

# Mountain Barrows, Pelynt: a south-eastern Cornish barrow group in its local context

CATHERINE J FRIEMAN AND JAMES LEWIS

*This paper discusses the Bronze Age barrow group at Mountain Barrows, south west of Pelynt village in Pelynt parish. It brings together reports of antiquarian activity at the site, the results of recent geophysical surveys and a wider examination of the landscape in south-east Cornwall to discuss the development of the barrow group within its local and south-western British context. It also considers how this barrow group influenced the development of the local landscape. It is argued that Mountain Barrows together with two adjacent groups of barrows in Pelynt parish may have flanked an ancient routeway.*

This paper investigates the Bronze Age barrow cemetery of Mountain Barrows (Cornwall and Scilly Historic Environment Record (HER) PRN 10112 / MCO 1961), located in Pelynt parish in south-east Cornwall (SX 20030 54400). This is undertaken through an examination of published records of antiquarian activity and the results of recent geophysical survey at the site. Since 2012 the authors have been investigating the later prehistoric landscape of south-east Cornwall, especially the area around Pelynt village, to learn more of the nature of sites recorded by the Cornwall Historic Environment Record (HER) and designated by Historic England. This work includes assessing the preservation of sites recorded in the nineteenth century and sometimes disturbed by antiquarian activity and examining the relationships between sites and between them and the wider landscape.

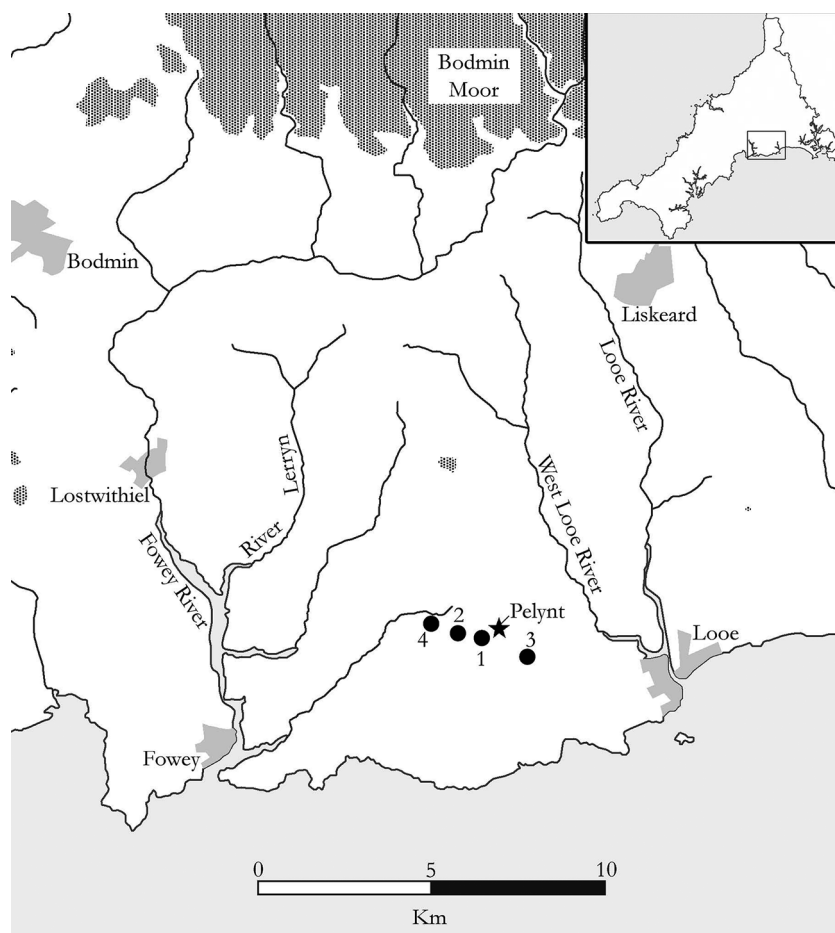
The area around Pelynt village in south-east Cornwall shows a surprisingly dense distribution of prehistoric monuments. Barrow cemeteries, hillforts and other banked and ditched enclosures cluster together in the low hills and valleys. Indeed, no other parish within south-east Cornwall contains more prehistoric enclosures and barrows than Pelynt. Clearly something of importance was

happening here in the second and first millennia cal BC to produce this wealth of monuments, but it has not yet been explained or fully investigated.

## The archaeological history of south-east Cornwall

Cornwall's south-east corner has not been subject to the industrial development which has influenced the landscape history of some other parts of the county and has remained largely agricultural. The area is characterised by deep river valleys and land enclosed since at least the medieval period. Navigable rivers, including the Tamar, Looe and Fowey cut north–south through this area, connecting the peninsula's inland regions to the English Channel (Fig 1). The area within Cornwall's southeast corner with which this paper is concerned is defined as the land between the Fowey and the West Looe rivers and south of Bodmin Moor.

In this area, there has been relatively little large-scale development; and, as a result, only a handful of modern archaeological excavations have taken place (see Jones 1998–99; Ray 1994; 2001; Wessex



*Fig 1 South-east Cornwall with sites mentioned in the text marked. 1. Mountain Barrows; 2. Hendra / Cartole Barrow group; 3. Ashen Cross barrow group; 4. Bake Rings enclosure. Star marks the location of Pelynt village. Stippled areas are above 200m elevation.*

Arch 2009; Borlase 2013), although numerous sites have been identified through the Cornwall National Mapping Programme (Young 2007). Over the last 50 years, archaeological research in the eastern half of Cornwall has focused primarily on Bodmin Moor with its landscape of open moorland and granite tors (Johnson and Rose 1994; Herring 2008; Bender *et al* 1997; 2008; Bradley 1998); in contrast, little or no systematic fieldwork has been carried out in this ‘lowland’ landscape in the last two decades.

In contrast to the open, dramatic landscape of Bodmin Moor, south-east Cornwall is characterised by intensive agriculture and an enclosed landscape. This makes movement across the landscape for fieldwork and prospection for sites difficult as multiple landowners and field boundaries have to be negotiated. Moving across country, travel is restricted to deep sunken lanes and roads

connecting settlements, and the few existing footpaths either follow the river valleys or survive as isolated sections within the field systems and are consequently rarely used. The high Cornish hedges severely disrupt views of the landscape. Much of the upstanding archaeology has been severely damaged by the escalation in agricultural activity from the nineteenth century onwards.

In 2012, a research project was developed by the authors to begin to examine this rich and poorly understood prehistoric landscape. The South-East Kernow Archaeological Survey (SEKAS) was launched with a geophysical survey of Mountain Barrows, carried out in collaboration with the Tamarside Heritage Group (Frieman and Lewis 2013), and has continued to focus on the monumental landscape around Pelynt and the surrounding parishes (Lewis and Frieman 2014; 2015; 2016). The goal of this landscape project

is not just to gain a better understanding of key sites but also to explore how they relate to each other and to the movement of peoples, ideas and, crucially, metal and other valued objects through the landscape and, crucially, from the coast to the uplands and vice versa.

## History of research at Mountain Barrows

The cluster of mounds known colloquially as Mountain Barrows (or, in earlier periods, as Burrows, Five Burroughs, and within the community as Wilton Mill and Wilton Farm barrows; Caroline Vulliamy, pers comm) is the largest and best known of the three barrow clusters in the parish of Pelynt. Unlike the others, probably due to its density and visibility, it attracted antiquarian interest, and several of the barrows were opened in the nineteenth century. The group consists of ten barrows unevenly scattered over a large field about 0.75 km south west of Pelynt (Fig 2). While early nineteenth-century reports suggest that all or most of the ten currently listed in the Cornwall HER were clearly visible on surface at that time (Box 1847; Couch 1846), today only two

are clearly visible and a third is present as a low ridge in the field. As the excavation and disturbance of these barrows commenced, at the latest, several decades prior to its large-scale mapping by the Ordnance Survey in the early 1880s, it is possible that the cluster may originally have had more than the ten barrows known today.

The site was investigated twice by local antiquarians. In 1834, two barrows were opened by the tenant in order to obtain the soil for manuring, with further activity monitored by a local doctor, Jonathan Couch. Then, in 1845, three more were excavated by workmen under the direction of local antiquarians. The accounts of this activity (Couch 1846; Box 1847) are uncommonly clear and remain the only known records of major antiquarian works in this region, although several other sites (particularly barrows) show some evidence for having been disturbed. In the following paragraphs, the antiquarian digging at these barrows will be described and the barrows whose opening was observed will be identified with a letter ('Barrow A', 'Barrow B', etc.). In the subsequent discussion, we will attempt to correlate these barrows with the evidence from the geophysical survey.

The two barrows destroyed in 1834 well illustrate the diversity found in Cornish barrows.



*Fig 2 The barrow group at Mountain Barrows, based on Cornwall and Scilly Historic Environment Record (HER) records.*

Barrow A, which was damaged by ploughing (Fig 3a), was described as one of the smaller barrows. It consisted of an earth mound which covered a stone, beneath which was a spread of charcoal and burnt bone (Couch 1846). Nearby within the mound, although not directly associated with the burnt deposit, was a copper-alloy dagger blade (Fig 4a). This blade has recently been published by Jones and Quinnell (2013), who identify it as a Camerton-Snowhill type dated to the first quarter of the second millennium cal BC. Couch (1846, 35) reported that the tenant farmer subsequently attempted to level the largest barrow in the field which was near the southern hedge. However, in this case, the covering of earth overlay 'a huge bed of stones', probably a stone cairn, which was covered by a layer of large, flat stones (Fig 3b). At the centre of this cairn, Couch observed 'a considerable quantity of black ashes, which had been evidently burnt on the spot' (*ibid*). A perforated stone tool was also recovered from this cairn, although its location and association with the area of burning are unknown. Presumably, it was found within the cairn, as Couch discusses recovering it and states that his involvement in the investigation of this barrow commenced only after the cairn was revealed. The artefact has been identified as a rather unusual ground stone macehead, probably reworked from an earlier battle axe shape (Evans 1877; Needham, forthcoming) and made from an ophitic dolerite, an igneous stone with outcrops in south-west Britain (Clough and Cummins 1988, 145) (Fig 4b). Box (1847, 48) alludes to this episode of barrow digging, though he says three barrows were opened, not the two Couch (1846) observed. He was probably referring to Couch's (1846, 34) secondhand report that a third barrow at this site may have been disturbed at some point prior to 1834 but only partially destroyed, having yielded nothing more than a metal 'celt'. Box also writes, *contra* Couch, that bones were recovered from all three barrows (Box 1847, 43).

On 24 November 1845 two antiquarians, J D Cook and Henry McLauchlan, opened three further barrows in the Mountain Barrows group with the aid of local labourers (Box 1847). They began with Barrow C, the largest visible barrow (presumably a different monument to the one opened by the tenant in the previous decade), which was described as 80ft (24m) in diameter and 5ft (1.5m) high. A trench 9ft 6in (2.9m) wide was cut east-west through the centre. Within this trench a number

of features were observed (Fig 3c). Towards the west end and extending nearly to the centre of the mound, the excavators found a black, greasy layer with particles of charcoal, overlying a burnt layer described as 'incinerated brown coloured clay, having much the appearance of coarse brick', which was interpreted as an area of *in situ* burning, specifically 'a funeral pile', presumably for the cremated bone found with sherds of an urn at the centre of the mound (Box 1847, 43–4).

The sides of the trench revealed a careful layering of soils, suggesting that this barrow was built up of numerous layers, probably over a considerable period of time. The earliest phase was a small earth mound 0.45–0.5m high. This was covered by a 50mm thick layer of light-grey sandy clay separated by a thin layer of earth from a 70–100mm thick layer of dark orange soil which also had a thin layer of earth over it; the whole mound was sealed by a 75–100mm thick layer of heavy black loam. Charcoal fragments embedded within this layer suggested to Box that a further episode of burning was carried out on the upper surface of the mound. Box believed that none of the coloured soils used in the barrow's construction were local to the Pelynt area.

The other two barrows investigated by Cook and McLauchlan were described in less detail, but some data are available. Box (1847, 44) noted that all three barrows were investigated in the same manner, presumably implying that a wide east-west trench was excavated across them. The second barrow excavated (Fig 3d), Barrow D, lay 65 paces west of the first barrow investigated (perhaps 59m, presuming, following Coles (2015, 62), a pace length of 36in or about 0.914m). This mound was described as 60ft (18m) in diameter but only 3ft (0.9m) high and was probably heavily ploughed down, but contained at its centre a small stone cist which enclosed fragments of cremated human bone concentrated at the eastern end. These remains have recently been re-analysed and appear to comprise the cremated remains of an adult male aged 22–35; they were dated to 2050–1700 cal BC (Jones and Quinnell 2013). Box (1847, 48) refers to the cist as being oriented east-west and measuring 2ft (0.61m) in length internally and approximately 1ft (0.3m) wide and deep. It was composed of 12 apparently unworked stones: nine flat slabs of the local slate, a somewhat less flat slate stone for the cover, and two angular 'quartzose blocks'. This latter is notable as quartz stones were included in a number of local monuments, including the

MOUNTAIN BARROWS, PELYNT

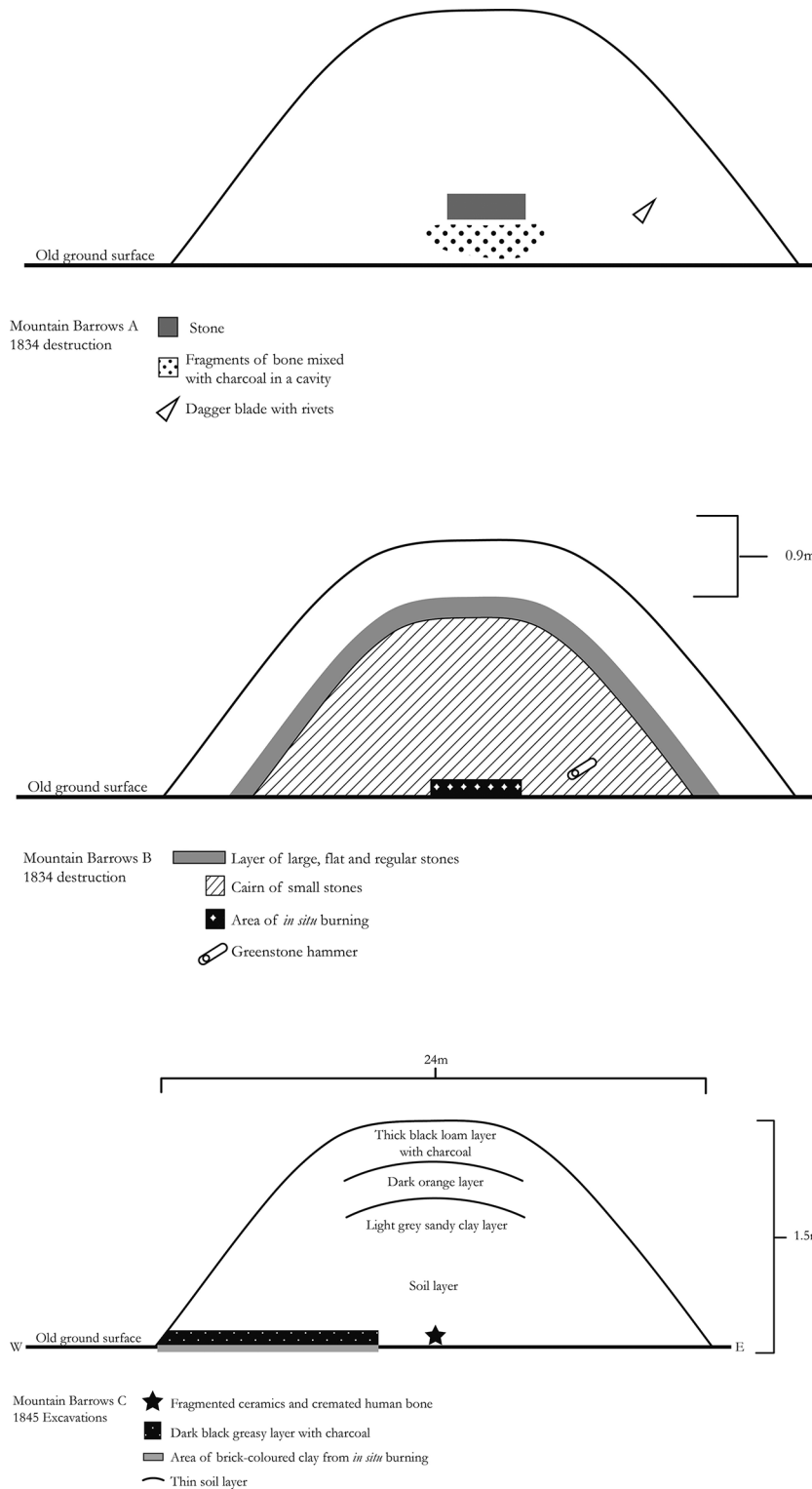


Fig 3 Schematic vertical profiles of the five barrows at Mountain Barrows opened in the early nineteenth century, based on reports by Couch (1846) and Box (1847) and including analytic data from Jones and Quinnell (2013). Elevation and orientation data are included based on the nineteenth-century accounts where available. All measurements are approximate.

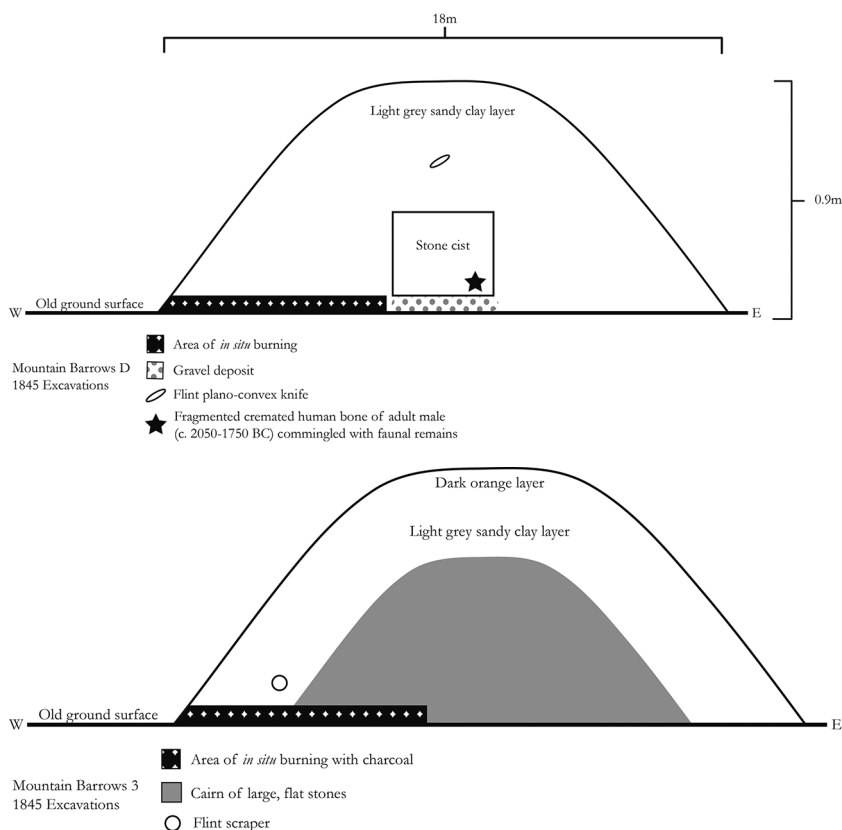


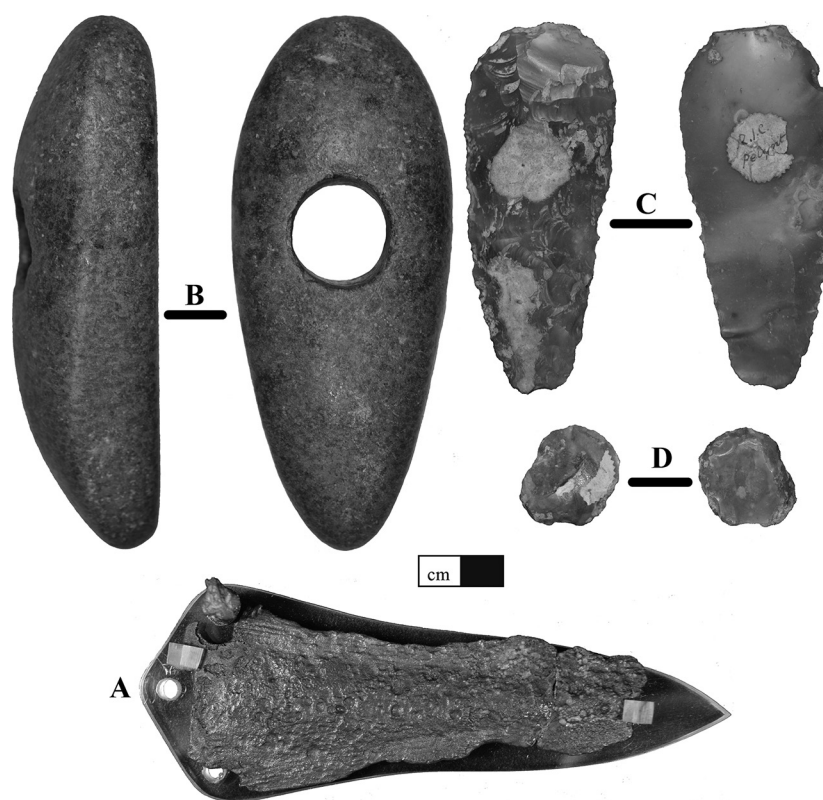
Fig 3 Continued.

probably contemporary site of Duloe stone circle (Nicholas *et al* 2017). No artefacts were associated with the cremation, but a very finely made plano-convex knife was found ‘a little below’ the upper surface of this mound and a few inches above the covering slab of the cist. The knife is made in a glossy dark-grey flint, measures 86mm × 36mm and has some evidence of secondary retouch or resharpening along the edges (Fig 4c). An area of *in situ* burning was present beneath the mound to the west of the centre. Box noted that the cist was built over a coarse gravel surface that he thought indicated the source of a spring in that location, and was covered by an earth mound (Box 1847, 50). A thin lens of light-grey sandy clay was visible within the makeup of the mound.

Barrow E, the third mound (Fig 3e) excavated, lay 16 paces (approximately 14.6m) south west of the second. In this case, the mound covered a cairn of largely flat stones, perhaps the local slate or mudstone. A lens of dark orange soil was

present in the uppermost layer of the soil covering the stone cairn, and a lens of the light-grey sandy clay was also present within the makeup of the mound. Again, excavation revealed an area of *in situ* burning to the west of the centre; in this case it was described as ‘thickly strewn with fragments of charcoal some of which were large, and were evidently derived from the oak’ (Box 1847, 53). A small flint found just above this area of burning was the only find recovered. The flint is a somewhat oblong thumbnail scraper, 26mm × 23mm, made on a flake with steep retouch around its edges to create a working edge. Little obvious use-damage is present on the blade edge or ventral surface, and it shows no trace of resharpening (Fig 4d).

No further excavations appear to have been carried out at Mountain Barrows in subsequent decades, although, as noted above, agricultural activities significantly reduced many of the visible barrows. The site is a Scheduled Monument (National Heritage List Entry (NHLE) 1004465)).



*Fig 4 Artefacts recovered during antiquarian excavations at Mountain Barrows. A: Copper-alloy dagger blade of Camerton-Snowhill type. B: Ground stone shaft-hole axe. C: Plano-convex flint knife. D: Flint thumbnail scraper. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Royal Cornwall Museum, Royal Institution of Cornwall.)*

## Geophysical survey at Mountain Barrows

In 2012, the authors, in cooperation with the Tamarside Heritage Group, carried out a magnetic survey at Mountain Barrows (Frieman and Lewis 2013). The goals of this investigation were to assess the site's preservation and to determine the location and layout of features of archaeological interest within the Scheduled area. About 75 per cent of the Scheduled area was surveyed, with the investigation focused over the assumed position of the barrows based on historic Ordnance Survey maps and HER records (Fig 5).

While the entire Scheduled area was not surveyed, the results are clearly satisfactory for assessing the state and type of remains in the field. In the following discussion of the geophysical results, all bolded numbers in the text refer to features shown in Figure 6.

Of the ten barrows recorded in the late nineteenth century, eight (**1–8**) are clearly visible as circular features on the geophysical survey. A

small negative anomaly (**9**) within one of these (**8**) might be the remains of a pit or possibly the consequence of previous disturbance at this site. The southernmost barrow surveyed (**6**) appears to show two concentric ditches (Fig 5); however, this is not our interpretation, as previous experience of magnetic surveys in the region suggests that the apparent concentric circular anomalies are more likely to be a result of the fill of the ditch giving an ambiguous magnetic signal (Frieman and Lewis 2013, 13; also, for example, Lewis and Frieman 2015). That said, a semi-circular linear feature (**10**) near the westernmost barrow surveyed (**2**) might be evidence of a further less well-preserved ditch associated with this barrow. Until now, comparatively few Cornish barrows investigated by archaeologists have been ditched (Nowakowski 2007), so the number of ditched barrows at this site is striking. Two further weakly negative circular anomalies (**11** and **12**) might be ploughed-out barrows, but they may equally be other contemporary or more recent structures. One of these (**11**) takes the form of a somewhat



Fig 5 Results of the magnetic survey of Mountain Barrows superimposed on the map of the site generated from HER mapping data.

irregular, sub-rectangular ditch. It is smaller and much less evenly circular than the other barrows noted in this group, and it is possible this might be a feature unrelated to the barrow group; however, on balance it is interpreted here as a barrow. The other (12) might be interpreted as a semi-circular ditched feature enclosing a sub-circular pit (13). In this case, the ditch (12) is placed close to where the field begins to slope into the stream valley which bounds it on the northwest, so this ditch might be interpreted as a barrier to keep the contents of the pit from sliding downhill.

Also, visible on the geophysics are a number of linear features (14–25). Several of these (15–17) align with currently visible or historic field boundaries or respect the position of specific barrows (18 and 19), suggesting that they post-date the construction of the barrows and probably date to the medieval or post-medieval eras. These are possibly traces of removed field boundaries or pathways; for example, we have speculated that 15–17 seem to lead to a now-disused quarry to the east of the barrow group (L Dodd, pers comm). That said, as seen in other parts of the UK (Harrison 2002), these later boundaries may well have been directly superimposed on prehistoric ones, and two of the linear features (14 and 25) seem to intersect

with specific barrows, clearly engaging with the presumably older monuments.

It is unclear which of the barrows shown by the geophysical survey are those whose excavation was recorded by Box (1847) and Couch (1846). Barrow B, the southernmost barrow, which was opened in 1834, might be present as the small barrow nearest the southern hedge (Fig 6, no 6; MCO 45399). The largest barrow in the field is the southernmost of the pair of large barrows near the eastern hedge (MCO 45407 and 45408, respectively). The magnetic survey of this barrow shows clear areas of disruption at its north and south edges which could be the result of the antiquarian investigation in the 1840s, although this excavation was described as undertaken with an east–west rather than a north–south trench. Alternatively, this could be the result of *ad hoc* removal of stone or earth.

If this barrow is Barrow C, then Barrow D would be located about 50m to its west. No anomaly indicating a barrow was found in this location, although the HER records one in this location (MCO 45406) based on 1880s Ordnance Survey data. It is possible that, at some point after the Ordnance Survey mapping of the area, this barrow was thoroughly levelled by ploughing such that no trace remains. Alternatively, it may remain as

## MOUNTAIN BARROWS, PELYNT

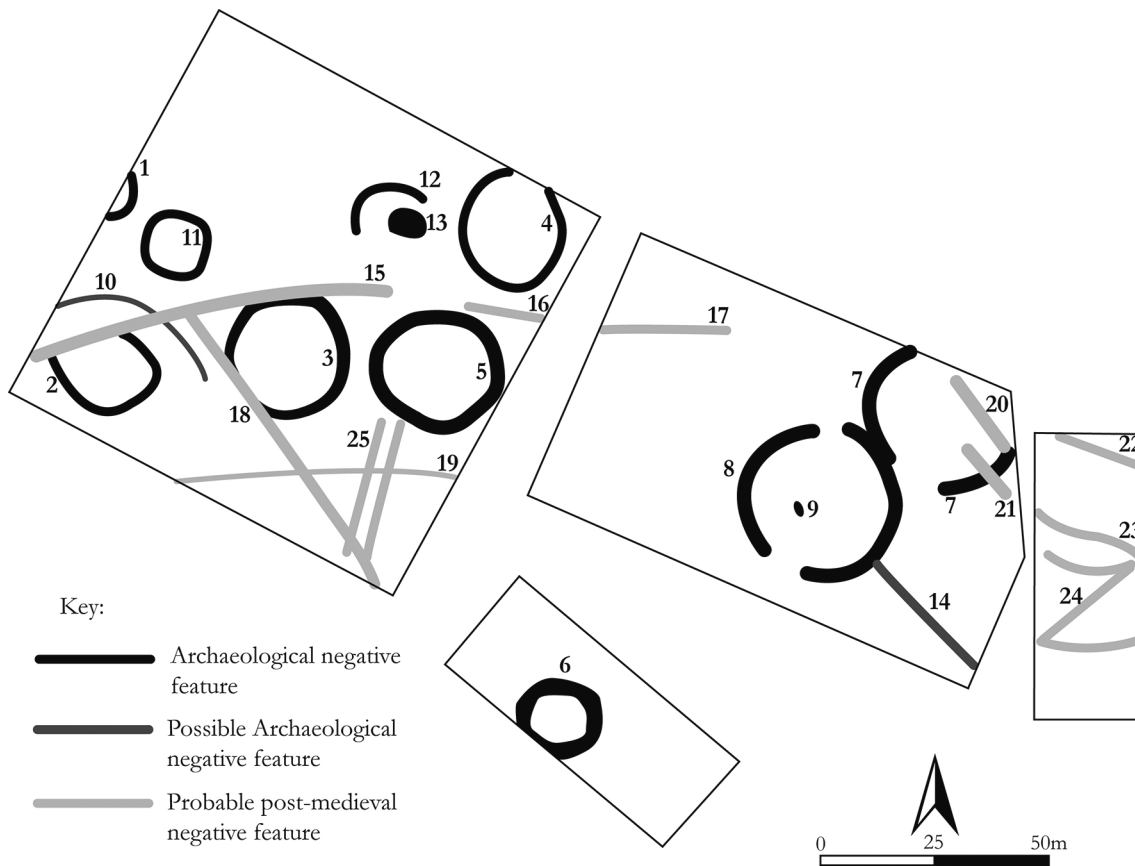


Fig 6 Interpretation of the magnetic survey of Mountain barrows. All identifiable subsurface features are numbered and discussed in the text.

a subsurface feature, but was not recorded in the geophysics, for example, due to its lacking a ditch, cairn or other features which would be identified in a magnetic survey.

Barrow E is expected to be located about 12m south west of Barrow D; that is, the point where MCO 45406 is mapped. Again, the HER records a barrow in this location based on the 1880s OS survey (MCO 45400). This barrow too was either fully destroyed, unable to be identified using magnetic survey or slightly outside the area surveyed. As a number of the barrows identified through geophysics were not centred exactly on the points where the HER records them and, as there were no available air photographs of this site when the HER was consulted (June 2012), it is possible that barrows which remain present as sub-surface features are in slightly different positions to where

one would expect based on the nineteenth-century maps.

### The Pelynt area and beyond

Although, up to this point, we have discussed the barrow group at Mountain Barrows in isolation, it was in fact constructed in what was becoming a densely monumentalised landscape (Jones *et al* 2015). MacLauchlan (1847) described an urned cremation apparently found within a cist in a nearby lane during roadworks. In 1857, a stone cist which yielded a complete urn was reported to have been uncovered in a field about 500 yards (460m) east of the Mountain Barrows (Dunkin 1875). Of greatest relevance, however, are two further barrow clusters found near Mountain Barrows, in the



Fig 7 Map of the three Pelynt barrow groups along the old Looe-Fowey road, with other nearby sites. Potential barrow road is bolded for emphasis. A: Mountain Barrows. B: Hendra / Cartole barrow group. C: Location of Ashen Cross barrow group. D: Little Larnick Barrow. E: Route of the Looe-Fowey road. F: Bake Rings enclosure. G: Pelynt village church, a possible round. H: Hall Rings enclosure.

vicinity of Pelynt (Fig 7). At least four somewhat dispersed barrows stand west of Mountain Barrows on Hendra and Cartole farms (MCO 2396, 2796–2800) and several more are known from Ashen Cross (sometimes Trenderway or Burrow Park) (MCO 2049–55, 39311) to the south east of the Mountain Barrows (both in Pelynt parish). The barrows at Ashen Cross were not recorded during the 1880s Ordnance Survey mapping of the area, but MacLauchlan (1847, 32) noted four barrows visible on the surface of this field and Scantlebury (1957) believed aerial photographs showed 11. A surface assessment of barrow numbers at this site is currently ambiguous. Recent geophysical survey confirms the presence of several barrows, but the results are still being analysed (Lewis and Frieman, forthcoming).

Clearly, the landscape south of what is now Pelynt village was of considerable significance to the local Bronze Age population, who returned again and again to build these monumental structures (further evidence for this suggestion can be found in Jones *et al* 2016, 165–6). Moreover, based on the evidence discussed above for multiple construction episodes at Mountain Barrows, as well as evidence from elsewhere in Britain (Frieman and Lewis, forthcoming), it is unlikely that the mounds arose through a single phase of construction. For example, evidence from barrow excavations around south-west Britain indicates that deposits of colourful clays were regularly placed on the upper

surfaces of barrow mounds and then left exposed and allowed to weather, perhaps for long periods (*cf* Bradley and Fraser 2010; Jones and Quinnell 2012; Miles 1975; Owoc 2002; 2006; 2007). At Mountain Barrows, the same clay sources seem to have been used to cover several different barrows, implying that memory was conserved between the different monuments, even if they were not built together or exposed simultaneously (*cf* Fowler 2013, 200–1). The barrows' placement also suggests that the people who built them had a shared understanding of the local topography. All three barrow groups are located just above 100m OD and appear to have been constructed preferentially in proximity to small streams, a pattern of association found across southern England (Field 1998).

Many studies of prehistoric landscapes, in Cornwall and elsewhere in the British Isles and Europe, stress the intervisibility of monuments to demonstrate that they were linked together, placed with regard to regular cosmological principles or part of a coherent semi-planned or centrally controlled landscape (Bender and Aitken 1998; Bender *et al* 1997; 2008; Bourgeois 2013; Eve and Crema 2014; Fisher 1997; Hamilton *et al* 1999; Llobera 2007; Tilley 1994). However, despite their similar placement and shared soil sources, the three groups of barrows south of Pelynt are not intervisible. They all lie on the rolling slopes of low hills, which serve effectively to shield them from the wider landscape. Nevertheless, we do believe

that there is a spatial connection between them, but one that relies on an embodied knowledge of the local landscape rather than a commanding view of it. In other words, people who knew the landscape around what is now Pelynt, who regularly traversed it and who, perhaps, had participated in some phase of barrow construction at one or more of the three local barrow cemeteries, would have recognised the links between these three barrow groups.

In fact, the three groups form a somewhat dispersed linear alignment running south east – north west along a low ridgeline. Moreover, this alignment flanks the route of the old road between Looe and Fowey, which appears to wind between the barrow cemeteries. Ridgeways were frequent locations of routeways in pre-modern Cornwall and elsewhere in Britain, as they facilitated movement by avoiding low boggy ground and, presumably, had more open vistas to aid in wayfinding (Lewis 2016). We suggest, that these three groups of barrows might mark the line of a routeway which, like the modern road, followed this ridge. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the Hendra / Cartole barrows and the Mountain Barrows lie on either side of a well-established fording place, a situation which sees a potential parallel further north in St Neot, where a linear group of five barrows crosses the St Neot River (Jones 2005, 81–9). One potential piece of evidence for an existing routeway along this path is the placement and orientation of the nearby Iron Age – Romano-British enclosure known as Bake Rings (Pelynt). This bank-and-ditch enclosed settlement sits about 3.5km north west of Hendra / Cartole and appears to have its monumentalised south-eastern entrance aligned on a path between the three barrow groups (Lewis and Frieman 2014), suggesting that this may have been an established direction of approach – that is, a well-known and long-standing routeway – even prior to the construction of the entrance area. Furthermore, the Looe – Fowey road truncates no hedges along its route and this suggests that the routeway probably pre-dates these upstanding field boundaries. Research over recent decades has suggested that, in many parts of Europe, medieval roads which follow the path of barrow or megalithic alignments may, in fact, be prehistoric in date (Bakker 1976; Johansen *et al* 2004; Wheatley *et al* 2010). So, we might suggest that the present Looe – Fowey road is not modern or medieval, but follows the route of a much older path through the landscape which

either developed as a route between the barrow groups, perhaps at some time in the late second or first millennium BC prior to the construction of a settlement at Bake Rings, or, alternatively, one which was regularly travelled before the second millennium BC and alongside which the barrows were constructed. Since the three clusters of barrows are not intervisible, the latter seems more likely.

### Conclusions

This paper has combined recent fieldwork with careful analysis and interpretation of antiquarian records. This has allowed us to do two things: first, to present an interpretation of the construction and anatomy of a locally important barrow cemetery, Mountain Barrows; second, to present an interpretation of how Mountain Barrows and nearby barrow cemeteries operated within the local area. We suggest the location of Mountain Barrows and the Hendra and Ashen Cross barrow cemeteries can be fruitfully understood as being directly associated with routeways and overland paths within the prehistoric landscape. As noted above similar interpretations have been presented to explain the location of barrow elsewhere in Europe, in, for example, Jutland.

The number and frequency of recorded prehistoric monuments around Pelynt testify to the importance of this landscape to the people inhabiting it during prehistory. While we still have much to learn about south-eastern Cornwall and the archaeological sites within it, both known and still undiscovered, the recent work undertaken by SEKAS demonstrates that the antiquarian literature, when combined with data from modern archaeological research, has the potential to give us a detailed insight into the prehistoric landscape.

### Acknowledgements

Thanks to Les Dodd, the late Peter Nicholas and the members of the Tamarside Heritage Group and Cornwall Archaeological Society for their assistance in carrying out the magnetic survey of Mountain Barrows and their insight, to Daniel Philp for allowing access to his property, to Caroline Vulliamy of Historic England for her support and advice and to the RSHA at the ANU for financial support. Special thanks to Jane Marley for her assistance during a visit to the

Royal Institution of Cornwall and to the RIC itself for permission to publish the artefacts recovered from Mountain Barrows as well as to staff at the Cornwall Record Office, Truro, and the Cornish Studies Library, Redruth, for their help. Advice from Jacky Nowakowski and Andy Jones was particularly helpful in developing early versions of this paper. Conversations with Jim Leary and Martin Bell about barrow alignments and the antiquity of routeways were very informative. Thanks to Catriona Gibson, Frances Healy, Linda Fibiger, Daniela Hofmann and Tim Darvill for their insightful feedback. Thanks also to the peer reviewers for their attention to detail and excellent suggestions for improvements. As always, leaps of logic or errors in fact are our own responsibility.

The corresponding author is Dr Catherine J Frieman.

## References

- Bakker, J A, 1976. On the possibility of reconstructing roads from the TRB Period, *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, **26**, 63–91
- Bender, B, and Aitken, P, 1998. *Stonehenge: making space*, Oxford
- Bender, B, Hamilton, S, and Tilley, C, 1997. Leskernick: stone worlds; alternative narratives; nested landscapes, *Proc Prehist Soc*, **63**, 147–78
- Bender, B, Hamilton, S, and Tilley, C, 2008. *Stone worlds: narrative and reflexivity in landscape archaeology*, Walnut Creek, CA
- Borlase, M, 2013. Kingwood Round: findings from a study of an enclosure at Kingswood Farm, Cardinham, Cornwall, *Cornish Archaeol*, **52**, 171–95
- Bourgeois, Q, 2013. *Monuments on the horizon. The formation of the barrow landscape throughout the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC*, Leiden
- Box, W H, 1847. On the barrows of Cornwall, with an account of the examination of those near Pelynt, *Report Roy Inst Cornwall*, **28**, 38–56
- Bradley, R, 1998. Ruined buildings, ruined stones: enclosures, tombs and natural places in the Neolithic of south-west England, *World Archaeol*, **30**, **1**, 13–22
- Bradley, R, and Fraser, E, 2010. Bronze Age barrows on the heathlands of southern England: construction, forms and interpretations, *Oxford J Archaeol*, **29**, **1**, 15–33
- Clough, T H, and Cummins, W A, 1988. *Stone axe studies*, CBA Res Repts, **67**, London
- Coles, J M, 2015. *Field archaeology in Britain*. London
- Couch, J, 1846. An account of some ancient barrows in the parish of Pelynt, and of the remains found on opening them, *Report Roy Inst Cornwall*, **27**, 33–37
- Dunkin, E H W, 1875. Discovery of a kist in the parish of Pelynt, Cornwall, *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser., **3**, **1**, 86
- Evans, J, 1877. Note on a weapon of stone found in a stone barrow at Pelynt, *Jnl Roy Inst Cornwall*, **4**, 78–79
- Eve, S J and Crema, E N, 2014. A house with a view? Multi-model inference, visibility analysis and an information criteria approach to infer the reasons behind the Bronze Age settlement at Leskernick Hill, *J Archaeol Sci*, **43**, 267–77
- Field, D, 1998. Round barrows and the harmonious landscape: placing Early Bronze Age burial monuments in south-east England, *Oxford J Archaeol*, **17**, **3**, 309–26.
- Fisher, P, 1997. Spatial analysis of visible areas from Bronze Age cairns of Mull, *J Archaeol Sci*, **24**, 581–92
- Fowler, C, 2013. *The emergent past: a relational realist archaeology of Early Bronze Age mortuary practices*, Oxford
- Frieman, C J, and Lewis, J, 2013. South-east Kernow Archaeological Survey (SEKAS): 2012 Geophysical surveys at Mountain Barrows, Pelynt, Cornwall, *Past*, **74**, 12–14
- Frieman, C J, and Lewis, J, forthcoming. ‘The hills declare’: Cornish barrow groups in the occupied landscape, in C Gibson, K Cleary and C J Frieman, eds, *Making journeys: theorising movement, meshworks and materialities in the past*, Oxford
- Hamilton, S, Tilley, C Y, and Bender, B, 1999. Bronze Age stone worlds of Bodmin Moor: excavating Leskernick, *Archaeology International*, **3**, 13–17
- Harrison, S, 2002. Open fields and earlier landscapes: six parishes in south-east Cambridgeshire, *Landscapes*, **3**, **1**, 35–54
- Herring, P, ed, 2008. *Bodmin Moor: an archaeological survey. Volume 2: The industrial and post-medieval landscapes*, London
- Johansen, K L, Laursen, S T, and Holst, M K, 2004. Spatial patterns of social organization in the Early Bronze Age of south Scandinavia, *Jnl Anthropological Archaeol*, **23**, **1**, 33–55
- Johnson, N, and Rose, P, 1994. *Bodmin Moor: an archaeological survey. Volume 1: The human landscape to c 1800*, London
- Jones, A, 1998–99. The excavations of a Bronze Age enclosure at Liskeard Junior and Infant School, *Cornish Archaeol*, **37–38**, 56–71
- Jones, A, 2005. *Cornish Bronze Age ceremonial landscapes c. 2500–1500 BC*, Brit Arch Repts, Brit Ser, **394**, Oxford
- Jones, A M, and Quinnell, H, 2012. Monuments and images: new views of well known sites, *Cornish Archaeol*, **51**, 201–8
- Jones, A, and Quinnell, H, 2013. Daggers in the West: Early Bronze Age daggers and knives in the southwest peninsula, *Proc Prehist Soc*, **79**, 165–92

- Jones, A, Quinnell, H, and Kirkham, G, 2016. An urn from Lanlawren, Lanteglos-by-Fowey, *Cornish Archaeol*, **54**, 157–170
- Lewis, J, 2016. *Iron Age and Romano-British enclosures of southeast Cornwall*, unpublished MA thesis, Glasgow University
- Lewis, J, and Frieman, C J, 2014. *A preliminary report on a geophysical survey carried out at Bake Rings enclosure, Pelynt, Cornwall*, Southeast Kernow Archaeological Survey Report, **2**
- Lewis, J and Frieman, C J, 2015. *A geophysical survey of Bake Rings enclosure, Pelynt, Cornwall.*, Southeast Kernow Archaeological Survey Report, **3**, <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.5466838.v1>
- Lewis, J and Frieman, C J, 2016. *A geophysical survey of Hall Rings enclosure, Pelynt, Cornwall*, Southeast Kernow Archaeological Survey Report, **5**, <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.5466880.v1>
- Lewis, J and Frieman C J, forthcoming. *A geophysical survey of Ashen Cross, Pelynt, Cornwall*, Southeast Kernow Archaeological Survey Report, **9**
- Llobera, M, 2007. Reconstructing visual landscapes, *World Archaeol*, **39**, **1**, 51–69
- MacLauchlan, H, 1847. Notice of the Giant's Hedge and the camps and barrows contiguous, *Report Roy Inst Cornwall*, **28**, 19–37
- Miles, H, 1975. Barrows on the St Austell granite, Cornwall. *Cornish Archaeol*, **14**, 5–82
- Needham, S, forthcoming. *Material and spiritual engagements: Britain and Ireland in the first age of metal. The Rhind Lectures 2011*, Edinburgh
- Nicholas, P, Dodd, L, Lewis, J, and Frieman C J, 2017. *A geophysical survey of Duloe stone circle, Duloe, Cornwall*, Southeast Kernow Archaeological Survey Report, **7**, <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.5466892.v1>
- Nowakowski, J, 2007. Digging deeper into barrow ditches: investigating the making of Early Bronze Age memories in Cornwall, in J Last, ed, *Beyond the grave: new perspectives on barrows*, Oxford, 91–112
- Owoc, M A, 2002. Munselling the mound: the use of soil colour as metaphor in British Bronze Age funerary ritual, in A Jones and G McGregor, eds, *Colouring the past: the significance of colour in archaeological research*, London, 127–140
- Owoc, M A, 2006. Beyond geoarchaeology – pragmatist explorations of alternative ‘viewscales’ in the British Bronze Age and beyond, in E C Robertson, J D Seibert, D C Fernandez and M U Zender, eds, *Space and spatial analysis in archaeology*, Calgary, 3–14
- Owoc, M A, 2007. To build or not to build: Bronze Age construction as technological practice, in J Last, ed, *Beyond the grave: new perspectives on barrows*, Oxford, 113–26
- Ray, K, 1994. Bury Down, Lanreath: investigations in 1994, *Cornish Archaeol*, **33**, 227–8
- Ray, K, 2001. Early enclosures in southeast Cornwall, in T Darvill and J Thomas, eds, *Neolithic enclosures in northwest Europe*, Oxford, 50–65
- Scantlebury, T J, 1957. A barrow group in east Cornwall, *Proc West Cornwall Field Club*, **2**, **1**, 31–3
- Tilley, C, 1994. *A phenomenology of landscape: places, paths and monuments*, Oxford
- Wessex Archaeology, 2009. *Looe, Cornwall: archaeological evaluation and assessment of results*, Salisbury
- Wheatley, D W, Sanjuán, L G, Murrieta Flores, P A, and Pérez, J M, 2010. Approaching the landscape dimension of the megalithic phenomenon in southern Spain, *Oxford J Archaeol*, **29**, **4**, 387–405
- Young, A, 2007. *Cornwall and Isles of Scilly Mapping Project. English Heritage HEEP Project 2710. Management report*, Truro

