from Hilversum, Marquise and Baarle-Nassau described above seem to us to be of the greatest importance in tracing the origin of the Dutch 'Deverel' urns. The latter show a close relationship to these urns of the Overhanging Rim family which, in our opinion, should be ascribed to Middle Bronze Age people hailing directly from England (Montelius III, c. 1200–1000 B.C.).

* * *

A movement of population in Britain, after the zenith of the Wessex culture, can be ascertained by means of the pottery of the Overhanging Rim family. Probably these migrants belonged to temporarily subordinate elements of the Wessex culture who preferred the purely native Cinerary Urn. Their Overhanging Rim Urns Childe considers as 'just Food Vessels of unusually tall form, early specialized as containers for cremated bones'.⁷⁴ The gradual devolution of the form over the long period covered by the culture offers a rough chronometer. At the beginning of the evolution segmented faience beads were still current⁷⁵ — and in remote parts these urns survived into La Tène times and perhaps even

later. The interments are found in England as primaries, but even more as secondaries, in various types of barrows. Once, at Bleasdale in Lancashire, two burials in Collared Urns were found surrounded by a single ring of eleven widely spaced oak posts (dm.: 36 ft) within a penannular ditch showing on the East side an entrance flanked by posts.⁷⁶

In contrast to the rich Wessex culture the grave furniture was very poor. According to Childe this may be due to the eschatological ideas associated with cremation. Associated finds are uncommonly scarce with the Cinerary Urns, which, according to Childe, must have been current in Britain over a period of some 1200 years.

This 'Urn Folk' spread over large parts of Britain and Ireland, and Childe — apparently on the strength of the Hilversum and Marquise urns — remarks: 'Finally, a few of our migrants settled even overseas on the coasts of Holland and northern France'.⁷⁷

* * *

In 1936 it could still appear as if there was only an occasional solitary find from the Netherlands, but since then the number has risen considerably. In all we can now identify fragments of between 10 and 20 cordoned urns of the Overhanging Rim family. They appear to have played a more important part than has yet been suspected. What is remarkable is that the findspots are situated exactly in the focal regions of our Dutch 'Deverel' urns.

Besides the fragments from Hilversum already discussed, sherds of some 12 cordoned urns decorated with corded lines on the sloping collar were found at Wijchen, near Nijmegen, Province of Gelderland. All show a very uneven surface. The paste is tempered with large particles of pounded quartz grit (up to 0.008 in size). They were discovered on several sites, probably settlements, that now are sealed beneath a blown sand deposit of some 1.50 m thickness. Usually the same site provided cultural remains from different periods, from Aeneolithic Bell Beakers and rusticated '*potbekers*' ('*Glockenurnen*') to Urnfield ceramics and pottery from native settlements during the Roman Empire. The late F. J. G. H. Bloemen, an amateur archaeologist who collected the antiquities from the Wijchen area in an exemplary manner, even suspected that the cordoned urns here might be connected with lake dwellings found by him in the Wijchensche Ven. The only systematic excavation so far was carried out on the site in the 'Wezelsche Bergen', by Van Giffen (1949), where fragments of these cordoned urns of Overhanging Rim type were found to occur in the lowest layer (with traces of square houses).

From Wijchen the following specimens have thus become known:

- Fig. 63: 2 *Site E*, SE of Wijchen. Collar fragment of a vessel with overhanging-rim-like, finger-tipped cordon. On the collar, decoration of triple-bordered, cord-impressed triangles. Very uneven surface. Slip-covered; externally ochreous brown, internally grey; the paste tempered with large particles of pounded quartz grit. Black core. Horizontal and vertical smears on in- and outside. Wall thickness: 0.015. MW: E 233.
- Fig. 63: 1 *Site E*, SE of Wijchen. Collar fragment with slightly internally bevelled rim (type C) decorated on top with a simple cord-impressed line. On the collar three parallel cord lines sloping to the right. Slip-covered; externally ochreous brown, internally ochreous; the ware admixed with large particles of quartz grit. Black core. Wall thickness: 0.015. Probably from the same vessel as fig. 63: 2 (no E 233). MW: E.
- Fig. 63: 3 *Site F*, West of the Wijchensche Ven. Collar fragment of a fairly small vessel. Below the rim (related to type A and nicked at the top pie-crust fashion) a cord-impressed decoration (trellis pattern and triangles?). Externally slip-covered; externally brown, internally ochreous brown; extremely gritty. Black core. Wall thickness: 0.008. MW: F.
- Fig. 63: 4 *Site WB*, Wezelsche Bergen. Collar fragment of a large vessel. Below the rim (type D decorated on top with a cord-impressed line) a trellis pattern of cord-impressed lines. Externally finely slip-covered; reddish brown to ochreous; internally ochreous; large particles of pounded grit. MW: WB.
- Fig. 63: 5 *Site WB*, Wezelsche Bergen. Collar fragment of a vessel with finger-tipped cordon. Below the rounded rim (approximately type C), an ornamentation of panels filled with vertical rows of oblique nail impressions paired chevron-wise (width of panel: 0.045). Externally slip-covered, ochreous brown; internally ochreous grey; admixed with much fine grit. Wall thickness: 0.012. Brown incrustations on the outer wall. MW: WB.
- Site WB*, Wezelsche Bergen. Excavation Van Giffen, 1949, basal layer. Three fragments of the collars of two or three vessels with finger-tipped raised cordons. On the collars a cord-impressed decoration (probably trellis pattern). Externally slip-covered, ochreous grey; internally grey or ochreous grey; admixed with large particles of quartz grit; dark core. Wall thickness: 0.013-0.014.
- Fig. 64: 2 *Site WB*, Wezelsche Bergen. Fragment of the high collar of a vessel with internally bevelled rim decorated on the outside and on the inside with nail impressions, and nicked on the edge of the inner bevel. On the collar a decoration of panels filled with vertical rows of oblique nail impressions paired chevron-wise. Externally slip-covered, greyish brown; internally ochreous grey; admixed with much fine grit. Wall thickness: 0.015. MW: WB.
- Site V*, on the South bank of the Wijchensche Ven. Rim fragments of a collared vessel. On top of the flat rim two corded lines, a similar line just below the rim on the inside. On the external wall of one sherd a cord-impressed line sloping to the right (part of a triangle?). Brownish grey; very gritty. Wall thickness: 0.013. MW: V. Also a small rim fragment of a vessel with similar corded rim decoration, on and inside below the rim. Wall thickness: 0.015. From the same vessel? MW: V.
- Site V*, on the South bank of the Wijchensche Ven. Rim fragment. On the inside, at 0.008 and 0.018 below the flat, slightly everted rim two cord-impressed lines; on top of it a single similar line. On the outside traces of a decoration of cord-impressed triangles. Slip-covered; ochreous yellow; very gritty. Wall thickness: 0.011. MW: V.
- Site V*, on the South bank of the Wijchensche Ven. Collar (?) fragment of a cordoned urn (?), decorated with a cord-impressed (trellis?) pattern. Externally ochreous yellowish, internally ochreous grey; very gritty. Wall thickness: 0.014. MW: V.
- Fig. 63: 6 *Site V*, on the South bank of the Wijchensche Ven. Large rim fragment of a vessel with everted, slightly externally bevelled rim ornamented on the flat top with oblique whipped cord lines. Below the rim, on the outside, panels of paired nail impressions separated by plain zones (width: c. 0.04). Below the internal rim a decoration of pendent triangles impressed with whipped cord. Internally and externally covered with a thick slip,

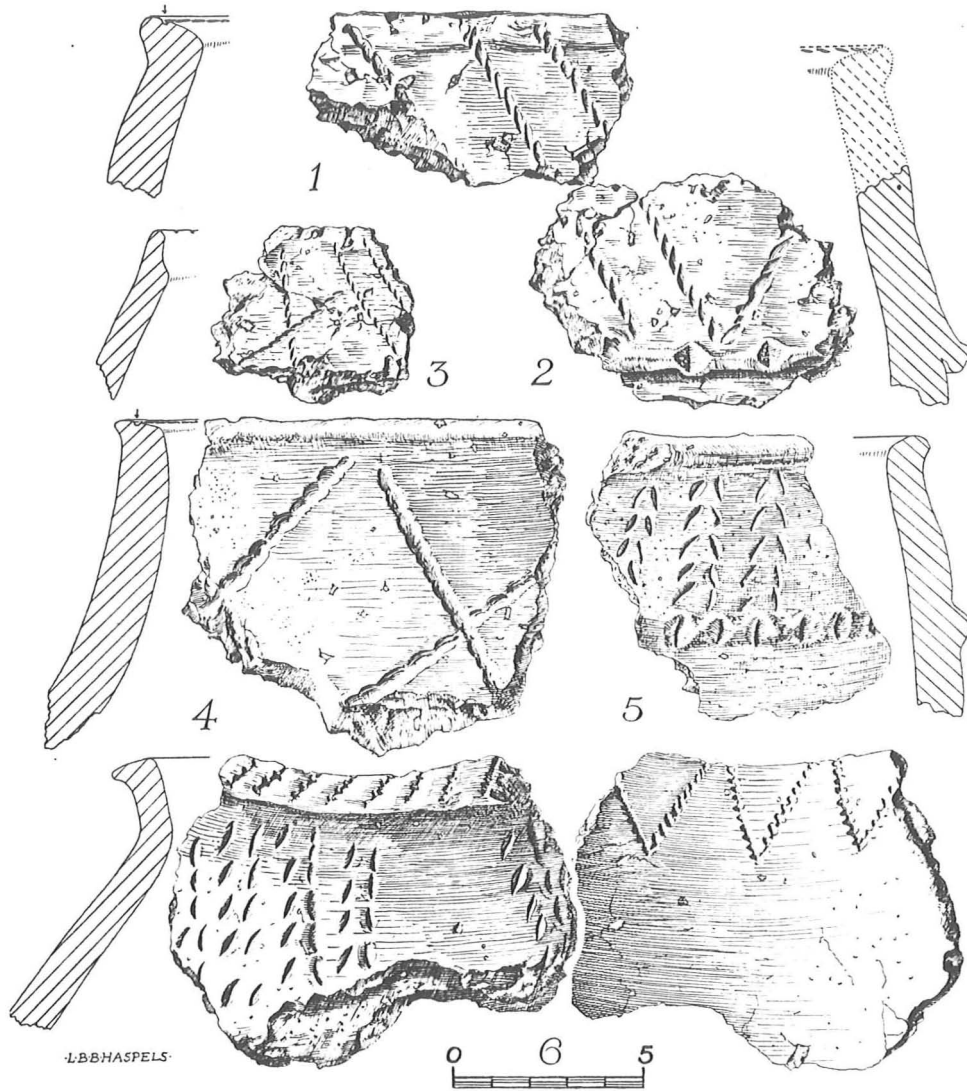


Fig. 63

ochreous; very gritty. Core black. Wall thickness: 0.012. Related to the Cordoned urns? MW: V.

Site WB, Wezelsche Bergen. Rim fragment of a vessel with everted rim, nicked at the top. On the collar a cord-impressed trellis pattern. Externally slip-covered, pinkish to ochreous; internally ochreous; admixed with large fragments of pounded quartz grit. MW: WB.

Fig. 64: 1

Site V, on the South bank of the Wijchensche Ven. Fragments of a vessel with cord-impressed zig-zag maggot decoration on the collar. On the inside of the peculiar, internally bevelled rim three fine horizontal cord-impressed lines. Pinkish orange; very friable and admixed with very much pounded quartz grit. Wall thickness: 0.015. MW: V.

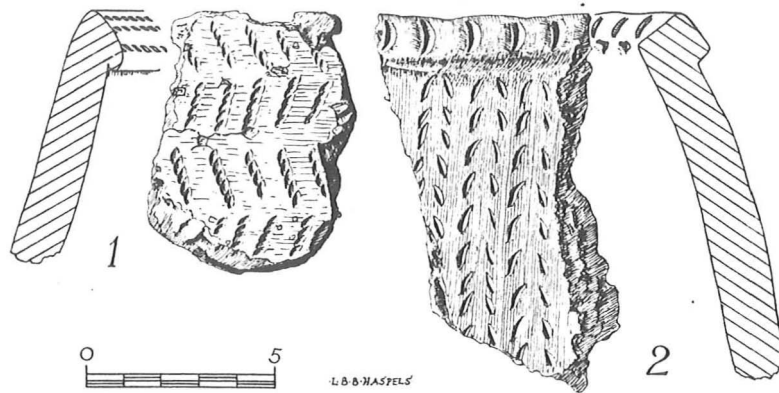


Fig. 64

Very probably this class should also be taken to include the pots described above, fig. 58: 5, 6 and 7, from Wijchen, which show considerable affinity to it in shape and fabric. Probably these undecorated vessels should be considered as the corresponding domestic pottery. Further, the very large double-cordoned vase (fig. 58: 2) — found without cremation beneath a tumulus — also shows closer affinities with the cordoned urns of Hilversum type than with the so-called Dutch 'Deverel' group. An important point is the slender outline of this large vessel which we consider as a precursor of the later 'barrel' forms among our cordoned cinerary urns, whose lower part and foot are much more accentuated than those of the English typical Deverel-Rimbury pottery. It would seem very probable that the bi-conical cinerary urns (fig. 58: 11 and fig. 59: 14) and the cordoned barrel urns with internally bevelled rim, sometimes with corded decoration (fig. 57: 2 and fig. 60: 8) and protruding, squeezed-out foot, which we take to be early, were directly developed from urns of the Overhanging Rim family like these found on the Utrecht Ridge, in the Wijchen region, in the region of Tilburg and in the Eight Beatitudes. For the latter area we may point to the primary urn with corded decoration from tumulus 1^B at Toterfout-Halve Mijl (fig. 59: 1; Part I, Pl. VI: 1-2), which is a handsome example of the transition from the urns of Hilversum type to the cordoned 'barrel' urns of the continental 'Deverel' group.

* * *

The *Hilversum* and *Drakenstein* groups

The typological resemblance between the English Deverel-Rimbury urns and the grit-tempered cordoned cinerary urns of the Continent has led to the assumption of direct cultural and ethnic relations between England and the Continent in the Late Bronze Age. The exact nature of the affiliation, however, and more in particular the question of the origin of the British Deverel-Rimbury culture, are problems that have given rise to greatly divergent theories. The lack of datable associated finds gave a long life to most authors' assumption of a direct connexion with the Late Bronze or Early Iron Age Urnfield movements of the Continent. Deciding value was thus attributed to the *function*, as container of cremated human bones, which would have been unknown on the Continent in earlier times.

In spite of all that had been written, however, an exhaustive corpus of the Dutch material given such prominence in the matter, was lacking. The distribution of this class of urns in the Netherlands had, moreover, been recorded either incorrectly or incompletely.

So far we have attempted to fill this gap in the survey of Dutch prehistoric pottery and thus supply a basis for discussion. We should now like to add our own observations.

* * *

It is very remarkable that — as with the English and Dutch Neolithic Beakers — it is nearly always possible to distinguish at a glance between an English Deverel urn and a continental urn designated as such. In spite of the common features — the grit-tempered paste and the finger-tipped cordon — very characteristic differences immediately spring to the eye. The leading characteristics of the continental cinerary urns are the following: The lower part of the Dutch 'barrel' urns — if we may give them that name — is higher and more conical than in the English urns, and fairly often shows a squeezed-out protruding foot. As a rule the shape thus approximates more nearly to a truncated pear. The cordon, on the English Deverel-Rimbury urns usually encircling the body of the vessel at about one third of its height below the rim, is always placed much higher on the Dutch urns. The continental bucket urn is hardly ever truly cylindrical, but normally roughly cylindrical, with a slightly convex outline. In fact it is nearly always possible to say from the form of any specimen alone whether it was found in Britain or in Holland. To this we must add the devolution of the rim types. Types A and B, with sharp internal bevel, in particular deviate strongly from what we see on the English Deverel-Rimbury urns. The devolution of the rim types of the continental cordoned cinerary urns by itself suggests that the origin

of this class must lie in a time preceding the Late Bronze Age, and certainly the Iron Age. This is confirmed by the new evidence of date and cultural connexions from tumulus 1^b of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery. The primary urn from this Dutch disc barrow must, as has been proved by Waterbolk's palynological analysis, be contemporary with the 'Zwartenberg' at Hoogeloon.⁷⁸ This latter, another Dutch disc barrow, is in its turn dated by a bronze palstave chisel (fig. 72) to the early Middle Bronze Age. Chronologically this fact alone moves the origin of the Dutch cordoned cinerary urns outside the reach of the continental Urnfield movements. In another respect, too, the primary of Toterfout-Halve Mijl is of great importance. The decoration of the zone between rim and cordon of this urn with a cord-impressed chevron pattern in our eyes provides the solution to the problem of the origin of the continental 'Deverel' urns. For this exotic-looking vessel appears to be far from isolated in the Netherlands. Through records from the last century, finds of analogous pottery are known from Baarle-Nassau and Hilversum. To these we can now add a number of unpublished specimens from Wijchen and De Vuursche.⁷⁹ This must be an intrusive group. Its origin can hardly be in doubt, neither can its relation to the Dutch 'Deverel' urns. On the one side the vessels with high collar, ornamented with cord-impressed trellis and chevron designs, show close relations to the British urns of the Overhanging Rim family (in particular the bipartite urns), on the other side there is an unmistakable connexion with the (later) continental barrel urns of 'Deverel' type. That the latter must have devolved from the first follows, in our view, from:

(1) The development of the rim types (fig. 56: A-F), wholly pointing to influences from the British Bronze Age (especially A-B, with sharp internal bevel), and not to be explained from the native Middle Bronze Age and earlier pottery.

(2) Transitional forms like the bi-conical vessels (fig. 58: 5, 8 and 11; fig. 59: 14), already pointed out by Van Giffen.

(3) The geographical distribution (fig. 65) which for both classes — the intrusive *Hilversum* class and its derivatives — is mainly restricted to a few limited areas in the Western and South-Western Netherlands.

The distribution is restricted to the West, the centre, and the South-West of the Netherlands. In the dune region along the coast (Lisse, The Hague) and on the most Westerly tops of the Dutch diluvium (the Utrecht ridge round Amersfoort, and Hilversum in the Gooi enclave) we find the cordoned cinerary urns of Hilversum type. Small bands of immigrants penetrated some distance up the great rivers as far as the high diluvial ground round Wijchen, West of Nijmegen, and up the small tributaries to the South towards the Brabant diluvium (the Eight Beatitudes and the region round and to the South of Tilburg). Their pottery consisted of large collared urns with an ornamentation of cord-impressed trellis patterns and double- or triple-bordered chevrons. Gradually these developed into

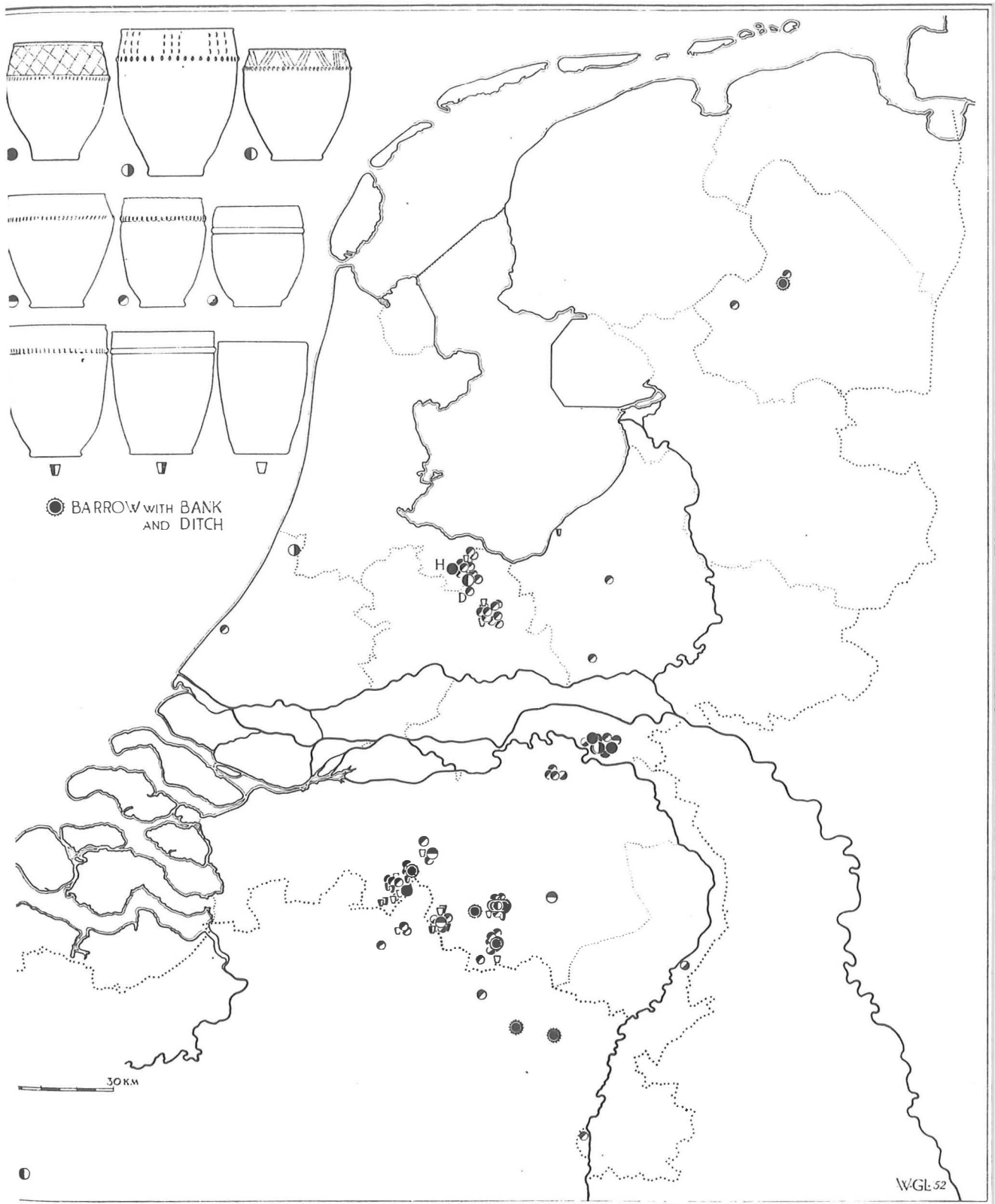


Fig. 65

the so-called 'Deverel' urns of the Late Bronze Age (Montelius IV), and the culture slightly expanded. From Wijchen the diluvial ridge near Oss was also occupied, and the region round Tilburg and to the South as far as Ravels and Turnhout in Belgium developed into one of the most important centres. It looks as if no 'Deverel' influences worth mentioning are to be expected East of the Meuse. A single secondary from a tumulus in Western Drente forms the most Northerly specimen recorded.

It is a striking fact that it is exactly in the Campine, on either side of the Netherlands-Belgian frontier, that other cultural elements originating in England appear. The Dutch disc barrows (Goirle, Toterfout-Halve Mijl — three specimens —, Hoogeloon, Bergeik, Wijshagen and Wijchmaal),⁸⁰ all probably dating from the (early) Middle Bronze Age, should undoubtedly also be connected with England (fig. 65). It was just in this exotic barrow type that occasionally 'Deverel' urns occurred as secondaries (Toterfout-Halve Mijl, tumuli 1 and 1^B, possibly also Wijshagen⁸⁷), and once even as a primary interment (Toterfout-Halve Mijl, tumulus 1^B). In this latter point it differs completely from the burial practice of the Deverel-Rimbury culture in England, and Hawkes' remark is specially deserving of notice: 'But Deverel-Rimbury urn-burials have never been associated with Disc-barrows, which are themselves native'.⁸¹

Where these urns as a rule have been found as secondaries in Early and Middle Bronze Age barrows, it is all the more remarkable that they should occur in tumuli with timber circles,⁸² especially in such with the rare postcircle type 4, of paired posts, suggesting a *trixylon* construction that might be related to the trilithons of Stonehenge. A flat cemetery is thought to have been found only once in the Netherlands, near Tilburg. From what we have seen in Brabant it seems obvious that during the Middle Bronze Age small clans from England lived peaceably side by side with a population interring its dead in barrows with timber circles. That groups with originally different burial rituals lived together in a small area is brought out strongly in tumulus 1^B at Toterfout-Halve Mijl. A cremation-filled urn here represented the primary interment (¹⁴C-date: 3450 ± 100 years); secondaries were a cremation burial in a long trunk coffin placed in a deep oblong grave pit between the central small mound and the bank, by the side of four cordoned cinerary urns of debased ('Deverel') type.

Even regional features can, we think, be pointed out among the Dutch cordoned cinerary urns. Thus in Brabant plain cordons appear fairly frequently on barrel and bucket urns, while in Utrecht they *always* bear a decoration of finger-tip impressions. The native Bronze Age population on the Northern Veluwe, which had continued to inter its dead in the edge of the ancestral barrows, seems to have been influenced by its neighbours from England on the Utrecht ridge. As secondaries in barrows in the Late (?) Bronze Age (Montelius IV/V?) very coarse, primitive, cremation-filled barrel-shaped urns⁸³ make an occasional appearance. Usually they have no cordons; the rim shapes are very simple, and are confined to our types E-F. Possibly we might see reflected here

a course of events as assumed by Bursch — incorrectly we think — for the entire continental 'Deverel' culture, viz. that the native Bronze Age population began to inter its dead in urns, on the example of the newcomers. Whether we are here concerned with influences of the Hilversum people in the West or their descendants, or with those of the Urnfield movement approaching from the East may be left undecided here. What is certain again, however, is that the urns have not been interred in urnfields but in barrows. Another class of large cinerary urns, not to be lost sight of in this connexion, is known from Drente. Van Giffen thinks that in part they must still belong to the Middle Bronze Age, preceding the Urnfield period proper. They are pots of gritty texture, the outer wall smeared over horizontally and vertically with a thick slip. They occur both in barrows, as secondaries, and in the oldest parts of urnfields. One of the latter, a tall urn discovered by Van Giffen in 1922 in a barrow at the Anner Tol near Zuidlaren, contained bronze accessories, viz. a pair of tweezers and two pins, to be dated to the Latest Bronze or Earliest Iron Age.⁸⁴

The intrusive Urn Folk thus lived in its enclaves surrounded by the old Bronze Age population, till the coming of the Urnfield invaders, who arrived from further inland in successive waves in the last phase of the Bronze Age. In the Netherlands hardly anything is to be observed of any mixing with the newcomers. Quartz-gritted cordoned cinerary urns are no longer found in the characteristically Urnfield ringditch cemeteries. A large bi-conical urn from the Knegsel urnfield, Province of North Brabant (fig. 58: 16) might be a late reminiscence, but is yet far from typical. That some of the makers of our 'Deverel' urns crossed over to England after c. 750 B.C., having already undergone some dilution by the true Urnfield people, does not seem very likely. Apart from the flat cemetery near Tilburg, which Willems interpreted in that way, the cordoned urns in Holland predominantly belong to a Tumulus culture, and that proto-Deverel emigrants from over here would have stimulated the flat cemeteries in Southern England seems highly questionable.⁸⁵ The Urnfield ringditch, which plays such a large part in our urnfields, does not, as far as can yet be seen, seem to have crossed over to England. The part played by the Lower Rhenish region in the Late Bronze Age invasions of Britain we would not rate quite so high as was done, for instance, by Hawkes at an earlier date. Doppelfeld's 'Weert type', the so-called precursor of the Deverel globular form, succumbed soon after baptism. The English Deverel globular urns — which in England, in our opinion, represent a group that should be differentiated from the bucket or barrel class⁸⁶ — find no direct counterparts or precursors in the Netherlands. The same holds good for the bucket and barrel urns, which — especially where the first category is concerned — might well have developed autochthonously, in part, in England from the Middle Bronze Age bipartite urns.⁸⁹ — As a whole, therefore, the Dutch so-called 'Deverel' group is pre-Urnfield, and also earlier than the English Deverel-Rimbury culture.

What part the cordoned cinerary urn played in Belgium and Northern France

is as yet difficult to judge. This can only be decided when more has become known about the Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery in these regions. The specimens from Western Belgium, recorded by Mariën, demonstrate that not only in the Campine region,⁸⁷ linking up with the Netherlands, but also farther South, further evidence may be forthcoming. The urn from the Mont de l'Enclus in particular promises much. The distribution thus approaches Northern France, where evidence may be found in the near future for Hawkes' Picardy group. For probably these as yet insufficiently systematically explored regions of Northern France and Western Belgium played the part in the Late Bronze Age invasions of England which was originally assigned to the Lower Rhenish region. The urn of the Overhanging Rim family that Dunning described from Marquise near Boulogne does, however, argue once again for a movement in the opposite direction in the preceding period. To enter further, however, upon the implications of the above for the cultural connexions of North-West France and Southern England lies outside our competence.

* * *

The Dutch cordoned cinerary urns of the Middle and Late Bronze Age constitute a by no means unimportant link in the prehistoric relations in either direction between Britain and the Continent. In our opinion it is certain that the Hilversum urns with corded decoration on the collar represent a direct offshoot of the British Overhanging Rim family. They reflect a movement of people from Britain to the Continent in the Middle Bronze Age (Montelius III). Apart from the urn type, which in Holland is completely exotic, the distribution picture argues the same way. The cordoned urns of bucket-barrel type that developed from this intrusive group (Montelius IV) are the so-called continental 'Deverel' urns, which were believed to have played a part in the Late Bronze Age invasions of Britain. In view of the distribution area of the British Deverel-Rimbury culture — especially in Southern England — it seems far from likely, however, that this group would have its source in the Low Countries. Chronologically the Dutch cordoned cinerary urns cannot have any connexion with the Urnfield movement and as to burial practice they are still fully conformable to the native Bronze Age Tumulus culture. The name 'Deverel urns' for the debased locally devolved continental Overhanging Rim urns is thus generically and chronologically misleading.⁸⁸ The possibility of an English origin of this urn type was first considered by Van Giffen in 1930 for the secondary from a Late Neolithic barrow on the estate '*Groot-Drakenstein*' near De Vuursche, Province of Utrecht (fig. 57: 10). We would therefore prefer the name *Drakenstein* urns for the locally

devolved Late Bronze Age class to 'Deverel urns' (even if in inverted commas), or to 'proto-Deverel urns' (?) or 'so-called continental Deverel urns'.

While the bronzes found on either hand will probably only represent traded articles, the Hilversum urns, Dutch disc barrows, perhaps also the timber circles and ritual pits, testify to the crossing of the Narrow Seas in the Middle Bronze Age by a population group that found a quiet existence here till the times of the Urnfield invaders. *Thus the urn as a container of cremated human bones made its appearance here already in the Middle Bronze Age, centuries before the coming of the urnfields.*

The distribution map (fig. 65) clarifies the picture drawn above of the distribution of the Hilversum and Drakenstein urns in the Netherlands. Whereas the distribution maps of the postcircle types 3-9 can only partially reflect the progress of the disproportionately distributed systematic excavations, we believe that, as far as the Netherlands are concerned, the distribution map of Hilversum and Drakenstein urns may have future additions made to it, but will not undergo much essential alteration.

¹ See Part I, pp. 19, 27, and especially 34, 37-8, 102, Part II, p. 8 and *postcircle type 3*, Drente, no 4, Utrecht, no 1, North Holland, no 1, *type 4*, North Brabant, nos 1-2, *type 5*, North Brabant, no 3, *type 6*, North Brabant, nos 14 and 15, *type 7*, North Brabant, nos 4 and 11, *type 8*, North Brabant, no 1.

² J. Abercromby, *A study of the Bronze Age pottery of Great Britain & Ireland and its associated grave-goods*, Vol. II, Oxford, 1912, pp. 40 *sqq.*

³ W. A. Miles, *A description of the Deverel Barrow, opened A. D. 1825*. London, 1826.

⁴ An exception is the cremationless vessel (fig. 58: 2) found at the centre of a barrow at Wijchen, Province of Gelderland. In another very large pot, remarkably enough also with a double cordon, found in a barrow on the Soest Heath, Municipality of Soest (fig. 57: 14), only a very small quantity of cremated bone was found.

⁵ See p. 8.

⁶ Bursch twice thought a 'Deverel' urn was a primary in a barrow, viz. in tumuli 2 (with postcircle of type 3, Utrecht, no 1) and 4 (with ringditch) on the Soest Heath. With Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, p. 139, we greatly doubt this. See below, p. 111. According to Van Giffen (*Bauart*, 1930, p. 61; *NDV* 1936, p. 88) and — on his authority — Willems, 'Deverel' pottery was found associated with primary interments in Bronze Age barrows on the estate 'Pijnenburg' at Baarn. The unpublished excavation records, however, do not show this.

⁷ See below pp. 102 and 113, and fig. 58: 11 & 13; Hermans, *Gesch. Mengelwerk II*, 1841, pp. 304-10; *NO*, 1865, pp. 52-3.

⁸ See p. 112, note 36.

⁹ The following museums were visited (the bracketed abbreviations are those used in the text). The Netherlands: *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* at Leiden (RML); *Centraal Noordbrabants Museum van het Provinciaal Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Noord-Brabant* at 's-Hertogenbosch (CMH); *Centraal Museum der Gemeente Utrecht* at Utrecht (Collection of the Provinciaal Utrechts Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen) (MU); *Museum Flehite* at Amersfoort (MFA); *Museum voor het Gooi en Omstreken* at Hilversum (MGH); *Oudheidkamer Wijchen* at Wijchen (MW);

Jan Cunen Museum, Streekmuseum voor Oss en Omgeving at Oss (MO); *Provinciaal Museum van Drenthe* at Assen (MA). Belgium: *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* at Brussels (MB); *Museum Taxandria* at Turnhout (MT); *Musée Communal Archéologique* at Mons (MM).

¹⁰ *Marburger Studien*, 1938, pp. 20-5.

¹¹ The majority already reproduced in Hermans, *NO*, 1865. See descriptions below, pp. 102-3.

¹² See descriptions below, pp. 95-6.

¹³ Heylen, 1793, pp. 3-7. Apparently Heylen witnessed the Alphen excavations.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5. It is not said how, in these troubled times, the urns came to Tongerlo Abbey.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9 *sqq.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁸ A part of the material collected has been reproduced in profile drawings (figs 57-60). We have mainly taken into account complete or almost complete vessels, and large rim fragments, since it is only these that can form a sound basis for study and prevent confusion with other Bronze Age pottery. As in former restorations the urns have usually been deformed and have partly been built up with painted lumps of plaster of Paris, photographic reproduction would only result in a choice collection of unsightly, lop-sided fantasies (*e.g.* fig. 57: 15). The only advantage of photographs would be that they can give a good idea of the workmanship; in the specimens from Toterfout-Halve Mijl reproduced in Part I (Plates V-VIII) this is, however, clearly to be seen. Drawings, on the other hand, have the great advantage that the profiles can easily be seen and compared. In preparing the drawings it has been our endeavour to suppress insignificant irregularities and inessential deformations.

¹⁹ See p. 102, *sub* Alphen.

²⁰ The excavations in the years 1878-80 in the barrow groups on the Leusden and Soest Heaths were undertaken by W. F. N. van Rootselaer, Keeper of the Amersfoort Records, and some other gentlemen. Dr W. Pleyte also visited the work (see *Ned. Oudh., West-Friesland*, p. 7), having already carried out an unsuccessful investigation on the site in 1871. The reports on the excavations of the years 1878-80 are in the Museum Flehite at Amersfoort, whose Conservator, Mr D. H. Huygen, kindly let us have extracts from them. According to the excavators the urns were sometimes surrounded by stones (*e.g.* fig. 57: 14). Some barrows had a peripheral stone revetment; among the stones in tumulus 2 were some weighing approximately three hundredweights.

²¹ The excavators did not record from which of the three urns the pin derived. — Broken off at either end, it still measures 0.149. Below the lost head, the form of which can only be guessed, the pin was round (dm.: 0.003) over a length of at least 0.0125; further downward it was rectangular (0.003 × 0.002) in section, and at the tip it was practically square (0.002). The round part was set off from the rectangular by six narrow transverse ridges; the rectangular part was decorated with transverse notches (probably incused) alternating on front and back and irregularly spaced. The object showed strong torsion along the whole of its length.

²² Cf. also pp. 123-6 below, especially p. 126. A few of the vessels here dealt with probably belong to the domestic pottery of the Hilversum class, *e.g.* fig. 58: 5-7.

²³ Stroobant has the following note on the urn finds at Alphen, Province of North Brabant: 'C'étaient, me disent des ouvriers qui les ont exhumées, des poteries grossières, à parois d'épaisseur inégale et recouvertes d'une pierre plate. Elles tombaient généralement en pièces au moment de leur extraction. Certaines d'entre elles auraient été recueillies par M. de Steurs [= Stuers?] qui les aurait déposées au musée d'Amsterdam'. *Ann. ARAB* LIV, 5e Série, Tome IV, 1902, p. 381. — For a cremation-filled urn covered by

a flat stone see also Dens, *Ann. SAB* XI, 1897, p. 240, Pl. VI: 1 (tumulus 2, dm.: 10.00, h.: 0.70, 'Hunnebergs', at Lindel in the Limburg Campine, Belgium. Marked on the map as tumulus 1). Inverted urns occur rarely on the Continent. We may mention the fine urn of the Mont de l'Enclus (fig. 60: 8) in Belgium, and an urn from Baarle-Nassau, Province of North Brabant (see p. 102).

²⁴ Not nos 1 1927/4³⁰ (twice) and ⁴⁰, also with cordons. *OM Leiden*, NR XXIX, 1948, p. 20, Pl. III: 6. See also *OM Leiden*, NR IX, 1928, p. 14, fig. 10: 7.

²⁵ A further unequally bi-conical urn is, according to Dr Mariën, in the standing exhibition of the Mons Museum.

²⁶ Not his later publications (1938 and 1942).

²⁷ See e.g. J. H. Holwerda, *Nederland's vroegste beschaving*, 1907, pp. 57-8, Pl. IV: 1-3 (early Germanic culture, c. 100 B.C.-100 A.D.).

²⁸ Holwerda, *Nederland's vroegste geschiedenis*, 2nd ed., 1925, p. 105, fig. 39; Remouchamps, *OM Leiden*, NR IX, 1928, pp. 66, 70 (Hilversum).

²⁹ *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 61-2. Cf. *supra*, p. 98.

³⁰ *PZ* XXI, 1930, pp. 161-75.

³¹ Cf. also p. 130, note 86, p. 169, note 19.

³² Abercromby, *l.c.*, pp. 48-9, Pl. CVII.

³³ Our fig. 58: 12. The ascription to the La Tène period is already found in Holwerda & Smit, *Cat.* 1917, pp. 44-5, in Holwerda, *Nederland's vroegste geschiedenis*, 2nd ed., 1925, p. 105, fig. 39, and survives in Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XXIII, 1942, p. 56, fig. 27: 7. We have been unable to identify Doppelfeld's Abb. 12 (Leusden, Utrecht, Museum Amersfoort).

³⁴ *OM Leiden*, NR XV, 1934, pp. 61-4; see also *Marburger Studien*, 1938, p. 22.

³⁵ But see below, pp. 114-5.

³⁶ *NDV* 1935, pp. 103-4, with further literature. The wall and base fragments, probably of a large, tall barrel-shaped urn, found as a secondary interment in tumulus 15 (with ringditch), do not, however, belong to the group in question. The same is true of the urn found as a secondary in tumulus II at the Anner Tol near Zuidlaren, Province of Drente, and containing two bronze pins and a pair of tweezers. *NDV* 1923, pp. 199-202; *Bauart*, 1930, p. 32, Abb. 14. See also p. 130. For further specimens of this separate (pre-Urnfield) group of Middle and Late Bronze Age coarse cinerary urns see also Van Giffen, *Drente*, 2nd ed., 1944, p. 484, fig. 44a: 7 (secondary in Late Bronze Age tumulus 3 on the Hijkerfeld, Municipality of Beilen, a barrow of topsoil over a central spread of charcoal with cremated bone on arable ground), and especially *NDV* 1945, p. 90 (Gasteren; here distinguished by Van Giffen as proto-Urnfield pottery, Middle and Late Bronze Age), pp. 104-5, fig. 15: 53, fig. 16: 53 (found within a rectangular ditch with rounded corners, surrounding a rectangular post pattern). In the Assen Museum there is also a large, quartz-gritted barrel-shaped pot (h.: 0.345), with narrow plain cordon encircling the shoulder, below which are 4 vertical perforated lugs; found near Valthe, Municipality of Odoorn. MA: 1931/IV¹.

³⁷ *NDV* 1936, pp. 86-9, 91-2, with further literature.

³⁸ See note 36.

³⁹ *Brab. Oergesch.*, 1937, pp. 36-9.

⁴⁰ R.C.C. Clay, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* XLIII, 1926, pp. 313-24.

⁴¹ *Drente*, 2nd ed., 1944, p. 487. See also *West-Friesland* XVII, 1944, p. 168.

⁴² *Urnervelden*, 1935, pp. 138-41, with further literature.

⁴³ *Ant. Journ.* XIII, 1933, pp. 436-40.

⁴⁴ See pp. 92-3, 102-3.

⁴⁵ *Marburger Studien*, 1938, pp. 20-5.

⁴⁶ Although it shows rather fewer sites!

⁴⁷ Previously adduced as a point of correspondence with England. *OM Leiden*, NR XV, 1934, p. 64.

⁴⁸ *OM Leiden*, NR XXIII, 1942, pp. 60-2, 72, 75-6.

⁴⁹ Bursch, it is true, here also stressed the fact that Harpstedt urns occur in much larger numbers in the South than in the North, where, for instance, they are not found surrounded by ringditches. Bursch would not see the Harpstedt urns as proof of a Germanic migration towards the Lower Rhine, but again as proof of the revival of native elements after foreign influences had lost some of their strength. We certainly do not think that the 'urn' reproduced in this paper (fig. 31; found in the Province of Overijssel and preserved in the Museum at Zwolle) can be considered as a 'Deverel' urn (still less can it be used to illustrate the type); it is no more than a good specimen of the pottery of the (Early) Bronze Age in Northern Holland.

⁵⁰ *Die niederrheinische Grabhügelkultur. Zur Vorgeschichte des Niederrheins im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, *Bonn. Jahrb.* 148, 1948, pp. 5-80, especially 26-9, 45, 67, Abb. 6, Taf. 11: 4 (the unequally bi-conical urn of Hooge Mierde, our fig. 59: 14).

⁵¹ Three of them strayed into the wrong provinces: 19. *Kootwijk*, *Mus. s'Hertogenbosch* (probably our fig. 57: 1, vicinity of Kootwijk, Province of Gelderland, Museum Leiden) plotted more than 100 km too far South at Goirle, Province of North Brabant; 20. *Groot Drakestein* near *Baarn* (= Baarn), *Mus. Utrecht*, plotted near Oss, Province of North Brabant, while 18. *Rechte Heide*, *Gem. Goirle, Brabant*, has removed to the vicinity of Hilversum, Province of North Holland. . . . Errors in preparing Kersten's posthumous paper for the press should probably be held responsible.

⁵² Viz. from Leverkusen-Schlebusch (3 specimens, unpublished), Neuwied-Heddesdorf (*Bonn. Jahrb.* 145, 1940, pp. 229 *sqq.*, Abb. 11; 3 specimens), Kettig, Landkreis Koblenz (*Bonn. Jahrb.* 143/144, 1938/39, p. 354, Abb. 7: 1), Plaidt, Kreis Mayen (*Bonn. Jahrb.* 145, 1940, 231, Abb. 12: 8, 9), Urmitz, Landkreis Koblenz. The three specimens from Neuwied-Heddesdorf show respectively rows of finger-tip impressions, a double cordon below the rim, two applied finger-tipped cordons and a horseshoe handle below. The rims of two of them 'gekerbt'. Cf. also H. von Petrikovits, *Bonn. Jahrb.* 142, 1937, pp. 296-9, Abb. 10: 1 (from Keppeln, Kreis Kleve), adding a communication from Dr Bursch. In our view certainly not a 'Deverel' urn.

⁵³ It should especially be noticed that the outline drawing of the type on Kersten's distribution map (Abb. 6) — taken from the Oss specimen (Bursch, *Marburger Studien*, 1938, Taf. 11; our fig. 58: 15)? — is not characteristic. The unequally bi-conical urn from Hooge Mierde (our fig. 59: 14), the other specimen of a continental 'Deverel' urn reproduced by Kersten (Taf. 11: 4), is, we think, a surprising choice in this context.

⁵⁴ Quoted: Hawkes, *Ber. RGK.* 21, 1931, 102 ff.

⁵⁵ *Handelingen Gent*, NR IV, 2, 1949-50 (1950), pp. 71-7, and also NR V, 1951, pp. 221-2. See also *Ant. Class.* XVII, 1948, pp. 435-8, where it is already pointed out that the 'Deverel' group should be dissociated from the urnfields. See further Mariën's distribution map in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 23, 1951, p. 46, and *Oud-België*, 1952, pp. 244-8.

⁵⁶ Prompted by the remarks made by E. Sprockhoff, 31. *Ber. RGK*, 1941, p. 118. It is certain, however, that these urns do not belong to the pottery class in question.

⁵⁷ Several fragments. Unpublished.

⁵⁸ The Belgian urns mentioned by Mariën from Lommel (marked on our distribution map, fig. 65), Denterghem, Thuillies (*Ann. Féed.*, 7e Sess. Brux. 1891, I, 209, and II, 261) we have not seen. They have therefore not been reproduced or discussed. By an oversight the urn from Hunsel (in the North of Dutch Limburg — see p. 106) has not been marked on fig. 65.

⁵⁹ R. C. C. Clay, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* XLIII, 1926, pp. 313-24.

⁶⁰ *Brab. Oergesch.*, 1937, p. 39, with further literature.

⁶¹ For one of the most recent surveys of the problem, with extensive references to the relevant literature, see V. Gordon Childe, *Preh. Comm.*, 3rd ed., 1949, pp. 187-91. An admirable and extensive review of the whole position is contained in a 60-page typescript by Professor C. F. C. Hawkes entitled '*Deverel-Rimbury pottery in Britain and its implications*'. I, The British evidence, II, The continental Evidence (CFCH July 31, 1952) with many new suggestions.

⁶² *Ant. Journ.* XIII, 1933, pp. 436-40. See also in T. D. Kendrick & C. F. C. Hawkes, *Archaeology in England and Wales: 1914-1931*, London, 1932, pp. 138-52, especially p. 143, and *Die Erforschung der Spätbronzezeit, Hallstatt- und Latène-Zeit in England und Wales von 1914 bis 1931*, 21. *Ber. RGK*, 1931 (1933), pp. 86-173, especially pp. 102-17, p. 106.

⁶³ Published in J. P. Preston & C. F. C. Hawkes, *Three Late Bronze Age Barrows on the Cloven Way*, *Ant. Journ.* XIII, 1933, p. 440. See also C. M. Piggott, *PPS* IV, 1938, pp. 185-7.

⁶⁴ *The Deverel Urn and the Picardy Pin: A Phase of Bronze Age Settlement in Kent*. *PPS* 1942, pp. 26-47.

⁶⁵ Hawkes reproduced four Dutch cinerary urns, Pl. V: 2-5 (our figs 57: 12, 58: 9, 57: 5 and 58: 15 respectively).

⁶⁶ See also C. F. C. Hawkes, *Problems of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age in Western Europe*, in *Conference on the Problems and Prospects of European Archaeology*, 1944, *Occasional Paper No. 6*, *University of London Institute of Archaeology*, pp. 51-2, fig. 1.

⁶⁷ *Ned. Oudh.*, *West-Friesland*, pp. 12-3, Pl. V: 3.

⁶⁸ *OM Leiden*, NR XIV, 1933, pp. 80-1, fig. 73; see also Van Giffen, *Brab. Oergesch.*, 1937, pp. 36-7.

⁶⁹ *Ant. Journ.* XVI, 2, 1936, pp. 160-4.

⁷⁰ Not: 'north-east'! *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁷¹ Musée Archéologique, Boulogne.

⁷² *NB* V, 1847, pp. 49-74, especially pp. 50-1, Pl. II: 2.

⁷³ Probably the leaching layer of the old ground level. Primary interment?

⁷⁴ *Preh. Comm.*, 3rd ed., 1949, p. 146.

⁷⁵ The question may here be put whether perhaps the four segmented faience beads of the well-known necklace of Exloo-Odoorn, Province of Drente — further composed of amber and tin beads and a clasp (?) of bronze — might not have reached the Netherlands under the influence of this culture. See H. C. Beck & J. F. S. Stone, *Archaeologia* LXXXV, 1936, pp. 221, 227, 243, Pl. LXVI, fig. 1.

⁷⁶ *Ant. Journ.* XVIII, 2, 1938, pp. 154-71.

⁷⁷ *Preh. Comm.*, 3rd ed., 1949, p. 146.

⁷⁸ See Part I, p. 118.

⁷⁹ See also the urns from the Mont de l'Enclus, Belgium (fig. 60: 8), and from Marquise, North-West France.

⁸⁰ For a discussion of the Dutch disc barrows in the Netherlands and Belgium see pp. 166-70.

⁸¹ *Archaeology in England and Wales: 1914-1931*, 1932, p. 142; 21. *Ber. RGK*, 1931, p. 105.

⁸² See note 1. Not 'meistens', however, as Bursch would have it, *Marburger Studien*, 1938, p. 22.

⁸³ See e.g. Pleyte, *Ned. Oudh.*, *Gelderland*, p. 49, Pl. XI: 4 (?) (from Wageningen), p. 70, Pl. XIX: 1 & 2 (Gardereren, Bergsham); Van Giffen, *Gelre* XL, 1937, pp. 14-5, fig. 10: 1-4 (Garderensche Heide, tumulus 12; 4 secondaries in a Neolithic barrow), and see above postcircle type 9, *Gelderland*, no 2 (Vierhouten, tumulus 9). See also *OM Leiden*, OR VI, 1912, p. 74.

⁸⁴ For this category see our remarks on p. 112 and note 36.

⁸⁵ Perhaps weight should also be attached to the observation that our cordoned cinerary urns (*e.g.* those from tumulus 1^B at Toterfout-Halve Mijl) contain large quantities of cremated bone and not — as often with our later Urnfield pots and apparently with the English Deverel urns (see Hawkes, *21. Ber. RGK*, 1931, p. 106: Pokesdown) — only a handful. This alone may indicate a quite different burial rite.

⁸⁶ Personal inspection of the Deverel globular urns in the British Museum led us to believe that on technique alone this type should be distinguished from the bucket and barrel urns. See also p. 169, note 19.

⁸⁷ It is worthy of note that Dens says of the hand-made pottery found by him in barrows of the Limburg Campine, Belgium, that a number were '...d'une argile rougeâtre, très grossière, mélangée de fragments de quartz; ...' *Ann. SAB XI*, 1897, p. 244. — Unfortunately he failed to give a description of the individual finds from the various tumuli. Cf. also p. 167, note 15. — The following addition to his general remarks on the pottery found is also of interest: '...: ajoutons que, presque toujours, la hauteur égale la largeur, à un centimètre près'. This is also generally the case with the cordoned cinerary urns.

⁸⁸ On other grounds, though, than those which led W. Kersten (*cf. supra*, p. 116) to reject the name 'Deverel' urns.

THE BURIAL RITUAL

'Die Tatsachen bleiben, Die Interpretation schwankt'. Mindful of this maxim — which Van Giffen placed over one of his first publications (1913)¹ — we propose now to devote some pages to the evidence for ritual acts which may sometimes have attended burial. In doing so we shall more or less have to confine ourselves to an enumeration of those features observed during excavation which should in our opinion be classed as 'ritual'. We do not propose to venture comparison with ethnological parallels and interpretations as these fall mainly within the province of the ethnologist and of the student of comparative religion.

The prehistorian is always tempted to look to parallel living phenomena among modern primitives for the elucidation of his mute inglorious prehistoric data. Great caution is, however, called for in these matters,² particularly when comparisons are made with the customs of peoples who have remained at practically the same cultural level over long periods. For in our barrow cultures we have remains from a short phase of a relatively quick development. The interpretation of the phenomena observed may therefore be left to specialists in the fields of ethnology, comparative religion, etc.

* * *

The study of burial practice, both in antiquity and among modern primitives, teaches that a burial ceremony usually comprised a number of successive acts.³ These may stretch over a longish period, sometimes as much as a whole year. Systematic excavation of barrows in North-West Europe has shown time and again that by complete removal of the barrow we may also come upon traces of a set of complicated acts — in part of a magical character — that played a part in Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Age burial practice.

Sir Cyril Fox, in an absorbing paper entitled *'Burial ritual and custom in the Bronze Age'*,⁴ recently described the course of events at and after the interment, as observed by him at barrow excavations in South Wales. The distinction he drew between *ritual* and *customary acts* affords a good delimitation of the special acts, to be viewed as ritual, and the common necessary acts playing a part in a certain kind of burial. The dividing line is, however, sometimes difficult to draw because certain ritual acts may in course of time come to lose their character and will then approach more and more to a custom without direct magical content.

The ritual acts in the burial practice are among the sparse indications for religion and ideas of the Beyond of prehistoric man in our parts. Data on the burial ritual during the Bronze Age in the Netherlands — which, of course, will again show regional differences — may be obtained from:

(1) *The burial itself and its immediate environment.* — *Inhumation* and *cremation* burials are found to occur in one and the same period in different forms. *Contemporary plural interments* are not rare; among cremated burials we are struck by *age* (and *sex*?). Important features are the — often *temporary* — *mortuary houses* which protected the interment over a longer or shorter period. In one case it was surrounded, moreover, by a *temporary stakecircle*. Grave furniture is very scarce. In one instance we find holes near the grave to which a ritual function must, in our opinion, certainly be ascribed (*ritual pits*). Spreads of charcoal near the graves might point to *funeral repasts* or *ritual fires* (purification by fire?).

A *pause* then usually preceded the erection and finishing of the round barrow. There may have been short interruptions in the barrow-building, shown by the presence in the mound of a thin charcoal horizon, a spread of charcoal, or scattered charcoal particles.

(2) *The periphery of the barrow* is also of great importance. As a rule — and in the Province of North Brabant there are hardly any exceptions — we find here traces of peripheral constructions, generally a *timber structure* or a *ringditch*. It is fairly generally recognized that *rings of posts*, in particular, were not in the first place erected to give the tumulus a more impressive appearance, but did indeed have magical significance. This is emphasized by a peculiar act, traces of which have already been observed in many instances, viz. the blocking of what had at first been left as an entrance. It normally manifested itself as a striking anomaly in the alignment and/or spacing of the circle. This *entrance blocking* in the post-circle that surrounded the hallowed precinct was probably among the last in the series of ritual acts. Occasionally some cremated bones appear to have been deposited in postholes of a circle; and occasionally a small vessel containing cremated (animal?) bones deposited in the barrow slope may indicate an *offering*.

* * *

The facts so far available from the Netherlands were considerably added to by the excavation of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery, while some of the phenomena mentioned were here recognized for the first time in this country (ritual pits, temporary stakecircle, the temporary character of mortuary houses, cremations in postholes). Taking all together, our data on the prehistoric burial ritual are being augmented in quite a gratifying way, and we can thus be somewhat more optimistic than Stroobant who, writing in 1902 on barrows in the Belgian Campine, complained: '*Ces rites restent pour nous un mystère insondable*'.⁵

The burial itself and its immediate environment

Inhumation and cremation

In the Netherlands the gradual transition from inhumation to cremation in the period from Neolithic to Middle Bronze Age is illustrated by many examples. In Neolithic and Aeneolithic barrows we find almost exclusively inhumation burials, generally in flexed or contracted positions, but occasionally extended at full length. They may be found in grave pits or at ground level, and very occasionally already in trunk coffins.⁶ Characteristic of the Early Bronze Age are inhumation burials in long trunk coffins hollowed out by fire,⁷ which were normally placed in deep grave pits. They occur both as primaries and as secondaries. Cremation, however, appears to occur concurrently already from the Early Bronze Age onwards. At first the cremated bones were as a rule scattered in the long trunk coffin, or in an oblong pit. The latter method is thought characteristic of the Middle Bronze Age. Gradually, however, the oblong shape of the grave was abandoned, and subsequently we find the cremated bones deposited among fragments of charred wood in a shallow pit.⁷ That the remains of the pyre were often still aglow when deposited with the cremated bones in the grave pit is in many cases proved by the reddish sintered sand of the grave's edge.⁸ The coming of the Urnfield people, finally, was to cause radical changes in the burial ritual.

Though this gradual development has proved to give a true general picture, exceptions and regional differences occur of every kind, and demand an explanation. In dealing with postcircle type 3 we have already gone into some aspects, especially the regional differences expressed by the secondary interments.⁹ These are of regular occurrence in Northern Holland, occur in large numbers in mid-Holland, and are rare in the South. In the North the barrows should be considered as clan cemeteries ('*Sippenfriedhöfe*'), where the dead man's kin found their last resting place in the edge. The graves do not often intersect: the position of the several secondary interments must have been known fairly exactly, and might have been made outwardly visible. On the Veluwe, however, intersections are frequent. In North Brabant, especially in the tumuli of the Eight Beatitudes, the primary graves of (Early and) Middle Bronze Age barrows contained as a rule cremation burials,¹⁰ though there were rare indications of inhumation at ground level.¹¹ The cremation burials consisted mostly of simple interments of cremated bones, with charcoal from the pyre, in shallow pits. In the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery only two good examples occurred of a cremation in a trunk coffin, viz. in tumuli 1^B and 1. In both cases this lay in a tangential *secondary* grave in a Dutch disc barrow. In tumulus 1 the *primary* grave consisted of a large spread of cremated bone at ground level, and in 1^B it consisted of a cremation-filled cordoned urn. In the latter case we thus found two radically

different burial methods in one and the same barrow, and both, in our view, would certainly date from the Middle Bronze Age.¹² Tumulus 3 had a fine example of a primary grave pit with large trunk coffin — containing an inhumation burial (or perhaps empty?) — which might on typological grounds be thought characteristic of the Early Bronze Age in the Northern Netherlands; on palynological grounds, however, it appeared that this barrow, with its type 3 postcircle, must be counted among the *late* monuments of the cemetery.

There is plenty of other evidence to make us think twice about the *chronological* value of the inhumation *versus* cremation criterion — especially for North Brabant. The evidence rather seems to compel our thoughts in quite a different direction. In the Northern and central Netherlands it is already curious enough to find inhumation and cremation occurring side by side in secondary tangential graves.¹³ Also tumuli such as that on the Bergsham, on the Veluwe, Province of Gelderland, throw a curious light on the use of cremation with or without accompanying burial rites, and the later use of the barrow as a cemetery for secondary graves. Tumulus 3, with its cremation burial (of a child) within a mortuary house surrounded by a single closely spaced postcircle (type 5, Gelderland, no 4), contained *no* tangential secondary graves in the actual edge of the barrow; the adjacent tumulus 5 — equally dating from the Early Bronze Age — contained in its edge *numerous* later tangential graves. In character tumulus 3 shows affinities to the Brabant barrows from the Bronze Age. Why in the one case — tumulus 3 — an elaborate burial ritual for a child, the erection of a peripheral timber structure, and *no* later peripheral interments within the hallowed site enclosed by the postcircle; but in the other — tumulus 5 — a very simple central cremation burial, no peripheral construction, and approximately 50 secondary interments in the edge?

Did perhaps inhumation or cremation, the carrying out of certain ritual acts or the addition of certain magical constructions depend on such conditions as the sex or age of the dead, disease, circumstances of death, etc.? Did the primary burial, the postcircle, regionally influence the later use of the barrow for secondaries? The results of the osteological examination of the cremations by Dr C. Krumbein seem to point in this direction.¹⁴

The carrying out of a comprehensive ritual, the building of large barrows for women alone, for women with very young children,¹⁵ or even for young children alone, is noteworthy. Where a woman was cremated and buried together with a child (4 cases) we may think of special burial customs connected with particular ideas concerning the death of young mothers; the death of children may also have had special significance. It should also be emphasized here that the interments in the barrows on the 'Grote Aard', when found (tumuli 5, 7, 8 and 8^A), were those of children.

The numbers of men, women, women with children and children alone in the cremations from our barrows, examined by Dr Krumbein — a total of about 40 — were 2, 2, 4 and 8–10 respectively. These numbers cannot, we think, be taken as representative of the whole population; the proportion of women's and children's burials is too high — even allowing for a high mortality rate for women and children. Perhaps those graves where we concluded (on lack of evidence) for inhumation (as in tumuli 3, 6, 7, 11, 13 etc.) may have been men's graves — if indeed some of them are not cenotaphs.

Analogous phenomena have, however, hardly been observed yet in the Netherlands, as the osteological examination of Bronze Age cremations is only in its infancy. Ethnographical parallels do not seem to be rare, however, among modern primitives.

We further wonder what may have been the part played by flat graves in the time of our barrow cemetery. The possibility should be seriously entertained that not only the 'common man' but perhaps actually all those who died a 'normal death' found their last resting place simply below the level heath. Dens, in fact, mentioned the occurrence in the Limburg Campine of cremation burials under the level heath between barrows.¹⁶ It will be advisable, therefore, to give attention to this possibility and to clear large areas between barrows in some future excavations. Perhaps we shall then obtain a more balanced picture of the Bronze Age burial practice.

Mortuary houses

The rectangular configurations of four small postholes, or rather stakeholes, in a number of tumuli at Toterfout-Halve Mijl (1^B, 5, 8^I, 10, 11, 14, 15, 19 and 21), within which was situated, in the majority of cases, the central, primary grave, have been interpreted by us as traces of small structures of a *temporary* character (fig. 66). In all likelihood the stakes served only to support a small gable-roof intended to protect the interment — generally a cremation burial in a shallow bowl-shaped pit — in the time between the funeral and the building of the tumulus. That we are indeed concerned with structures of only a very temporary character, removed before the construction of the barrow, could be ascertained beyond doubt in tumuli 5^I, 8^I, 11 and 14, where in the sections the sod structure of the mound continued unbroken over the stakeholes (cf. especially Part I, fig. 13, section A, square 4). The possibility that the small rectangular settings of stakes represented the supports of a pyre — a reasonable enough supposition in itself — seems ruled out as in tumulus 11 neither charcoal nor cremated bone was found at the centre.

It would thus appear certain that some time elapsed between the interment

and the building of the mound. Ethnological parallels again seem to be copious.

From the 7th or 8th century A. D., a time, indeed, far removed from that of our Bronze Age cemetery, we can cite one and possibly two examples from written tradition: the ceremonies at the burial of a Bulgarian mentioned in the well-known travel story of the Arabian Ibn Fadlān,¹⁷ and perhaps the burial of Beowulf from Anglo-Saxon literature.¹⁸ In the former case a period of ten days is said to have lapsed between the two central moments of the burial ceremony; in the latter the same number of days was required for the erection of the barrow: *ond betimbredon on tȳn dagum beadurōfes bēcn.*

Mortuary houses are still a comparative rarity in Dutch tumuli. We shall

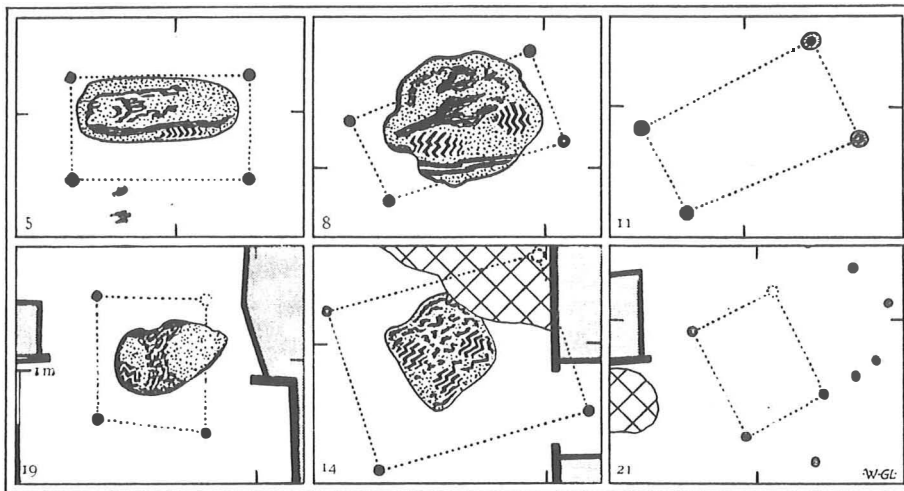


Fig. 66

confine ourselves here to an enumeration of the specimens excavated in the Netherlands so far, which mainly date from the Bronze Age.

In a few cases, especially in Drente, they are perhaps somewhat comparable to the well-known mortuary houses of Grünhof-Tesperhude, Sottorf, Marmstorf and Schutschur in the region of the Lower Elbe:¹⁹ fairly large rectangular buildings ('*Ständerbauten*'), strongly built from stout posts standing in carefully stone-packed holes. Thick charcoal layers show that these solidly built houses were burnt down before the erection of the barrow. As a rule they contained plural cremated burials. The traces of a fine square mortuary house beneath a large cairn in tumulus 75 on the Noordsche Veld near Zeijen (A. E. van Giffen, 1944; fig. 67: 10 and fig. 69) and that in the '*Schattenberg*' at Westerbork (1950; fig. 67: 11), both accompanied by a type 3 postcircle (Drente, nos 34-5 and 40), may be mentioned here, though their ground plans are simple compared to those

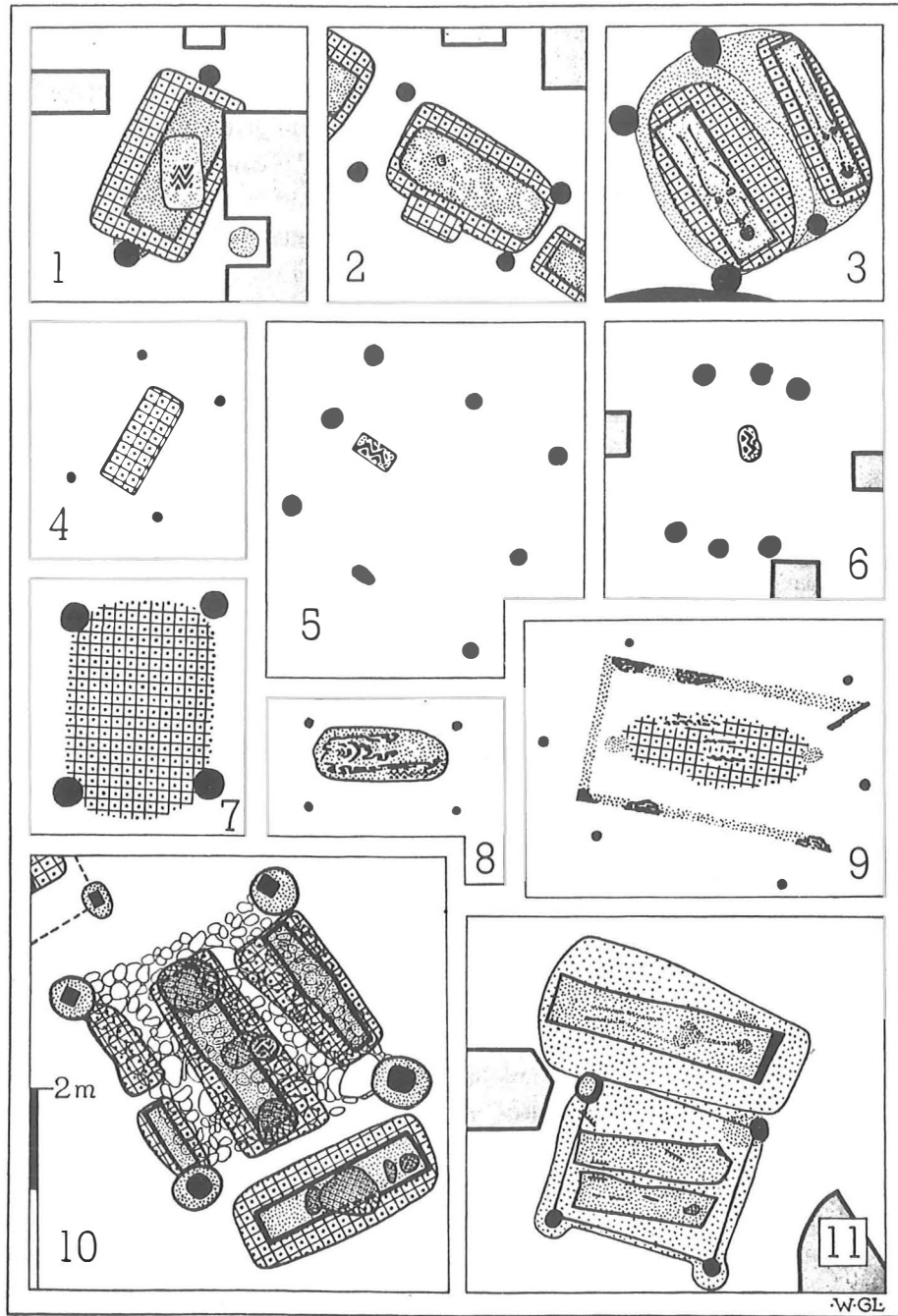


Fig. 67

of the Lower Elbe region. In both cases several contemporary inhumation burials in oblong grave pits were made in and alongside a mortuary house supported by four posts (c. 2.20 × c. 2.20 and c. 1.70 × 1.40 respectively). In the Zeijen tumulus, moreover, three of four similar (secondary?) graves in a row beginning at the central mortuary house lay within rectangles (c. 2.40 × c. 1.40) made by four postholes. Van Giffen dated these mortuary houses to the Early Bronze Age.

Certainly the earliest of the mortuary houses so far discovered in the Netherlands is that found in a fragmentary barrow of dirty sand, with a stone revetment in its edge, at Drouwen, Province of Drente (1927; fig. 67: 7). Van Giffen found here a rectangular N-S mortuary house (c. 1.85 × 1.40), composed of four postholes.²⁰ In the grave, at ground level, lay unusually rich grave furniture, in two groups (fig. 68): on the N side two gold spirals and a bronze flanged axe ('geknicktes Randbeil'), more centrally a bronze dagger of Sögel type, a tanged bronze laurel leaf spearhead or razor (?), as thin as paper (except for the slightly thicker tang, which was rectangular in section), a roughly worked flint artifact (strike-a-light?), a hone of black lydite, square in section, and nine finely worked flint arrowheads, some with remains of reed shafts. The postholes had already been noticed at a higher level. The finds dated this mortuary house to the Early Bronze Age, period Montelius I.

Three other similar rectangular configurations of postholes can be cited.

In the cemetery at Gasteren, Province of Drente, Van Giffen (1939) found a cremation barrow (tumulus 45) which contained, within an irregular oval ringditch, a trunk coffin in a NW-SE grave with a posthole in each of the four corners (2.60 × 1.35; fig. 67: 3).²¹ On the NE side a parallel trunk coffin lay interred in an oblong pit. Both coffins contained a silhouette.

Tumulus II at Vries (A. E. van Giffen, 1939),²² a sod-built barrow with a ringditch (internal diameter: c. 9 metres), contained a slightly eccentric SE-NW grave with trunk coffin placed within a rectangular configuration of four postholes (c. 2.20 × c. 1.30; fig. 67: 2). The SE posthole could be followed to some height in the mound itself. Two grave pits with trunk coffins, one at either end of the main grave and on the same axis, might indicate that the mortuary house stood up above the barrow. In the filling of the primary grave lay a small barrel-shaped pot, without cremated bone; a small child's grave had been dug into the side of the grave at a later time. One of the two graves in line with the mortuary house (the SE) was cut across by a similar tangential grave in which a tanged bronze object was found, similar to an arrowhead. On the SW side of the mound lay another secondary grave with a child's coffin. This monument, also, Van Giffen dated to the Early Bronze Age. Tumulus I on the same site, also excavated in 1939,²³ was also a sod-built barrow with a ringditch (internal diameter: 8.00) surrounding a very deep SSW-NNE grave (2.20 ×

1.40) with trunk coffin (fig. 67: 1). At the centre of the short sides at either end of the grave pit lay a posthole. Van Giffen supposed that the posts contained in them may have risen above the mound. In the filling of the grave lay a secondary cremation burial in a small N-S pit. This monument — the two postholes of which may perhaps have supported some sort of roof — Van Giffen also placed in the Early Bronze Age.

The three postholes (out of an original four, c. 2.30×1.30 ?) around one of two graves with coffins interred at the same time at the centre of the '*Schepersbergje*' at Aalden (A. E. van Giffen, 1938; cf. postcircle type 3, Drente, no 20) may also have belonged to a mortuary house of the Early Bronze Age.

Only a few Dutch mortuary houses had more complicated ground plans. The most interesting of these was discovered by Van Giffen in 1935 in tumulus 3 on the Bergsham near Garderen (cf. postcircle type 5, Gelderland, no 4; fig. 67: 5). It had a trapezoidal plan of eight postholes: four at the corners and four intermediate. A bronze rapier (fig. 49) provided a date in the Early Bronze Age. Van Giffen believed that the mortuary house may have stood within the barrow; but the layer of ashes which covered its ground plan suggests that it may have been destroyed by fire before the construction of the mound, like some in barrows in the Lower Elbe region.

Tumulus II at Vredenheim, Province of Drente (A. E. van Giffen, 1940)²⁴ — a barrow of sods surrounded by a narrow shallow ditch (internal diameter: 11.00) of roughly V-shaped section — contained a configuration of postholes (fig. 67: 6) somewhat comparable to the preceding. At the centre a small cremation burial lay at ground level within a NNE-SSW configuration ($2.00/2.30 \times 1.20$) with three postholes on the slightly convex short sides. In this and the last example the posts placed at the centre of the short sides may have carried the high roof-tree of a gable roof. This feature is characteristic of the majority of the NW German mortuary houses already mentioned. Possibly these mortuary houses, both those of the Lower Elbe region and those of the Bergsham and Vredenheim, reflect rectangular dwellings of the Early Bronze Age. Actual examples of houses from this period have not so far been systematically excavated.

We must further mention a remarkable configuration of postholes found by Remouchamps (1922) in a barrow of 'ruddy sand', with a foundation trench (?) on the E side, near Ermeloo, Province of Gelderland (fig. 67: 9).²⁵ At the centre lay a WNW-ESE grave pit enclosed by two parallel heavy charred beams (length: 2.50), 1.50 metres apart. Skeletal remains, perhaps of two individuals, were found in the filling of the grave. The interment was surrounded by a configuration of postholes, four placed in a WNW-ESE rectangle (c. $2.00/2.25 \times c. 2.00/2.10$) and one, a little farther out, at either end on the longitudinal axis (some 3.20 metres apart). Perhaps this also represented a kind of mortuary house.

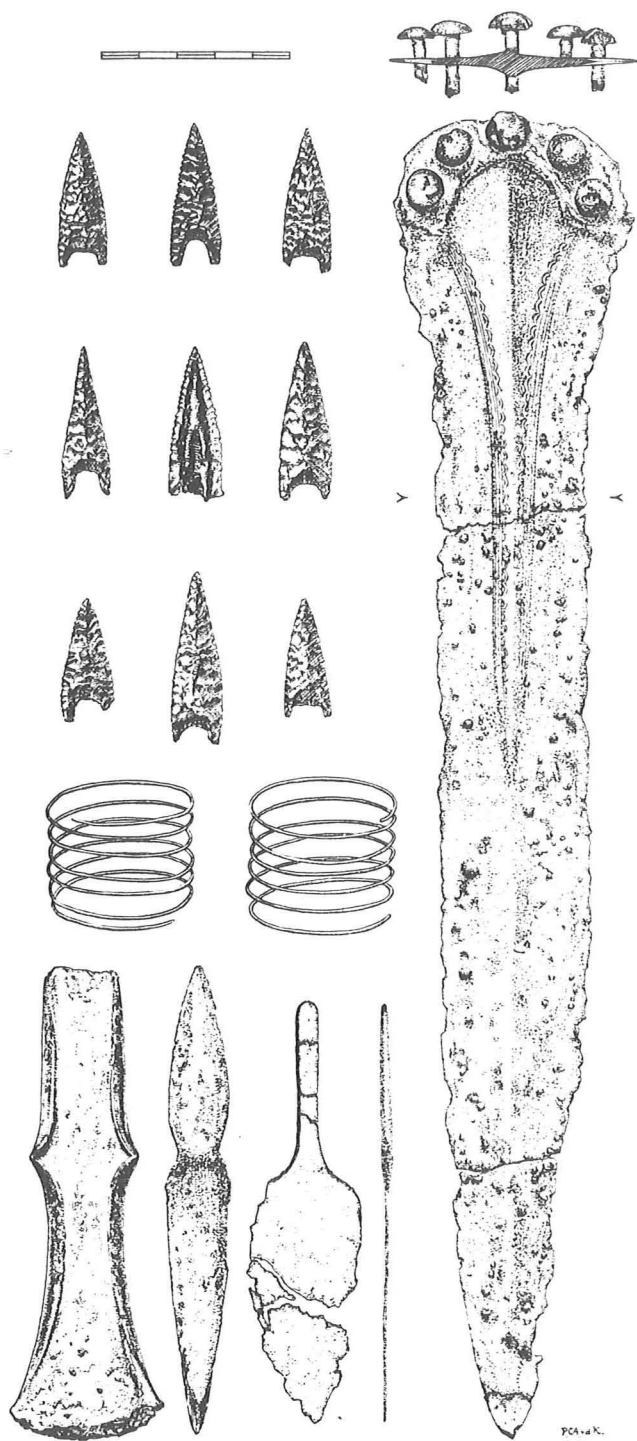


Fig. 68

A number of dubious cases could be added to those already mentioned.²⁶

Among the sets of postholes in the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery (fig. 66) which can be interpreted as mortuary houses only the WSW-ENE configuration (2.80×2.20) of large postholes in tumulus 27 (Part I, fig. 37), with postcircle of type 6, shows some resemblance to the preceding.²⁷

For the other small — certainly temporary — rectangular configurations of small postholes, or rather stakeholes,²⁸ a good parallel is found in the North only in the urnfield at Laudermarke, Province of Groningen (Strip III: 70; fig. 67: 4). Van Giffen, in 1932, found here four stakeholes placed in a SW-NE rectangle (1.40×1.00).²⁹ Inside lay an inhumation grave. There was, however, no covering barrow, and its occurrence in a ringditch urnfield should date this mortuary house to the (Late) Iron Age. In North Brabant good parallels are still almost unknown.³⁰ Across the frontier, in Belgium, De Laet and Mariën (1948) discovered one (c. 3.00×1.20 ; SW-NE) enclosed by a ringditch (internal diameter: c. 5 metres) in the cemetery of Lommel-Kattenbosch.³¹ No remains of either interment or barrow were extant. The excavators interpreted the stakeholes as the remains of a sanctuary.

Finally, we also ascribe the irregular traces of wands found on the lips of a few central graves in the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery to a temporary covering of the burial.³²

It is remarkable how in the Netherlands we often find mortuary houses occurring together with peripheral constructions (postcircles and ringditches). While in the mortuary houses of the North inhumation in oblong grave pits is predominant — in at least four cases there were *multiple* interments — mid-Holland and North Brabant have so far only yielded cremation burials in miniature mortuary houses.

In a few cases in North and central Holland the excavator assumed that the barrows were built over the houses still standing, but we think that as a rule the small buildings stood for only a short period. It seems plausible that the apparently regional differences in the form taken by the mortuary houses in the Netherlands are bound up with differences in ritual and custom.

The larger specimens in the North and centre of the country, probably related to those of the Lower Elbe region, might form the beginning of a burial cult developing gradually into a primitive temple cult. Small square configurations of four postholes also appear at the periphery of barrows. The finest example (c. 1.60×1.00) of these was found by Van Giffen in 1937 in a barrow at Diphorn, Province of Drente (postcircle type 3, Drente, no 19). It lay outside the postcircle, to one side of a probable entrance. As a rule, however, such buildings were not placed on a barrow slope until an evidently much later period (for instance in the Late Iron Age on the two-period barrow of Emst, on the

Veluwe, which was flattened for the purpose³³). The large rectangular timber structures of early Urnfield times (Late Bronze Age — Early Iron Age) consisting of many posts standing enclosed by oblong ringditches might perhaps be related to the mortuary houses.³⁴ Eventually, at a much later period again, small sanctuaries make a renewed and frequent appearance as rectangular configurations of posts in the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of the Migration period in Drente,³⁵ and apparently also in the central Netherlands.³⁶

Though chronologically many gaps still exist, Van Giffen has taken these phenomena to illustrate the dissociation of the grave building from the grave — the development of the temple cult from the cult of the dead. For the later small configurations he pointed in particular to small square Gallo-Roman stone temples as found at Trier. For a good transition form we might then look to the configuration already mentioned, in the Laudermarke urnfield (Strip III: 70; fig. 67: 4): a small rectangular SW-NE mortuary house (1.40 × 1.00) around an inhumation grave not covered by a barrow.

It appears that we can trace a similar development in Greece for the *heroon*, a small detached niche-shaped building in which the heroicized dead was depicted. Brunsting emphasized the striking similarity to the sepulchral monuments of the Sicyonians, which Pausanias (II.vii.2) described as buildings of columns with a roof 'like a temple's', placed on a grave mound kept together by a stone revetment wall.³⁷ The graves are known from coins of Sicyon.³⁸

Our miniature mortuary houses from Brabant thus belong to a very varied complex of locally and temporally diverging phenomena of a period ranging from Neolithic to Migration times. In a recent paper by Paula Ehrich (1949)³⁹ the prehistoric discoveries made so far, especially in Germany, are discussed, while an attempt is made to interpret the spiritual background — using, *inter alia*, ethnographical parallels.

Even to the present day local reminiscences of mortuary houses seem to occur in these parts. A few remarkable burial customs are still observed in some villages, such as having a '*dodenrek*' ('*Totenreck*') stand on the grave for several weeks after burial.⁴⁰ Sometimes this takes the form of a simple wooden railing, sometimes — as in the NE of the Province of Friesland — of a roof of laths. In Nordhorn, just across the German border, in County Bentheim, the writer saw, in a modern churchyard, true mortuary houses of long trapezoidal ground plan (coffin-shaped; height: c. 0.85, length: c. 1.95, width: 0.55 and 0.40 m) with a tent roof. These stayed on the grave for six weeks and were covered during the first eight days by a black pall that was then given to the poor.⁴¹ These 'mortuary houses' already occur in illustrations of the mid-nineteenth century.

'Ritual pits'

A highly remarkable feature are the two pits found on the WSW–ENE axis of the large Dutch disc barrow, tumulus 1, to either side of a primary oval cremation burial at ground level (two or three women and three young children?). Nothing was found in them that could indicate a function either as grave pits or, even less, as sockets for posts. It could be observed, however, that the pits had been open for only a short time, when a small part of the upcast yellow sand had slid back into them to form a thin layer at the bottom. Not the slightest trace could be found of humous silting. When the barrow was being built the pits had been refilled with sods, at the same time as the sealing of the cremation burial.

In our opinion it can be taken as certain that these pits have a connexion with ritual acts.

In England analogous 'ritual pits' have been discovered, and ours can be compared to those that Mrs C. M. Piggott found in a few cases beside the central primary burial in Middle Bronze Age tumuli. Instances are Latch Farm, Christchurch, Hampshire, and especially Beaulieu in the New Forest,⁴² where it could also be observed how the roundish pits must have been filled in with turves very soon after they had been dug. When sectioned it could be seen very clearly how the turves had subsided after filling in. Objects that might have contributed to the interpretation were again lacking.

In recent years 'ritual pits' have made other appearances in British publications. The fairly regularly spaced rings of holes in Neolithic monuments of Henge character at Dorchester, Oxon.,⁴³ are interpreted as such by one of the excavators, although a few years earlier an interpretation as single widely spaced timber circles still held the field.

According to a recent excavation (1950) the 56 Aubrey Holes of Stonehenge would also have to be explained as ritual pits.⁴⁴

It looks much as if in our Dutch disc barrow, tumulus 1, both the barrow type, the ritual pits and the secondary interment in a 'Drakenstein' urn point in the direction of England. On the basis of Waterbolk's palynological examination the monument should be placed among the earliest of the cemetery. Again on palynological grounds it may chronologically be correlated, according to Waterbolk, with the Dutch disc barrow the '*Zwartenberg*' at Hoogeloon. Now the latter can be dated to the Middle Bronze Age by the bronze palstave chisel (fig. 72) which Panken dug up on 15 September 1846, almost certainly from the central primary grave. An early Middle Bronze Age dating for the ritual pits in tumulus 1 would thus seem obvious and might be confirmed by the secondary cremation burial in a trunk coffin.

The round pit near the centre of tumulus 21 (Part I, fig. 30, square E-4) might possibly represent another ritual pit. Lack of proper sections makes it impossible to say much about a few other cases of pits near central graves which occur in the literature on Dutch barrows. Meanwhile it has become clear from later excavations that ritual pits are of a more frequent occurrence in the Netherlands than would appear from the existing literature. In 1952 a new example was discovered in the province of Drente. Its date was Late Iron Age.⁴⁵

The purpose of these 'ritual pits' remains a matter for speculation. Some parallels can be adduced; here we will confine ourselves to the well-known passage in Book λ of the *Odyssey* (ll. 23 ff.) where Odysseus lets the ghosts of the underworld drink blood in order to restore their rational consciousness.⁴⁶ Arrived in the land on the confines of the wide Oceanus, under the fog-bound West where the Cimmerians live in perpetual mist, he dug with his sword a βόθρος an ell wide and an ell long. Next he made a triple libation: mead for the dead, sweet wine and water; he scattered some white barley and addressed the dead as a suppliant. Then he cut the throats of the black sheep he had brought, over the trench, ῥέε δ' αἶμα κελαινεφέσ and the ghosts of the dead came thronging from the depths of Erebus. . . .

Funeral repasts or ritual fires (?)

The spreads of charcoal on the old surface or in the body of the mound, found in tumuli 1^B (?), 3, 5, 8, 11 and 16 at Toterfout-Halve Mijl, must also be connected with an act of some kind. Whether these were the remains of funeral repasts or of ritual (purificatory) fires, or of yet something else, could not be determined with certainty. Van Giffen repeatedly observed charcoal horizons in barrows and interpreted them as interruptions in the building of the mound, probably corresponding with funeral repasts.⁴⁷ A small charcoal-filled pit near the entrance blocking of the primary single widely spaced postcircle of tumulus 8 might be connected with a ritual fire.

Temporary stakecircle

The intermediate oval stakecircle surrounding the primary mortuary house in tumulus 8 is a very remarkable feature. As the sod structure of the mound continued undisturbed over the stakeholes — exactly as with the stakeholes of the mortuary houses in tumuli 5, 8, 11 and 14 — it is certain that the stakecircle can only have had a temporary function, related not to the barrow directly but to the funeral feast. A temporary intermediate stakecircle of this type is as yet unique of its kind in Dutch Bronze Age barrows. The area it enclosed

may be considered as a temporary sacred precinct of the grave site during the funeral feast.⁴⁸

Perhaps this circle represents a descendant of such intermediate features as the small stakecircle in a foundation trench (postcircle type 1)⁴⁹ found repeatedly in Neolithic tumuli. This type, which accompanies Beaker graves, is never attended in the mound by traces of settling or subsidence such as were found with the 'beehive graves'. The stakecircles cannot therefore represent small burial chambers, and in any case their diameter would not fit that explanation. Perhaps they are best explained as temporary structures in the same sense as the stakecircle in our tumulus 8 which, however, lacks the characteristic Neolithic foundation trench.

Temporary stakecircles occur in British Bronze Age barrows. Sir Cyril Fox described a number of them from South Wales,⁵⁰ and a very fine example of an intermediate stake-setting was found by H. J. Case in a barrow at Poole, Dorset.⁵¹ In the latter case we are struck by many points of agreement with the construction and the successive stages of the burial practice of our tumulus 8. For the future study of the relations between Britain and the Continent the correspondences in the burial ritual will be at least as important, perhaps, as pottery and bronzes.

The periphery of the barrow

With the temporary intermediate stakecircle in tumulus 8 we come to the peripheral structures of the barrows. We propose to deal mainly with the timber circles, only occasionally mentioning the ringditches.

Rings of posts

The timber structures in our barrow cemetery must have consisted of uprights placed at the foot of the barrow, in accordance with general Bronze Age practice. The originally magical import of the postcircle may be taken as certain, though opinions differ as to its function in barrow construction — and especially as to the time of its erection.

It was generally agreed that the postcircle was set up at the foot of a barrow after its completion. J. Röder has, however, suggested that postcircles such as our widely spaced types 3 and 4 were erected 'fast immer vor der Aufwölbung des Hügels', and that to some extent this would also obtain for palisades such as our closely spaced types 1-2 and 5-9.⁵² They would have been erected on the occasion of the interment and funeral feasts, and would have been left standing as a reminder of them, even if afterwards covered in part by the mound.⁵³ On Röder's view the circle would essentially be not an integral part of the monument as such, but a feature primarily related to the funeral feast.

We might be inclined to accept this for the Neolithic types 1 and 2, and possibly even for the few early examples of type 3,⁵⁴ but not for the majority of Dutch Bronze Age postcircles. For in the latter the posts normally stand at and not inside the foot of the barrow. Moreover, the irregular plans of some of the postcircles seem to argue that when they were set up the true centre of the barrow could no longer be certainly identified, *i.e.* the mound must have been in position. In a monument such as our Dutch disc barrow, tumulus 1, the absence of the podsolized old surface under the bank showed that the peripheral construction — here, it is true, an enclosing bank and ditch — must have been made *after* the tumulus had been built. Finally we think that the undoubted succession, in tumulus 8, of the intermediate temporary stakecircle by the more permanent peripheral postcircle (type 3) argues that the latter was not erected until after the completion of the barrow.

Entrances and entrance blockings in timber circles

If then the erection of this magical circle round the burial site may have become detached, more or less, in the Early Bronze Age, from the actual funeral feast, it is none the less certain that a ritual act of prime importance is reflected by the frequent anomalies in the normal course of the circles. Undoubtedly they represent the blocking of an 'entrance' in the ring of posts that had at first purposely been left open. Naturally these entrance blockings stand out clearest in the compound rings of closely sited posts, especially types 6 and 7. It was in 1928 that Van Giffen first observed a clear entrance blocking, on the NNW side of the double closely spaced circle of posts in the '*Biesterfeldheuvel*' near De Knolle (type 6, Friesland, no 1). The eventually blocked gap in the circle corresponded with a gap, over the same distance (4.50 metres), in the internal stakecircle. Among the widely spaced postcircles both examples of type 4 had a clear entrance, while for type 3 the entrance can be identified only occasionally, by means of too small or too large intervals or an interval blocked by an intermediate post. This latter feature can also be adduced as an indication for lintelling of the upright timbers. From his discussion of tumulus IV of the '*Vijfberg*' on the Rechte Heide near Goirle (type 3, North Brabant, no 3) Van Giffen concluded, in 1937, that it would be necessary to give more attention to such anomalies in future excavations than had been done up to that time.⁵⁵

Good examples of entrances, and particularly of blocked entrances, have repeatedly been observed. The approximately 35-metre lane of posts, blocked by a post at the SSE end, linking up with the outer postcircle of tumulus 75 on the Noordsche Veld near Zeijen (type 3, Drente, no 34; fig. 69), forms the most impressive example of such an entrance. A striking feature here is that the

lane is approximately on the axis of the mortuary house and the graves inside it. A remarkable reminiscence of a blocked entrance is formed, we think, by the two postholes, 3.20 metres apart, on the S side, just outside the postcircle of tumulus 3 on the Bergsham near Garderen (type 5, Gelderland, no 4).

In the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery it was possible, in a number of cases, to identify an entrance blocking (*e.g.* in tumuli 3, 5^{II}, 8^I, 8^{II}, 8^A, 11^I, 14, 15, 16^I, 19^I and 19^{II}); there were also some instances of a more dubious nature.

The orientation of the entrances in Dutch barrows shows great divergence, and there does not seem to be any reason to assume that they were astronomically determined.⁵⁶ It is remarkable, however, that in our cemetery, laid out on a long E–W line, there are some striking convergences in the entrance directions. The barrows where these convergences occurred all belong to the middle period of the relative chronology deduced by Waterbolk from palynological criteria (phases 5–10; figs 74–5). Among the Westerly barrows a number of entrances (14, 15, 16^I, 19^I and 19^{II}) pointed NE, and among the barrows on the ‘*Groote Aard*’ two (5^{II} and 8^{II}) pointed SW. They converge on a site South of Halfmijls Ven that might have been a very suitable place for a settlement and is wholly devoid of barrows. Sir Cyril Fox has made it appear very probable that in England such entrances indicate the direction from which the dead person had been carried to his rest, *i.e.* the direction of the settlement.⁵⁷ Perhaps we are thus afforded a means of tracing the local habitations of the barrow-builders. As we also find some other directions than those already mentioned — for instance in tumulus 3, in the Eastern group — we should look for several settlements, probably from different periods and belonging to different clans. The entrance blocking in the primary postcircle of tumulus 11 seems to point in the direction of the settlement remains on the ‘*Groote Aard*’. In this connexion we must also mention the almost identical orientation (E to SE) of the gaps in the ringditches of the urnfield (fig. 76: 13; Part I, fig. 40).

It will thus be necessary to attempt a further search for possible settlements on the basis of these facts.

The meaning to be attached to deeper (tumulus 8^I) or strikingly square postholes (type 5, North Brabant, no 2), found on the axis of some postcircles, is still obscure.⁵⁸ They might have a connexion with the lay-out of the postcircle⁵⁹ — perhaps also with a certain orientation. In the cases mentioned the orientation is WSW–ENE and SW–NE respectively, and almost parallel to the axis of the primary graves.

Very probably the blocking of the entrance in a postcircle formed a last ritual act, finally severing the dead from the world of the living. Probably its direction has some bearing on that of the dead man’s former habitation.

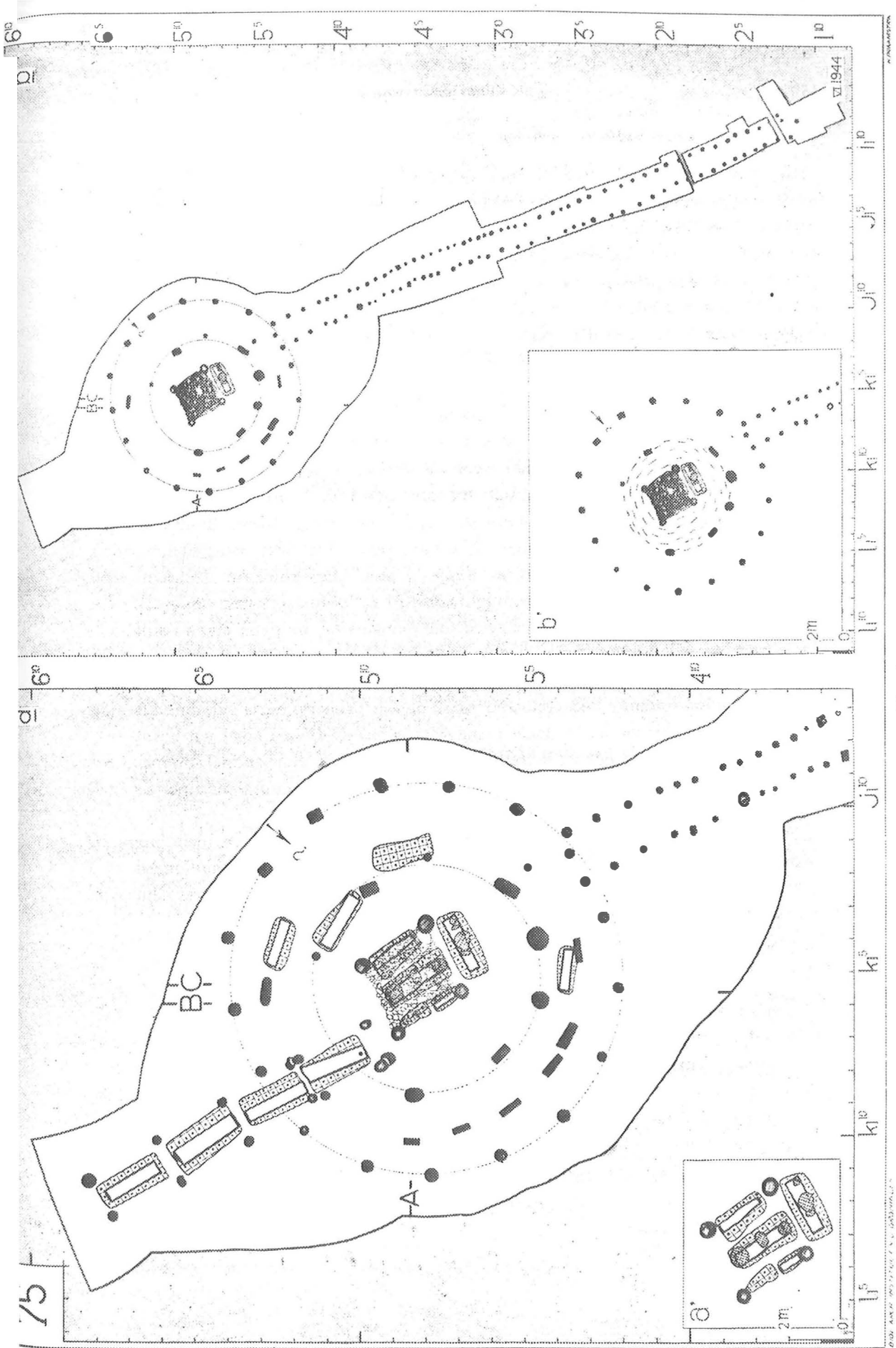


Fig. 69

Cremations in postholes; offerings (?)

In six postholes of the circle of tumulus 8^A, and in one of that of tumulus 11, small quantities of cremated human bone were found.⁶⁰ In tumulus 8^A the deposits may have been later than the posts; they may have come from the primary burial (*Infans I*), although Dr Krumbein reported on the cremated bones from one of the postholes as follows: 'unbestimmbar, vielleicht Erwachsen'. The few cremated bones — of an adult — from a posthole of tumulus 11 must certainly have been deposited, however, in an expressly made excavation in the wall of the hole, before the post was in position. In this barrow no cremation was found at the centre.

As has already been said, the very minute quantities of cremated bone in the postholes of tumulus 8^A may well have been gathered from the pyre after the sealing of the primary burial. This explanation we would also put forward for the cremation from the primary grave within a temporary mortuary house and for the slanting layer of cremated bone and charcoal found among the piled-up sods of tumulus 5. This layer must have been deposited while the mound was under construction. Both cremations were determined as '*Infans I*' by Dr Krumbein. It seems plausible that cremated bones which might sometimes, for instance after a shower, have been found left behind on the burnt-out remains of the pyre, should still have been accorded some manner of burial.

The small pot (Part I, fig. 42b: 52; Pl. XII: 1)⁶¹ containing only a little sand which was found among the cremated bone of the primary burial in tumulus 10 in all likelihood contained some manner of offering. It had not been burnt on the pyre. The small pot with cremated remains of very thin (animal?) bones found among the sods of the primary slope of tumulus 16 should certainly be explained as an offering.

For the rest the almost complete absence of surviving grave furniture, including pottery, in the interments in (particularly Middle) Bronze Age tumuli need not be explained solely by the cultural poverty of the population. Prevalent eschatological conceptions might well have been a factor.

* * *

It is often difficult to suppress a smile when, turning the leaves of publications yellowed by time, we are suddenly asked to contemplate an engraving where insufficiently clad giants bend their shoulders under impressive blocks of stone. None the less it remains a remarkable fact that men like Picardt could already make the bold attempt to evoke visual images of prehistoric man and his actions — here the building of the passage graves. As a rule such pictures can show us at a glance how our ancestors of a certain period imagined the past — to some

extent they can form the basis for an evaluation of the level of archaeological knowledge. To-day the pictorial representation of, for instance, acts observed in excavations is quite exceptional, and as a rule is found only in popularizations. As our knowledge grows we become increasingly aware of the difficulties inherent in any attempt to construct a scientifically justified picture.

Though well aware of the dangers, we are yet of the opinion that occasionally some purpose can be served by a pictorial summary of *the series of successive acts* read from the soil during excavation.⁶²

A case in point is tumulus 8 of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery. This barrow brought to our knowledge the most elaborate series of burial acts, both ritual and customary, ever observed in a Dutch Bronze Age barrow. Even though the figures in figs 70 and 71 — sketched by my sister Lydi Glasbergen — are products of the imagination, the series of successive acts rests, we think, on a sound factual basis.⁶³ The sequence runs as follows:

(1) The cremation of the dead, in this case an infant (*infans II*), on the pyre, in the presence of the clansmen.

(2) The interment of the cremated bones and charred lumps of wood (¹⁴C-date: 3055 ± 90 years) in a shallow pit under a roof carried by four stakes (small mortuary house).

(3) The enclosure of the mortuary house by an oval circle of slender close-set stakes carrying a fence of hurdles.

(4) The holding of a funeral feast *outside* the sacred precinct (unless the charcoal spread found represents the remains of a ritual fire).

(*After a pause lasting a number of days:*)

(5) The removal of mortuary house and stakecircle.

(6) The construction, on the podsolized site, of a barrow piled up from irregular long inverted sods⁶⁴ stripped (with oak spades?) from various localities in the neighbourhood. The slope was later smoothed over with sand.

(7) The erection, in holes dug at the barrow's edge, of a single widely spaced ring of (oak) posts, possibly lintelled (mortise-and-tenon construction). Two posts on the WSW-ENE axis that may have served for laying out the postcircle were dug in more deeply.

(8) The blocking, by means of two pairs of vertical posts, of an entrance (to the width of two successive intervals of the circle) that had until then been left open on the S side. A ritual fire was burnt. End of the first construction phase of the barrow.

(A *long pause* of at least the time needed for the decay of the peripheral post-circle, say 10 to 20 years. The barrow was covered by vegetation, and through the action of the prevailing SW winds it increased slightly on the lee, *i.e.* NE side. There was a corresponding NE shift of the apparent centre.)

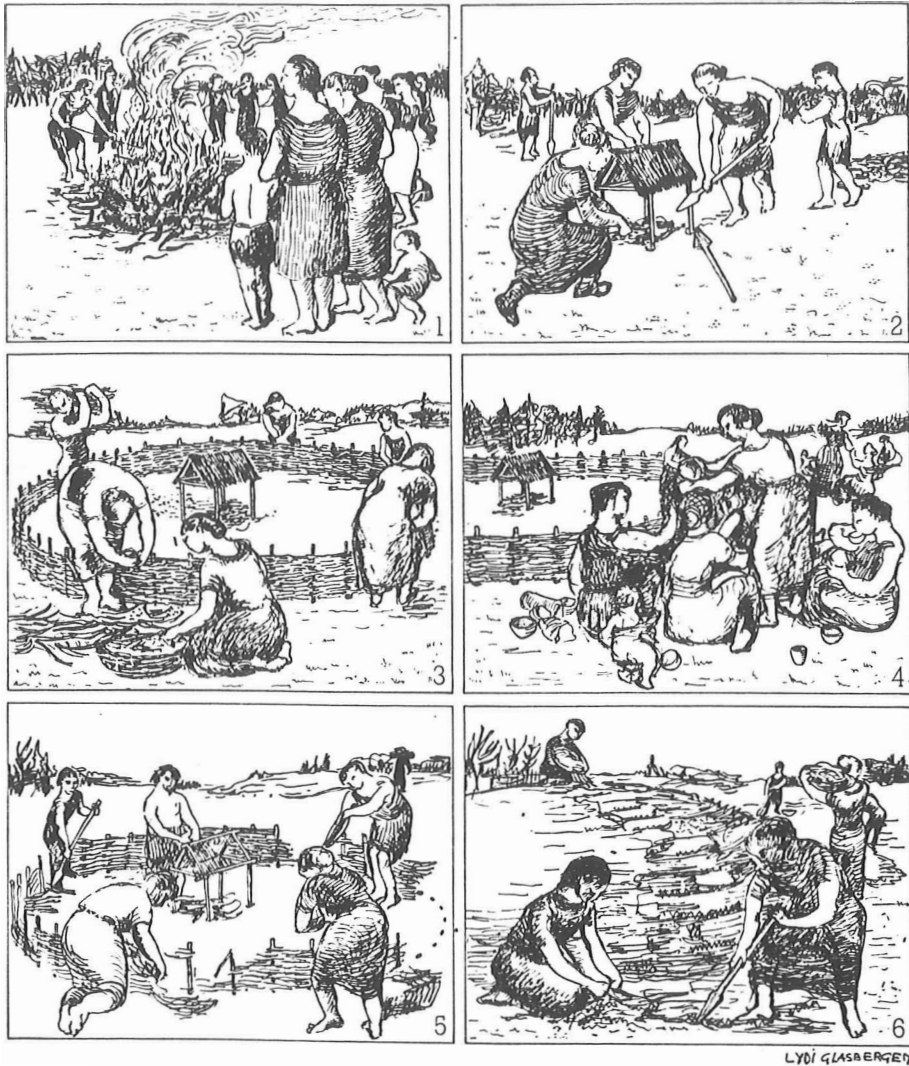


Fig. 70

(9) After a new interment on its crest — not found, having been destroyed by recent disturbances — the primary barrow was enlarged by means of a sand capping (construction phase 2).

(10) The foot of the secondary (capping) barrow was surrounded by a slightly oval double closely spaced postcircle left open over a distance of some 3.50 metres on the WSW side. The centre of this circle lay slightly to the NE of that of the primary circle.

(11) The ritual blocking of the entrance in the circle by means of a single closely spaced row of posts, and the construction of an enclosing circle of close-set slender stakes linked by hurdling.



Fig. 71

The twelfth drawing outlines the probable aspect (internal and external) of tumulus 8 before the great disturbances leading to the destruction of a large part of the mound, including the secondary central grave, and the flattening by Allied tanks in 1944.

This concludes our disquisition on the burial ritual, a ritual which in many respects — ‘ritual pits’, cremations in postholes, temporary stakecircle, entrances in timber circles, primary burial in a cordoned cinerary urn — has affinities in Britain.⁶⁵

¹ *Die Fauna der Wurten, Onderzoekingen verricht in het Zoölogisch Laboratorium der Rijksuniversiteit Groningen*, III, 1913, p. 1.

² J. Röder, *Pfahl und Menhir*, 1949, p. 38.

³ See especially Röder, *ibid.*, 1949, *passim*.

⁴ *Chadwick Papers*, 1950, pp. 51-73.

⁵ *Ann. ARAB* LIV, 5e Série, Tome IV, 1902, p. 374. The Belgian antiquaries C. Dens and L. Stroobant already pondered over the burial ritual. They had found such small associated vessels as we know from our tumuli 10 and 16 (Part I, fig. 42b) and interpreted them as 'ayant servi aux rites'. Stroobant found one in tumulus D at Weelde (cf. also Part I, p. 101, note 3) and related it to ritual acts such as pouring a symbolical fluid over the dead — already surmised by Dens, *Ann. SAB* XI, 1897, p. 243, for the inverted small vessels in large urns —, food for the hereafter, offerings to the Gods, etc. Stroobant, *l. c.* pp. 374-5.

⁶ A very fine example of the transition from inhumation to cremation, from the Early Bronze Age, was found by Van Giffen (1927) in a central secondary grave pit in the 'Ketenberg' at Eext, Province of Drente. The dead had been buried in contracted position in a trunk coffin, the dolichocephalic head to the NE. A fire had been lit on the burial causing partial calcination of the skeleton. Cf. Van Giffen, *Bauart*, 1930, p. 46; *Gedenkboek van Giffen*, 1947, pp. 521-2. For partial cremation cf. also Remouchamps, *OM Leiden*, NR IV, 1923, pp. 16 *sqq.* and again NR VII, 1926, pp. cii-civ (Goirle, Province of North Brabant).

⁷ See also pp. 9, 20-1.

⁸ As for instance in tumuli 5, 8, 10, 14, 17, 18 and 19 of our barrow cemetery.

⁹ See pp. 21-2.

¹⁰ Cemetery Toterfout-Halve Mijl: tumuli 2 and 4 (Neolithic or Aeneolithic, earliest barrows of the group), tumuli 1, 1^B (in an urn!) and 5, 8, etc. (early Middle Bronze Age).

¹¹ E.g. tumuli 6 and 7. Or could these be cenotaphs?

¹² ¹⁴C-date: 3450 ± 100 years. For the dating cf. also p. 166 *sqq.*

¹³ A series of instances could be adduced here. Cf. especially the 'Hankenberg' at Erica (postcircle type 8, Drente, no 1) where both phases had for their central interment a cremated burial (in either case, according to H. W. Assies, an adolescent), while a further six tangential inhumation graves occurred as secondary interments. To the inside of the blocked entrance of the pc. of the first phase was a grave pit with cremated bones of an adult. — Gasteren, tumulus 37 (postcircle type 3, Drente, no 28), with in the central grave the cremated bones of a ten to twelve year old child, and again 4 tangential inhumation graves. — Cf. also Emmen, tumulus VI (postcircle type 3, Drente, no 6); Wessinghuizen, tumulus III (postcircle type 8, Groningen, no 1), and *PSSAIN* IV, 1, Juni 1953, pp. 8-9 (tumulus near Vesseem). — Another possible explanation than that given below might be that at this time inhumation and cremation were practised by different clans. This occurred in classical Rome, where some *gentes*, such as the Scipiones, confined themselves to inhumation.

¹⁴ See Part I, pp. 126-8.

¹⁵ Multiple contemporary inhumation burials — sometimes several adults, sometimes adults with children — occur fairly frequently. Cf. *supra*, postcircle type 3, Drente, no 20 (Aalden, tumulus II), nos 34-5 (Zeijen, tumulus 75; figs 67 : 10; 69), no 40 ('Schattenberg', Westerbork; fig. 67 : 11), and H. Tj. Waterbolk & W. Glasbergen, *NDV* 1951, pp. 114-24 ('Eupen Barchien' at Havelte, Province of Drente).

The cremations from the Oudemolen tumuli group (postcircle type 3, Drente, nos 43-5 and type 6, Drente, no 7), analysed by Dr Krumbein, give the same picture as those from the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery. — Cf. further the mortuary houses from the Lower Elbe region cited in note 19.

¹⁶ C. Dens, *Ann. SAB* XI, 1897, p. 240. These might, however, be urnless cremated

burials of the Urnfield period. Cf. also P. Ehrich, *Hammaburg* III, 1949, pp. 205 (Marmstorf) and 215.

¹⁷ Beowulf, ll. 3157-78.

¹⁸ A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XXIV, 3, 1939, particularly pp. 88-97 (sections 87-92). This travel story forms the end of the Ibn al-Faqīh MS discovered by Zeki Validi Togan at Meshed, Khorassan, in 1923.

¹⁹ See Paula Ehrich, *Die vorgeschichtlichen Totenhäuser und der Hausgedanke im Bestattungsbrauch, Hammaburg* III, 1949, pp. 200-16. This draws on the published evidence of the known mortuary houses from the Lower Elbe region, such as Baven, Kreis Celle (1932; H. Piesker, *Die Kunde* 1, 1933, Nr. 3/4, pp. 1-4; *PZ* XXV, 1934, pp. 156-8; Early Bronze Age, late Montelius I); Grünhof-Tesperhude, Kreis Herzogtum Lauenburg (1932; K. Kersten, *Offa* I, 1936, pp. 56-87; for an adult woman with a child of at most 2½ years — probably mother and child — each in a trunk coffin; Bronze Age, late Montelius II, or Montelius III); Sottorf, Kreis Harburg (1934; W. Wegewitz, *Deutsche Vorz.* 12, 1936, pp. 33-9; *Die Gräber der Stein- und Bronzezeit im Gebiet der Niederelbe*, 1949, pp. 85 *sqq.*; with 2 burials: cremation of a 3 to 5 year old child, a girl, to judge from the finds (Montelius II), and the cremated bones of an adult, the latter, however, perhaps from the time before the construction of the barrow); Marmstorf, Kreis Harburg (1937; W. Wegewitz, *Die Gräber* etc., 1949, pp. 100 *sqq.*; from the grave furniture probably a woman's grave, Montelius II; between the barrow containing this mortuary house and some other barrows were found a number of flat graves); Schutschur, Kreis Dannenberg (1938; Körner, *Niedersachsen* 43, Sept. 1938, p. 359), etc. Cf. also W. Wegewitz, *Totenhäuser und andere Grabformen der älteren Bronzezeit im Niederelbegebiet, Die Kunde* 9, 1941, pp. 75-82; G. Schwantes, *Die Vorgeschichte Schleswig-Holsteins (Stein- und Bronzezeit)*, 1939, pp. 382-4.

²⁰ *Bauart*, 1930, pp. 84-93.

²¹ *NDV* 1945, p. 89.

²² *NDV* 1941, pp. 115-9, especially pp. 116-7.

²³ *NDV* 1941, pp. 115-9, especially pp. 115-6.

²⁴ *NDV* 1942, pp. 103-8, particularly pp. 105-6. Cf. also tumulus III, with two phh. at the S end of the central grave; *ibid.*, p. 107.

²⁵ *OM Leiden*, NR IV, 1923, pp. 4-5.

²⁶ *Dubiosa*: Province of Drente: Emmen, tumulus III, 1931 (four very large irregularly sited postholes (?) at large intervals in the edge of a probably Aeneolithic barrow (Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XVII, 1936, pp. 57-8); Gasteren, tumulus 37, 1939 (Van Giffen, *NDV* 1945, p. 74; cf. *supra*, postcircle type 3, Drente no 28); Havelte, tumulus 2, 1943 (Van Giffen, *NDV* 1951, pp. 125-7; postholes here perhaps steles? An eccentric rectangular configuration beneath tumulus 1, *ibid.*, pp. 124-5, must date from before the construction of the sod barrow). Cf. also the destroyed passage grave D VIe at Tinaarloot, 1928, where a rectangular configuration of 6 phh. (3.00 × 2.50) occurred outside the supporting stones; it shows traces of walls, possibly of a wooden structure earlier than the passage grave (Van Giffen, *NDV* 1944, p. 96). Province of Overijssel: Ootmarsum, tumulus 1, 1930 (Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XIV, 1933, pp. 60-1, 3 stakeholes by an eccentric grave). Province of Utrecht: Soesterberg, tumulus 3, 1932 (Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XV, 1934, p. 56; 4 stakeholes at the corners of a sub-rectangular grave pit (c. 2.20 × c. 1.00) containing a herringbone Beaker and a similarly ornamented smaller vessel. According to Bursch the stakes originally stood at an angle to the ground and might have supported a sort of tent-shaped structure. Perhaps we have here an early example of a mortuary house. Cf. also p. 96.

²⁷ Already reproduced by De Laet & Mariën, *Ant. Class.* XIX, 1950, fig. 2bis, and Mariën, *Oud-België*, 1952, fig. 190.

²⁸ In tumuli 1^B (1.52 × 1.06), with primary cordoned urn; 5 (1.50 × 0.88; E-W); 8 (1.60 × 0.80; WSW-ENE, within an oval temporary stakecircle, dm.: 5.20-5.80); 11 (1.60 × 0.82/0.90; SW-NE); 14 (1.80 × 1.40; WSW-ENE); 15 (1.56/1.64 × 0.90; WNW-ESE); 19 (1.04 × 0.92; N-S); 21 (1.00 × 0.76; NW-SE); also 10 (? 4 stakeholes in a SSW-NNE trapezoid, base: 1.30, h.: 0.90, within ditches).

²⁹ *VMG* 1935, pp. 61, 69-72. Cf. also *supra*, postcircle type 9, Groningen, nos 1-12.

³⁰ According to a communication from Mr G. Beex a second supplementary excavation in 1950 in the Knegsel urnfield (cf. postcircle types 5, 6 and 7, North Brabant, nos 1, 14-6 and 1-2 respectively) revealed traces of a rectangular mortuary house (three out of a probable four stakeholes) at the centre of a ringditch tumulus. Attention should also be given to the traces of stakes in the central grave of the postcircle barrow of Hooge Mierde (cf. postcircle type 4, North Brabant, no 1) and of the Dutch disc barrow, tumulus I, on the Rechte Heide at Goirle (see Van Giffen, *Brab. Oergesch.*, 1937, p. 11).

³¹ De Laet & Mariën, *Ant. Class.* XIX, 1950, pp. 314-6, fig. 2, Pl. I: 1. By comparison with tumulus 27 at Toterfout-Halve Mijl the excavators assumed that the lay-out dates from the Late Bronze Age. The Lommel-Kattenbosch cemetery lies c. 2.4 kilometres S of our barrow group. See also Mariën, *Oud-België*, 1952, fig. 298.

³² Tumulus 8^A (nine stakeholes in an irregular configuration, four of them in pairs); 16 (five irregularly sited stakeholes); 22 (a few dubious traces of stakeholes).

³³ *Bauart*, 1930, Abb. 65, pp. 74-6 (two square configurations — c. 1.60 × 1.60 and c. 2.40 × 2.40 — both repaired at least once, on the SW barrow slope). Cf. also Van Giffen, *NDV* 1951, pp. 125-7 (Havelte, Province of Drente, tumulus 2).

³⁴ See pp. 9-10, note 81.

³⁵ Van Giffen, *NDV* 1927, pp. 83-122, 1932, pp. 51-63 (Looveen near Wijster, Municipality of Beilen); *NDV* 1940, pp. 199-200 (Zeijen); *VMG* 1935, pp. 69-72, 80-3, *NDV* 1935, p. 116; cf. also *Drente*, 2nd ed., 1944, pp. 533-4; further in the cemeteries of Aalden and Zweeloo (in the last-named cemetery also around oblong inhumation graves). Cf. also for apparently identical phenomena *OM Leiden*, NR XIX, 1938, pp. 5-9 (Lievelede, Municipality of Lichtenvoorde, Province of Gelderland) and *Bodenaltertümer Westfalens* VII, 1950, pp. 31-3 (cemetery at Lembeck, Kreis Recklinghausen, in Westphalia).

³⁶ Rhenen, Province of Utrecht. *PSSAIN* 1951, 1.

³⁷ *Gedenkboek Van Giffen*, 1947, pp. 246-9.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1947, p. 249.

³⁹ See p. 143, note 19.

⁴⁰ Cf. Hermina C. A. Grolman, *Volksgebruiken bij sterven en begraven in Nederland*, *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 2^e serie, XL, 1923, pp. 359-96; Diedrich Steilen, *Volkstümliche Grabgestaltung im nördlichen Niedersachsen*, *Die Kunde* 8, 1940, pp. 197-216 (e.g. 'Totenreck').

⁴¹ Communication from Fräulein T. Krumbein at Nordhorn.

⁴² Cf. C. M. Piggott, *PPS* IV, 1938, p. 173; *Excavation of fifteen barrows in the New Forest 1941-2*, *PPS* IX, 1943, pp. 1-27; *Three turf barrows at Hurn, near Christchurch*, *Proc. Hants. F. C.* XV, 1941-3, pp. 248-62. See also Röder, *Pfahl und Menhir*, 1949, p. 25.

⁴³ R. J. C. Atkinson, C. M. Piggott & N. K. Sandars, *Excavations at Dorchester, Oxon.*, First Report, 1951, especially pp. 15-6. The non-committal term 'holes' is there used to describe the puzzling pits found on some of the Dorchester sites.

⁴⁴ Cf. R. J. C. Atkinson, S. Piggott & J. F. S. Stone, *The excavation of two additional holes at Stonehenge, 1950, and new evidence for the date of the monument*. *Ant. Journ.* XXXII, 1952, nos 1, 2, pp. 14-20.

⁴⁵ During the excavation of tumulus I of the cemetery on the Emelange near Wijster, Province of Drente (cf. postcircle type 9, Drente, no 4), in 1952, another very fine example was discovered. The deep pit was situated at the edge of a barrow core

of fine sods (pause in the construction of the barrow), and contained much charcoal (^{14}C -date: 1985 ± 150 years). At the bottom stood a small cup placed upside down. Two shallow holes N of the pit contained cremated bones, viz. of a child and an adult. The barrow had afterwards been completed with another layer of sods. There was no peripheral construction. Van Giffen dates the monument, which was situated on a ridge-type field, to the Iron Age. *NDV* 1954, pp. 163-7.

⁴⁶ Cf. also J. Röder, *Pfahl und Menhir*, 1949, p. 46. — See especially his discussion of the 'Bildseele' and 'Lebenskraft' concepts (pp. 43-6).

⁴⁷ *E.g.* Bauart, 1930, pp. 10-23 (tumulus II on the Noordsche Veld near Zeijen, with stone cist: degenerated passage grave); *NDV* 1945, pp. 73-8 (tumulus 37 at Gasteren; cf. postcircle type 3, Drente, no 28).

⁴⁸ Cf. Röder, *ibid.*, 1949, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁹ See above, p. 6.

⁵⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 84.

⁵¹ Mr Case kindly showed us his record during a visit to Oxford in 1952. Cf. also R. J. C. Atkinson, C. M. Piggott & N. K. Sandars, *Excavations at Dorchester, Oxon.*, I, 1951, p. 91; H. J. Case, *The excavation of two round barrows at Poole, Dorset*. *PPS* XVIII, 1952, pp. 148-59.

⁵² Röder (*ibid.*, 1949, pp. 6-7) adduced ethnographical parallels in support of his attribution of memorial significance to the individual posts of a circle. To us it seems questionable, however, whether anything is gained by a distinction as advocated by him between 'Pfostenkränze' (types 3-4) and 'Palisaden' (types 1-2, 5-9). There will hardly have been a difference in function, and the less so if it is assumed that in types 3-4 the wooden uprights were connected by lintels. The two types appear, in fact, to occur together. For the succession of a temporary circle of close-set stakes by a peripheral single ring of widely spaced posts cf. tumulus 8 at Toterfout-Halve Mijl (period 1).

⁵³ Röder, *ibid.*, 1949, pp. 7-8.

⁵⁴ Cf. *supra*, pp. 7, 25. It is true, however, that the shallow penetration of the postholes into the subsoil makes one suspect that the posts were set in the slope after the completion of the mound. See for an instance type 3, Drente, no 48 (Ruinen).

⁵⁵ *Brab. Oergesch.*, 1937, p. 30.

⁵⁶ Röder also doubts this for other monuments. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 36.

⁵⁷ On account of the so-called *false crest siting*. English barrows are said to lie fairly frequently not on the actual hill-crest but on the skyline as this appears from the valley. This might have an obvious bearing on a settlement in such a valley. The location of the settlement may then be obtained from the direction of an entrance in the peripheral structure. Cf. C. Fox, *Arch. Journ.* XCIX, 1943, p. 22.

⁵⁸ Cf. also Röder, *ibid.*, 1949, p. 24.

⁵⁹ Suggested by Mr H. J. Case, who noticed similar settings when excavating the barrow at Poole, Dorset.

⁶⁰ Willems (1934) was the first in this country to discover cremated bones in a posthole, viz. in tumulus *a* on the Hongerensche Heide near Hooge Mierde, Province of North Brabant. Cf. *Urnenvelden*, 1935, p. 134. Recently (1952) this phenomenon was observed in a two-period barrow between Halve Mijl and Vessem (Part I, fig. 2) with pcc. of types 6 and 5 (or 9). Cf. Beex, *BH* IV, 1952, pp. 57-9; Modderman, *PSSAIN* IV, 1, Juni 1953, pp. 8-9. In the small pc. of type 5 near the 'Zwartenberg' at Hoogeloon (postcircle type 5, North Brabant, nos 5-6) another instance is said to have occurred.

⁶¹ Cf. also Part I, p. 101, note 3, and Part II, p. 151, note 45.

⁶² Cf. *e.g.* Van Giffen, *NDV* 1945, p. 77.

⁶³ It might for instance be thought improbable that women should have taken part in the burial rite Taking the probable small size of the clans into account, however,

female labour would have been more or less indispensable in the building of the mound. We think that the building of the barrow preceded the setting up of the peripheral timber circle. Röder, however, assumes that the postcircles were erected 'fast immer vor der Aufwölbung des Hügels'. Cf. *Pfahl und Menhir*, 1949, p. 7.

⁶⁴ For vegetation and climate, see Part I, pp. 105-22.

⁶⁵ Cf. especially the barrow at Poole, Dorset, excavated by H. J. Case, and already mentioned p. 152, note 51.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Prehistorically the pleasant land of the Eight Beatitudes is one of the most important areas of the Netherlands.

The earliest remains discovered here so far are the flint artifacts excavated by Dr A. Bohmers near Wintelre, Municipality of Vessem, in 1948.¹ They belong to the Late Palaeolithic *Ahrensburg group*, characterized by tanged points (*steelspitsen*). The Wintelre site is the most important evidence so far discovered for this culture in the Netherlands. Meanwhile new discoveries are reported from Knegsel (Part I, fig. 2), and again from Wintelre. For the Late Palaeolithic *Tjonger group*, characterized by Gravette points, an important site lies near Budel, slightly East of the Eight Beatitudes. The more Northerly Drunen site also yielded finds of this culture.²

Numerous stray finds, generally in blown sand, have long proclaimed the presence here of Mesolithic man (Late Tardenoisian). From this period should also date the finely worked point (Part I, fig. 4) found near tumulus 8 of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl barrow cemetery.

The next cultural period, the Neolithic, however, is as yet hardly demonstrable, though some thirty stray finds of thin-butted flint axes, oval in section, of West European type are known from the Eight Beatitudes. Bursch assigned these to an imaginary lake dwelling culture.³ In our opinion a number of these axes might well have been imported for a retarded hunting population still living at a Mesolithic level of culture in Neolithic times.

Beaker ware, as described by Dr Mariën *e.g.* in reporting the important site at Lommel,⁴ just across the Belgian border, is as yet unknown from the Eight Beatitudes. The first concrete indication of Neolithic or rather Aeneolithic settlement is the yellow-sanded ditched tumulus with beehive-shaped grave excavated by Dr Brunsting near Waalwijk, Municipality of Riethoven,⁵ where, however, slight traces of bronze were observed. A Late Neolithic dating is also fairly certain for our tumuli 2 and 4, the '*Lambertsbergje*', which palynology⁶ showed to be the earliest barrows of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery. The ditched barrow no 4, also of yellow sand, and built on a scarcely podsolized old surface, shows that the first barrow-building in the Eight Beatitudes took place in a period when the first '*landnam*' by means of '*svedjebrand*' had probably just taken place, presumably by a few clans of the Beaker culture (¹⁴C-date: 3375 ± 200 years). A number of the barrows men-

tioned by Panken as consisting of yellowish or reddish sand might also have belonged to this time. To the North one has to go as far as Oss⁷ and Schaaik⁸ to find the first undoubted remains of the Beaker culture: two barrows belonging to a local offshoot of the Veluwe Bell Beaker group.

As far as our present knowledge goes it seems hardly possible that in the Southern parts of North Brabant the Neolithic and Aeneolithic Beaker cultures can have been the real ancestors of the later Bronze Age population, as was the case on the diluvial soils of the central and Northern Netherlands. In accordance with this view is the total absence, among the very numerous timber monuments excavated so far, of the Neolithic and Aeneolithic postcircle types 1 and 2. The absence of perforated stone battle-axes is also significant.

In this way it seems likely that the Eight Beatitudes were the hunting ground of a nomad population of mainly Mesolithic economy at a time when Neolithic cultures were flourishing North of the great rivers, in the central and Northern Netherlands. On the high grounds along the upper reaches of the small streams, however, new elements seem to have settled in their midst, who made inroads on the natural forest by means of '*svedjebrand*'. Presumably these were no more than a few scattered clans of the Beaker culture. For the direction from which these settlers arrived we can choose either the North — offshoot of the Veluwe Beaker culture? — or the South-West — Lommel?⁹ On the East our area must have been difficult of access on account of the Peel marshes.

The simultaneous presence of advanced and retarded cultures is a phenomenon observed in all ages, and one that has long been demonstrated for Neolithic times in Denmark and Sweden.

Panken's barrow documentation in the middle of the last century reflected the intensity of the Bronze Age settlement of the Eight Beatitudes. His fieldwork proved of great value, as landscape changes have caused many features to disappear or to become invisible to the eye. Unfortunately we have only his published descriptions to go on, without site plans, so that the identification of individual tumuli is often only partially possible. At Toterfout-Halve Mijl this is no different. According to Beex some 200 tumuli can still be plotted on the map. The majority probably dated from the Bronze Age. Of these some 60 have at different times been systematically excavated, the 33 tumuli of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery forming by far the largest single group. In many cases a barrow, on excavation, turned out to contain more than one phase of construction.

On palynological grounds it appears that the probably still Late Neolithic tumuli 2 and 4 at Toterfout-Halve Mijl were followed by a few monuments

belonging to the class of Dutch disc barrows. These continental counterparts of the English barrows with enclosing bank — on the Continent usually with *inner* bank — were first reported by Van Giffen after his excavation of some fine monuments of this class.¹⁰ First we have tumulus 5 (internal dm. of rd.: 16 metres) on the Hijkerveld, Province of Drente (1930),¹¹ and then especially the fine tumulus I (internal dm. of rd.: 28 metres) on the Rechte Heide near Goirle, Province of North Brabant (1935).¹² Tumulus 1 (maximum int. dm. of rd.: c. 33 metres) of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl group (1948) and the 'Zwartenberg' (int. dm. of rd.: c. 40 metres) at Hoogeloon (1950) are new examples.¹³ According to Waterbolk's palynological analysis the two latter monuments are contemporaries and would be closely related chronologically to tumulus 1^B (¹⁴C-date: 3450 ± 100 years) of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl group. The primary grave of that very remarkable ∞-shaped lay-out (ditch with inner bank) contained a cordoned urn of a pottery class that will presently come in for further discussion. In our opinion the bronze palstave chisel (fig. 72) — so far the only bronze find from a Bronze Age tumulus in the Eight Beatitudes — which Panken dug up in 1846 presumably from the primary grave of the 'Zwartenberg', makes a dating of these monuments to an early phase of the Middle Bronze Age (Montelius II/III) seem probable. A late and debased variant of this type of barrow is probably to be seen in tumulus 9 of our barrow cemetery.

In all we now know of seven certain monuments of this type from the Netherlands, if we include the 'Galgenbergje' near Bergeik, investigated by Panken in 1840, but not identified since. Of these no less than five specimens lie in the Eight Beatitudes (fig. 65).

Recently Dr Mariën¹⁴ has drawn attention to two similar barrows in Belgian Limburg, published as early as 1897 by C. Dens. They are isolated barrows.

One, the 'Tuudsheuvel' (la motte aux morts) near Wijshagen, was composed of a central mound (circumference: 33 metres), a flat berm (width: 9 metres), a bank (dm.: 28 metres) and an outer ditch. Below the central mound a schoolmaster had found a pit, 0.50 deep and some 4 metres wide, containing seven cremation-filled urns placed in a semicircle.¹⁵ The other, very well preserved tumulus, the 'Heksenberg' (tertre de la Sorcière) near Wijchmaal (dm.: 19.00, h.: 0.60) was enclosed by a 'véritable *vallum*'.¹⁶ In this case the ringditch lay inside the bank. The whole had a circumference of 105 metres (*i.e.* a dm. of c. 35 metres). On the old surface, 2 metres East of the centre, Dens found 'l'urne cinéraire'. At 10 metres North-East of the monument lay another, very small tumulus, in which only charcoal was found — according to Dens deriving from a pyre. Recently Dr Mariën reported a fine, perhaps still fairly intact disc barrow (dm.: 44 metres) from Bonlez, in the Belgian province of Brabant. From the Netherlands and Belgium together a total of ten barrows with banks

are therefore known, the majority concentrated in a relatively small area (fig. 65).¹⁷

A very remarkable feature of tumulus 1^B at Toterfout-Halve Mijl was the primary interment, a cordoned, quartz-gritted urn with a cord-impressed chevron pattern on the collar (¹⁴C-date: 3450 ± 100 years). Four related cinerary urns, but without corded decoration, were found as secondaries dug into the slope of the bank. Sherds of an urn in tumulus 9 (primary burial?) and a secondary urn in tumulus 1 belonged to the same class. This type of urn, of very gritty texture, and often provided with an applied finger-tipped cordon, has been directly related by various authors, from 1930 onwards, to English sepulchral pottery.¹⁸

In the Netherlands they must precede the Urnfield invasions, as they are not found in the (ringditch) urnfields. On the other hand they must have been later than the Early and Middle Bronze Age timber monuments, in which they have been found as secondaries.

It now appears that, as a general proposition, this view is incorrect. In our opinion these secondaries should be seen as debased descendants of a pottery class of which the primary in tumulus 1^B is already a more or less degenerated specimen: an offshoot, intrusive in the Netherlands, of the British Overhanging Rim urns. Good continental specimens with corded decoration are the fragments of an urn from Hilversum, Province of North Holland, a number of sherds from Wijchen, Province of Gelderland, sherds from De Vuursche, Province of Utrecht, and from Baarle-Nassau, Province of North Brabant — all in the Netherlands — and further fragments of an urn from Marquise, near Boulogne, in North-West France. Technically related to the quartz-gritted native Bronze Age pottery, they are yet entirely different in function, size and shape — especially the rims. The tall vessels represent the first pottery used in the Netherlands as containers of cremated bones. Among the descendants of the more or less bi-conical *Hilversum urns* we can distinguish three characteristic shapes. A few unequally bi-conical vessels with undecorated collar are strongly reminiscent of the outline of the Overhanging Rim urns. Next we have a fairly rare bucket shape, and finally there are the very common urns of a truncated pear shape with high foot that might be described as barrel shapes. Both these latter forms are generally provided with an applied finger-tipped cordon below the rim. Datable associated finds do not occur. The bronze palstave chisel (fig. 72) from the 'Zwartenberg' at Hoogeloon — which Waterbolk thinks synchronous with tumuli 1^B and 1 at Toterfout-Halve Mijl — does, however, allow us to assume an (early) Middle Bronze Age dating (Montelius II/III) for the ancestral urns of the Hilversum class (c. 15 specimens), while its descendants (some 130 specimens) should mainly date from the Late Bronze Age (Montelius IV).

Until now these latter were usually considered as the direct continental pre-

cursors of the bucket and barrel urns of the English Deverel-Rimbury culture, and were therefore also styled 'Deverel' urns. While, according to English writers, the English Deverel-Rimbury group undoubtedly represents an Urnfield culture (Late Bronze Age), the Dutch cinerary urns still belong to a Tumulus culture (Middle Bronze Age). And it is exactly the globular form, regarded in England as one of the three characteristic urn forms of the Deverel-Rimbury culture, which is lacking here. In the theoretical derivation of the English group from the continental Urnfield cultures it was precisely the globular urn to which a most important part was assigned. In England, however, the connexion of the globular form with the bucket- and barrel-shaped Deverel urns seems far from certain. We wish to emphasize here that the globular urns differ strongly not only in shape but also in technique.¹⁹ They have a fairly thin wall, a smooth and shiny slip covering, and their paste is tempered only with very fine grit. They might well stand entirely outside the Deverel group and represent a separate class.

The name 'Deverel urns' for the continental pre-Urnfield cinerary urns, it thus appears, is completely misleading.²⁰ As the English origin of these urns was first suggested by Van Giffen in 1930, in his discussion of a secondary in a Late Neolithic barrow on the 'Groot-Drakenstein' estate near De Vuursche, Province of Utrecht (fig. 57 : 10), we propose to designate the local derivatives of the intrusive '*Hilversum urns*' as '*Drakenstein urns*'.²¹

The points of difference with the English bucket and barrel urns make it very unlikely, to our mind, that the Deverel-Rimbury culture, if considered to be intrusive in England, should have its starting point in the Lower Rhenish region. In that case the pre-Urnfield Drakenstein group from the Western Netherlands would have returned to the country of its origin under the impact of the Urnfield invasions In the Netherlands, however, no certain Urnfield influences on the Drakenstein group can as yet be demonstrated. The only thing in common between these vessels and those of our early urnfields is that both are cinerary urns.

Finally, the distribution area of the urns of the intrusive Hilversum and derived Drakenstein groups is also significant (fig. 65). It remained largely confined to the Western edge of the diluvium in the central Netherlands, with several foci in North Brabant, Western Belgium, and perhaps also North-West France. It is exactly in these focal points of the Drakenstein distribution that we find the ancestral Hilversum urns.

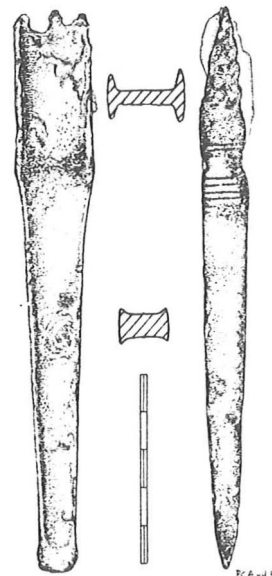


Fig. 72

A further very remarkable fact is the apparent coincidence of the distribution area of the Dutch disc barrows with that of the Hilversum-type pottery. In one case — our tumulus 1^B — the two are actually found together. With some other features, as for instance the 'ritual pits' in tumulus 1, these facts strongly point to direct relations with Britain.

The origin of a part of our population in the Middle Bronze Age thus appears fairly certain. An invasion from England, c. 1200 B.C., its results remaining noticeable for some three centuries, would seem quite likely. Numerically this intrusive group may not have been very strong — at first no more than a few scattered clans settling along the North Sea coast. Attention should here be given to Waterbolk's remark that the population in question possibly interfered with the natural landscape to a far smaller extent than did the Beaker culture, and that stock-breeding may have been unknown.²² The newcomers' relations with the existing population may well have been peaceable. The secondary cremation burial in a trunk coffin dug in between the central mound and the bank of tumulus 1^B suggests a mixture of cultures already in the course of the Middle Bronze Age.

The most striking feature of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery is its uncommon richness in timber circles. No fewer than c. 33 specimens were recorded, belonging to postcircle types 3, 5, 6, 7 and 9.²³ Very common is type 3, the circle of widely spaced posts (11 specimens), which occurs all over the country. Type 5, however, the single ring of closely sited posts — a rare type in any case — occurs once only. A pre-eminently characteristic timber circle for the Eight Beatitudes is type 6, the double closely spaced ring of posts (c. 12 examples), which is fairly rare in the North of the country, but appears to be very common in Brabant. To a less extent this also applies for type 7, the triple ring of closely spaced posts (6 examples). Type 9, the circle of closely sited stakes is rare again (3 examples).

From our corpus of postcircles of types 3–9 it is clear that in the Netherlands the circles of types 3, 5, 6 and 7 mainly date from the Early and Middle Bronze Age (periods Montelius II and III), a few examples surviving into the Late Bronze Age (Montelius IV). This dating is supported by a — relatively small — number of associated bronze objects, mostly from the Early Bronze Age (Montelius II), and further by the stratigraphical position between Late Neolithic Beaker barrows and Iron Age urnfields.

For the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery the small number of pottery finds and the few bone pins and ornaments could not afford much assistance in arriving at a relative chronology for the monuments. Instead we had to attempt to build up a relative chronology for these generally unfurnished barrows by means of the palynological analysis of soil samples.²⁴

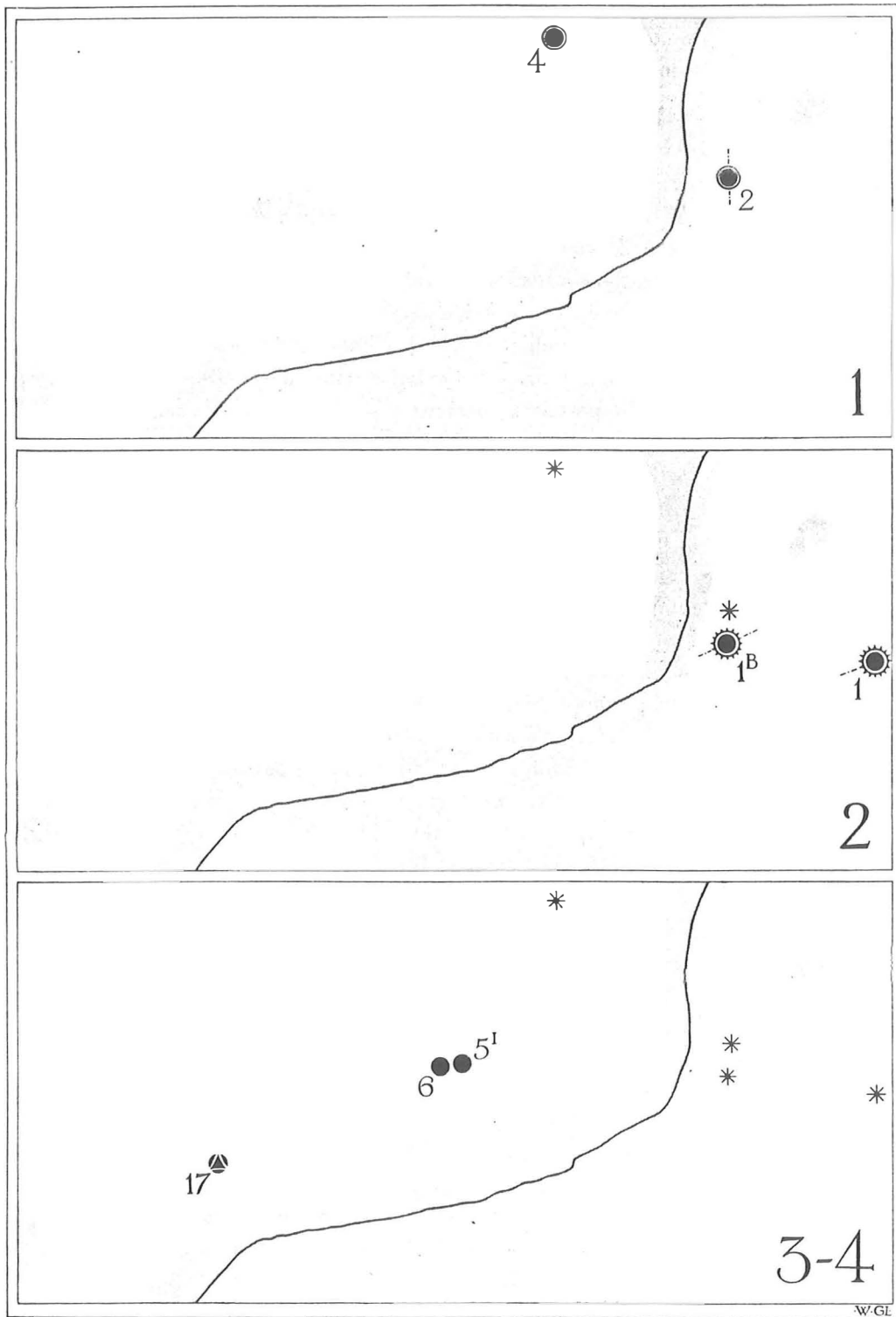


Fig. 73

On various grounds, such as the composition of the mound and of the old surface, we were inclined from the beginning to count the barrows with large type 3 postcircle (tumuli 5, 6 and 7) among the earliest timber monuments in our cemetery. Waterbolk's palynological arguments confirmed that these barrows are indeed the earliest of the timbered class, and slightly later than the Dutch disc barrows 1^B and 1. Thus the bronze palstave chisel (fig. 72) from the 'Zwartenberg' at Hoogeloon provides a *terminus post quem* in two respects; first because Waterbolk could equate this barrow palynologically with our tumulus 1, and secondly because a secondary postcircle of type 3 had been placed in the quickly filled-in ringditch.²⁵ In this way a Middle and Late Bronze Age dating, say periods Montelius II-IV, becomes fairly plausible for phases 2 to c. 11/12 of Waterbolk's proposed relative chronology (figs 73-6 : 2-12). The primary burials in postcircle barrows — cremations in shallow pits — might also argue for this, and so, more particularly, might the two secondaries in trunk coffins in the preceding barrows 1^B and 1. In any case it would seem safe to assign the earliest postcircle monuments at Toterfout-Halve Mijl, e.g. those in tumuli 5, 6 and 7, to an early phase of the Middle Bronze Age (figs 73-4 : 3-5). The construction of the rest of the cemetery — with the exception of the Neolithic tumuli 2 and 4 (fig. 73 : 1) and the Iron Age ringditch urnfield (fig. 76 : 13) — must then fall mainly in the Middle and a part of the Late Bronze Age, possibly extending as far as Montelius V. In all, this might extend over an estimated span of approximately four centuries, in current chronology say c. 1200 – c. 800 B. C. The measurements of radioactive carbon in a charcoal sample from tumulus 8^I, by Professor Dr Hl. de Vries, gave for its result an age of 3055 ± 90 years.²⁶ For the postcircle monuments this would give as an approximate central date c. 1100 B.C., well within the period mentioned above. The timber circles of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery do not therefore belong to the earliest monuments of this class in the Netherlands.

The barrow excavations undertaken at various times in the Eight Beatitudes amplify this picture.²⁷ The circle of widely spaced paired postholes, type 4, discovered by W. J. A. Willems (1934) in a barrow on the Hongerensche Heide near Hooge Mierde recently obtained a counterpart in a tumulus near Bergeik. So far the occurrence of this highly interesting postcircle type — suggesting a *trixylon* construction — is confined to the Eight Beatitudes. It is a remarkable fact that it was in both the barrows with this type of timber circle that secondaries were found in the form of cremation-filled Drakenstein urns. The excavations of Dr W. C. Braat at Knegsel (1934-5), of Dr H. Brunsting at Hapert, Hoogeloon and Waalwijk (1950), and of Dr C. C. W. J. Hijzeler at Knegsel (1951-2), provided further good examples of postcircle types 3, 5, 6 and 7. The respective occurrences of types 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9 in the Eight Beatitudes

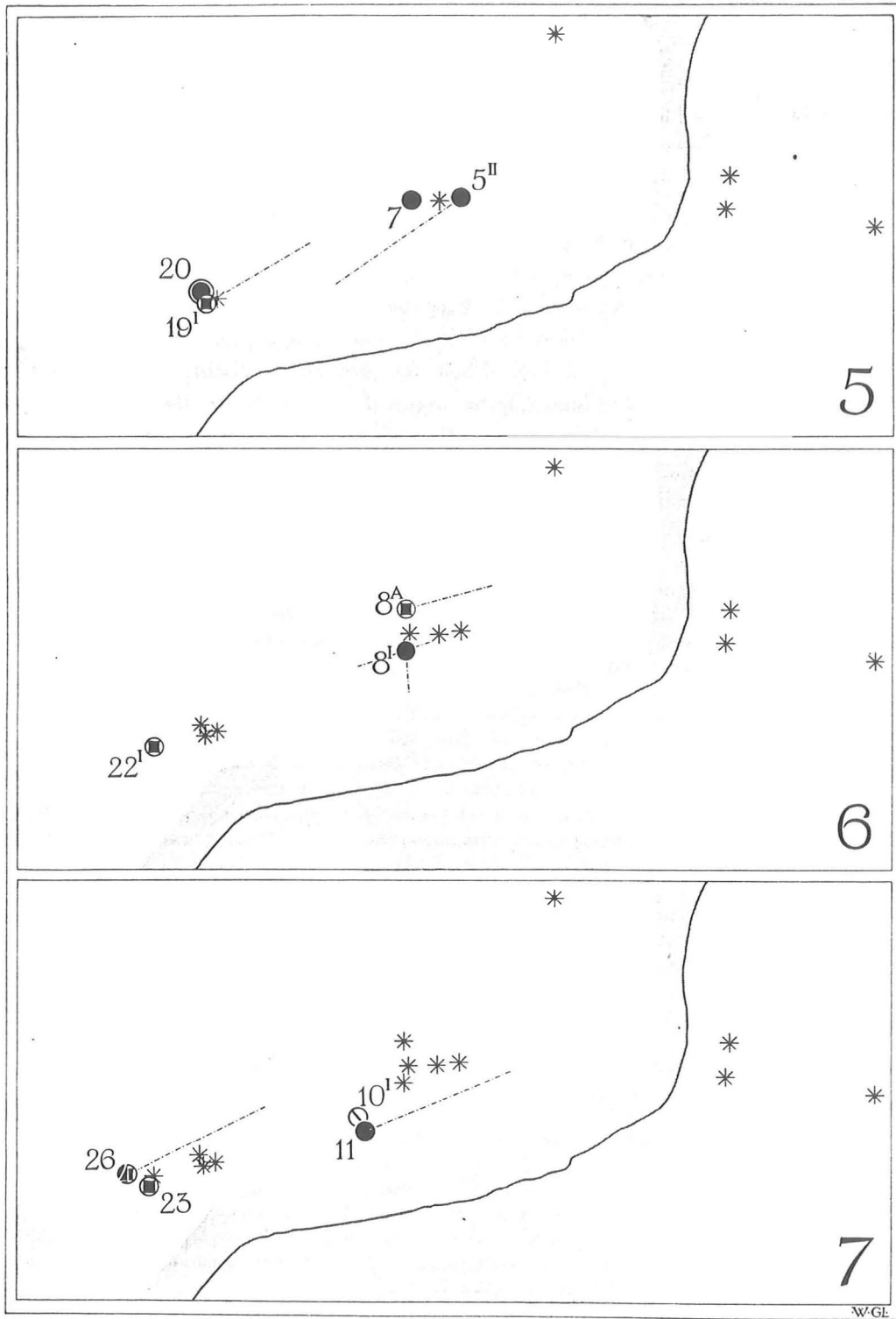


Fig. 74

are 15, 2, 5, c. 23, c. 12 and 3. The c. 60 timber circles excavated so far in this area are thus seen to form an appreciable percentage of the c. 179 Bronze Age postcircles recorded in the Netherlands. Dating bronzes never came to light in the Eight Beatitudes, except for the palstave chisel (fig. 72) from the 'Zwartenberg'. As elsewhere in the Netherlands, these should be very rare as grave furniture. For the rest of North Brabant the only dating finds that can be cited are a bronze flanged axe (Montelius II) and a pair of tweezers (fig. 54), both from the primary grave of tumulus VI of the cemetery on the Rechte Heide near Goirle (postcircle type 7, North Brabant, no 4).

The relative chronology based on Waterbolk's palynological analysis further brought to light that the 2 kilometres long barrow cemetery of Toterfout-Halve Mijl developed from several foci. These foci are very probably situated on a prehistoric road²⁸ (fig. 76) following the high ridge to the North of the low-lying marsh with fens and 'wijers' (*vivaria*). The evidence of tumuli arranged in rows — nos 5-6-7-8 and 13-14-15-16 — is most suggestive; the order of construction, in the first case from East to West, in the second from West to East, may have a bearing on the direction of the settlement.

The earliest tumulus, the 'Lambertsbergje', lay somewhat isolated. It was a barrow of yellowish sand on a scarcely podsolized subsoil, with narrow ringditch. For this monument, and also for tumulus 2, a Neolithic or Aeneolithic date is fairly certain (fig. 73 : 1). Then followed, at the Eastern extremity, the construction of the Dutch disc barrows 1^B and 1, both raised from sods on a well-podsolized old surface (fig. 73 : 2). These two barrows alone were used repeatedly afterwards for secondary peripheral cremation burials — twice in a trunk coffin in an oblong grave pit, five times in a Drakenstein urn. Probably the construction of these monuments fell in an early phase of the Middle Bronze Age.

Next came the construction of monuments of the Central and of the Westerly group. The Central group began first, but its development also stopped earlier than that of the Westerly group. The mounds, which were surrounded by postcircles, were mostly built of inverted sods, characteristic of the Bronze Age. The earliest appear to be the largest examples of type 3 (tumuli 5, 6 and 7), a type that persisted through a long period. Soon the multiple ring of closely sited posts appeared by its side, first type 7, then type 6, and these came to dominate the later appearance of the cemetery, while the diameter — and in consequence the height — of the mounds tended to diminish. In the oldest and largest barrows the occurrence of two not quite concentric timber circles and of a corresponding addition to the mound indicated different phases of construction. In some cases both postcircles were then of the same type (tumuli 5, 11, 17 and 19). As some time — at least 15 to 20 years, one may think — elapsed before the raising of the secondary capping and the siting of the corresponding new postcircle, continuous traditions are indicated. The eccentricity of the peripheral structures in a two-period barrow normally shows as a shift to the NE for the secondary timber circle.²⁹ This is attended by a drift accretion on the lee side, caused by prevailing South to South-West winds in Bronze Age days.

The small, sometimes very carelessly sited circles of types 6 and 7 from the very low mounds on the West side of the cemetery — invariably comprising but a single phase of construction — represent the most recent timber monuments (figs 74-5 : 7-10). The gradual degeneration of the timber circles, as it were a typological chronometer, is strikingly illustrated by Waterbolk's synoptic table (Part I, p. 116).

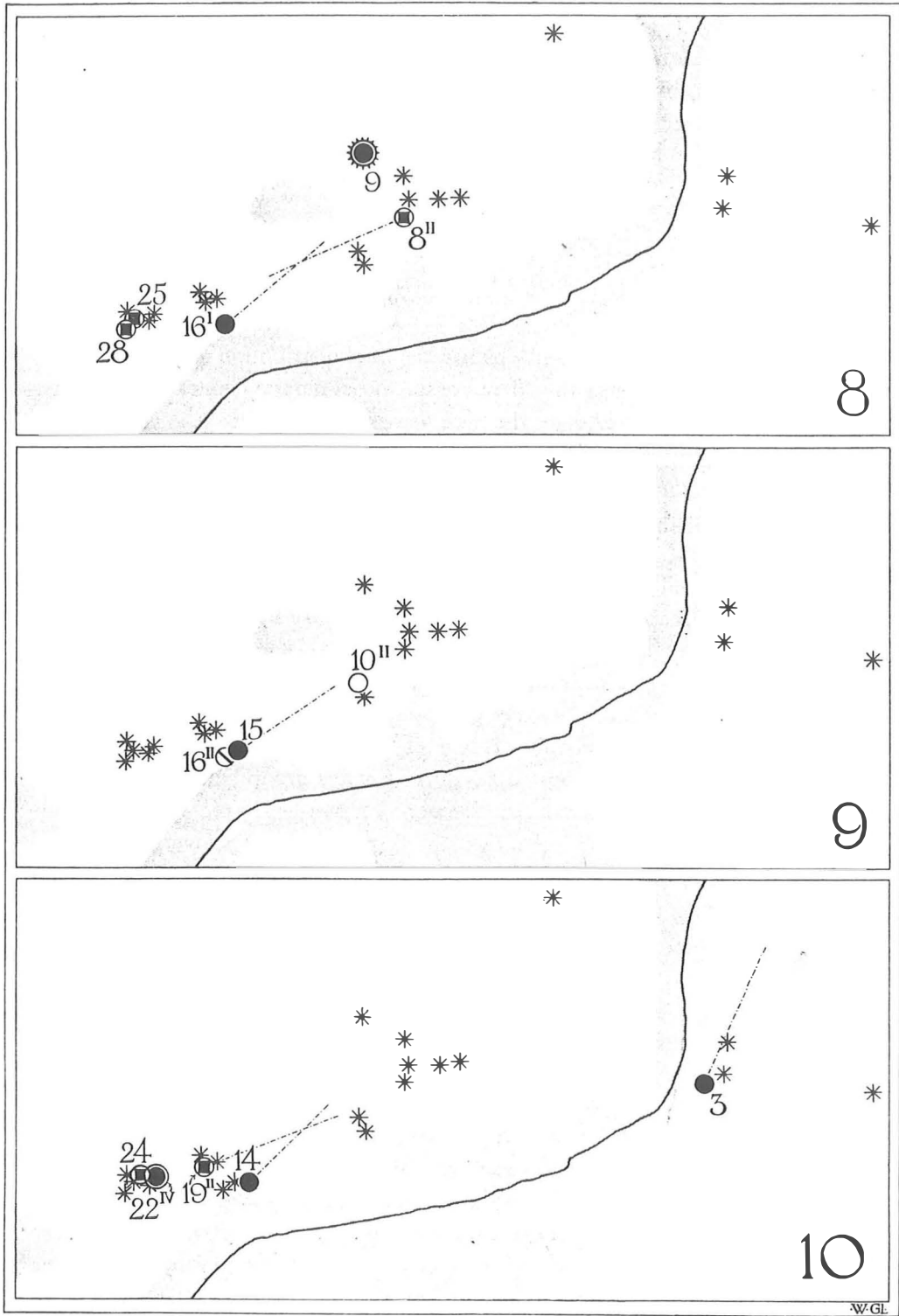


Fig. 75

At the end of the postcircle period we find the construction of the majority of ditched barrows, and thus we reach the final phase of the actual barrow cemetery. These ringditch barrows (figs 75-6 : 10-12), which in Brabant often occur with secondary cappings on postcircle tumuli, already constitute a typological transition to the ringditches of the later urnfields.

The same course of events as outlined above is also suggested by the first completely investigated Brabant barrow cemetery, the '*Vijfberg*' on the Rechte Heide near Goirle, which Van Giffen excavated in 1935. Though this comprised only six tumuli, and though a palynological analysis has not yet been carried out, it is likely that we have the same succession: imposing disc barrow, then a number of timber monuments, while a ditched barrow and a few secondary ringditches on tumuli again represent the final phase, at the transition to the ditches of the ringditch urnfields.

The development of the sub-groups and the local distribution of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl barrows suggest that they are the burial monuments of several clans. Of these the clan that erected the disc barrows 1^B and 1 was certainly of British origin.

Now the foci from which the cemetery developed must have been related in some way to settlements, probably differing in place and time. The direction in which these should be looked for are very probably indicated by the (blocked) entrances in a number of the timber circles.³⁰ It is striking that almost invariably — with perhaps an exception in the case of phase 1 of tumulus 8, where the longitudinal axis of the mortuary house may have been more important — these point to suitable places for settlement. Several more or less contemporary tumuli in the Central and Westerly groups with clear entrance blockings gave a strong hint of the direction of one of the settlements. The SW-WSW direction of two entrances in postcircles of the Central group (tumuli 5^{II} and 8^{II}; figs 74 : 5, 75 : 8) and the NE-ENE direction of a number in the Westerly group (tumuli 14, 15, 16^I, 19^I and 19^{II}; figs 74 : 5, 7, 75 : 8-10) converge on a site South of the Halfmijls Ven, where no barrows were found. Perhaps one should look here for a settlement dating from the middle phase, Waterbolk's phases 5/6-10, of the cemetery (figs 74-5). The observed remains of a settlement on the '*Groote Aard*', NE of tumulus 5, might be connected with the NE entrance in the primary circle of tumulus 11 (fig. 74 : 7). Presumably the settlements shifted regularly, one of the reasons being the recurring need for fresh land for cultivation.

Direct and indirect indications of old arable were found in a number of barrows. Tumuli 12 and 18 stood out at once because the mound did not consist of sods, while the floor did not show the usual natural surface structures. They appeared to have been built of dirty yellowish grey sand, from and on a stratum of made soil. Though no plough-markings were observed we feel certain that this was old arable. This surmise could not, however, be fully confirmed by the analysis of soil samples from tumulus 12 by Dr Jac. van der Spek.³¹ None the less we

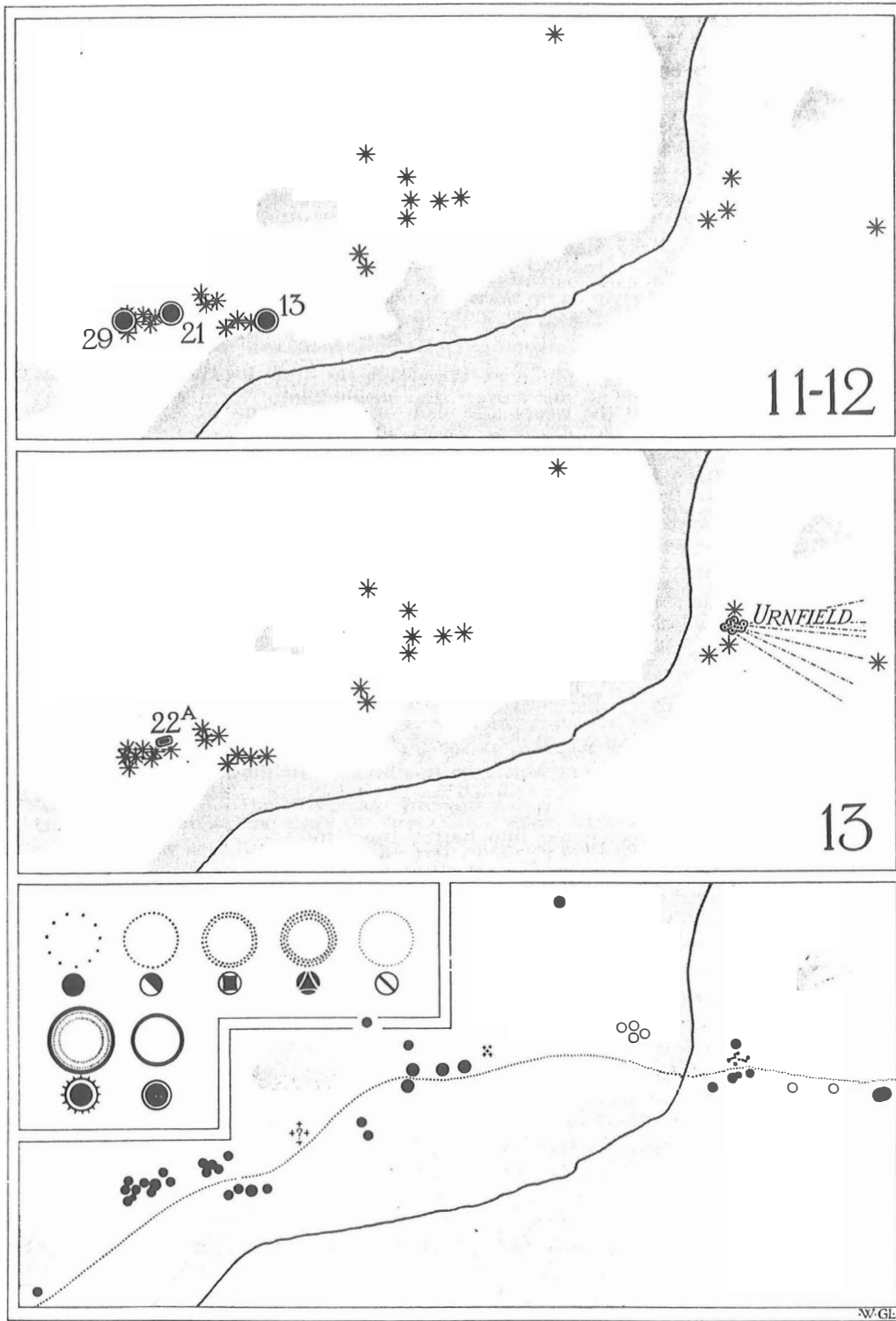


Fig. 76

can thus, with some measure of certainty, locate a section of the old arable. That this must have been in use here before the final phase of the cemetery is shown by the tumuli lying upon it, but probably also by the rows of closely sited stakes found under tumuli 14, 21 (with very uneven floor) and 20. In our opinion these represent the traces of a system of fences.

Tumuli of yellow sand had already drawn Panken's attention, and he always gave them special mention among the groups of barrows investigated by him. Where he described the material of a mound as yellowish or reddish we may in some cases think of early barrows such as our tumulus 4, dating from Neolithic or Aeneolithic times. This applies more in particular to a few isolated tumuli. Others, however, might have been barrows raised on and from old arable.³²

With the *Cerealia* pollen found by Waterbolk (in tumuli 3, 4, 5^I, 6, 7, 8^I, 8^A, 9, 19^{II}, 20 and 21) and the weeds attendant on man, tumuli 12 and 18 and the remains of fences suggest that the barrow builders already depended on agriculture³³ for part of their livelihood, by the side of the stock-breeding suggested by palynology.

Agriculture of an apparently much later date (advanced Iron Age) is shown by the Brabant ridge-type fields, of which the oblong sub-rectangular ditch cutting the postcircle of the flattened tumulus 22^A is a good example. That these were arable plots was first suggested by palynology.³⁴

The results of Waterbolk's palynological analysis also yielded important pointers with regard to the climatological environment of the barrow builders. Throughout the period in which the barrows were erected a fairly warm and moist climate prevailed. The time at which the ringditch urnfield was laid out, however, fell in a dry period, reflected in the bogs by the '*Grenzhorizont*'. The originally rich soil gradually degenerated into barren moorland.

For the derivation and affinities of the postcircle monuments the Neolithic precursors are of the greatest importance. In view of the as yet extremely scarce indications abroad for the non-peripheral types 1 and 2, embedded in a foundation trench, and also for the early form of type 3, present knowledge is insufficient to say much about their distribution in Western Europe.³⁵

These Neolithic types are invariably circular features, either intermediate or surrounding the grave fairly closely. New possibilities for the explanation of these non-peripheral structures are offered by the excavations of Sir Cyril Fox in South Wales, the suggestions of J. Röder, the tumulus at Poole, Dorset, excavated by H. J. Case,³⁶ and tumulus 8 at Toterfout-Halve Mijl. Röder started from the numerous examples known to ethnology of funeral feasts preceding the actual interment. Often the place of burial is not even directly related to the site of the funeral feast (menhirs).³⁷ Where they coincide, however, the structure erected — menhir or wooden stele, ring of posts — may have been left to stand as a memory of the funeral feast. If the remains of such a feast are now covered by a grave mound, they evidently do not form an integral part of the tumulus as such.

Our non-peripheral Neolithic timber circles may represent the remains of similar

monumenta: memorials of the funeral feast that came to lie within the edge after the erection of the barrow. The earliest examples are attendant on single graves of the Neolithic Beaker people who began the custom, in this country, of covering the burials with a round barrow. These non-peripheral timber structures may represent a Neolithic class of monument that did not originally have a sepulchral function, but which the Beaker people adopted into the grave cult, and which they subsequently spread. For an analogous phenomenon we may think of the disc barrows in England, where a characteristic part of primary Neolithic sanctuaries made its appearance later — in the Bronze Age — as the peripheral structure of funeral monuments. Neolithic sanctuaries of large rings of stout posts may still be rare, but they are not lacking in the archaeological record. The well-known Woodhenge in Wiltshire, England, may count as a standard example of this class of sanctuary. The characteristic circle of posts afterwards made its appearance in the burial practice. In the Netherlands, timber circles — in the form of (small) palisades of closely sited posts or stakes in a foundation trench (fig. 45: types 1 and 2) — were already associated with grave mounds in the Neolithic period.³⁸ Originally, it may be presumed, they only played a part in the funeral feast, having only an ephemeral character from a structural point of view. The subsequent postcircle types 3–9, mainly dating from the Early and Middle Bronze Age, evince a shift of emphasis from the internal to the peripheral structure. They were sited at the foot of the barrow, and were in all probability erected only *after* its completion. The magical function of these peripheral circles is, we think, expressed particularly by the frequent occurrence of a blocked entrance.

Clear evidence for structures of an ephemeral character is still preserved by Bronze Age barrows in Britain and the Netherlands. The stakecircles that Sir Cyril Fox found in turf barrows in South Wales are in some cases of an indubitably temporary character. They played a part only in the burial practice. An analogous situation was discovered by H. J. Case at Poole, Dorset. In the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery the temporary mortuary houses, the intermediate stakecircle in tumulus 8, and also the small ringditches surrounding the interment in tumulus 10, and the ritual pits in tumulus 1 are traces that are not structurally integral with the tumulus as such. It is difficult to explain them otherwise than as marks of magical actions preceding the raising of a barrow. The examination, by Dr C. Krumbein, of the osseous remains from cremated burials yielded further remarkable data for the burial practice. Multiple cremations are far from rare. In several cases the persons for whom such a comprehensive ritual was performed may have been women with very young children, and several times they were children only. It is thus very probable that in Brabant an elaborate ritual, the construction of a barrow, and the magical encirclement of the barrow with rings of posts and the like were conditioned by very special circumstances at death.

The number of successive acts — partly of a ritual character³⁹ — to be deduced from evidence such as provided by our tumulus 8 (figs 70–1) would seem highly important. It is our opinion that by the side of the more or less tangible archaeological evidence — such as disc barrows, 'ritual pits', cordoned cinerary urns of the Overhanging Rim family, cremations in postholes, temporary stakecircles — such a reflection of the spiritual background can be useful in tracing connexions between certain areas.

In a more regional analysis we shall have to look for the origin of the timber monuments in the Eight Beatitudes to the central and Northern Netherlands. As far as can now be seen it was there especially that the postcircle tradition flourished in the Early and Middle Bronze Age.⁴⁰ In Brabant we very probably see an offshoot of these central and Northern Dutch monuments. The latter would again be *indirectly* related to the stone *peristazules* and timber circles of Western Europe.

While Bronze Age barrows without peripheral structures are fairly common elsewhere in the Netherlands, in Brabant nearly every tumulus is surrounded by a postcircle or a ringditch. This may be an indication of a different spiritual background in the burial

practice. The co-existence of the postcircle, in Brabant, with intrusive elements from England, might represent the adoption of a certain type of grave structure, and no more. The coincidence of these elements in the barrows need not point to an influx of new population — with postcircles — from the North.

The segment of a ringditch urnfield near the Easternmost tumuli of the Toterfout-Halve Mijl cemetery fits entirely within the framework of the Brabant urnfields. Only the gaps on the E-SE side of the circular ditches are remarkable (fig. 76: 13). The few urns that were found suggested a date in the advanced Iron Age.

In contrast to the rich variation in ringditch shapes in Northern Holland — the older types often still have internal timber structures — the Brabant urnfields mainly contain simple round and oval ditches. Another not uncommon feature are the oblong sub-rectangular ditches that can be interpreted as prehistoric field boundaries.⁴¹

Groups of penannular ditches with approximately identical orientation of the gaps, as at Toterfout-Halve Mijl, were noticed by Remouchamps in the urnfield of Uden, and by Bursch in a late urnfield at Strijbeek, Province of North Brabant, while Appelboom observed this phenomenon (1952) in an urnfield at Nederweert, Province of Limburg.⁴² The causeway gaps in the ditches may be explained in the same way as the (blocked) entrances in postcircles.

During the Iron Age the Eight Beatitudes must have been densely populated, as appears from the numerous urnfields discovered there. Beex recorded no less than forty. Seven of these have so far been systematically excavated, viz. at Valkenswaard (1908),⁴³ Riethoven (1909 & 1912),⁴⁴ two at Knegsel (1934-5, 1950 and 1951-2),⁴⁵ Witreit near Bergeik (1935),⁴⁶ Veldhoven (1948)⁴⁷ and Toterfout-Halve Mijl (1950). Panken may have been referring to remains from this period when he mentioned cremation-filled urns buried under small mounds.⁴⁸ Also the urns that he often discovered in barrows — especially on their West side — must as a rule have been secondaries from the Urnfield period. Probably in such a case a Bronze Age barrow was sealed beneath one or more ringditch graves of a later urnfield laid out on and around tumuli. Fine examples of this are the two cemeteries at Knegsel, excavated by Braat and Hijzeler. Though at Toterfout-Halve Mijl such stratigraphy was not present, pollen analysis clearly suggests it.

When the systematic excavation of prehistoric sites in the Netherlands began, it happened to be in some of the cemeteries in the Eight Beatitudes that *ringditches* surrounding urn burials were first noticed. Dr M. A. Evelein, who observed this phenomenon in the Valkenswaard and Riethoven urnfields (1908 and 1909) already mentioned, at once suggested their correct interpretation as traces of originally open ditches.⁴⁹ Holwerda, however, afterwards assumed that they were

without doubt dug for walls of wood and branches which surrounded the sacred area of the grave.⁵⁰ In this general form the idea is certainly wrong.

An important contribution to our knowledge of the Iron Age in the area was made in 1948-9 when De Laet and Mariën carried out excavations in the cemetery of Lommel-Kattenbosch, just across the Belgian frontier.⁵¹ This was a large cemetery, showing successively Hallstatt and La Tène influences in the pottery. Barrows were found not enclosed by ringditches. This argues a difference in cultural affinities from the urnfields in the nearby Eight Beatitudes. The characteristic La Tène forms represented at Lommel are so scarce in the Southern parts of Dutch Brabant — offshoots are found only at Alphen⁵² and Strijbeek,⁵³ in the West — that we can hardly speak of a true La Tène group in this country. The Hallstatt tumuli at Lommel-Kattenbosch must ultimately be connected with the rich cemeteries of that culture farther South in Belgium (*e.g.* Court-St-Étienne),⁵⁴ which probably represent the graves of a warrior aristocracy. These seem to suggest a society of a feudal type, in strong contrast, it would seem, to the North Brabant Iron Age cemeteries with sober urn burials beneath small low mounds enclosed by ringditches.⁵⁵ A single exception is the monumental 'Chieftain's Barrow' (dm.: c. 52 metres) at Oss, which may have been built for some leader of a small intrusive group of the early fifth century B. C.⁵⁶

The relatively high number of barrows already suggest a relatively intensive occupation during the (Middle and Late) Bronze Age. The influx of new people as a result of the Urnfield movements must have caused a further increase in the Iron Age. A deeper study of the problems raised by the several groups of Urnfield pottery in North Brabant is, however, outside the scope of this work.

* * *

With the coming of the Roman legions to Northern Gaul, about the middle of the first century B. C., came the dawn of history for our part of the world.⁵⁷ The approach of Caesar is bound to have alarmed the population of the Campine, and troops of fighting men must have fallen in battle against the conquerors from the South.

We know that at this time the Campine lay mainly within the territory of the Celtic tribe of the *Menapii*. The relatively sparse population of this now largely infertile area long, protected by forests, moors, marshes and swamps, offered successful resistance to the Romans, especially in 56 B. C. In the winter of that year, however, an enemy appeared from another quarter: two Germanic tribes driven from Nassau and Hesse, the *Usipetes* and *Tencteri*, occupied the

Menapian area on their way to the South. 'At the confluence of Meuse and Rhine' they were, however, decisively beaten by Caesar in the spring of 55 B. C.

For the next few years the Menapii could still maintain themselves against the Romans, but in 53 B. C. their resistance was finally broken and they had to submit to Caesar. Not long afterwards the territory of the Menapii began to shrink, and their settlements are then mainly to be sought West of the Scheldt. The Eastern part of their territory was occupied by tribes of largely Germanic origin, and in the Campine we now find the *Texandri*.

A quiet period now followed, which lasted some three centuries. The population continued in its old seclusion. Varus' discomfiture in A. D. 9 spelled the end of Rome's offensive policy towards Germany, and from A. D. 47 the defensive zone along the Rhine, strengthened by a series of *castella*. formed the Northern frontier of the Roman Empire. Behind it the barren Campine lay as an area where military activities were hardly if at all in evidence. The infertile hinterland, of no economic or strategic significance, did not attract the Romans. A Romanization such as took place in the fertile Southern part of Dutch Limburg or in the Hesbaye district in Belgium was out of the question. Roman villas have not been discovered; the native population lived in hamlets and on scattered farmsteads.⁵⁸ The Roman highroads, generally following the rivers, bypassed the Campine. No certain trace has even been found of a North-South connexion across Brabant, linking the Romanized areas South of the Campine with the mouth of the great rivers, a route favoured by strategical considerations. Perhaps the old prehistoric roads across the moors and marshes served that purpose in case of need. There is indeed the so-called Roman watchtower near Veldhoven,⁵⁹ in the Eight Beatitudes (Part I, fig. 2), but according to De Laet we should rather consider this as a *statio* of *beneficarii*. A similar station, with holes of heavy posts, though without a V-shaped enclosing ditch, was partially excavated by the writer in 1948 at Alphen, in Western Brabant. These *stationes* served for maintaining order and for keeping the native population under observation.

While the *pax romana* lasted, the native population thus continued to lead uneventful lives at the prehistoric cultural level of the pre-Roman Iron Age. Only occasionally did the products of Roman civilization find their way in. In the second century A. D., for instance, traders in Roman pottery found a limited market here. Among the sherds of hand-made native ware we find an occasional fragment of wheel-made pottery. Among these imports the ordinary Roman utility wares predominated — East Gaulish *terra sigillata* is rare. Roman coins, sometimes a hoard hidden in times of trouble, point to trade relations and a measure of economic prosperity. The altar with the inscription *DEAE SANDRAVDIGAE CVLTORES TEMPLI*, found at Rijsbergen⁶⁰ in Western North Brabant, betrays Roman influence on the native cult and the use of

Latin. An occasional imported clay or bronze figurine of a Roman deity may further be mentioned.

Inscriptions testify that young men from the Campine would sometimes enlist in the Roman army. Who shall say whether one of the Texandri who, together with the Sunici of the *Cohors II Nerviorum*, dedicated an altar to the *genius loci* at Carrawborough on Hadrian's Wall⁶¹ did not hail from the Eight Beatitudes! Thus an occasional continental descendant of the Urn Folk, on his way to a Roman frontier station in Northern England, may unwittingly have marched past the thousand-year-old barrows of his ancient forbears. Those who were granted Roman citizenship on the completion of their service and returned to their native soil, will have brought back something of the comfort that made life pleasant in Romanized lands.

Events around the middle of the third century A. D. put an abrupt end to these quiet times, and an age of great changes set in. Under Germanic pressure from across the Rhine the effective frontier of the Empire was pushed back from that river to the Cologne-Tongres-Bavay-Boulogne road, South of the Campine. At the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, on the occasion of the various campaigns against the Franks, Roman armies must repeatedly have traversed the Campine. Chance witnesses to these events are the parade helmet and other accoutrements of a cavalry officer found in the Peel bog near Deurne. After 341/2 the Salian Franks were officially permitted to settle within the boundaries of the Empire, probably as *foederati* entrusted with the defence of the frontier against new invaders. In all likelihood they were settled in the *insula Batavorum*, the Betuwe, and in *Taxandria* to the South. These historically transmitted folk movements, however, are only very poorly reflected, so far, by the archaeological finds from the Campine.⁶²

The Merovingian cemeteries (*rijengrafvelden*) of the late fifth century and down to the beginning of the eighth give us some idea of the mixed culture of the centuries following the Migration period. By the side of Celtic, Gallo-Roman and Frankish cultural elements appeared motifs of ornamentation borrowed from Scythian art ('*Tierornamentik*').

Until recently, cemeteries of this period were almost unknown from the Eight Beatitudes, as indeed from North Brabant as a whole.⁶³ In 1949 we excavated a small cemetery, discovered by Beex on a prominence in the Kneysel Heath at the Broekeneind near Hoogeloon (Part I, fig. 2). Besides some 16 cremated burials in small pits we found at least 26 inhumation burials, nearly all in coffins placed in deep oblong grave pits. Six lay approximately North and South, nine South-West and North-East; the majority (11) were oriented more or less East and West. Unfortunately many graves had been partially destroyed some twenty years before by treasure hunters, who had spoiled or robbed most

of the grave goods. The cemetery had belonged to a small community of the fifth to seventh century A. D. This discovery was soon (1950) followed by that of a rich cemetery at Alphen in Western North Brabant, and the identification, again by Beex, of a second cemetery in the Eight Beatitudes, on the Vossenbussel between Hoogeloon and Casteren (Part I, fig. 2).⁶⁴

Thus we end our archaeological record of the Eight Beatitudes, after some ten millennia, on the threshold of the Middle Ages.

* * *

The excavations in the Eight Beatitudes, here described, illustrate part of a continuous cultural development in a restricted area.

A large amount of structural evidence was recorded. Palynological analysis gave an insight into the floristic and climatological environment of man, besides providing a means to obtain some idea of the relative chronology of the monuments. One of the latest scientific methods afforded several datings in current chronology. The observation of burial practices — especially when viewed in the light of the osteological examination of the cremated burials — provided some suggestions as to the spiritual background of the barrow builders.

In a country like ours, where in certain periods datable grave furniture occurs only rarely with the interments, it is by great perseverance alone that one can study a gradual cultural development with its occasional overlappings by new elements. Only the most exhaustive examination of well-defined and relatively small areas can lead at last to the elucidation of the course of prehistory. In this way regional features in the cultural development will also stand out more clearly, making it possible to distinguish them from phenomena of wider scope. In this way, also, we shall run fewer risks in working out the history of the vegetation, especially the changes caused by man — disforestation, '*landnam*', agriculture, expansion of the moors, etc. — as palynological data do not, after all, allow of close comparisons for more than relatively small areas.

It is this method which Van Giffen formulated as the drawing up of a cultural diagram for a single region ('*cultureel streekdiagram*').⁶⁵ The long-term series of systematic excavations in the Province of Drente — especially the Municipality of Vries — bears an eloquent testimony to this. Appearance and disappearance of certain cultural phenomena, the persistence of older substrates, cultural overlappings, fusion and interplay could thus be followed, *even without stratigraphical points of contact*, and even if the material remains were dishearteningly poor.

The excavations here described of the large barrow cemetery of Toterfouthalve Mijl, investigated as completely as was possible by modern methods, should be regarded as a contribution to a cultural diagram of the Eight Beatitudes.

At the end of the excavations a number of barrows were replaced, and the majority also restored.⁶⁶ Two barrows are once again enclosed by a bank and ditch, nine once again have a ring of stout posts rising up at the foot of the mound, and two are once again encircled by a slowly silting ringditch. These restorations constitute an attempt to preserve in the future Brabant landscape the memory of a class of *Bronze Age* monuments which, though *bronzeless*, were *aere perenniora*.

¹ *Gedenkboek Van Giffen*, 1947, pp. 178–80, Pl. 32: 10–3, 16–20.

² *Ibid.*, 1947, p. 187.

³ *BH* III, 1951, pp. 74–81; cf. also W. H. Kam, *BH* III, 1951, pp. 108–15.

⁴ *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 19, 4me série, nos 4–6, 1948, pp. 16–48; *Oud-België*, 1952, pp. 127–75, especially pp. 140–50.

⁵ See *sub* postcircle type 6, North Brabant, nos 19–21.

⁶ For the palynological analysis see Part I, pp. 105–22.

⁷ Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XVIII, 1937, p. 1, see also *sub* postcircle type 7, North Brabant, no 3. — But cf. Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, p. 102 (stray Beaker sherds, Best).

⁸ Van Giffen, *BH* I, 1949, pp. 67–74. See also *BH* I, 1949, pp. 140–1.

⁹ But cf. Part I, p. 100, where it is suggested on the strength of pottery sherds and fragments of polished flint axes that the Seine-Oise-Marne culture might be concerned.

¹⁰ In 1935; see *NDV* 1935, pp. 98–102, and also *PPS* IV, 1938, pp. 258–71.

¹¹ *NDV* 1935, p. 102; *PPS* 1938, pp. 259–62.

¹² *Brab. Oergesch.*, 1937, pp. 8–22; *PPS* 1938, pp. 258–64.

¹³ Tumulus 5 on the Hijkerfeld, with type 3 postcircle (Drente, no 2) between bank and mound, is the only unambiguous example that we know from Drente. Van Giffen is of the opinion that tumulus 18 of this barrow cemetery, also with postcircle (type 5, Drente, no 1), and further the primary mound of tumulus 2 near Balloo (see postcircle type 3, Drente, no 11), a three-period barrow, can also be linked up with the class of disc barrows. On an example that Bursch claimed to have discovered (1942) at Emmen, Province of Drente, we have no further evidence. See *Verlag van den Directeur van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden over het jaar 1942* (1943), p. 5.

¹⁴ *Archéologie* 1947, 2, pp. 358–9; *Oud-België*, 1952, p. 208, figs 193–4. Mariën (*Oud-België*, 1952, fig. 184: 14–15, p. 210) reported three further Belgian examples, two from Hennuyères, Hainaut, and one from Rixensart, Brabant. For the barrow of Bonlez, see Mariën, *Archéologie* 1948, p. 131, *Oud-België*, 1952, p. 210.

¹⁵ C. Dens, *Ann. SAB* XI, 1897, pp. 243–4, Pl. VII. Dens drew the following conclusions: 'C'était donc une sépulture commune élevée peut-être à la suite d'un combat. Quoi qu'il en soit, il aurait été impossible, à cette profondeur et dans un espace aussi restreint, d'enfouir tous ces vases successivement et avec symétrie.' — It is to be regretted that the urns found were not described or reproduced. It is possible that these were 'Drakenstein' urns (secondaries). Dens (*Ann. SAB* XI, 1897, p. 244) remarked that part of the urns excavated by him from barrows in the Limburg Campine (Belgium) were '... d'une argile rougeâtre, très grossière, mélangée de fragments de quartz; ...' No descriptions of the individual finds from the tumuli were given. See also p. 131, note 87.

¹⁶ *Ann. SAB* XI, 1897, p. 244, Pl. VIII.

¹⁷ Van Giffen also drew attention to a few comparable continental monuments in Western Germany, viz. tumuli in the vicinity of Bocholt (near the border between the Netherlands and Westphalia), at Hülsten (tumulus IV) — cf., however, our remarks on p. 81, and also Röder, *Bonn. Jahrb.* 148, 1948, p. 113 — and on the Wahner Heide near Cologne, and finally on the 'Salenstein' near Thurgau in Switzerland. *NDI*

1935, pp. 99-100; *PPS* 1938, pp. 265-6; *Drente*, 2nd ed., 1944, pp. 481-3. Cf., however, the remarks by J. Röder, *Bonn. Jahrb.* 148, 1948, pp. 113-4. We do not think that the Neolithic tumulus 1 of Wallendorf, Kreis Merseburg, described by F. Benesch, could be classed as a disc barrow; cf. *Deutsche Vorz.* 16, 1940, pp. 245-6.

¹⁸ Cf. the chapter on the Dutch cordoned cinerary urns of the Middle and Late Bronze Age, pp. 89-137 above.

¹⁹ We saw and handled this category on a visit to the British Museum in March 1952, for which we have to thank Mr J. W. Brailsford, Assistant-Keeper in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, Sub-department of Prehistory & Roman Britain.

²⁰ The same conclusion was reached on other grounds by W. Kersten, *Bonn. Jahrb.* 148, 1948, pp. 26-9. Cf. *supra*, p. 116.

²¹ In view of the distribution area, Doppelfeld's name '*Utrechter Typus*' could not be retained either.

²² See Part I, p. 118.

²³ See *supra*, '*Barræws surrounded by Rings of Posts*', pp. 16-75.

²⁴ See '*Palynological investigation of the barrow cemetery between Toterfout and Halve Mijl*', by H. Tj. Waterbolk, Part I, pp. 105-22.

²⁵ This ring of widely spaced posts (dm.: c. 40 metres) is the largest of this type in the Netherlands.

²⁶ It is to be regretted that it has not been possible to await the results of the Carbon 14 measurements for a number of samples (Part I, pp. 129-30: nos 42, 64 and 87, from tumuli 5, 15 and 4 respectively) submitted in 1951 to Professor W. F. Libby, Institute for Nuclear Studies and Department of Chemistry, University of Chicago.

²⁷ For the timber monuments mentioned below see *sub* postcircle types 3-9.

²⁸ The '*Vijfberg*' group on the Rechte Heide near Goirle and some of the barrow groups described by Panken are good examples of series of barrows probably laid out along prehistoric ways. The Veluwe and Drente can also show numerous examples. Cf. further H. Hinz, *Hügelgrabwege an der Westküste Schlesiens*, *Archaeologia Geographica*, Jhrg 1, Heft 4, Nov. 1950, pp. 52-4.

²⁹ Particularly clear in tumuli 5, 8, 17 and 22.

³⁰ See '*The Burial Ritual*', pp. 138-64.

³¹ See pp. 122-5. For the demonstrable degeneration of the soil cf. also Waterbolk, Part I, pp. 117-21.

³² Another possibility would be that it had been necessary to use yellow sand from the subsoil in raising the barrow, a large area having already been denuded of sods for the recent construction of other nearby barrows. For a tumulus of some 16 metres in diameter and a height of some 1.50 metres, having an approximate content of 200 cubic metres, it is necessary to strip about half an acre if the sod thickness is set at 10 centimetres. That sod-cutting was normally begun at the immediate foot of the future barrow is proved by tumulus 1, where hardly any podsolized old surface was to be observed under the bank. Cf. also Part I, p. 131, note 1.

³³ For a review of the available data on prehistoric agriculture in the Netherlands see Van Giffen, *West-Friesland XVII*, 1944, pp. 131 *sqq.* and also our corpus of postcircle types 3-9.

³⁴ Not 'sanctuaries', as Holwerda thought. Cf. *OM Leiden*, NR VI, 1925, pp. 80-94.

³⁵ Cf. *supra*, pp. 76-88.

³⁶ *The excavation of two round barrows at Poole, Dorset*, *PPS XVIII*, 1952, pp. 148-59.

³⁷ See J. Röder, *Pfahl und Menhir*, 1949, *passim*, and especially p. 72. Wherever in the present work a hypothetical 'inhumation burial at ground level (?)' is suggested there is always the possibility that the barrow was actually a cenotaph.

³⁸ Occurring side by side, therefore, with the beehive-shaped graves. Savory (*Arch*

Cambr. 1948, p. 84) is thinking of the creation of a new tradition 'in which the central idea is not a "house of the dead" for one person but a sacred precinct, a "God's acre" in which a family or clan participated, and in which the "single-grave" and megalithic traditions of the two strains in the local population were finally reconciled'.

³⁸ The ritual acts and structures so far observed in Dutch Bronze Age barrows have been reviewed on pp. 138-64.

⁴⁰ This exceptional flourishing in the Brabant hinterland might, however, also be explained as the survival of a cultural phenomenon in a backwater. In secluded areas certain phenomena will normally persist much longer than in regions where the influence of the cultural centres is immediately felt.

⁴¹ See Part I, pp. 114-5, 119.

⁴² A. E. Remouchamps, *OM Leiden*, NR V, 1924, pp. 69-76 (cf. especially fig. 4: 10, 4 phh., placed in a rectangle, in the entrance gap) and F. C. Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XXIII, 1942, p. 59 (Uden); F. C. Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XVIII, 1937, pp. 4-5, NR XXIII, 1942, p. 56 (Strijbeek); Van Giffen, *BH* I, 1949, fig. 1 (Schaaik); Th. G. Appelboom, *PSSAIN* III, 3, 1952, pp. 45-8 (Nederweert).

⁴³ M. A. Evelein, *OM Leiden*, OR III, 1909, pp. 81-7.

⁴⁴ M. A. Evelein, *OM Leiden*, OR IV, 1910, pp. 31-42, and J. H. Holwerda, *OM Leiden*, OR VII, 1913, pp. 91-8.

⁴⁵ W. C. Braat, *OM Leiden*, NR XVII, 1936, pp. 38-46 (cf. *sub* postcircle type 5, North Brabant, no 1, type 6, North Brabant, nos 15-7, type 7, North Brabant, nos 1-2); C. C. W. J. Hijzeler, *PSSAIN* III, 2, 1952, pp. 26-7 (cf. postcircle type 3, North Brabant, nos 17-8, type 5, North Brabant, no 7, type 6, North Brabant, nos 22-4, type 7, North Brabant, nos 13-5).

⁴⁶ Van Giffen, *Brab. Oergesch.*, 1937, pp. 47-53.

⁴⁷ Cf. Part I, pp. 9-10, Group VI. For other ringditch urnfields from Brabant see A. E. Remouchamps, *OM Leiden*, NR V, 1924, pp. 69-76 (Uden); NR VII, 1926, pp. xcii-cix (Goirle); Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, pp. 93-120 (Best), and for a general discussion F. C. Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XXIII, 1942, pp. 48-77.

⁴⁸ See Part I, pp. 8-11.

⁴⁹ At Valkenswaard Evelein seems, however, to have excavated ridge-type fields containing (secondary?) interments, and lacking Urnfield ringditches proper.

⁵⁰ *OM Leiden*, NR VII, 1926, p. cxv (Putten, Province of Gelderland). Cf. also VI, 1925, pp. 83-6.

⁵¹ S. J. de Laet & M. E. Mariën, *Ant. Class.* XIX, 1950, pp. 309-63.

⁵² P. Cuypers, *NB* IV, 1844, pp. 181-94.

⁵³ F. C. Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XVIII, 1937, pp. 4-5, and NR XXIII, 1942, p. 56.

⁵⁴ A. de Loë, *Belgique Ancienne* II, 1931, pp. 163-8.

⁵⁵ S. J. de Laet & M. E. Mariën, *Ant. Class.* XIX, 1950, pp. 355-6; M. E. Mariën, *Handelingen Gent*, NR V, 1951, p. 223.

⁵⁶ J. H. Holwerda, *Altschlesien* 5, 1934, pp. 194-7; *OM Leiden*, NR XV, 1934, pp. 39-53; F. C. Bursch, *OM Leiden*, NR XXIII, 1942, pp. 53, 74; M. E. Mariën, *Oud-België*, 1952, pp. 303-4.

⁵⁷ For this period cf. especially S. J. de Laet, *De Kempen in de Romeinse en in de vroeg-Merovingische tijd*, *BH* II, 1950, pp. 29-38.

⁵⁸ A native house, dating from the 2nd century A. D., was excavated by J. Willems (1938) at 'de Bartjes' near Alphen in Western North Brabant. The rectangular ground plan measured some 14 by 7.50 metres. Immediately to the W of it was a rectangular configuration of 6 postholes, probably a granary. Cf. W. J. C. Binck, *Omzwerpingen in de Alphensche praehistorie*, 's-Hertogenbosch, 1945, pp. 54-6.

⁵⁹ Probably in two periods, the first about the end of the first century and the beginning of the second, the other about the end of the second and the beginning

of the third. Cf. *OM Leiden*, OR IV, 1910, pp. 43-8, NR XII, 1931, pp. 21-5.

⁶⁰ See A. W. Byvanck, *Excerpta Romana, De bronnen der Romeinsche geschiedenis van Nederland* II, *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën* 81, 1935, no 93, pp. 99-100 (with literature). — The large tufa structural fragment with rectangular mortise found together with other Roman remains (e.g. pottery of the second century A. D.) at the flattening of the 'Kaboutersberg' at Hoogeloon, may perhaps have come from a similar sanctuary. Holwerda & Smit, *Cat.* 1917, p. 27; Beex, *BH* I, 1949, pp. 14-6. — For Roman remains from the Eight Beatitudes see also Holwerda & Smit, *Cat.* 1917, e.g. pp. 26-7 (Hapert), and A. W. Byvanck, *Excerpta Romana* III, *RGP* 89 (1947), pp. 82-5.

⁶¹ *Genio hu[i]lus loci Texand(ri) et Sunic(i), vex(illatio) Cohor(tis) II Nerviorum.* See A. W. Byvanck, *Excerpta Romana* II, 1935, no 1260, p. 488.

⁶² J. Dhondt, S. J. de Laet & P. Hombert, *Quelques considérations sur la fin de la domination romaine et les débuts de la colonisation franque en Belgique*, *Ant. Class.* XVII, 1948, pp. 133-56, especially pp. 152-4.

⁶³ Only a few finds from Westerhoven were recorded. See *Verlag van den Directeur van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden over het jaar 1928*, p. 11.

⁶⁴ *BH* II, 1950, p. 86.

⁶⁵ *Gedenkboek Van Giffen*, 1947, pp. 504-5, 529. See also *NDV* 1935, pp. 70-4, for a discussion of the methods generally followed in former days in describing large cemeteries. In the absence of structural evidence it was usual to rely only on the typology of the finds. All kinds of heterogeneous phenomena reflected, as a rule, only by markings in the soil, went unnoticed. The disproportion between the number of portable finds — poor at that — for different periods (Bronze Age — Iron Age) led to wholly erroneous views (e.g. complete rejection of the three period-system, and absence of a Bronze Age in the Netherlands). It was particularly the occurrence, apparently out of context, of large cultural movements in border and hinterlands during the Iron Age that led to those acrimonious and useless polemics that seem such a special feature of the older literature. A notorious instance is the controversy between Holwerda and Rademacher, for which see Willems, *Urnenvelden*, 1935, pp. 80 *sqq.* (with literature).

⁶⁶ See 'The Restorations', Part I, pp. 131-4.

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5. Works on the Dutch disc barrows

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Titels of Periodicals, &c.

- Aarbøger* *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie.*
- Altschlesien* *Altschlesien. Mitteilungen des Schlesischen Altertumsvereins und der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für oberschlesische Ur- u. Frühgeschichte.*
- Ann. ARAB* *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique.*
- Ann. SAB* *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles.*
- Ant. Journ.* *The Antiquaries Journal, being the Journal of The Society of Antiquaries of London.*
- Ant. Class.* *L'Antiquité Classique. Revue semestrielle.*
- Antiquity* *Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology.*
- Archaeologia* *Archaeologia or miscellaneous tracts relating to Antiquity, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London.*
- Arch. Cambr.* *Archaeologia Cambrensis. The Journal of the Cambrian Archaeological Association.*
- Arch. Journ.* *The Archaeological Journal.*
- Archéologie* *Archéologie in Ant. Class.*
- Archiv f. hess. Gesch. u. Altert.* *Archiv für hessische Geschichte und Altertumskunde.*
- Badische Fundberichte* *Badische Fundberichte. Amtliches Nachrichtenblatt für die ur- und frühgeschichtliche Forschung, herausgegeben vom Landesamt für Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Karlsruhe.*
- Van Giffen, Bauart GIFFEN, A. E. VAN, *Die Bauart der Einzelgräber. Beitrag zur Kenntnis der älteren individuellen Grabhügelstrukturen in den Niederlanden. Mannus-Bibliothek Nr. 44 & Nr. 45. 1. Teil: Textband; 2. Teil: Tafelband. Leipzig, 1930.*
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- Ber. RGK* *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.*
- Bodenaltertümer Westfalens VII* *Bodenaltertümer Westfalens VII, Berichte des Landesmuseums für Vor- und Frühgeschichte und der Altertumskommission im Provinzialinstitut für Westfälische Landes- und Volkskunde, herausgegeben von August Stieren. Fundchronik für Westfalen und Lippe über die Jahre 1937-1947. Münster Westfalen, 1950.*
- Bonn. Jahrb.* *Bonner Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande und des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn.*
- Bouwst. Gron. Oergesch.* *Bouwstoffen voor de Groningsche Oergeschiedenis (in VMG).*
- BH* *Brabants Heem. Tweemaandelijks Tijdschrift voor Brabantse Heem- en Oudheidkunde.*
- Van Giffen, Brab. Oergesch. GIFFEN, A. E. VAN, *Bouwsteenen voor de Brabantsche Oergeschiedenis. Opgravingen in de Provincie Noord-Brabant, 1935. Uitgave van het Provinciaal Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Noord-Brabant, 1937.*

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- Holwerda & Smit, *Cat.*, 1917 HOLWERDA, J. H. & J. P. W. A. SMIT, *Catalogus der Archeologische verzameling van het Provinciaal Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Noord-Brabant*. 's-Hertogenbosch, 1917.
- Chadwick Papers* *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies)*. Edited by Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins. Cambridge, 1950.
- Deutsche Vorz.* *Nachrichtenblatt für Deutsche Vorzeit*.
- Van Giffen, *Drente*, 2nd ed. GIFFEN, A. E. VAN, *Opgravingen in Drente. Drente, een handboek voor het kennen van het Drentsche leven in voorbije eeuwen, onder redactie van J. Poortman*, I, 2nd edition, Meppel, 1944, pp. 393-568.
- Gedenkboek Van Giffen Een kwart eeuw oudheidkundig bodemonderzoek in Nederland. Gedenkboek A. E. van Giffen*. Meppel, 1947.
- Gelre* *Gelre, Vereeniging tot beoefening van Geldersche Geschiedenis, Oudheidkunde en Recht. Bijdragen en Mededeelingen*.
- Germania* *Germania, Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*.
- Hermans, *Gesch. Mengelwerk* HERMANS, C. R., *Geschiedkundig Mengelwerk over de Provincie Noord-Brabant*. I & II. 's Hertogenbosch, 1840 & 1841 (1842).
- Hammaburg* *Hammaburg. Vor- und frühgeschichtliche Forschungen aus dem niederelbischen Raum*.
- Handelingen Gent*, NR *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*. Nieuwe Reeks.
- Heylen, 1793 HEYLEN, A., *Verlichtinge der Brabandsche en andere Nederlandsche Oudheden ofte Vaderlandsche Verhandeling Over eenige Urnen ofte Lyk-vaten, onlangs doór de zorg en bekostinge van den Eerw^{ten} Heere GODEFRIDUS HERMANS, Prelaet der Abdy Tongerlo, ontdekt bij het dorp Alphen, etc.* Maastricht, 1793.
- Van Giffen, *Hunebedden II* GIFFEN, A. E. VAN, *De hunebedden in Nederland*, II (Tekst). Utrecht, 1927.
- Die Kunde* *Die Kunde. Gemeinsames Mitteilungsblatt des Urgeschichtlichen Aussendienstes am Landesmuseum der Provinz Hannover und der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für die Volkskunde Niedersachsens*.
- Mannus* *Mannus. Zeitschrift für Deutsche Vorgeschichte*.
- Marburger Studien* *Marburger Studien, herausgegeben von Ernst Sprockhoff*. Darmstadt, 1938.
- NB *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde, verzameld en uitgegeven door Is. An. Nijhoff*.
- NDV *Nieuwe Drentsche Volksalmanak*.
- Pleyte, *Ned. Oudh.* PLEYTE, W., *Nederlandsche Oudheden van de vroegste tijden tot op Karel den Groote*. I. Tekst. II. Platen. Leiden (*Frisland*: 1877; *Drenthe*: 1882; *Overijssel*: 1885; *Gelderland*: 1889; *Batavia*: 1899; *West-Friesland*: 1902).
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- Nieders. Urgesch.* *Nachrichten aus Niedersachsens Urgeschichte*.
- Hermans, NO HERMANS, C. R., *Noordbrabants Oudheden*. 's Hertogenbosch, 1865.
- Mariën, *Oud-België* MARIËN, M. E. *Oud-België, van de eerste landbouwers tot de komst van Cæsar*. Antwerpen, 1952.

- Oudh. Aant.* Oudheidkundige aantekeningen over Drentsche vondsten in NDV.
OM Leiden, OR Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. (Oude Reeks.)
OM Leiden, NR Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden (*Nuntii ex Museo Antiquario Leidensi*). Nieuwe Reeks.
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 Panken II PANKEN, P. N., *Voorchristelijke begraafplaatsen in de heiden te Bergeik, Riethoven, Veldhoven, Steensel, Knegsel, Oerle, Wintelre, Hapert en Luiks-Gestel* (Tweede gedeelte). Hermans, *Bijdragen Noord-Brabant II*, 1845, pp. 257-81. (pp. 282-92: *Aantekeningen*, by Dr C. R. Hermans.)
Childe, Preh. Comm. CHILDE, V. G., *Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles*. 3rd ed. London & Edinburgh, 1949.
Proc. Hants. F.C. *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club.*
PPS *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.*
PSSAIN *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek in Nederland. Proceedings of the State Service for Archaeological Investigations in the Netherlands.*
PZ *Præhistorische Zeitschrift.*
 Martin, Soesterberg MARTIN, H., *Ontgraving van een prae-historischen tumulus te Soesterberg. Verslag over het dienstjaar 1923, van de (Utrechtsche) Provinciale Commissie van Toezicht op de Bewaring en Instandhouding van Voorwerpen van Waarde uit het oogpunt van Geschiedenis en Kunst*, 1924, pp. 3-13.
Taxandria *Taxandria, Gedenkschriften van den Geschied- en Oudheidkundigen Kring der Kempen.*
Trierer Zeitschr. *Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete.*
 Willems, Urnenvelden WILLEMS, W. J. A., *Een bijdrage tot de kennis der vóór-Romeinsche urnenvelden in Nederland. Diss. Amsterdam. Maastricht*, 1935.
VMG *Verslag omtrent den toestand van het Museum van Oudheden voor de Provincie en Stad Groningen.*
Vrije Fries *De Vrije Fries. Tijdschrift, uitgegeven door het Friesch Genootschap van Geschied-, Oudheid- en Taalkunde.*
 Holwerda, Vr. Besch. HOLWERDA, J. H., *Nederland's vroegste beschaving. Proeve van een archaeologisch systeem. Leiden*, 1907.
Westfalen *Westfalen. Hefte für Geschichte, Kunst und Volkskunde.*
Westf. Forsch. *Westfälische Forschungen. Mitteilungen des Provinzialinstituts für westfälische Landes- und Volkskunde.*
West-Friesland *West-Friesland's „Oud en Nieuw”, uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap „Oud West-Friesland”.*
ZfE *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Organ der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte.*

pc.	= postcircle	sec.	= secondary	w.	= width
ph.	= posthole	c.	= circa	int.	= interval
rd.	= ringditch	h.	= height	or.	= original
(int.) dm.	= (internal) diameter	l.	= length	max.	= maximum

13 + 5 phh. = incomplete pc.: 13 phh. observed, 5 inferred. The inferred phh. either destroyed before excavation, not excavated, or obliterated by iron pan precipitation or other soil reactions.