

## XII.

## A LATE BRONZE AGE HOARD FROM PEEBLESSHIRE.

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## INTRODUCTION.

A remarkable hoard of objects of the Late Bronze Age was discovered in 1864 in Manor parish, Peeblesshire, and has since that date been preserved in the Museum of the Chambers Institute in Peebles. The find was made by Mr Linton of Glenrath and his shepherd under a large stone among the screes of Horsehope Craig (Nat. Grid ref. 209322), and was published by Dr David Christison and Dr Joseph Anderson in 1888.<sup>1</sup> The unusual character of the objects attracted the writer's attention, and Mr R. B. K. Stevenson, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, was able to arrange, through the kind offices of the authorities of the Institute, that the hoard should be temporarily loaned to the National Museum for study, photography and conservation. The Museum itself possesses a bronze socketed axe from the hoard, making with another at Peebles a total of two: the National Museum specimen is included in the drawings of the hoard (figs. 1 and 2) as no. 1 (Museum Registration number D.E. 60). With the exception of this axe, the objects are now once again in the Museum at Peebles, with representative reproductions of the more important objects in the national collections.

The site of the find is a remarkable one, on a high barren scree in a desolate region. Twenty-eight pieces now survive and are likely to represent something very near the original total, since Mr Linton seems to have made a careful search after the initial report of the discovery. To anticipate the conclusions given below, the hoard belongs to Late Bronze Age III in Hawkes' recent subdivision of the British Late Bronze Age, with a likely range of date between the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. The bulk of the objects from the hoard represent the bronze elements from horse-harness and mountings from a vehicle, probably a cart, with their nearest affinities in cart-burials in Central Europe of Hallstatt date.

## DESCRIPTION.

The objects constituting the hoard can be divided into three main groups—socketed axes, cart or chariot mountings, and harness rings. The

<sup>1</sup> *P.S.A.S.*, xxii (1887-8), 199, 334. The 6-inch Ordnance map (Sheet xvi SE.) gives the name as "Horse Hope."

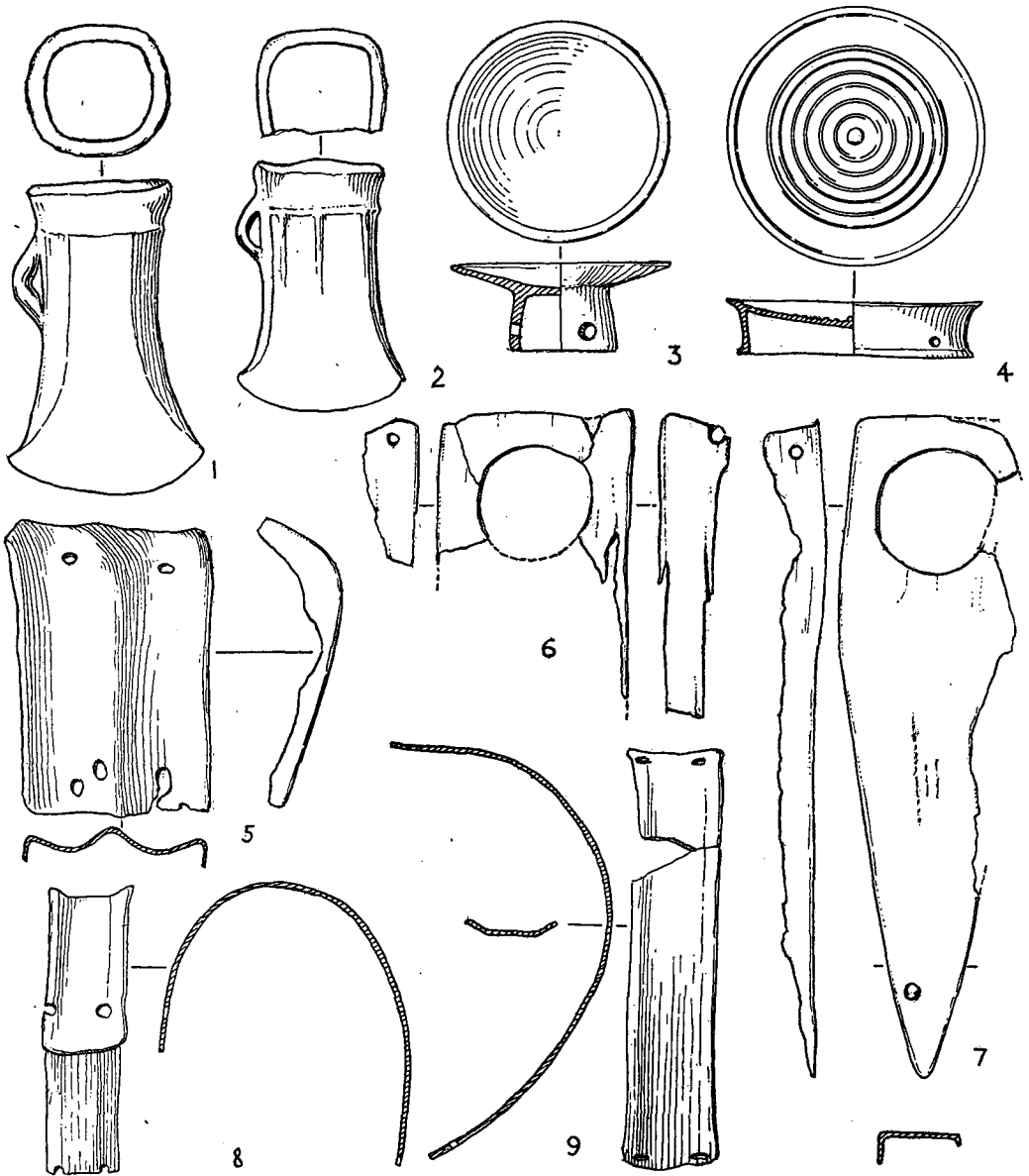


Fig. 1. Bronze socketed axes and mountings from the Horsehope hoard. (Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

illustrations in figs. 1 and 2 show these objects at a scale of one-half, and a representative selection is further illustrated by the photograph in Pl. XXVI.

### I. SOCKETED AXES.

The two socketed axes from the hoard (nos. 1 and 2) are of types well known in the British Late Bronze Age. No. 1 is a representative of the faceted type which in general is associated with an east English distribution,

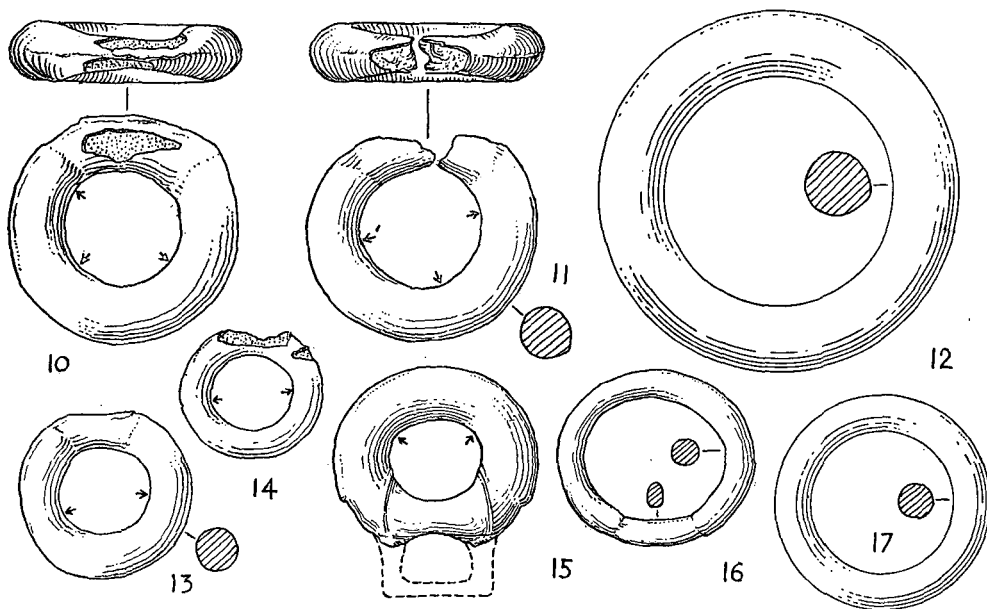


Fig. 2. Bronze rings from the Horsehope hoard. Arrows indicate points of wear. (Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

and is 3.25 ins. long. No. 2, 2.65 ins. long, with decoration of three raised ribs on the face, belongs to a group studied on more than one occasion. Fox in 1933 drew attention to a "Yorkshire" type of socketed axe with such ornament, and mapped its distribution;<sup>1</sup> six years later he discussed a parallel form, the "Welsh" type, in connection with the Llyn Fawr hoard.<sup>2</sup> His two maps are, in fact, complementary, and when combined give a consistent distribution pattern almost entirely north and west of the Severn-Wash line, save for an East Anglian group. If to these maps are added the Scottish socketed axes with this decoration as mapped by Henderson,<sup>3</sup> a

<sup>1</sup> C. Fox, "Distribution of Man in East Anglia . . .," *P.P.S.E.A.*, VII (1933), 149-64; axes described on p. 158, with map fig. 10b, reproduced in his *Personality of Britain* (4th Ed. 1943), pl. xb.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, "A Second Cauldron . . . from the Llyn Fawr Hoard . . .," *Ant. J.*, XIX (1939), 369-404; axes mapped in pl. lxxxii.

<sup>3</sup> W. Henderson, "Scottish Late Bronze Age Axes and Swords," *P.S.A.S.*, LXXII (1937-8), 150-177.

more complete picture is obtained of the British distribution. Sprockhoff, when drawing attention to the North European counterparts of these three-ribbed axes, shows only the "Yorkshire" type on his distribution map.<sup>1</sup> Clark, discussing an analogous series of three-ribbed palstaves (which have, with the exception of a North Welsh group, a distribution pattern almost wholly south and east of the Severn-Wash line), has commented on three-ribbed socketed axes in certain Late Bronze Age hoards from East Anglia,<sup>2</sup> and this matter is returned to again below (p. 185). They occur in more than one hoard having close affinities with Horsehope, notably those of Welby<sup>3</sup> and Heathery Burn,<sup>4</sup> in the latter instance in the form of a mould for casting such axes.

## II. CART MOUNTINGS.

The interpretation of the following group of objects as fragments of the metal mountings of a cart or chariot, or of more than one such vehicle, is largely based on the abundant material published from the Hallstatt I cart-burials in Czechoslovakia.<sup>5</sup> The wider significance of this in connection with the Horsehope and other comparable British hoards is discussed in the final section of this paper.

### *Dish-shaped Mountings* (no. 3).

Five of these mountings were found, all identical, 2·3 ins. diameter, 0·9 in. high, with the tubular socket 0·9 in. internal diameter, pierced by two holes for pegs or rivets. These objects were evidently secured to some pole or rod-shaped wooden member.

Parallels for these mountings are divisible into two groups, those with short sockets as at Horsehope, and those with longer tubes. Of the first group, the best British piece of comparable type comes from a very puzzling group of bronze fragments badly damaged by fire, which accompanied a burial by cremation central to a low round barrow at Aldro in the East Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>6</sup> One such mounting was found, of the same diameters as the Horsehope specimen, for both disc and internal measurement of the socket, which is however slightly longer, making the overall height 1·4 ins. The disc head has a central perforation 0·6 in. in diameter and is not dished, and the socket is decorated with groups of engraved horizontal lines. The

<sup>1</sup> E. Sprockhoff, "Niedersachsens Bedeutung für die Bronzezeit Westeuropas," *Bericht Rom.-Germ. Komm.*, xxxi (1941), 1-138; axes mapped in fig. 90.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. D. Clark, "A Late Bronze Age Find near Stuntney . . .," *Ant. J.*, xx (1940), 52-71.

<sup>3</sup> T. G. E. Powell, "A Late Bronze Age Hoard from Welby, Leicestershire," *Arch. J.*, cv (1950), 27-40; referred to hereafter as *Welby*.

<sup>4</sup> W. Greenwell, "On the Antiquities of the Bronze Age found in the Heathery Burn Cave, Co. Durham," *Archæologia*, liv (1894), 1-28; referred to hereafter as *Heathery Burn*.

<sup>5</sup> F. Dvořák, *Knížecí pohřby no vozech ze starší doby železné* (*Cart-Graves of the Early Iron Age in Bohemia*), *Præhistorica I*, Praha (1938), with German summary. Referred to hereafter as "Dvořák."

<sup>6</sup> J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches* . . . (1905), p. 56, Barrow no. 108.

associated bronze fragments are enigmatic, and include what appear to be lens-shaped glass or crystal discs mounted in sheet bronze.<sup>1</sup>

A more satisfactory comparison can, however, be made with a pair of objects from Grave XXVIII at Hradenín in Czechoslovakia,<sup>2</sup> which from their position in the carefully-excavated grave seem to have been fixed to the rear of the cart in some way. They are undecorated, and the disc-heads are flat.

Somewhat similar objects but with longer tubular attachments are also known, and must be mentioned. The British finds of such pieces in the Fulbourn (Cambridgeshire) and Thenford Hill (Northants) Late Bronze Age hoards and in a west Scottish group have usually been regarded as spear-ferrules, as spear-heads were also present in the hoards.<sup>3</sup> But at Hradenín, similar objects occurred in Graves XXIV and XLVI, without spear-heads and in positions which suggested that they might be the ferrules of whip-stocks,<sup>4</sup> or possibly of *stimuli* or goads.<sup>5</sup>

#### *Ribbed Discs* (no. 4).

Two discs, 2·7 ins. in diameter, slightly concave in section and with a cylindrical collar 0·5 in. high, were found: the concave surfaces of the discs are ornamented with six cast concentric mouldings and a central knob. Each has three nail- or rivet-holes in the collar for attachment.

Circular objects with concentric ribs or mouldings in the general style of the Horsehope discs are not uncommon in British Late Bronze Age contexts, notably the ribbed discs from the Parc-y-Meirch hoard in Denbighshire<sup>6</sup> and on a smaller scale the slide-discs from Welby:<sup>7</sup> a series of small looped discs or buttons would come into the same general class.<sup>8</sup> In the Hradenín cemetery one may note discs with similar ornament.<sup>9</sup>

The function of the Horsehope discs is not obvious, but the suggestion is made that they were decorative axle-caps for the hubs of wheels of the type represented in Hallstatt contexts on the Continent. In such wheels, the hub projects beyond the plane of the spokes as a truncated cone with concave

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the authorities of the Mortimer Museum, Hull, for permitting me to examine and draw these curious fragments in October 1953. They were very inadequately published by Mortimer.

<sup>2</sup> Dvořák, fig. 78, and plan of grave, fig. 77. Cf. also Schiek in *Goessler-Festschrift* (1954), 157, fig. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Fulbourn: Evans, *Bronze* (1881), 340, fig. 426; Fox, *Arch. Camb. Region* (1923), 323 (Hoard 14); "West of Scotland," Callander, *P.S.A.S.*, LVII (1922-3), 144 (Hoard 26).

<sup>4</sup> Dvořák, fig. 26, no. 25 and grave-plan, fig. 22; fig. 45 and grave-plan, fig. 42.

<sup>5</sup> M.-E. Mariën, *Bull. des Mus. Roy. d'Art et d'Hist.* (1946), 16; cf. the Late Bronze Age shaft-mounts and terminals of the objects usually called "flesh-hooks" from English, Scottish and Irish sites such as Thetford and Dunaverney (*Later Prehist. Antiq. Brit. Isles*: (British Mus. 1953), p. 32 and pl. iv), Lulworth and elsewhere (*Ant. J.*, xv (1935), 449, with list to which additions could now be made).

<sup>6</sup> T. Sheppard, "The Parc-y-Meirch Hoard, St George parish, Denbighshire," *Arch. Camb.*, xcvi (1941), 1-10; referred to hereafter as *Parc-y-Meirch*, pl. v, nos. 74-76, 78-81; pl. vib, top left.

<sup>7</sup> *Welby*, fig. 3, 9-13.

<sup>8</sup> Evans, *Bronze*, p. 400-1.

<sup>9</sup> Dvořák, fig. 38, nos. 15 and 16 (Grave XXVIII).

sides, sheathed in bronze and terminating in a more or less elaborate moulded flanged disc forming the actual hub-cap.<sup>1</sup>

*Curved Mounting* (no. 5).

A single thin bronze mounting, broadly ribbed and asymmetrically curved in profile, 3.0 ins. by 2.0 ins. overall, has nail- or rivet-holes and is presumably for mounting on to wood in the manner of a cart-mount from Welhotta in Czechoslovakia.<sup>2</sup>

*Perforated Mountings* (nos. 6 and 7).

There survive two broken mountings, apparently forming a pair, the more complete 6.9 ins. long and 1.85 ins. maximum width, with nail-holes for attachment. Each has a circular perforation near the wider end, 1.1-1.3 ins. in diameter. As with the other sheet bronze mountings in the hoard, these seem likely to have been mounted on to some wooden base, presumably rectangular in section, tapering and perforated. The holes are too small to allow of a functional wooden axle passing through them, but it may be noticed that they would comfortably admit the tubular sockets of the concave discs, no. 3 and its four counterparts.

In searching for a possible parallel to these mountings, and the wooden basis they imply, attention may perhaps be drawn to the massive cast-bronze mountings of the under-carriage of the Hallstatt period cart from the Ohnenheim burial in Alsace. These include curious prong-like objects with a perforation only 0.9 in. in diameter at their broadest point, not dissimilar in shape and proportions from the Horsehope fragments as they would have appeared when mounted on wood. These are interpreted by Klindt-Jensen as forming part of the attachment of the Y-shaped waggon-pole to the front axle.<sup>3</sup> It is possible therefore that the Horsehope mountings may have been attached to similar prong-like projections made of wood, and forming part of the structure of a cart.

*Moulded Strips* (nos. 8 and 9).

Broken fragments making up two narrow bronze strips, the more complete 6.6 ins. long and 0.85 in. maximum width, and each perforated at the extremities with a pair of nail-holes, were found. In section the strips have

<sup>1</sup> Dvořák, fig. 35 (Uffing); fig. 36 (Hradenin, Grave XXVIII); O. Paret, *Fürstengrab . . . von Bad Cannstatt* (Stuttgart, 1935 = reprint of *Fundb. aus Schwaben*, Anhang zu N.F. VIII (1933)), pl. ix (Sulz, Burrenhof and Winterlingen); cf. comments below on a probable hub-sheath of this type from Sompting in Sussex (*Ant. J.*, XXVIII (1948), 162, fig. 5). Professor Hawkes draws my attention to the circular ribbed bronze mountings, not at all dissimilar to those from Horsehope, from Hallstatt graves at Les Jogasses in the Marne. These were interpreted by Favret as the mounts of quivers (*Préhistoire v* (1926), 60; *Bull. Arch.*, 1926, 65; *Soc. Arch. Champenoise*, 1927, 1).

<sup>2</sup> Dvořák, fig. 5.

<sup>3</sup> O. Klindt-Jensen, *Foreign Influences in Denmark's Early Iron Age* (1950), fig. 67, and discussion of the Ohnenheim and Djebjerg carts, p. 87 ff.

a hollowed centre and everted edges. The purpose of these fragments is unknown, nor is it certain whether their present curved shapes are original. Their size and lightness argue against their use, taken as a pair, as a nave-band of a wheel.

### III. HARNESS RINGS.

Under this heading are grouped thirteen rings and loops of various types, all likely on analogy to be associated with horse-harness. Simple bronze rings of varying sizes were common in the Hradenín graves, usually grouped near the yoke and bridle-bits, and so evidently belonging to head-stalls and other pieces of harness.<sup>1</sup> As we shall see, British finds such as that of Heathery Burn and Parc-y-Meirch have produced numerous rings in association with other evidence of horse-driving.

#### *Massive Rings* (nos. 10 and 11).

Six virtually identical rings, hollow-cast on a clay core, form a group: they have an internal diameter of 1·2 ins., 2·4 ins. external, with about one-third of the circumference thinned down to an oval section. All rings show much wear on the sides of this thinned portion, and in addition each has three points of wear within the inner face of the ring. This implies wear from straps or loops of stiff material, presumably leather, in which a main loop contained the thinned sector of the ring, and two stiff straps about  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. wide were joined in a Y-junction with the main loop, their edges causing the patches of wear inside the ring.

#### *Smaller Rings* (nos. 13 and 14).

Three smaller rings 1·8 ins. external diameter (no. 13), and one slightly smaller again, 1·5 ins. external diameter (no. 14), are in other respects similar to the massive rings described above, with worn thinned sectors. But the patches of wear on the inner side suggest that a single strap only was joined to the main loop which would have encircled the thinned part of the ring.

The best parallels to this series of rings come from the Parc-y-Meirch hoard,<sup>2</sup> and Dr H. N. Savory kindly reports that the five harness-rings in the National Museum of Wales from this hoard show signs of internal wear, though in the form of faceting near the constricted sector of the ring, and more marked on one side of the ring than the other. Mr John Brailsford of the British Museum most kindly undertook an examination of possibly analogous rings from Late Bronze Age contexts in the collections there, but states that he can find nothing comparable. He further comments that

<sup>1</sup> Dvořák, *passim*, esp. fig. 49. One may compare the bronze rings in analogous positions in the La Tène "A" chariot-graves of the Marne (Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927), figs. 424 and 425).

<sup>2</sup> *Parc-y-Meirch*, pls. iia and iii.

the general run of Late Bronze Age rings (*e.g.* those from the Heathery Burn find) are more slender than those under discussion, approximating rather to the type of Horsehope no. 17. One ring with narrowed sector occurs, however, in a Late Bronze Age hoard in the Museum from Thenford Hill Farm, Marston St Lawrence, Northants (92, 11-4, 3-13), and the small terret-like object from the Green End Road, Cambridge, hoard is again comparable.<sup>1</sup>

*Harness Loop* (no. 15).

This broken object, 2.1 ins. across and with two wear patches inside the ring, can be reconstructed from a close parallel at Parc-y-Meirch<sup>2</sup> and a less strikingly similar loop at Welby.<sup>3</sup>

*Miscellaneous Rings* (nos. 12, 16, 17).

There remain to be mentioned a massive ring, 2.35 ins. internal diameter, hollow-cast on a clay core (no. 12); another smaller ring, 1.45 ins. internal diameter (no. 17); and a ring with thinned sector, slightly oval, 2.0 by 1.85 ins., and recalling Early Iron Age terret types. None of these rings shows signs of wear, but their use with harness may be assumed.

#### DISCUSSION.

The analysis of the types in the Horsehope assemblage has shown us that we are dealing with a distinctive form of Late Bronze Age hoard in which occur exotic objects which can be related to the Central European Hallstatt culture, and that these objects are frequently associated with the use of horses and carts or chariots. The Horsehope hoard is in these respects closely comparable with those from Heathery Burn in Co. Durham, Welby in Leicestershire, Parc-y-Meirch in Denbighshire and, to a slightly less extent, that of Llyn Fawr in Glamorganshire. Our first stage of inquiry must be to determine with such precision as is possible the chronological position of these hoards in relation to the Central and Northern European Late Bronze Age sequence.

To assist in the understanding of the argument which follows, it is convenient to recapitulate in the form of a table the current equations established between the subdivisions of the final Bronze Age and earlier Iron Age in Central Europe on the one hand, following the scheme of Reinecke, modified in terminology by Childe and Hawkes, and that of North Germany and Scandinavia, following Montelius, on the other.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *V.C.H. Cambs.*, I (1938), 279, fig. 20, 6; pl. vi.

<sup>2</sup> *Parc-y-Meirch*, pl. vii, top right.

<sup>3</sup> *Welby*, fig. 3, no. 7.

<sup>4</sup> This is based on a modification by Hawkes of his table in *P.P.S.*, xiv (1948), 216.



Central Europe.	The North.	Dates B.C.
	Montelius IV	—900
Bronze Age F (Reinecke Hallstatt B)	Montelius V	—800 —700
Hallstatt I (Reinecke Hallstatt C)	Montelius VI	—600
Hallstatt II (Reinecke Hallstatt D)		—500
		—400

The important point to note in the present connection is that Hallstatt I overlaps Montelius Period V by a generation or two, and it must be remembered that whereas Hallstatt I on the Continent marks the beginnings of an iron-using economy, in the northern regions and in Britain a Late Bronze Age still persisted.

The continental parallels to objects in the Horsehope hoard, as we have seen, lie mainly in the cart-burials of Czechoslovakia and south-western Germany, of Hallstatt I and II.<sup>1</sup> The horse-trappings link it with the Welby hoard, in which Powell demonstrated the Hallstatt I affinities of the slided harness-discs. This hoard also included handles from a "cross-handled" bowl, assigned by Powell to Montelius VI; but von Merhart's recent study shows that the type originates in the *urnenfelderzeit* (Bronze Age F) and that the Welby handles, if not archaising, do appear to be typologically early in the Hallstatt series.<sup>2</sup> One could make a case, therefore, for raising Powell's date of 550–500 B.C. for the hoard by half a century or even more.

The Heathery Burn find has been recently discussed by Hawkes, who suggests a date within the 7th century B.C. for it.<sup>3</sup> The nave-bands of a cart at Heathery Burn again emphasise the "horsy" character of the hoards under discussion.

<sup>1</sup> For a study of such graves, with list and distribution-map, see S. Schiek, "Das Hallstattgrab von Vilsingen," *Festschrift für Peter Goessler* (Stuttgart, 1954), 150–67.

<sup>2</sup> G. von Merhart, "Studien über einige Gattungen von Bronzegefässen," *Röm.-Germ. Zentralmus. Festschrift*, II (1952), 1–71; comment on Welby handles on 14, 33.

<sup>3</sup> In a communication to the Prehistoric Society at its meeting in Sheffield in September 1952.

The Parc-y-Meirch hoard is of great interest, since it contains, in addition to types which recur at Welby and Horsehope, very distinctive objects of Scandinavian origin. These consist of kidney-shaped plaques of bronze hung on rings, apparently on a horse's bridle, and in Denmark and Sweden these can be assigned to Period V, with one example in Period VI.<sup>1</sup> There is a likelihood therefore that the Parc-y-Meirch hoard should belong to the 7th rather than to the 6th century B.C. Powell has noted that even at Eskelhem there are Hallstatt I characteristics perceptible in the cheek-bars which closely resemble those from Hradenín Grave XXIV.

While the Llyn Fawr hoard does not contain types which link it closely to Horsehope, Welby or Parc-y-Meirch, the presence in it of Hallstatt exotic objects brings it into the general picture. Here there is not only the iron sword, but the objects which in the past have been regarded as winged chapes. Mariën claimed that they were part of the body-harness supporting the sword-belt of a Hallstatt warrior but has since shown that they are in fact bridle cheek-pieces with parallels in south Germany.<sup>2</sup> The Belgian parallels for these come from a grave of Hallstatt I at Court-Saint-Étienne, which also contained a belt-buckle very similar to a Llyn Fawr fragment, with somewhat comparable discs with a loop on the concave side; good parallels to the Llyn Fawr examples occur in the Eskelhem find from Gottland of Period VI referred to above, but one may note a pair of similar but smaller discs from an Urnfield Period cart-grave (presumably Bronze Age F) from Mengen in south Germany.<sup>3</sup> These continental parallels go to suggest a date for the Llyn Fawr hoard in the late 7th or early 6th century B.C. rather than that of a century later suggested by Fox.<sup>4</sup> The cauldrons of Leeds' Type B1 from the same hoard would again, on Hawkes' recent reassessment, have a central date of c. 600 B.C.<sup>5</sup>

Our study of the Horsehope hoard, taken in conjunction with its congeners, gives substance to a phase of the British Late Bronze Age which Hawkes in 1948 envisaged as Late Bronze Age III.<sup>6</sup> This phase, characterised by distinctively "Iron Hallstatt" imports, can be shown to equate in the main with Hallstatt I of the Continent, roughly spanning the 6th and part of the 5th century, but the equations which can also be made with

<sup>1</sup> Period V examples include the Fangel Torp (Odense) and Høve (Vester Flakkebjerg) hoards in Denmark (Broholm, *Danmarks Bronzealder*, III (1946), 214, 226) and Ekens in Gotland (Montelius, *Swedish Antiq.* (1922), no. 1234). The well-known Eskelhem find in Gotland (Montelius, *op. cit.*, nos. 1450-56; Hansson, *Gotlands Bronsålder* (1927), pl. 53) falls in Period VI, with its iron bridle-bit.

<sup>2</sup> M.-E. Mariën, "Note sur quelques Objets Hallstattiens de Court-Saint-Étienne," *Bull. Mus. Roy. d'Art et d'Hist.* (1946), 16-28. His reconsideration of these pieces was made in a communication to the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences in Madrid in April 1954.

<sup>3</sup> Paret, *op. cit.*, 28; pl. xi, nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant. J.*, XIX (1939), 379.

<sup>5</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes, "Las Relaciones en el bronce final entre la Peninsula Iberica y las Islas Britanicas . . ." *Ampurias*, XIV (1952), 81-118, esp. 109-10.

<sup>6</sup> *Survey and Policy of Field Research* (Council for British Arch., 1948), 37; cf. also *P.P.S.*, XIV (1948), 217.

Montelius Period V in Scandinavia suggest that the initial movements and continental contacts foreshadowing Bronze Age III started before the end of the preceding Bronze Age II phase. The recognition of the sword from the Kirkesøby hoard in Denmark, of Period V, as a "British Hallstatt" type, makes this the easier to believe.<sup>1</sup> If the conical object of sheet bronze from the Sompting hoard (with a cauldron of Type B2) be in fact a hub-sheathing, as suggested above (p. 180), here would be another contact with the Central European cart series,<sup>2</sup> and the "exotic" razors of Mrs Piggott's Class III would again find a place here.<sup>3</sup> The association of so many of these finds with evidence of horse-drawn vehicles is noteworthy.

Such a dating would place our hoards in a chronological position in which they would overlap with the latter part of Bronze Age II, characterised in part by the Deverel-Rimbury culture in Wessex, and partly by the bronze types of the "Carp's-tongue Sword" complex. Indeed, such an overlap appears to be demonstrated by the evidence of East Anglian hoards discussed by Clark, and the presence in both groups of the socketed axe with triple-rib pattern.<sup>4</sup>

The lower limits of the phase are less easy to define, especially in the Highland Zone in which the phase is best represented. It should be noted here, however, that so far as Scotland is concerned the Hallstatt elements of the type present in the Horsehope hoard seem to be something distinct, in character and chronology, from those represented by the exotic finds from eastern Scotland to which attention was first drawn by Childe in 1935.<sup>5</sup> These include such objects as the necklaces from Wester Ord and the Braes of Gight, with Hallstatt II prototypes;<sup>6</sup> sunflower-headed pins and "dress-fasteners," with Scandinavian origins but a proximal source in Ireland,<sup>7</sup> and crook-necked disc-headed pins of the Tarves or Orrock type, with North German affinities of the late 6th or even 5th century B.C.<sup>8</sup>

Such finds may represent a continuation of contacts between the Highland Zone and continental areas of the Hallstatt culture from the time of the earlier imports, such as the Horsehope finds, and the fragment of a bowl from the Adabrock hoard, originally identified by Mrs Piggott as from a bowl with incised ornament probably of Hallstatt I: indeed von Merhart's illustrations show to how wide a variety of related types of bronze bowls the fragment could have belonged.<sup>9</sup> At all events, it seems that the

<sup>1</sup> J. D. Cowen, *P.P.S.*, xviii (1952), 129.

<sup>2</sup> This interpretation suggested itself independently to the writer and to Professor C. F. C. Hawkes, as appeared in discussion of the Horsehope hoard in 1953. The writer owes much to Professor Hawkes' stimulating conversations on the British Bronze Age on many occasions.

<sup>3</sup> C. M. Piggott, "The Late Bronze Age Razors of the British Isles," *P.P.S.*, xii (1946), 121-41.

<sup>4</sup> J. G. D. Clark in *Ant. J.*, xx (1940), 52.

<sup>5</sup> *Prehist. Scotland* (1935), 161-5.

<sup>6</sup> In addition to parallels cited by Childe, cf. *Reallexikon*, ix, pl. 220d, from Wangnick, East Prussia.

<sup>7</sup> Hencken in *J.R.S.A.I.*, lxxxii (1951), 1-12.

<sup>8</sup> C. M. Piggott in *P.S.A.S.*, lxxxii (1947-8), 306; Hawkes in *Arch. J.*, c (1945), 197-9.

<sup>9</sup> C. M. Piggott in *P.P.S.*, xii (1946), 124: probably a cross-handled vessel of his type B 2 f.

curious Scandinavian contacts of Periods IV to VI perceptible in the Irish Late Bronze Age are not represented in Scotland except by objects themselves of Irish derivation.

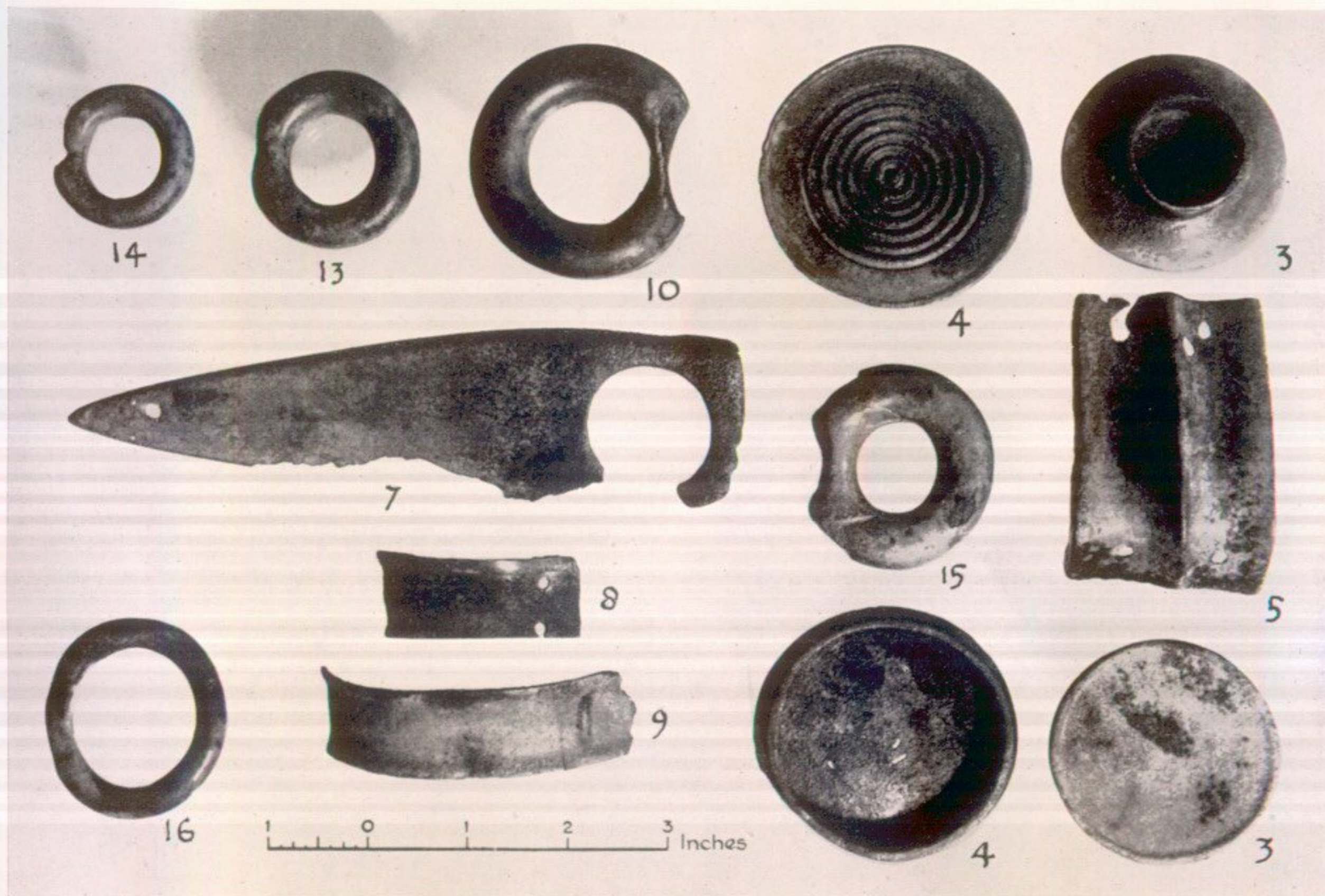
The nature of the contacts implied by these imported Hallstatt objects remains obscure: whether they represent trade or actual immigration is a problem bound up with the question of the status of "Flat-Rimmed Pottery" in Britain and Ireland.<sup>1</sup> The introduction of horse-drawn carts which is implied in the finds from the Horsehope and similar hoards may be thought to favour the theory of immigration rather than that of trade, perhaps at more than one remove; the Hallstatt equivalent of setting up a gig is likely to have been a cultural trait hardly to be acquired by hearsay.<sup>2</sup> At this point, too, we must note what is probably an actual cart-burial of the 5th century B.C. or earlier under a small barrow on Beaulieu Heath in the New Forest.<sup>3</sup> Whatever the value of such inferences, the Horsehope hoard, ninety years after its discovery, has yielded information of significance not only to Scotland, but to the British Late Bronze Age at large.

<sup>1</sup> The problem is summarised by the writer in chap. ii of *The Problem of the Picts* (1955).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. V. G. Childe, "The First Waggon and Carts . . .," *P.P.S.*, xvii (1951), 177-94.

<sup>3</sup> C. M. Piggott, "An Iron Age Barrow in the New Forest," *Ant. J.*, xxxiii (1953), 14-21.





Selected objects from the Horsehope hoard. (Numbers as in figs. 1 and 2.)