THE SECONDARY NEOLITHIC IN GREAT BRITAIN

A Reconsideration

Vol. I

By Isla J. McInnes

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This thesis re-examines the material included by Piggott in his Secondary Neolithic cultures. A detailed study has been made of the pottery styles known as Peterborough and Rinyo Clacton and a catalogue of this pottery accompanies the text.

The Peterborough pottery style, previously only studied in depth for south-eastern England, is found to extend over the greater part of England, and the chronological series of Ebbsfleet, Mortlake and Fengate styles found to be applicable throughout. A fourth style, Peterborough Northern, is recognised in the north of England and southern and central Scotland. This is seen to develop as a result of southern Peterborough influence upon localised Neolithic pottery forms. An examination of the sites upon which Peterborough pottery is found and the artifacts with which it is associated supports the thesis that the Peterborough complex is a continuation of the earlier Neolithic culture of Great Britain.

Rinyo Clacton pottery is divided into four styles: Skara Brae, Clacton, Woodhenge and Woodlands. The associated artifacts include certain types not known in earlier Neolithic contexts and at least one new type of site, henge monuments. This would indicate that Rinyo
Clacton pottery represents the development of a new culture. The decorative techniques and motifs of the pottery and certain of the artifacts suggest that the origins of this culture lie in the strong Irish influence present in western and northern Scotland in the second half of the third millennium. The continued use of earlier Neolithic artifacts and the Neolithic Round Barrow emphasise the strong native tradition continuing within the Rinyo Clacton culture.
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I INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

The title of this thesis was suggested to the writer by Professor Stuart Piggott. It is now seventeen years since the publication of Piggott's *Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles* and although this work must remain the basis of any study of the Neolithic cultures of Great Britain it is perhaps time to re-examine Piggott's work in the light of more recent research. Two years after the publication of *Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles*, Smith submitted her thesis, *The Decorative Art of Neolithic Ceramics in South-Eastern England and its Relations*, for the degree of Ph.D., to the University of London and thereby established further evidence on the Neolithic pottery styles of Great Britain. The writer's interest in the later Neolithic period was stimulated at Edinburgh University in 1961, when working on a dissertation for the degree of M.A., *The Prehistoric Pottery from Glenluce, Wigtownshire*.

Piggott's concept of secondary Neolithic cultures in Britain, of a Mesolithic population adopting Neolithic techniques, was first queried by Piggott himself and this was further amplified by Clark (Clark 1966, 182). For Great Britain Piggott identified four secondary Neolithic cultures, Peterborough, Rinyo-Clacton, Ronaldsway and Dorchester cultures. The Peterborough culture was distinguished by its pottery styles and was allied to the exploitation of the stone axe factories (Piggott 1954,
Smith was able to show that the Peterborough culture as distinguished by Piggott was, in fact, a continuation of an earlier Neolithic culture and that no new elements could be distinguished (Smith 1956, 172). Further petrological identification of stone axes has made it clear that certain stone axe factories were in production by the middle of the third millennium and that this mass exploitation of stone suitable for the making of axes also may be ascribed to an earlier Neolithic culture (Piggott in Evans et al 1962, 233-240).

Doubt had already been cast on the existence of a Rinyo Clacton culture in 1960.* This culture as envisaged by Piggott united the Orkney settlement sites of Rinyo and Skara Brae with a number of sites in the south on the basis of similarity of pottery types. Smith distinguished four styles of Rinyo Clacton pottery in the south, but did not discuss further aspects of this culture, this being outside the scope of her thesis. Latterly Clarke and Clark have both denied the existence of a Rinyo Clacton culture and specifically separated the southern elements of the culture regarding Clacton or Grooved Ware as a southern Neolithic pottery style. (Clark 1966, 181; Clarke 1970, 268-270).

The Ronaldsway culture identified by Piggott as a culture local to the Isle of Man has not been discussed since 1954 nor has the Dorchester culture, with its basis elements of henge monuments, round barrows and

* CBA Bronze Age Conference
flint and bone types.

This thesis examines the Peterborough pottery outside the south-eastern area and in particular, attempts to explain the presence of Peterborough elements in the impressed Neolithic wares of northern England and Scotland. These findings as they relate to Scotland were given in a paper A Scottish Neolithic Pottery Sequence at a symposium on Recent Archaeological Work in Scotland in March 1969 in Edinburgh; this is included as Appendix I.

The various elements of the Rinyo-Clacton, Ronaldsway and Dorchester cultures are all included in the examination of the Rinyo-Clacton pottery and its associations. Since the pottery style was recognised by Piggott as uniting the northern and southern elements of his Rinyo-Clacton culture and as Clarke regarded the northern and southern pottery styles as totally unconnected, it was decided to examine the pottery to find if any unity did exist between the northern and southern styles, and then to examine the associations to find if these supported the evidence offered by the pottery study.

Since Piggott's description of the Ronaldsway and Dorchester cultures, virtually no new work has been attempted on either of these cultures. Smith discussed various aspects of the Dorchester culture as they related to the southern pottery styles and the writer catalogued jet sliders in Britain (Appendix II), a component of the Dorchester culture. The excavation of a number of henges,
and in particular that of Durrington Walls, has led to
two new papers on henge monuments (Wainwright 1969a and
Burl 1970) but both papers are involved in assessments
of the monuments themselves, rather than their cultural
connotations.

Some explanation of the terms used in this thesis
is required. The terms primary and secondary have
largely been discarded. It may be argued that Britain,
and indeed western Europe as a whole, has no primary
Neolithic in the sense that a primary Neolithic culture
is an agricultural community spontaneously developing
from a Mesolithic community with an economy based on
hunting. In this sense primary Neolithic can be used
only for those cultures of the Fertile Crescent where
the ecology permits of such a development. Nevertheless
the writer believes that it is justified to use the
term primary for those cultures which introduced a
farming economy to western Europe. In this thesis,
however, no distinction is made between the intrusive
primary Neolithic culture of Great Britain and the local
culture which immediately succeeded it. Piggott's primary
Neolithic Windmill Hill culture is referred to simply
as Early Neolithic. The same term is used for the
'primary' Neolithic settlement in Yorkshire and Scotland.

If the term 'secondary' is to be used, and this is
not advocated by the writer, it should, in the writer's
opinion be used only with reference to the Rinyo-Clacton
culture. This is a second Neolithic culture in the sense
that although owing something to the preceding Neolithic culture it is distinct from it and recognisable as something novel. This is in contradiction to Giot's Late Neolithic of Armorica which he regards as derived from his \textit{Néolithique Primaire}. In Giot's sense the Peterborough phase of the British Neolithic is a 'Néolithique Secondaire' (Giot \textit{et al.}, 1958, 270-273).

Piggott and Clark both described Early, Middle and Late Neolithic phases in Great Britain, but the distinction of a Middle Neolithic would appear to be a chronological rather than a cultural one. Apart from some variation in pottery styles there is no cultural distinction between the Early and Middle Neolithic and for this reason the term Middle Neolithic is not used.

The inclusion of the Beaker culture under the term Late Neolithic is of long standing. The argument in favour of this is based on the idea that the Beaker culture cannot be described, as it was by Abercromby, as Bronze Age, as it does not fulfil Childe's definition of Bronze Age (Childe 1944) that the major edged tools of such a culture are of bronze. Hawkes proposed (Hawkes C.B.A. Conference 1960) that the Beaker culture be regarded as belonging to a Copper 'Age' but Piggott has shown (Piggott 1963, 85) that the metalwork of the British Beaker culture does include bronze. That the paucity of metalwork associated with the Beaker culture does not indicate a lack of direct knowledge of metalworking has been clearly demonstrated in the Low Countries
(Butler and Van der Waals 1966). Whether the Beaker culture is described as Copper Age, or Bronze Age is not relevant to this thesis. It is suggested, however, that the Beaker culture in Great Britain should not be described as Late Neolithic on the basis that:

1. the Beaker culture incorporated not only a knowledge of metal tools but probably also the exploitation of copper and

2. the Beaker culture is accepted as an intrusive culture and the use of the term Late Neolithic suggests a connection with an earlier Neolithic culture for which there is no evidence.

The greater part of this thesis is devoted to a study of two pottery styles and the writer follows Clark (Clark 1966) in accepting pottery styles as the principal evidence for population movement in prehistory. The virtual absence of house-types in Neolithic Britain and of a definitive study of flint axe types makes it imperative to use changing pottery styles as the basis for a study of the British Neolithic. That this method of interpretation is likely to be misleading is unfortunately only too apparent. Although clay of some kind from which pottery could be made can be found in almost any part of Britain, it is clear that other forms of container, presumably of some organic and therefore perishable material, were used. Concentrations of late Neolithic flintwork, mainly petit tranchet derivative arrowheads and discoidal knives, in for example Berwickshire, and in particular
in the Tweed Valley, indicate areas of occupation which are not reflected in any way in the distribution of pottery (Bamford 1966, 12). Similarly, in the early Neolithic period Cumberland and Westmorland must have been settled by not insignificant numbers of people as the marked elm decline shows (Walker 1966, 196ff.). In addition, the exploitation of Langdale stone might be expected to attract settlement in the area. The only evidence for occupation in the pottery sequence is, however, that from Ehenside Tarn. Despite these drawbacks pottery does remain, in default of an alternative, the medium from which a Neolithic sequence may be evolved for Britain.

The catalogue of pottery is based on material known to the writer and available up to January 1970. It includes Smith's catalogue of 1956, and material examined and drawn by the writer in various museums throughout the country visited in 1967 and 1968. Two major omissions in the catalogue must be mentioned. First, the large collection of pottery excavated by Dr. Wainwright at Durrington Walls in 1967 and 1968 and at Marden in 1969. This pottery awaits synthesis and publication by Dr. Longworth of the British Museum. Second, it is known to the writer that both Peterborough and Rinyo Clacton pottery were found at Sutton Bank in Yorkshire and that this material was housed in the Pig Yard Museum at Settle. Repeated requests to see this material have met with no response. In addition, it is understood that when the writer
visited the Driffield Museum only a portion of the Neolithic pottery was available for study. No attempt was made to expand the catalogue for south-eastern England to include all the material made available since 1956, as this area was so fully covered by Dr. Smith. Certain additions have been made to the catalogue in this respect where the writer believed the finds to be of particular importance.

The writer would like to thank all the officials in charge of collections in the museums visited for their assistance and helpful co-operation. Individuals to whom acknowledgement is made not only for their helpful discussion but their personal encouragement, are Miss Henshall of the National Museum of Antiquities, Miss Mountain of Edinburgh University, Dr. and Dr. J.N.G. Ritchie and Mr. and Mrs. D.D.A. Simpson. Special acknowledgement is made to Dr. Isobel Smith whose work on the Ceramics of South and East England first encouraged the writer's interest in later Neolithic studies and who has put much valuable information at the disposal of the writer. Finally, to Professor Piggott the sincerest gratitude is due for encouraging the writer to embark on this study and sustaining her in the task with his equanimity and kindness.
II THE PETERBOROUGH COMPLEX
THE POTTERY

Clark has recently suggested that the name 'Peterborough' be abandoned and that only the style names of Ebbsfleet, Mortlake and Fengate be used. The writer, however, follows Piggott in suggesting that the name has a validity if only as a generic term for pottery which is clearly allied to the three styles but which cannot be specifically defined, either due to its fragmentary nature or to its exhibiting features which combine elements of more than one style. A more valid reason for maintaining the term is that Smith in her thesis on the pottery from south-eastern England showed that the three styles, Ebbsfleet, Mortlake and Fengate, were an evolving chronological series and therefore culturally related. Before progressing to a description of the Peterborough pottery it is perhaps of value to give a brief description of the three principal styles as defined by Smith.

EBBSFLEET: typically a round-based bowl with a globular body surmounted by a clearly differentiated neck, the rims simple or slightly thickened externally. Decoration consists of scoring, finger-nail impressions, pitting, punctuation and whipped and twisted cord impressions. Undecorated vessels and those with decoration confined to the rim are not uncommon.

MORTLAKE: typically a round-based bowl with a heavy rim, short concave neck and pronounced carination. A few flat or flattened bases occur. Decoration is profuse and
Distribution of Ebbsfleet Style

Text Fig. 1
very common on the inner edge of the rim. Design of
decoration generally in simple horizontal rows. Decoration
consists of whipped and twisted cord impressions, finger-
nail impressions, bird bone and other stamps, and
incisions. Deep pits in the neck are common.
FENGATE: typically a deep baggy vessel frequently with
flat or flattened base. The elongated rim is the most
distinctive feature. There is a tendency to differentiate
between wall and rim decoration. Formal designs such as
filled triangles appear. Internal decoration is rare.
Decoration most commonly consists of twisted cord and
finger-nail impressions.

The distributions of Ebbsfleet, Mortlake and Fengate
wares are shown on Text Figs. 1, 2 and 3. It will be
noted that Ebbsfleet ware has a much more limited
distribution than Mortlake and Fengate wares. The most
northerly extent to which the distribution of Ebbsfleet
ware extends is Yorkshire, where it is found at Ganton
Barrow XXI (Newbigin 1937, Fig. 4, 1), Riggs Barrow 20
(Newbigin 1937, Fig. 6, 1), Thornton le Dale (Longworth
1965, Fig. 11) and Thwing Barrow LX (Manby 1956, Fig.
3, 5). Ebbsfleet pottery is also found in Lincolnshire,
in an undecorated form at Great Ponton, Grantham

* The term 'bird bone' is used throughout to describe a
variety of impressions, although it is recognised that
these impressions may include marks made by bones of
small mammals, end of broken stick or other implements.
Distribution of Mortlake Style
(Phillips 1935, 348) and decorated with grooving and finger-nail at Normanby Park near Scunthorpe (Riley 1957, 45 Fig. 3, 6). Ebbsfleet ware does not appear to be known further west than Somerset; the missing pot from Rowberrow Cavern would appear to have belonged to this style (Taylor 1925, Fig. 1, 4). The only Welsh example of this style is that at Capel Garmon, Denbighshire, (Lynch 1969, Fig. 57, 23). Ebbsfleet style occurs only twice in Gloucestershire being found at Nympsfield (Clifford 1938, Fig. 1) and Burn Ground, Hampnett (Grimes 1960, Fig. 30 above). In Wiltshire Ebbsfleet pottery is found on no less than eleven sites, and is as common, in number of locations if not in quantity, as Mortlake pottery. In Dorset Ebbsfleet pottery is found on two of the Handley Down barrows, at Handley Hill Entrenchment (Pitt Rivers 1898 IV, Pl. 294, 4 and 13; Pl. 246, 5) and at Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943, Fig. 118).

Outside the south-eastern area, Mortlake pottery is found as far north as Northumberland, at Heatherwick (Tait 1968, Fig. 2, 1), and indeed there is one sherd from Hedderwick, East Lothian which might be classified as Mortlake (Fig. 6). Mortlake pottery occurs fairly frequently in Yorkshire, at Ampleforth (Wilmot 1938), Craike Hill (Manby 1958, Fig. 4), Driffield, St. John's Road (Manby 1956, Fig. 2, 5), Elf Howe, Flixton (Manby 1956, Fig 3, 6), Garrowby Barrow 68 (Manby 1956, Fig. 4, 3), Garton Slack Barrow 112 (Fig. 31), Painsthorpe Barrow 93 (Newbigin 1937, Fig. 6, 3), Riggs Barrow 20
Distribution of Fengate Style

Text Fig. 3
(Newbigin 1937, Fig. 6, 2), Rudston Carnaby Top (Fig. 33) and West Reservoir, Driffield (Fig. 37). Mortlake pottery is also fairly common in Derbyshire, being found on five sites, four of them caves; Churchdale (Harris 1953, Fig. 1), Fissure Cave (Fig. 3, 1), Rains Cave (Ward 1893, Pl. IX), Wedding Wells (Fig. 5, 1) and Whaley II (Radley 1967, Fig. 5, 6).

The western distribution of Mortlake ware, like that of Ebbsfleet, extends into Somerset, at Battlegore (Gray 1931, Pl. X P.3). The pottery from Bryn yr hen Bobl (Grimes 1951, Fig. 11) does show some affinity with the Mortlake style in decoration - whipped cord, twisted cord and bird bone impressions - but the rim forms are either simple or thickened externally and there are no example of the cavetto necks so typical of the Mortlake style. The fabric of this pottery is however fairly coarse and it is likely that this pottery represents a local form of Peterborough ware. Possibly to be allied to the pottery from Bryn yr hen Bobl is that from Caldey Island, Pembrokeshire (Lacaille and Grimes 1961). The heavy squared rim at Bryn yr hen Bobl (Grimes 1951, Fig. 11, 25) is strikingly similar to that from Caldey Island. The pottery from Mount Pleasant Farm, Glamorgan should also perhaps be included in this western group, although here the decorated rim forms are essentially the same as those of the undecorated wares on the site (Savory 1957).

There are three occurrences of Mortlake pottery in Gloucestershire, at Cam, Notgrove and Bourton on the
Water, and it is noticeable that at the latter site the sherd is of atypical form with inturned lip (Dunning 1932, Fig. 2, 2). Mortlake pottery has a similar distribution in Wiltshire and Dorset to Ebbsfleet pottery, with one additional occurrence in Dorset.

Although the distribution of Fengate ware is less dense than either Ebbsfleet or Mortlake pottery, it is more extensive. To the north it is found at Cairnholy I, Kirkudbright (Figgott and Powell 1949, Fig. 3, 4) and possibly also at Shewelton Moor (Smith 1895, 107). It is also found in Yorkshire, although only on three sites, North Carnaby Temple (Figs. 35 and 36), Acklam Barrow 211 (Mortimer 1905, Fig. 219), and Driffield, St. John's Road (Manby 1956, Figs. 3, 7, 8 and 9). To the west, however, Fengate ware is more widely distributed, occurring at Castell Bryn Gwyn, Anglesey (Wainwright 1962, Fig. 16, 1), Cefn Cilsanws, Brecknock (Webley 1960, Fig. 3, 6) and Broadsands in Devon (Radford 1957, Fig. 4, 3) although the latter example is not typical. It is also found at Cam in Gloucestershire (Figs. 14, 4; 17 and 18).

The greatest 'concentration' of Fengate ware is, however, in Wiltshire where it is found on six sites: Downton (Rahtz 1962, Fig. 11, 17), West Kennet Avenue (Smith 1965, Fig. 79, P.356 and Fig. 78, P.353), West Kennet Long Barrow (Figgott 1962, P.12-15), West Overton 6a (Smith and Simpson 1964, Fig. 7, 1, 2, 7) and West Overton 6b (Smith and Simpson 1966, Fig. 7, 6-10), and Windmill Hill (Smith 1965, Fig. 34).

Smith has shown how in Gloucestershire one may see
the whole evolutionary series of Peterborough wares (Smith 1968). A similar situation may also be seen further east in Wiltshire and Dorset. A bowl with bird bone impressions at West Kennet Long Barrow has a strongly marked neck and shoulder of Mortlake form but still retains the simple inturned Ebbsfleet rim form E1 (Piggott 1962, P.9). The sherd from Wylye Barrow 2 (Passmore 1940, Pl. II, 1) also exhibits both Ebbsfleet and Mortlake characteristics; it also has bird bone impressions, the rim is thickened and approaches Mortlake form but the shallow neck would link it to Ebbsfleet style. At Windmill Hill it is noticeable that several of the Ebbsfleet vessels have strongly marked shoulders and hollow necks (Smith 1965, P. 238/239), features which indicate the transition to Mortlake style.

A Mortlake vessel at Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943, Fig. 33, 110) has a heavily overhung rim and rather narrow neck, looking forward to the Fengate style. A similar situation, in reverse, is found at Windmill Hill (Smith 1965, P. 259) where already the sherd has the internally bevelled rim characteristic of rim forms F2 and F3 while still retaining whipped cord decoration and long neck of Mortlake style. Similarly the sherd from Meare Heath also shows dual characteristics; the heavily overhung rim, slight neck and weak shoulder are all Fengate features, while the bevelled rim form relates back to Mortlake form.

At Normanby Park, Lincs., a sherd of Ebbsfleet form is decorated with finger-nail impressions and grooves,
decorative techniques normally found on Fengate style pottery (Riley 1957, 45 Fig. 3, 6). The vessel decorated with all over bird bone impressions at Churchdale, Derbyshire (Harris 1953, Fig. 1), although undoubtedly of Mortlake form, is beginning to show the elongated rim which leads to the Fengate style. There is also one transitional Ebbsfleet/Mortlake form in Yorkshire, at Garton Barrow 112 (Fig. 31).

It was Newbigin who first suggested that there was present in Yorkshire Peterborough ware an element which could not be directly attributed to the Peterborough ware of the south (Newbigin 1937, 202). The rounded rims of three sherds from Craike Hill, classified by Manby as Ebbsfleet ware (Manby 1958, 227), recall more closely the rounded rims of Heslerton ware (Manby 1958, Fig. 3, 11) than they do the Ebbsfleet rim forms of the south. The absence of pits in the neck on Mortlake ware in Yorkshire, as at Craike Hill, is most marked and there is a tendency for shoulders to be rounded (Manby 1958, Fig. 4, 2; 5, 15). Vessels with S-profiles are quite characteristic of Heslerton ware (Piggott 1954, 117). The internally bevelled rims from Goodmanham Barrow CXI (Newbigin 1937, Fl. 18, 4, 5, 6) may be a derivative of Smith's Mortlake form M2b, but the simple bowl with twisted cord decoration from the same site (Newbigin 1937, Fig. 5, 3) clearly is not. The presence of internally bevelled rims in the Peterborough ware of Yorkshire is interesting. Smith has pointed out that
her forms M1b and M2b with internally projecting rims are rare in the south of England (Smith 1956, 96) and internally bevelled rims akin to those from Goodmanham Barrow GXI appear to be also rare*. Internally bevelled rims, similar to those from Goodmanham, are also found at North Carnaby Temple and Driffield West Reservoir (Figs. 34, and 37, 2). Enlarged internally bevelled rims are, however, known on Early Neolithic pottery in Yorkshire (Newbigin 1937, Fig. 4, 5 and 6) and, as Smith points out, are characteristic of Mildenhall ware in south eastern England (Smith 1956, 34). The majority of Peterborough sherds in Yorkshire have either flat-topped or internally bevelled rims. Decoration of these Yorkshire vessels is nearly always concentrated on the rim and rarely extends to cover the rest of the vessel (Figs. 32, 33 and 37, 2). This is less evident on the vessels with rim forms relating to the south eastern Peterborough series (Manby 1958, Fig. 4, 2 and 3). Decoration is by grooving, bird bone and maggot impressions and twisted cord.

In Derbyshire the situation is similar where Peterborough pottery of southern rim forms occurs (Figs. 3, 1 and 5, 1), but also present are internally bevelled rims such as that from Waley II (Radley 1967, Fig. 5, 3 and 4).

The rim forms of the pottery from Ford and Old Town Farm, Northumberland and Dalkeith, Midlothian (Piggott * Simple rims with internal bevel are known from High Rocks Cave and Peterborough (Smith 1956, Figs. 48, 4 and 64, 8).
1931, Figs. 18, 1 and 23; Tait 1968, Fig. 2, 2 and Henshall 1966, Fig. 1) again find their closest parallels in early Neolithic rim forms, in Yorkshire at Cowlam Barrow LVII (Newbigin 1937, Fig. 3, 10) and at Windmill Hill (Smith 1965, Fig. 11, c and e). The groove immediately below the rim allies them, however, to Mortlake and Fengate wares. The semicircular arcs on one of the Ford vessels, carried out in twisted cord impression, are also found in Yorkshire at Acklam Barrow 211 (Mortimer 1905, Fig. 219), again in twisted cord, and at North Carnaby Temple in grooves (Fig. 34). Similar design is known from three sites in the south; Badshot, Surrey, in bone impressions (Keiller and Piggott 1939, Fig. 55), in grooves at Heathrow (Grimes 1960, Fig. 75, 2) and at Nympsfield Long Barrow, Gloucestershire (Clifford 1938, Fig. 4, 20). It is also found on one sherd from Luce Bay, Wigtown (McInnes 1964, Fig. 8, 159), again in twisted cord. It is noticeable that the rim forms on which this decoration appears in the north are more directly related to the southern Peterborough series.

Another link with the south is suggested by the vessel from Kyloe Crags, Northumberland and a sherd from Luce Bay (McInnes 1964, Fig. 5, 123). The form of these vessels is probably closer to the Ebbsfleet form E3 than to any Mortlake form, although the long neck of Ebbsfleet style is absent in the northern examples cited. An intermediate example, both in style and development is seen at Normanby Park, Lincs. (Riley 1957, 45 Fig. 3, 6).
The fabric of Peterborough ware in the north of England is very variable but typically is fairly hard with a quantity of stone and flint backing, and may contain grog. Some of the pottery from the Yorkshire barrows is noticeably finer with finer backing of small flint or grit. In the main, it has a distinctive greasy appearance and is generally poorly fired. The colours vary from black to red, generally with a black core.

Peterborough pottery from sites in Scotland has a generic resemblance to that from further south. The fabric is similar and the decoration carried out by similar methods, but at Hedderwick and Luce Bay the absence of any formal decorative motifs is most noticeable. Decoration is frequently random, and at most consists of repetitive horizontal rows of impressions.

A breakdown of the methods of decoration used at Luce Bay and Hedderwick is shown below: this may be compared with figures given by Longworth for the pottery from Brackmont Mill, Fife (Longworth 1967, 73).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impressions</th>
<th>Hedderwick No. of occurrences</th>
<th>Luce Bay No. of occurrences</th>
<th>Hedderwick Percentages</th>
<th>Luce Bay Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bone or stick</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twisted cord</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maggot</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finger-nail</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whipped cord</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stabs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grooves</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>35</strong></td>
<td><strong>45</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is evident that all methods of decoration used on Peterborough pottery in the south are also employed on the Scottish sites but that each individual site in Scotland favours particular methods of decoration.

At Hedderwick the rim forms tend to be flat topped, akin to M3b in the south, or internally bevelled (Figs. 6-13). At Luce Bay, although these forms are present (McInnes 1964, Figs. 5, 119; 6, 132; 7, 138 and 141) also common is an externally bevelled rim, akin to M3a in the south but lacking the narrow neck (McInnes 1964, Figs. 5, 13 and 114; 6, 128). The latter form recalls the small vessel from Rudh' an Dunain and comparable material from Northton and Orkney (Appendix I, Fig. 14). The flat topped heavy rims strongly resemble rim forms on Lyles Hill ware, not only at the parent site (Evans 1953, Figs. 11, 314, 47, 48 etc.), but also the Scottish examples of this pottery at Cairnholy I (Piggott and Powell 1949, Fig. 7, 2) and Monamore (Mackie 1964, Fig. 4, 4). These developed rims become typical in the Hebridean Neolithic pottery series (Appendix I, Fig. 13) and Smith has drawn attention to the close similarity between many of the rim forms at Luce Bay and Eilean an Tighe (Smith 1956, 148). The simpler rim forms at Hedderwick and Luce Bay (Figs. 11, 3, 4 and McInnes 1964, Fig. 5, 115; Fig 6, 127 etc.) may be compared with undecorated, probably early, Neolithic wares at Beacharra (Scott 1964, Fig. 8b), Bickers Houses (Bryce 1903, Fig. 6) and Luce Bay (McInnes 1964, Fig. 1, 17).
It has been suggested that the Scottish impressed wares as seen at Hedderwick and Luce Bay are the result of Peterborough decorative techniques applied to local forms (Appendix I, 25). As has been shown above, the same may be said of some of the pottery from the north of England. It is proposed that this aspect of Neolithic pottery be called Peterborough Northern (Text Fig. 4).

The decorative techniques employed at Luce Bay and Hedderwick are more akin to those of Mortlake ware than Pengate ware, but Longworth has shown that the pottery from Brackmont Mill is allied to the Pengate style (Longworth 1967, 74), although still distinct from it. The same might be said for the rusticated pottery from Grandtully (Fig. 22, 1). However, the presence of geometric design at Brackmont Mill (Longworth 1967, Fig. 4, 1) and Grandtully (Fig. 21) may reflect the Hebridean-Orkney tradition rather than influence from the south. Geometric motifs are typical of the Hebridean and Orkney pottery styles, as are collared or shallow carinated vessels (Henshall 1963, 249 Fig. 2; 250 Fig. 1 and Scott 1935, Fig. 38, 1c1). Smith indeed has suggested that the geometric motifs which occur on later Mortlake and Pengate wares in England are the result of contact with Ireland (Smith 1956, 155). The virtual absence of these motifs in the north, except at Brackmont and Grandtully, is a strong argument that some at least of the inspiration for Peterborough Northern comes from southern England before the development there of the Pengate style (Appendix I, 182).
Distribution of Peterborough Northern Style

Text Fig. 4
THE NATURE OF THE SITES

Peterborough pottery has frequently been referred to as Domestic pottery and its domestic nature is well demonstrated by the figure showing modes of occurrence, Text Fig. 5. Some thirty-four per cent of this pottery comes from settlement sites, pits, or occupation deposits, caves and sand-dune sites.

The pit-sites vary greatly in type, from a site such as Peterborough, Northants., where several pits can be seen to represent a period of occupation, to single pits such as that at West Overton 6a, Wilts. The normal number of pits is two to four, Handley Hill, Dorset, Bourton on the Water, Glos., Cam, Glos., Heath Row, Middlesex etc., but to what extent the number of pits discovered has been limited by the nature of their discovery or the extent of the subsequent area excavated, it is difficult to say. The pits also vary in size; at Enborne Gate, Newbury, Berks., the pottery came from the bottom of a pit 4 ft. deep and 5 ft. in diameter. In contrast the pits at Iver, Bucks., were only 1 ft. in diameter and only 15 ins. deep. The complexity of the site too, is variable. At Great Ponton, Linc., the pit was 7 ft. long and 2 ft. deep with apparent signs of stake holes at the edge. Stake holes also surrounded one of the pits at Winterborne Dauntsey, Wilts. At Selsey, Sussex, the pits were described merely as saucer-shaped depressions as was the pit at Downton, Wilts.
Modes of occurrence of Peterborough pottery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Occurrence</th>
<th>No. of Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Causewayed camp</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pits - presumed domestic</td>
<td>28 + 2?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation deposits</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement sites - with some structure</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caves</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sand-dune sites</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bed of river</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long barrows</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chambered tombs</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Round barrows</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henge monuments and allied structures*</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ring ditch</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortuary enclosure</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flint mines</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain origin or stray find</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Text Fig. 5

* The Dorchester sites are included as a single group
The variable nature of the size and complexity of the pits may, in part, be due to the survival rate of these features. In other words, the 'shallow' depressions may be the last remnants of larger pits, the upper part of which has weathered away. However, at Great Ponton the surviving stake holes surrounded a pit only 2 ft. deep so even allowing for the possibility of erosion, there is still considerable variation in the sizes of the pits.

The domestic nature of these pits is attested by the frequent occurrence within them of flints or axe fragments, as at Cassington, Oxon., Farnham, Surrey and Downton, Wilts. More convincing is the presence in the pits of animal bones, e.g. Eynsham and Asthall, Oxon. At Astrop, Northants., and Winterborne Dauntsey, Wilts., the pits contained potsherds, flints, animal bones and charcoal or ashes, suggesting that these were refuse pits. At Eaton Socon, Beds., and Scotstarvit, Fife, pits containing Peterborough pottery appear to have been associated with hearths.

The sites described as occupation deposits consist mainly of concentrations of pottery and flints. Such occupation sites are sometimes merely known from ploughsoil finds, Calton Hill and Wedding Wells, Derbyshire. At excavated sites such as Normanby Park, Lincs., Creeting St. Mary and Luce Bay, the occupation deposit shows up as a dark layer. A number of these occupation sites are also associated with hearths, at Selmeston, Sussex, Craike Hill and Driffield West Reservoir, Yorks. The last site
also appeared to be a flintknapping area. It is possible that at some of the sites, loosely classified as occupation sites, pits had originally existed but that these had subsequently been totally eroded. Certainly there does not appear to be any geographical distinction between 'pit' and 'occupation' settlement sites.

The only settlement sites which appear to be related to definite structures are those at Barford Site C, Warwick and Mount Pleasant, Glamorgan. At Barford Site C the fourth phase of the site appears to be a series of post-settings which have been interpreted as a house-site. The Mount Pleasant house lay beneath a round barrow and consisted of stone footings and postholes with a central line of posts. At Cefn Gilsanws, Brecknockshire, the pottery came from beneath a cairn in an area defined by stake holes. These formed a rough rectangle and the excavator suggested, in view of the great amount of ash in the occupation layer, that they represented a withy construction. At Ehenside Tarn, Cumberland, there was the possibility of an artificial brushwood platform (Piggott 1954, 296), but as at Cefn Gilsanws no clear evidence of a structure that could be called a house. At Little Paxton the structure recalls Beaker 'houses' or rubbish pits (Simpson in Economy and Settlement, Leicester University Press, forthcoming) but was somewhat larger than the normal Beaker pit which is approximately 6 ft. diam. as opposed to 6 ft. x 9 ft. at Little Paxton.

The site at Sonning, Berks., was interpreted by the
excavator as a sacred or funerary area, principally due to the absence on the site of domestic debris. The one pit definitely pre-dated the rectangular ditched enclosure and the only find from the ditch itself was a fragment of Peterborough pottery. Recent excavation at Fengate, however, where a rectangular enclosure has also been found (Mahany 1969) suggests that the Sonning site may well after all be a settlement site.*

Also to be included as settlement sites are the sand-dune areas such as Brackmont Mill, Fife, Hedderwick, East Lothian, Luce Bay, Wigtown, and the group of sites near Scunthorpe, Lincs. At Brackmont Mill, Hedderwick and Luce Bay the occupation layers are visible only as dark deposits in the sand. At Risby Warren near Scunthorpe, the pottery and flints are found widely scattered, as is normal on sand-dune sites, but in addition a number of hearths have been uncovered. Round these the sherds and flints appear to be more concentrated. In a different area of the sand-dunes, there are several pits and these pits in addition to potsherds and flints contain burnt clay daub and carbonised wood.

The number of river finds of Peterborough pottery strongly suggests that deposition of such pottery in the river was intentional. There are no less than seven such deposits from the Thames alone and others, from the Ouse at Kempston, Beds., and at Cherhill, Wilts.

* Discussed in conversation with Mahany
But a note of caution is suggested by the site of Wisley, Surrey, where Peterborough pottery was found in a pit or pits cut into the left bank of the Wey. To put this more accurately, the left bank of the Wey had cut into the pits. Similarly at Ebbsfleet, Kent the pottery came from the bed of a stream. At both these sites it is obvious that the pottery was laid down when the river or stream followed a somewhat different course. It is by no means improbable that the find from other rivers represent a similar situation, where the changing course of the river has covered or eroded a previous settlement.

A number of caves appear also to have been the site of Peterborough settlement. It is not surprising that the majority of these appear to be in Derbyshire; this distribution may reflect the availability of suitable caves but it also most certainly reflects the major areas of activity of cavers and potholers. The evidence from many of these caves is scant and at best indicates no more than temporary occupation. Although there is a hearth in the rock fissure at High Rocks, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, which must indicate occupation it is not clear whether this relates to the Neolithic or earlier Mesolithic phase.

The caves at Churchdale, Derbyshire and Gop Cave, Flints., have been utilised as burial sites. At Churchdale three or four disarticulated skeletons were contained in a cist and accompanied by sherds of Peterborough pottery and an arrowhead. There were eight
further crouched inhumations, one only in a cist. Various other flakes of flint and chert and scraps of indeterminate pottery were scattered about the rock shelter. At Gop Cave part of the cave had been walled off to form a burial chamber. The chamber contained fourteen skeletons which the excavator believed to have been buried successively. Also in the chamber were sherds of Peterborough pottery, two jet sliders, a polished flint knife and "a second knife, evidently a Beaker dagger, sold by one of the workmen to a visitor". These finds appear to have been derived from an occupation layer at the base of the cave upon which the tomb has been erected. A skewer pin came from a later excavation of the site.

The cave at Caldey Island, Pembroka, contained the bones of two humans, and various animal bones including dog, sheep, pig, fox, badger and horse. The site appears to have been disturbed in post-Roman times so it is impossible to say whether the bones are contemporary with the Peterborough pottery. The size of the cave, which is a mere fissure, suggests that occupation is unlikely to have been but of the most temporary nature and that deliberate burial is more likely.

The connection between Peterborough wares and unchambered Long Barrows is somewhat tenuous. Peterborough ware occurs on some eight sites. At Wor Barrow and Thickthorn, Dorset, Holdenhurst, Hants., and Badshot, Surrey, Mortlake and Fengate sherds came from secondary
siling on the upper levels of the ditch. This was probably the case also at Lambourn, Berks., although the upper levels of the ditch were much disturbed by Iron Age ploughing.

At Lamborough Long Barrow, Hinton Ampner, Hants., an Ebbsfleet sherd was found at the bottom of one of the flanking ditches. The pottery from Fussell's Lodge, Wilts., came from Pit III which was not obviously connected with the barrow structure and could post-date its completion. The pit also contained flints, some of which were burnt, charcoal and burnt clay. At South Street, Wilts., sherds of Ebbsfleet/Mortlake transitional form came from the middle of the primary fill of the ditch. The find of Mortlake ware in the upper levels of the Long Mortuary Enclosure at Normanton, Wilts., should also possibly be mentioned here.

The relationship with causewayed camps is somewhat similar. At Combe Hill and Whitehawk, Sussex only Ebbsfleet ware was present. At Combe Hill it was present in all levels of the ditch and at Whitehawk the Ebbsfleet ware was contemporary with the main occupation of the camp and thus with the Whitehawk pottery. At Maiden Castle, Dorset, Fengate and Mortlake wares were present but the pottery came from the upper levels of the ditch. Similarly at Windmill Hill, although all three styles of Peterborough pottery were present, only Ebbsfleet ware was present in the lower levels of the ditch. Unfortunately, there is no indication at what
level the Fengate sherds were found at Abingdon, Berks., but at Staines the Peterborough pottery was clearly in a secondary position.

The exact relationship between the finds from a chambered tomb and the use or the erection of that tomb has rarely been demonstrated. Early excavations might record finds as 'from the mound' or 'from the chamber' but lack of further knowledge makes it difficult to assess the history of the tomb. In addition, upon excavation tombs have been found to have been disturbed in the recent past.

But even with the finest excavation it may not be possible to unravel the historical sequence of a tomb. Chambered tombs by their very nature were intended for re-use and even during its lifetime, the contents of a tomb risked disturbance by succeeding entry for further burial. The evidence from West Kennet shows that earlier burials were unceremoniously, if tidily, bundled aside to make room for the final interment. Thus one is rarely able to establish the relationship between a chambered tomb and the finds within it. For this reason no attempt has been made to use tomb types as a relative method of dating the material found within the tombs. In addition, association is not accepted for material found within a tomb unless the excavator specifically stipulated that the artifacts were found together.

However, the relative position of the pottery in the tombs may be of significance. At Lligwy Burial Chamber,
Anglesey, Gop Cave, Flints., and Poles Wood South and Bown Hill, Glos., this information is lacking. The only sites where the pottery seems to have been associated with the tomb use are Bryn yr hen Bobl, Anglesey, Broadsands, Devon and Sales Lot, Glos., and at the last site the indeterminate wall sherds were said to be connected with a re-use of the tomb, the earlier deposits and pre-mound finds being of Windmill Hill ware. At Bryn yr hen Bobl the relevant sherds were of Mortlake ware, although the disturbed nature of this tomb makes this sequence somewhat dubious. At Notgrove, Nympsfield and Burn Ground, Glos.; Cairnholy I, Wigtown and West Kennet, Wilts.; the Peterborough sherds came from the blocking of the tomb. Only at Cairnholy, West Kennet and Broadsands, was Fengate ware present. All other chambered tombs contained either Ebbsfleet or Mortlake ware. At Cairnholy, West Kennet and Broadsands, the Fengate sherds occurred in a late or final use of the tomb. The pottery from the pit at Lanhill is too indeterminate to classify specifically as Ebbsfleet or Mortlake. The sherd from the later phase in the forecourt at the same site is also atypical.

Peterborough ware has been mentioned at three flint mine sites. At Findon, Sussex, it was claimed that sherds 'of a Neolithic B type bowl' were found in mineshaft 4. No trace of the vessel can be found but more important is the fact that the Neolithic pottery at Findon appears to come from a disturbed context (Pye 1968). The
sherds from Grimes Graves, Norfolk, which include Mortlake ware, do appear to be associated with the use of the mine. At Easton Down what appears to be Peterborough ware occurred in one of the surface pits along with Beaker sherds.

Peterborough pottery has also been found on henge monuments but again the relationship is not clear. Abraded sherds of Mortlake ware were found beneath the bank at Avebury, Wilts., and in a number of the stone-holes. Peterborough type sherds were found in the ditch fill at Fargo Plantation, and at Dorchester Sites VI and XI,* but only at Dorchester Site XI were the sherds from a primary position in the ditch. Possibly Peterborough ware are the sherds from Dorchester Site V. Smith pointed out that undecorated wall sherds from primary positions at Dorchester Sites II, V and VI were of a fabric akin to the decorated Peterborough sherds from the same series of sites. Possible sherds of Peterborough ware also came from the similar site at Barford Site A, Warwick.**

Other sites which should be mentioned are the ring-ditches at Beenham and Englefield, Berks., at both of which Peterborough sherds have been found. The excavators of the Beenham and Englefield sites could find no trace of a mound and suggested that these sites did not represent ploughed-out barrows. A similar

* Unpublished. Information from Smith 1956, Appendix VI
** The nature of the Dorchester sites and their relationship to henges is discussed below.
situation occurred at the causewayed ditch at Barford Site D, Warwick, and at Streatley, Beds.

Finally at the Sanctuary, sherds of Peterborough ware occurred in scattered deposits along with flints and pieces of lava. They appear to be contemporary with phase II of the monument and Piggott has suggested these finds are the remains of offerings or ritual meals made on this site (Piggott 1962, 73).

Peterborough pottery occurs in association with at least 33 Round Barrows. At certain sites Peterborough ware can be shown definitely to antedate the erection of the barrow. At Chippenham B.5, Cambs., a single sherd of Peterborough ware was found beneath the outer edge of the revetment bank of a palisade barrow. The barrow appears to have been built over an occupation site as the pre-barrow soil contained numerous sherds of rusticated and Long Necked Beakers. The information from Green Howe, North Deighton, Yorks., is less specific but it would appear that there too the barrow covered part of the site of an earlier occupation, material from which was incorporated into the mound. At Handley Hill, B.24, Dorset and Totney Hill, Box, Wilts., Peterborough pottery is recorded from the old land surface, but whether this means the material was incorporated within the old land surface or merely lying upon it is not clear. From two Yorkshire barrows, Acklam 211 and Aldro 30, come reports of a pit or hollow on or in the old ground surface containing
Peterborough pottery. At Acklam 211 the primary inhumation was accompanied by a Pood Vessel. Possibly a similar situation occurs at Lake Barrow 38, Wilsford, Wilts., where a sherd of Peterborough was found in a disturbed area above a central pit.

Where material is found on the old land surface beneath a barrow or in a pit as instanced above, it is not necessary for the material to antedate the barrow erection. It would be quite possible, as has been suggested, for the barrow area to be scattered with sherds immediately before the barrow was raised. Similarly, when sherds of Peterborough ware are incorporated within the barrow material, it is possible that they have been included deliberately in its construction. On the other hand, if the area chosen for the location of a round barrow has previously been occupied, it would be reasonable to assume the inclusion of occupation debris of the earlier phase in the later mound. This would apply equally with a scraped-up barrow or one in which the material is derived from the ditch. If this were the case one might reasonably expect to find occupation debris extending over an area beyond that covered by the barrow. However, this does not seem to have been looked for in the past. The argument for such incorporated material ante-dating the mound is strengthened by the pollen study carried out on the North Yorkshire Moors where the barrow was erected in a clearing in a

* With the exception of East Finnery, Aberdeenshire, where it does appear that the pottery lying on the old land surface was confined within the area covered by the barrow (Atkinson 1962, 18).
forest (Dimbleby 1961, 123-128). In other words, the site of the barrow is to some extent chosen because it represents cleared land.

Where Peterborough pottery is found in the silting of the ditch as at Streatley, Beds. and Handley Hill, B.26, Dorset, the material could be derived either from the old land surface or the mound.

Although the primary burials in the relevant barrows are frequently uninformative, being unaccompanied inhumations as at Niton, Hants., or cremations as at Garrowby Barrow 68, Yorks. and Lake Barrow 39, Wilts., primaries include an inhumation with jet slider at Handley Hill 26, inhumations with Food Vessels at Riggs, barrow 20, and Painsthorpe, barrow 98, and, possibly, at Handley Hill barrow 29, a primary cremation within a Collared Urn. The primary burials of such sites as West Overton 6b with Urns and a Beaker inhumation should give an upper limit for the inclusion of the Peterborough sherds in the mound. The occurrence of a sherd of Peterborough pottery in the primary inhumation at Butterwick barrow XXXIX along with a bronze dagger, a bronze axe, bronze awl, jet and stone buttons and Food Vessel sherds may indicate association but it is also possible that the fill was contaminated by material deposited on the site at an earlier date.

The only two sites where Peterborough pottery appears to be directly related to round barrow interments are at Drumelzier, Peebleshire, and Elf Howe, Flixton Wold.
At Drumelzier a rim sherd of Peterborough pottery occurred in the cist containing the primary burial accompanied by a Beaker. However, the site does appear to be of more than one period, containing seven cists in all, with two small oval settings of stones. In addition there were six Cinerary Urns with secondary burials. At Elf Howe, Flixton Wold, the Peterborough sherd came from the central inhumation burial in a barrow covering several inhumations and a cremation.
Early Neolithic pottery is found on 'occupation' sites such as Edingthorpe, Norfolk, Beacon Hill, Craike Hill and Garton Slack, Yorks. Sandhill sites such as Hedderwick, East Lothian and Luce Bay, Wigtownshire have also yielded sherds of this general type. At the occupation site on the West Kennet Avenue, there were a few sherds of Early Neolithic type but they were very fragmentary. Only two cave sites have suggested occupation by the makers of Early Neolithic pottery; these are Chelm's Combe, Cheddar and Sun Hole, Somerset (Piggott 1954, 35). Smith has shown that pits do occur with purely Early Neolithic contents, e.g. Pamphill and Corfe Mullen, Dorset and Southborne, Hants. (Smith 1964). The same is true of occupation sites of the type where no structure is detectable; such sites as Peacock's Farm, Cambs., and Hurst Fen, Mildenhall, Suffolk, fall within this category. But so far no cave site or sand-dune site has shown occupation by the makers of Early Neolithic pottery alone, although at Chelm's Combe the Early Neolithic pottery does appear to be found in a distinct layer below the other pottery types (Clay et al. 1926).

Parallels for the structural settlement sites are also to be found in the early Neolithic. Barford Site C and Mount Pleasant suggest comparison with the houses
at Haldon, Devon (Fox 1964, Fig. 5) and Lough Gur (O'Riordain 1954, Site A). The rectangular enclosures of Sonning and Fengate suggest a continuation of the tradition seen in the square enclosure at Windmill Hill (Smith 1965, Fig. 10).

The length of tradition of the unchambered long barrow is not certain. On the one hand it can be linked by association to Early Neolithic pottery (Piggott 1954, 50ff) and by the pre-chambered tomb construction at Wayland's Smithy to the Windmill Hill complex (Atkinson 1965, 130). On the other hand there is the case of Giants Hills, Lincs., where it would appear that Beaker sherds were incorporated in the building of the mound (Phillips 1936, 53). The bulk of evidence, however, suggests that Long Barrows are an early feature in the British Neolithic. It is noticeable that only at the Lamborough Long Barrow, Hants, and the South Street Long Barrow, Wilts., does Peterborough come from the lower level of the ditch of a long barrow, and this is, significantly, Ebbsfleet and Ebbsfleet/Mortlake wares. The other styles of Peterborough ware when they are found on long barrows, occur in the upper levels of the ditch.

In this connection one might also point to the occurrence of Peterborough pottery in the upper levels of the ditch at the Normanton Mortuary Enclosure. Although in this case there was no long barrow, Mortuary Enclosures can be shown to belong to the same tradition.
as long barrows (Piggott 1954, 59).

The occurrence of Peterborough ware in the upper levels of the ditches of long barrows does suggest that the barrows continued to be of significance for some time after their completion.

Cairnholly I and Broadsands are the only chambered tombs upon which Fengate ware alone is present and at neither site is the pottery typical Fengate ware. All other chambered tombs containing Peterborough pottery contain Ebbsfleet or Mortlake wares, or, as at West Kennet Long Barrow, all three styles. Although the situation of the Peterborough pottery in the tombs is not always known, where this is known, the relevant pottery is generally connected with the final blocking of the tomb. Only at Broadsands and Bryn yr hen Bobl does the Peterborough pottery appear to be contemporary with the use of the tomb, and Piggott has shown at West Kennet Long Barrow that the 'life' of a tomb may well be over 1000 years (Piggott 1962, 78).

It does appear as if the makers of Peterborough pottery, if not actually involved in the building of these tombs, did have access to them and were certainly actively participant in their final phases.

Although the presence of Beaker pottery and artifacts and the occasional Cinerary Urn in flint mines attests their continued use, that their inception is to be ascribed to an early Neolithic phase cannot be in doubt.
Although Early Neolithic pottery is rare in the mines themselves, the presence of large flint axes, obviously of mined flint, in primary contexts on causewayed camps must relate the mining of flint to an early phase of the Neolithic (Smith 1965, 100).

Piggott has shown that causewayed camps are essentially part of his Windmill Hill culture. At Maiden Bower, The Trundle, Knap Hill, Hembury, Robin Hood’s Ball and Whitesheet, there was no Peterborough pottery present, all the finds falling within the Early Neolithic classification. At Maiden Castle, Windmill Hill, Wilts., Abingdon and Whitehawk, Sussex, Windmill Hill or Early Neolithic pottery was present from the primary levels, although Peterborough pottery was also found on the site. At Maiden Castle, and probably also Abingdon, although the stratification is not clear, the Peterborough pottery came from the upper levels of the ditches only. The Peterborough pottery from the primary level of the ditch at Windmill Hill is Ebbsfleet ware, Mortlake and Fengate ware being found only in the upper levels. At Whitehawk, Ebbsfleet pottery does appear to be contemporary with the main use of the camp but Whitehawk ware is also present throughout and no other styles of Peterborough ware are present.

Combe Hill is the only causewayed camp which can clearly be ascribed to the makers of Peterborough pottery, no other types being present on the site. But it should be noted that it is Ebbsfleet pottery exclusively which is found.
Although Early Neolithic pottery does occasionally turn up in the mounds of round barrows, its presence there is best explained as is that of Peterborough ware, namely, the earlier occupation of the site. This would certainly seem the most reasonable explanation for its occurrence on such sites as Niton, Hants., and Green Howe, North Deighton.

**Associations** (Text Fig. 56)

The number of clear associations of artifacts with Peterborough pottery is very small. Associations are regarded as valid only when the objects are from a closed context such as a sealed pit or undisturbed grave, or when the excavator specifically states that the objects were found together and there is no reason to expect contamination. Smith pointed out that only a small proportion of Peterborough sites in south-east England showed associations with artifacts and that an even smaller proportion of these sites showed associations with artifacts other than flint flakes (Smith 1956, 119). The same situation applies to artifacts associated with Peterborough pottery throughout Britain. Flint flakes, animal bones and teeth were the only associations with the Fengate sherds in the pit at West Overton 6a, Wilts. At Winterbourne Dauntsey, Wilts., a flint axe, thumb-scrapers and blades were amongst
Artifacts associated with Peterborough pottery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Flint flakes</th>
<th>Grain rubbers</th>
<th>Scrapers</th>
<th>Stone axe fragments</th>
<th>Cores</th>
<th>Serrated flakes</th>
<th>Flint axe fragments</th>
<th>Leaf-shaped arrowheads</th>
<th>Tranchet axe</th>
<th>Deer tine</th>
<th>Jet bead</th>
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Text Fig. 5a
the flintwork associated in three pits with Peterborough sherds. Smith has pointed out that the arrowhead found with skeletons and a Mortlake bowl in the Churchdale rock shelter, Derbyshire, and claimed to be of tranchet type is of leaf-shaped type with rudimentary trimming (Smith 1956, 120). In the pit beneath barrow 211, Acklam, Yorks., the Pengate sherd was accompanied only by flint flakes and animal bones, including red-deer tines. But at Aldro barrow 30, Yorks., a similar pit beneath the barrow contained a Mortlake rim, a flat-base sherd, a fragmentary scraper and part of a cylindrical jet bead.

The much quoted association of Peterborough pottery with jet sliders and polished flint knife at Gop Cave, Flints., has regretfully been excluded. The jet sliders and polished flint knife are specifically stated to have been found together. But the only connection between them and the pottery is that they came from the same section of the cave. The skewer pin, supposedly also associated, came from a later excavation of the cave. Although it is likely that these artifacts were associated with the pottery, they cannot be accepted as directly associated. The same is true of the jet slider from Handley Down Barrow 26, Dorset and the Peterborough sherds from the ditch.

Apart from flint flakes the most commonly occurring artifact in a list of Peterborough associations is the
scraper, five times. But these scrapers are of various forms. There are also five occurrences of Peterborough pottery associated with flint axes or fragments of flint axes.

In addition to Combe Hill, Sussex, grain rubbers are found in five other causewayed camps – Windmill Hill, Trundle, Whitehawk, Hambledon Hill, and Maiden Castle – and along with leaf-shaped arrowheads and serrated flakes can be shown to be components of the early Neolithic culture (Piggott 1954, 78-9).

The jet bead from the pit beneath Aldro Barrow 20, Yorks., is of a type known from three chambered tombs, Notgrove and Eyford, Glos., (Piggott 1954, Fig. 22), and Cairnholy I, Wigtownshire (Piggott and Powell 1949, Fig. 9, 2). At the latter site the bead was from a late use of the tomb. Similar beads are known from an early phase at Maiden Castle causewayed camp (Wheeler 1943, 183), the upper filling of the ditch at Windmill Hill (Smith 1965, Fig. 58) and at Hembury (Liddell 1932, Pl. XVI). Another bead of this type comes from the Mortuary Enclosure phase at Seamer Moor Round Barrow (unpublished; information from D.D.A. Simpson). These
beads, therefore, appear to be found on sites which are of a type which may be related to the Windmill Hill culture. In no case can the beads be shown to come from sites of a type which is specifically later than Windmill Hill.

One association, however, with Peterborough pottery is clearly not of an early Neolithic type. At Cam, Glos., Fengate sherds were found in two pits, in one of which was also an ovoid macehead. Unfortunately, this is the only direct association of the ovoid type of macehead, although a fragment of one was found at Rinyo. Other ovoid maceheads occur in the chambered tombs of Tormore, Arran and Ormiegill, Caithness, in the mound of a round barrow, Garrowby G69, which has inhumation primaries accompanied by Food Vessels, in the upper levels of the ditch at Windmill Hill and in the cremation cemetery at Stonehenge. The question of maceheads is discussed in connection with Rinyo Clacton pottery, see below p.
At the settlement site at Driffield West Reservoir, Yorks., sherds of Peterborough were associated with a hearth and flint-knapping site, below which were a few sherds of Grimston ware. At Dorchester I, Oxon., the first phase of the monument is related to Abingdon ware and the second phase to Peterborough ware. There is, however, an enigmatic sherd from the first phase which may be an undecorated beaker so this relationship is somewhat uncertain.

Two sites directly show stratification of Peterborough ware below Rinyo Clacton ware. The habitation site at Honington, Suffolk, has two distinct layers, the lower containing Peterborough pottery and the upper Rinyo Clacton pottery. A sterile layer separates the Peterborough pottery layer from that containing Rinyo Clacton ware at North Carnaby Temple, Rudston, the Peterborough pottery being confined to the lower layer. It would appear that the upper layer is disturbed as there are a number of Iron Age vessels mixed with the Rinyo Clacton pottery. Clear association of Peterborough ware with Rinyo Clacton pottery can be
seen at Letchworth, Herts., where the finds come from a single pit. Similar association occurs in pits at Orton Longueville, Hunts., and Cassington, Oxon.

There are two sites where Peterborough pottery is stratified below beakers. The site at Downton, near Salisbury was occupied by the makers of both Peterborough and beaker pottery but, although occurring in the same areas, the Ebbsfleet and Mortlake pottery is earlier in both areas than the beaker pottery. At Peterborough itself certain of the pits contained only beaker pottery and although usually Peterborough pottery was associated in the pits with beaker pottery, sometimes the Peterborough pottery was stratified below the beaker wares.

It is interesting to note that Peterborough is one of the few sites at which Peterborough pottery can be shown to be directly associated with beaker pottery. At Lion Point, Clacton, one Ebbsfleet sherd is also associated in a pit with beaker sherds. There are also a few sherds of what may be Peterborough Northern from a beaker pit at Kirkburn, Dumfries. If the deposits of pottery and flints, etc., at the Sanctuary are regarded as remaines of offerings, then again the Peterborough pottery would be contemporary with beaker ware. The pits at Easton Down flint mines contain almost entirely beaker rubbish although sherds of Peterborough ware do occur in one pit. But these Peterborough sherds also occur in the area between the
pits and their presence in the pits may be due to disturbance caused by the digging of the pits. The small sherd of Peterborough Northern from the cist at Drumelzier, Peebles, does appear to be definitely associated with the beaker burial. It is unfortunate that this round cairn was not more fully excavated as it is the only example of association of Peterborough pottery with a beaker burial and it would be interesting to know if Peterborough sherds were present in the material of the cairn. There are, however, very many sites at which Peterborough pottery appears to be contemporary with beakers, although direct association is lacking. Many of these are, however, settlement sites and the apparent contemporaneity may do no more than reflect the suitability of the site for settlement, the later occupation debris becoming mingled with the earlier. Such sites include High Wheeldon Cave, Buxton, Derbyshire; Edingthorpe, Norfolk; West Kennet Avenue occupation site and Craike Hill, Garton Slack, Yorks. Although beaker occurs on almost all the sand-dune sites on which Peterborough Northern is found, it is worth mentioning that although the Tentsmuir sand-dune site has yielded finds of Rinyo Clacton, beaker, Food Vessel and cinerary urn, the Brackmont Mill pit itself contained uncontaminated Peterborough Northern.

The evidence from several other monuments, although not indicating direct association between Peterborough
pottery and other wares, does give some indication of their mutual relationship. The Peterborough/Ebbsfleet pottery at the causewayed camp at Maiden Castle occurs in the upper layers of the ditch filling only, below is Hembury ware. Although Ebbsfleet pottery occurs along with Windmill Hill pottery in the primary ditch filling of Windmill Hill causewayed camp, Mortlake and Pengate wares occur only in the upper layers along with beakers and Rinyo Clacton pottery. It is noticeable that at Abingdon, although Pengate ware was present, at an unknown level, there was a total absence of beaker pottery. At Thickthorn long barrow Pengate sherds were found in a secondary position in the ditch, whereas a Windmill Hill sherd occurred in the lower levels of the silting. The Peterborough/Mortlake sherds from the Holdenhurst long barrow seem to have come from the same level as sherds of beaker and rusticated ware. Similarly, at Wör barrow the upper levels of the ditch contained beaker sherds as well as Pengate ware.

The evidence from the chambered tombs suggests a similar relationship to that indicated by the causewayed camps and long barrows. Windmill Hill pottery occurs in the construction phase of the Nympsfield long barrow, Glos., from below the forecourt at Cairnholy I, Kirkcudbright and from the primary tomb use at West Kennet, Wilts., thus preceding on all these sites the Peterborough pottery. But Peterborough pottery does
appear also to have had some contemporaneity with Windmill Hill at Nympsfield as, although the Windmill Hill sherds are confined to the chamber and the Ebbsfleet pottery to the antechamber and forecourt, both relate to a phase before the blocking of the tomb. It is in the blocking of chambered tombs that Peterborough pottery is most commonly found on such sites, and at Nympsfield and Cairnholy, beaker is also present in such blocking. At West Kennet the blocking consisted of Windmill Hill, Rinyo Clacton, beaker and Peterborough pottery; Early Neolithic pottery also occurred in the blocking at Cairnholy. At Burn Ground, Glos., Windmill Hill sherds occurred in the blocking of one of the side chambers, but the Ebbsfleet sherds came from the blocking of the forecourt.

The relationship of pottery types from round barrows is somewhat more difficult to assess where direct association is absent. Beaker is noticeably absent from the pre-barrow pits containing Mortlake and Pengate pottery at Aldro barrow 30 and Acklam barrow 211, Yorks. Similarly at Totney Hill, Wilts., and Handley Hill barrow 24, Dorset only Peterborough/Mortlake pottery is found in the old land surfaces. In contrast the pre-barrow deposits at Chippenham barrow 5, Cambs., and Green Howe, Yorks., consist of beaker as well as Mortlake and Ebbsfleet sherds. Where Peterborough sherds come from the body of a mound, beaker sherds are
frequently present also, as are Windmill Hill and Rinyo Clacton sherds; but Food Vessel and Cinerary urn sherds may also be present as at Churn Plain, Berks. A similar situation occurs in the filling of round barrows as at Handley Hill barrow 26, Dorset, where Mortlake sherds occurred both below and above beaker sherds in the ditch fill.

The relationship between Peterborough pottery and other types of pottery, i.e. Early Neolithic, Rinyo Clacton and beaker is shown below. Sites at which the relationship is not clear, mainly occupation sites and round barrows, have been omitted. It is noticeable that only Ebbsfleet ware occurs in association or contemporary with Early Neolithic pottery. Fengate pottery does not occur in pre-Rinyo Clacton contexts and only once dubiously, at Avebury barrow G.55, in a pre-beaker context. However, all three forms of Peterborough pottery do occur in association or contemporary with beakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ebbsfleet</th>
<th>Mortlake</th>
<th>Fengate</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Pre-Beaker</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
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Smith has shown that the origins of the Peterborough pottery style are to be found in earlier Neolithic styles such as Whitehawk and Mildenhall. Ebbsfleet and Mortlake forms can be related to earlier forms, and the methods of decoration such as incision, pitting and bird bone impressions can also be seen on preceding styles of pottery (Smith 1956, 169-175). An origin for twisted cord impression, however, is less easily explained. Smith suggests that it may be related to the use of a string of small seeds for decoration, the resulting impression being akin to that produced by twisted cord (Smith 1956, 175). Clarke, however, sees the use of all-over twisted cord impression on Peterborough pottery as direct evidence of Beaker influence (Clarke 1970, 267). Clarke also regards chevron and zonal design as Beaker derivatives, although Smith has shown that these also appear on Mildenhall and Whitehawk wares. Whipped cord decoration, however, is not known on Beaker pottery and is regarded by Clarke as a pre-Beaker decoration on Ebbsfleet pottery. Certainly whipped cord impressions are commoner than twisted cord on Ebbsfleet ware (Smith 1956, 90), but both are found. As the making of whipped cord is a much more sophisticated technique than the making of twisted cord, it seems unlikely that it would precede it.

If one accepts Clarke's thesis for the origin of
twisted cord impression on Peterborough ware, then one must accept that none of the pottery so decorated is dateable before 2,000 B.C. at the earliest. One of the earliest dates for Ebbsfleet ware is that from Windmill Hill, 2570 ±150 B.C. (B.M. 74).* The Ebbsfleet pottery from the bottom of Outer Ditch V, from which the charcoal was obtained for this date, is decorated with whipped cord (Smith 1965, 11), but at early layers in other ditches Ebbsfleet ware with twisted cord impression was found well below the level of Beaker sherds (Smith 1965, 14).

Smith has suggested that the idea of cord and impressed decoration on Irish bowls (Ballyalton and Dundrum, Sandhills etc.) is derived from Peterborough ware, and specifically related this to a late phase of Mortlake, current with early Fengate (Smith 1956, 153). The contact is further emphasised by the reciprocal appearance of geometric motifs on Peterborough ware. However, Irish decorated wares are present at Lough Gur Circle L with undecorated Class I wares by the third quarter of the third millennium. A radiocarbon date for this phase is 2450 ± 240 B.C. (D.40).

Hawkes, and subsequently Smith, suggested that this use of geometric motifs on the Neolithic pottery of Ireland might be connected with the megalithic art tradition

* This is supported by similar dates from the peat at Ebbsfleet and from South Street Long Barrow (Evans and Burleigh 1969; BM 113 and BM -357 and 358)
(Smith 1956, 155), the two specific motifs being variants of the hurdle and triangle (Piggott 1954, Fig. 33, 9b and 12b). These motifs are particularly common in the Baltic on TRB wares (Piggott 1954, 183) but carried out in whipped cord technique, as opposed to the twisted cord prevalent in Ireland.

Piggott and Smith both examined in detail the possibility of a Baltic origin for Peterborough pottery. Piggott suggested that certain elements in the Sandhills ware of Ireland might relate to Danish Middle Neolithic pottery, including TRB.C (Piggott 1954, 188). Smith, however, rejected any suggestion of Scandinavian influence on Peterborough pottery, pointing out that the similarities between Peterborough and TRB wares were to be found in Mortlake and Pengate styles rather than Ebbsfleet (Smith 1956, 180). However, it is on TRB.C that whipped cord and twisted cord techniques appear for the first time in the Baltic. Recent dating evidence has shown that these cord-decorated wares were certainly present by the middle of the third millennium (K.919: 2900 ± 100 B.C.). Nevertheless, as both Smith and Piggott point out, the evidence for contact with the Baltic during the third millennium is scanty in the extreme. If one excludes the Danish pottery from Durham and Kent (Piggott 1954, 321), the only evidence is that provided by the occasional finds of Scandinavian thin butted axes, and, as Smith points out, these continued in use on the Continent probably until the
end of the third millennium (Smith 1956, 182).

The only evidence for Peterborough contact with the Continent are two sherds, one from Camp à Cayaux, Spiennes (Verheyleweghen 1964, 235) and the other from the square dolmen at Mané Gragneux, Morbihan (Riquet et al. 1963, Fig. 7, 13). The sherd from Camp à Cayaux is of Mortlake form with herring-bone groove decoration and comes from a disturbed context. The sherd from Mané Gragneux is merely a wall sherd with twisted cord decoration and is unstratified.

In view of the absence of evidence, it seems most reasonable to suggest that cord decoration, both whipped and twisted, developed spontaneously in England, as it appears to have done in Scandinavia and North Germany and at a similar date, namely the middle of the third millennium.

It may seem that over-emphasis has been laid on the origin of cord impression on Peterborough pottery, but it is crucial in attempting to explain the development of the style. Clarke has suggested that both Mortlake and Fengate styles developed as a result of contact between the local native tradition and the intrusive Beaker tradition (Clarke 1970, 267-8). Among the elements which Clarke regards as intrusive, that is Beaker, are flat bases, grog, internal rim decoration, collared rims, zonal decoration, hatched, herringbone and chevron motifs, all-over twisted cord and finger-
pinch rustication (Clarke 1962). Flat bases are, of course, known in early Neolithic contexts, although admittedly rarely (Newbigin 1937, Fig. 4, 12; Case 1956, Fig. 4, 34 and Smith 1965, 57), and grog is likewise not unknown (Smith 1965, 46). The collared rims of Fengate ware have been shown by Smith to be a typological development from Ebbsfleet and Mortlake forms (Smith 1956); in addition to which the collared form is rare on Continental Beakers (Longworth 1961, 274). Internal decoration of the rim is not uncommon on early Neolithic pottery (Smith 1956, Fig. 26). Herringbone hatching and chevron motifs are known on Irish, Hebridean and Orkney pottery forms (Case 1961, Fig. 9, 11; Appendix I, Figs. 11-13; Henshall 1963, 252) and could be transferred direct from Ireland or from Orkney via the medium of Rinyo Clacton pottery. The vertical zonal decoration, also regarded by Clarke as intrusive, is frequently to be seen on Rinyo Clacton pottery (Annable and Simpson 1964, Fig. 10; Cunnington 1929, Pl. 37). That interaction occurred between Rinyo Clacton and Peterborough wares is clearly to be seen at Lawford, Essex (Figs. 45-64) and, if one accepts that Rinyo Clacton is contemporary with later Peterborough, borrowing between the two styles is to be expected.

The use of finger-tip rustication as a decorative element on Fengate and Rinyo Clacton pottery, perhaps significantly more common in the southern styles, requires
some explanation. If one is to seek a foreign origin for this type of decoration then inevitably one looks to the Low Countries. As Lehmann pointed out, both in the Low Countries and Great Britain, the people who made Beakers with comb-stamp decoration also had the idea of making big rusticated pots (Lehmann 1965, 27). This rustication frequently takes the form of finger-pinching, a decorative technique which also occurs on Veluwe Beakers (Van der Waals and Glasbergen 1955, 26) and appears to be peculiar to the North Sea area (Lehmann 1965, 28). Lehmann rejected the idea of a British, i.e. Rinyo Clacton, origin for this decorative technique on the grounds that the British Pot Beakers resembled his later Necked Pot Beakers more closely than the earlier Trumpet Pot Beakers of the Low Countries. Clarke regarded the British rusticated Pot Beakers as intrusive and allied to the arrival of his Barbed Wire, East Anglian and North British/Dutch Beaker groups (Clarke 1970, 258-9). If one accepts this thesis, then the introduction of finger-pinching as a decorative technique is to be dated to around 1650 B.C. (Gr.N. 852 and 1977). This date would seem extremely low in view of the prevalence of finger-pinching at Woodhenge, a site which for reasons given below (p.122) seems to be early in the henge sequence.

The origin of the North Sea phenomenon, the Pot Beaker, is not immediately relevant to this thesis
except in as far as these large vessels do seem from their earliest appearance in the Low Countries to have had some finger-pinched decoration (Lehmann 1965, 28) and, more significantly, these large vessels are found with Maritime Beakers. Lehmann has suggested that the origin of the decorative technique may be found in Spain, but in view of its absence in Brittany this seems unlikely as an origin in TRB/Pitted Ware on the very grounds that Lehmann refuted a TRB/Pitted Ware origin, namely the lack of any examples of the technique in the areas between the proposed place of origin and the North Sea Pot Beaker area. Nor, as Bamford points out, does rusticated ware seem to be an original part of any Corded-Ware/Single Grave culture independently of Bell-beakers (Bamford 1970, 155). In other words there is no satisfactory pre-Beaker origin for rusticated decoration on the Continent.

In view of the contemporaneity of Fengate and Rinyo Clacton wares with Beakers (see above p. 49) it is more likely that the technique of finger-pinching has a common origin but in the present state of knowledge, it does not seem possible to say on which side of the North Sea this technique evolved. However, the dates for henge monuments in Britain, to which Rinyo Clacton pottery does seem to be allied (see below p. 132 ) may suggest that this is one instance in which the normal trend of influence across the North Sea from east to west is reversed.
Fengate ware, and probably Mortlake ware also, continued to be made until the middle of the second millennium as is shown by the radio carbon date from layer 2 of the Outer Ditch at Windmill Hill, 1540 ± 150 B.C. (B.M. 75). This layer contained no Windmill Hill ware, the pottery consisting only of Mortlake and Fengate wares, Beakers and Collared Urns of the primary series (Smith 1965, 11). The possibility that Ebbsfleet ware too may have continued to a similar date is suggested by the finds from Letchworth, Herts., where Ebbsfleet sherds were found with Beaker and Collared Urn sherds.

Although Food Vessels have been shown to be in part contemporary both with Beakers of various types and with the primary series of Collared Urns (Simpson 1968, 201), it is noticeable that there are no records of association with Peterborough pottery. This may be explained on geographical terms, Food Vessels being absent south of the Jurassic Ridge, the main area of concentration of Peterborough pottery. But the absence of any such association in Derbyshire and Yorkshire is perhaps significant. It would certainly suggest that Peterborough pottery ceased to be produced shortly after the middle of the second millennium.

Peterborough ware is seen then as evolving in the second quarter of the third millennium (B.M. 113) from earlier Neolithic styles of pottery. The idea of decorating pottery which began in a restrained manner
on Windmill Hill ware and became more evolved in Mildenhall and Whitehawk wares, led to the invention of many new forms of decorative techniques in the Peterborough style. Contact with Rinyo Clacton and Beaker cultures led to the making of occasional hybrid forms (Smith 1956, 145-6) but the Peterborough style remained a recognisable entity until the middle of the second millennium.
III THE RINYO CLACTON COMPLEX
THE POTTERY

Although it is true that the pottery at Skara Brae and Rinyo is heavily backed with large grit, it should be pointed out that this use of heavy temper is peculiar to the two Orkney sites. In the south of Scotland and in Yorkshire, as well as further south, Rinyo Clacton pottery is characterised by the absence of visible backing or the presence of sparse small grit or shell. Even where the backing is heavy the fabric tends to be close-textured. Commonly, the fabric is fairly soft and ring building appears to be uniform. The methods of applying decoration to the vessels are common throughout, direct application (done presumably when the body of the vessel was still wet), application by means of a localised slip and the use of an overall final slip. This final method is fairly rare anywhere, but occurs more commonly at Skara Brae and Rinyo. Grooving varies from very fine incision to broad grooves apparently made with the finger tips. Stabbing may be carried out with a delicate pointed tool or with a broad implement of triangular or rectangular section.

The colour of Rinyo Clacton pottery varies from black through shades of red-brown to pale buff, but reddish brown appears to be most common.

In his discussion of the pottery from Skara Brae, Childe recognised three principal decorative styles:
(a) plastic ornament; (b) plastic ornament which is subsequently grooved or stabbed; and (c) grooved and incised wares, (Childe 1931, 130-1). The plastic ornament of style (a) may also occur inside the vessel. A similar series of styles was distinguished by Childe at Rinyo. At both sites style (a) was common to all phases of the settlements, whereas styles (b) and (c) only occurred in the earlier stages. In addition to the three major styles there are a number of sherds from both sites which are decorated in simple horizontal bands, either applied or grooved with the finger tips, either inside the rim or covering the outer surface.

In her study of the southeastern Rinyo-Clacton pottery, Smith recognised three styles: Clacton style characterised by grooved and dotted panelled decoration akin to Skara Brae (c) but also frequently including plastic decoration on the inner rim; Woodhenge style characterised by vessels with deep collars and vertical panels of decoration, principally grooved, the panels frequently demarcated by cordons; and Woodlands style characterised by small vessels with plastic ornament, the plastic ornament often being decorated with horizontal stabs or grooves, akin to Skara Brae (b). As in the north, more than one style may occur on the same site.

Simple horizontal zoning by cordons or raised bands produced by grooving, sometimes with the finger tips is
the commonest method of decoration on Rinyo-Clacton pottery. It occurs at Skara Brae and Rinyo, both inside and outside the vessel. The distribution of this decorative technique is widespread. It is found at Gullane (Curle 1908, Fig. 5, 2), Luce Bay (McInnes 1964, Fig. 99), Mull Hill Circle, Isle of Man (Piggott 1932, Fig. 6, 1), Manham Hill (Fig. 131, 1), Calais Wold Barrow C.70 (Fig. 128) and Risby Warren (Riley 1957, Fig. 9, 1) in the north. In the south east it occurs very extensively at Dunstable (Smith 1956, Fig. 108, 1), Waulud's Bank, Leagrave (Smith 1956, Fig. 109), Blewbury (Smith 1956, Fig. 110, 1), Hills Road, Cambridge (Frere 1943, Fig. 3, 1 & 2), Shippea Hill (Clark 1933a, Pl. XLV 15 and Pl. XLVI, 24), Pishibury, Herts. (Piggott 1954, Fig. 57, 3), Edingthorpe, Norfolk (Smith 1956, Fig. 117, 6), Greeting St. Mary, Suffolk (Smith 1956, Fig. 121, 3, 4, 9-11 and Fig. 122, 15-19 and 21-22), Icklingham, Suffolk (Smith 1956, Fig. 123). Sherds similarly decorated are also found in the west country at Windmill Hill (Smith 1965, Fig. 35, 281), Woodhenge (Cunnington 1929, Fig. 24, 35), Durrington Walls (Stone et al. 1954, Fig. 7, 11 & 14) and Cockles Wood Cave, Somerset (Hickling and Seaby 1951, Fig. 1, 1 and 2). It is possible that some of the smaller sherds here included may represent fragments of vessels in the Woodhenge style (Cunnington 1929, Fig. 11).

Apart from simple horizontal banding, the plastic
style of Skara Brae and Rinyo has a limited distribution further south. Apart from one example at Freswick Sands, Caithness (Fig. 43) the nearest parallels are at Yeavering, Northumberland (Fig. 65) and in Yorkshire at North Carnaby Temple (Fig. 135), Craike Hill (Manby 1958, Fig. 5, 33) and Calais Wold barrow 070 (Manby 1958, Fig. 8) and Risby Warren, Lincs. (Riley 1957, Fig. 9, 4). The tiny sherds from Fimber barrow G.33, Yorks. (Fig. 129) are also decorated in plastic style but this is carried out with a delicacy only comparable to that at Woodlands, Wilts. Further south other examples of the plastic style are found at West Overton G.6b (Smith and Simpson 1966, Fig. 8, 4, 8, 11, 14 and 15), and Windmill Hill, Wilts. (Smith 1965, Fig. 35, 289). One other example of this style is known in the south west at Gorsey Bigbury, Somerset (Fig. 124, 2).

The techniques used in decorating plastic ornament differ slightly at Skara Brae and Rinyo. At Skara Brae the commonest method is a central incision running longitudinally along the cordon (Fig. 109, 1 and 37). This may be combined with transverse incisions (Fig. 113) or transverse incisions alone may be used (Fig. 109, 2). At Rinyo in addition to transverse incisions (Fig. 89, 2), the cordon may be stabbed (Fig. 71, 3) or the stabs may be placed on either side of the cordon (Fig. 71, 2).

Decoration of cordons with horizontal incisions or stabs is found at Luce Bay, Wigtown (McInnes 1964, Fig. 97) and Knappers Farm, Glasgow (MacKay 1950, Fig. 1, 2).
It also occurs at Yeavering, Northumberland (Fig. 68, 1) but does not appear to be known in Yorkshire. This style appears in Wessex at Woodlands (Stone and Young 1948, Figs. 4 and 5) and Windmill Hill (Smith 1965, Fig. 35, 284). In the South-east the same decorative motif is found at Sutton Courtenay (Smith 1956, Fig. 120), Cassington (Warren et al 1936, Fig. 7, 3), Greeting St. Mary (Smith 1956, Fig. 122, 25) and Stanton Harcourt (Smith 1956, Fig. 120). As Warren pointed out the pottery from Broadway, Worcs. (Warren et al 1936, Figs. 7, 6-8) is probably allied to this, as is the small vessel from Wykeham, Yorks (Moore and Manby 1962, Fig. 1). Cordons with side-stabbing producing a wavy effect are found at Tentsmuir, Fife (Longworth 1967, Fig. 8, 5), Gorsey Bigbury (Fig. 124, 1) and Woodlands, Wilts. (Stone 1949, Fig. 1).

The third style of decoration at Skara Brae is that of grooving and punctuation. It is best known at Skara Brae in the sherd with spiral decoration (Fig. 116, 1) but the sherd with horizontal and oblique decoration is also important (Fig. 115, 1). At Rinyo the decoration is carried out with a finer technique than at Skara Brae (Fig. 74).

The decoration of pots with geometric designs carried out in parallel lines of grooving is also seen at Tentsmuir (Longworth 1967, Fig. 8, 1), Hedderwick (Fig. 44, 1), Gullane (Curle 1908, Fig. 5, 3), Rothsay
(Marshall 1930, Pl. 4, A and B), Knappers Farm (MacKay 1950, Fig. 1, 1) and Luce Sands (McInnes 1964, Figs. 98, 100) in Scotland, and at Walney Island, Lancs. (Barnes 1955, Figs. 21-23). Decoration of the inside of the rim with horizontal grooves is a recurring feature.

The simplicity of this style means that it is difficult to recognize on fragmentary sherds but possible examples of this style occur at Risby Warren (Riley 1957, Fig. 4, 4), Blewbury, Berks. (Smith 1956, Fig. 110), Edingthorpe, Norfolk (Smith 1956, Fig. 117, 1-3) and Lion Point (Warren et al. 1936, Pl. XL, 2 and 3).

The more complex designs of this style including dotted or stabbed decoration are, however, more widely known. The Rinyo sherd (Fig. 74) recalls the small vessel from Unival (Scott 1943, Pl. VII) and a basal sherd from Lion Point, Clacton (Warren et al. 1936, Pl. XXXIX, 12). The spiral decorated sherd from Skara Brae (Fig. 116, 1) has already been compared with a rather crude spirally decorated sherd from Durrington Walls (Wainwright 1963, Pl. II left). Other examples of this style are seen in the south-east at Lion Point (Warren et al 1936, Pl. XL, 8 and 9 and Figs. 4 and 5), Creeting St. Mary (Smith 1956, Fig. 121, 12), Peterborough (Smith 1956, Fig. 118, 4), Dales Road, Ipswich (Smith 1956, Fig. 125), Christchurch, Hants. (Smith 1956), Roundwood (Smith 1956, Fig. 116, Fig. 115, 1-4), Orton Longueville, Hunts. (Piggott 1931, Fig. 14, 3),
East Malling, Kent (Smith 1956) and Pishiobury, Herts. As Smith has pointed out, the dotted ornament at Clacton is frequently carried out by removal of a small quantity of clay or oval impressions. Further west the style is seen again at Windmill Hill (Smith 1965, Fig. 35, 283), Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943, Fig. 99), Dorchester Site I (Atkinson 1954, Pl. X, B, 49, 50), West Kennet Long Barrow (Piggott 1962, Fig. R1-6), Avebury barrow G.55 (Smith 1965a, 34) and West Overton barrow G.6b (Smith and Simpson 1966, Fig. 8, 1 and 6).

A striking feature of the pottery from Lion Point, Clacton is the combination on one vessel of two Skara Brae decorative techniques. This is due to the habit of decorating the inner edge of the vessels. This habit is certainly known at Skara Brae and Rinyo but is mainly confined to a simple applied cordon (Figs. 99, 1 and 84, 1), but an applied running chevron is known from Skara Brae (Fig. 114). This sherd is interesting in that it combines application, style (a), with grooved cordons, style (b), and simple grooving, style (c). This combination of decorative styles is otherwise unknown at Skara Brae or Rinyo. At Clacton style (c) decorated vessels are decorated on the inner rim not only with plastic decoration (Warren et al 1936, Fig. 4, 2-4) but also with a stamped cordon of style (b) (Warren 1936, Fig. 4, 4). The combination of styles, however, is not confined to the presence of internal rim
decoration. There is one sherd at Clacton which consists of horizontal, vertical and oblique cordons with the spaces between the cordons decorated with grooving (Smith 1956, Fig. 114, 3). This combination of applied decoration and grooving is the basis of Smith's Woodhenge style. It is also the most widespread of all the Rinyo Clacton decorative styles, although absent at Skara Brae and Rinyo.

In the north this aspect of the Woodhenge style is found at Mye Plantation (Callander 1928, Fig. 34), Luce Bay, Wigstown (McInnes 1964, Figs. 94-6, 105, 107, 109, 111 and 112), Manham Hill, Yorks. (Fig. 131, 5) and Risby Warren, Lincs. (Riley 1957, Fig. 3, 4 and 13). In the south-east it is present at Chippenham, Cambs. (Smith 1956, Fig. 112), Roundwood, Hants. (Smith 1956, Fig. 116, 5) and Clacton. Further west it is found at Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943, Fig. 97), Ratfyn (Figs. 125 and 126), West Overton barrow G.6b (Smith and Simpson 1966, Fig. 8, 12), Avebury barrow G.55 (Smith 1965a, 34), Durrington Walls (Stone et al. 1954, Fig. 7), Wilsford barrow G.51 (Annable and Simpson 1964, Fig. 10), Woodhenge (Cunnington 1929, Figs. 6, 11, 36 etc.) and Chew Valley, Som. (Fig. 64a). The dominant grooved motifs on this pottery are chevrons and herringbone and in view of this it seems likely that many other sherds which only exhibit these motifs should be included in this style, for example the pottery from
Cherry Hinton, Cambs. (Smith 1956, Fig. 111), Ely, Cambs. (Smith 1956, 113), Peterborough, N'Hants. (Smith 1956, Fig. 118, 1 and 2), Englefield Ring Ditch I, Berks. (Fig. 41), Bray, near Reading (Fig. 40) and the Lligwy Burial Chamber, Anglesey (Piggott 1933, Figs. 2-4).

Smith's Woodlands style, characterised by small vessels with external cordons, sometimes incised, which converge at intervals, appears to be a combination of Skara Brae styles (a) and (b). The grouped pellets on the rim, regarded by Smith as a diagnostic feature (Smith 1956, 196) also are found at Yeavering (Fig. 66) on a vessel which is far from small. The Yeavering vessel is similar to that from Broadway (Warren et al. 1936, Fig. 7, 6) in that the decorated zones are not applied cordons but bands raised by grooving. The complex 'knotting' of some of the Woodlands pottery cannot be paralleled at Skara Brae or Rinyo but the running together of cordons is a recurrent feature at both Orkney sites (Figs. 100, 101, 78, 1).

From this study of the decoration of Rinyo Clacton pottery it is possible to see four main styles. (1) The **Skara Brae** style characterised by plastic decoration. The designs employed in this style concentrate on horizontal zones of running triangles which may be bisected by verticals (Figs. 99 and 75). The intermediate areas may be ornamented with roundels which may have depressed centres (Fig. 77). Also included in this style
are vessels with simple horizontal ribbing. Internal decoration of the rim does occur but is mainly confined to an internal cordon. The plastic decoration may sometimes be further ornamented. The vessels are flower-pot shaped with simple rounded or pointed rims, sometimes with internal bevel. The bases are flat, and frequently splayed. (2) The Clacton style (Smith 1956, 192) is carried out by grooving and stabbing. The designs are chiefly those employed in the Skara Brae style, the roundels being replaced by stabs or dots (Piggott 1954, Fig. 57, 2; Piggott 1962, Figs. R1, R3). Internal decoration of the rim occurs frequently and may be carried out in plastic ornament (Warren et al 1936, Fig. 4, 1-4). The forms are similar to those of the Skara Brae style. (3) The Woodlands style (Smith 1956, 196) is closely allied to the Clacton style and consists of a combination of plastic and stabbed decoration. The plastic appearance may be produced by groove-raised cordons (Fig. 66). The design is carried out in horizontal lines which may run obliquely to merge. The inside of the rim or the top of the rim is frequently decorated. The forms are similar to the two above styles but include mostly small vessels. (4) The Woodhenge style (Smith 1956, 193) is decorated in horizontal or vertical panels, the zones frequently being emphasised by raised cordons (Cunnington 1929, 36; Smith 1956, Fig. 112). The
Distribution of
Skara Brae Style

Text Fig. 6
Distribution of Clacton Style
Distribution of Woodlands Style

Text Fig. 9
intermediate areas are filled with oblique zones of grooving or by rustication. Internal decoration of the rim is known but is rare. The bases are flat and the vessels appear to be straight sided or conical with overhanging rims which are treated as a separate zone of decoration frequently being marked by horizontal ribbing (Cunnington 1929, Fig. 51, 89). Even where the rim is simple the area is defined by some decorative motif (Stone et al. 1954, Fig. 7, 1; Annable and Simpson 1964, Fig. 10). This attention to the upper area of the pot is also apparent in the Clacton style (Piggott 1954, Fig. 57, 1 and 6) but it is only with the Woodhenge style that the overhanging rim occurs. It is this fact coupled with the presence of vertical decoration that led Smith to include the large pot from Gullane (Curle 1903, Fig. 4) in her Woodhenge group (Smith 1956, 204).

Common to three styles are squared panels of decoration, seen in Skara Brae style at West Overton barrow 6b (Smith and Simpson 1966, Figs. 84 and 8), in Clacton style at Ipswich and Lion Point (Smith 1956, Fig. 114, 3 and Fig. 125, 4) and in Woodhenge style at Woodhenge itself (Annable and Simpson 1964, Fig. 3).

Certain examples of Rinyo Clacton pottery show traces of more than one style. For example the pottery from Stanton Harcourt (Smith 1956, Fig. 120) with its conical shape and vertical cordons should belong to the
Woodhenge style. The decorated internally bevelled rim is more characteristic of the Clacton style and the arrangement of the collar decoration and the transverse notching of the cordons is reminiscent of the Woodlands style. Similarly, the large vessel from Ipswich (Smith 1956, Fig. 124, 2) also shows a combination of Woodlands and Woodhenge features and includes an applied roundel with encircling grooves which can only be paralleled at Woodhenge itself (Cunnington 1929, Fig. 2).

Of these four styles the Woodhenge style is the most clearly defined and appears to owe something to both Skara Brae and Clacton styles. It is noticeable, however, that the major elements of the Clacton, Woodlands and Woodhenge styles can all be found at Skara Brae or Rinyo.

An apparently intrusive element on a limited number of Rinyo Clacton sherds is the use of finger-nail impressions, frequently in pairs. This is found on a vessel from Beckton, Dumfries (Cormack 1963, Fig. 3) and on two examples at Risby Warren, Lincs. (Riley 1957, Fig. 4, 1 and Pl. IX, 3). In the south-east it is also found at Clacton, Ipswich and Pakenham (Smith 1956, 199). In the south-west the only examples, apart from those at Woodhenge, are at Avebury barrow G.55 (Smith 1965a, 34) and Ratfyn (Fig. 125, 1). All these examples would come within Smith's Woodhenge style. The finger-nail decoration at Woodhenge varies from simple
paired impressions (Cunnington 1929, Fig. 67 and 68) to deep rustication possibly produced by working up a wet layer of clay with some type of spatula (Cunnington 1929, Fig. 42).

The use of finger-tip impressions may also be related to this technique; examples of this are known at Luce Bay (McInnes 1964, 107) and Woodhenge (Cunnington 1929, Fig. 40).

Twisted cord impression occurs occasionally on Rinyo Clacton pottery, for example at Luce Bay (McInnes 1964, Fig. 110), Gullane (Curle 1908, Fig. 4) and Durrington Walls (Piggott and Stone 1954, Fig. 23). Probably also to be related is the vessel from Carnaby Top, Yorks. (Fig. 134).

Smith drew attention to the presence of notched impressions on Rinyo Clacton sherds at Ely and Roundwood (Smith 1956, 203). Notched impressions similar to these are also found at Tye Field, Lawford, Essex (Fig. 57). The pottery from Tye Field includes sherds akin to those from Woodhenge where cordons separate areas of geometric grooving (Fig. 45, 2-5) or rustication (Figs. 55, 3 and 56, 3) but also include a variety of stamped impressions, some of which resemble whipped cord impressions in appearance although they are, in fact, stamps (Figs. 59-62). One sherd at Rinyo was stamped with a false maggot impression (Childe 1938, Pl. XXII, 86).

The finger-nail, twisted cord and stamped impressions
could all be borrowings from Peterborough pottery. Rustication does occasionally occur on Peterborough pottery, Mortlake and Fengate styles. Piggott has suggested that the rustication on the southern Rinyo Clacton series is derived from rusticated beakers of Arminghall type (Piggott 1954, 341). Rinyo Clacton pottery was associated with rusticated ware at Furzy Latch Farm, Christchurch (Calkin 1951) and at Letchworth (information from the museum). Although direct association cannot be shown, both Rinyo Clacton and rusticated pottery were present at Shippea Hill, Church Hill flint mine, Findon, West Kennet Long Barrow, Gorsey Bigbury, Risby Warren, Carnaby Top and Yeavering.

So far no mention has been made of the undecorated vessels found at Skara Brae and Rinyo (Figs. 118-123 and 80-83). These pots in fabric and rim form are akin to the decorated vessels at the two Orkney sites and they are of the same forms as the Skara Brae and Clacton styles, simple flower-pot shape with flat, sometimes splayed bases. Sometimes the rim is decorated, inside or out, with a single cordon. Very few examples of undecorated Rinyo Clacton ware have been recognised elsewhere. Undecorated sherds are known from Honington (Fell 1951, 40), Walud's Bank, Beds. (Smith 1956, 192) and possibly also from Totterdown, Amesbury, Wilts. (Stone 1935, 267).
THE NATURE OF THE SITES

The domestic nature of Rinyo Clacton pottery exhibited at Skara Brae and Rinyo is also attested by the nature of the sites at which this pottery is found over the rest of the country. As with Peterborough sites, the commonest form of Rinyo Clacton site is the domestic pit, refuse or storage pit or fire-hole. The pits at Clacton, Essex have been described as 'cooking holes' on account of their fill of black earth and charcoal and the presence of pot-boilers, and calcined flints and bone. Similar pot boilers and charcoal were found in the pit at Wykeham, Yorks., and the presence of burnt flints in the pits at Woodlands, Wilts., suggests these too may relate to Clacton. Other possibly similar sites occur at Stanton Harcourt, and Cassington, Oxon., where the pits were filled with blackened earth. That the Woodlands pits may, however, represent refuse pits is suggested by the presence in the pits of relatively large numbers of associated flint types and animal bones. The presence of flints and animal bones is a recurring feature of Rinyo Clacton pits. Waste flakes may be present but utilised flakes or worked flint implements are more common occurring at the above mentioned sites, also Puddlehill, Beds.; Beckton, Dumfries; Newport, Essex; Pishiobury, Herts.; East Malling, Kent; Creeting St. Mary, Suffolk and Ratfyn, Wilts. The presence of
Mode of occurrence of Rinyo Clacton pottery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode of occurrence</th>
<th>No. of occurrences</th>
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<tr>
<td>Causewayed camps</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pits - presumed domestic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Occupation deposits</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Settlement sites - with some structure</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caves</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Sand-dune sites</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chambered tombs</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Round barrows</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henge monuments and allied structures*</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ring ditch</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ritual/funerary site</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flint mine</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uncertain origin or stray find</td>
<td>9</td>
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* The Dorchester sites are included as a single group
daub in the pits at Risby Warren, Linns, may suggest some form of structure or the lining of a storage pit. Burnt clay was also found in a pit at Sutton Courtenay, Berks. There are in addition a number of pits which have been found during the course of gravel digging or similar work and it is noticeable that in such cases no mention has been made of flintwork. That this is due to the nature of the discovery of the pits and their hurried investigation is probably the case at Ipswich, Suffolk and Broadway, Wors. But at Christchurch, Hants., Letchworth, Herts., and Orton Longueville, Hants., care appears to have been taken over the excavation, the Rinyo Clacton pottery being associated with other pottery types, and the absence of flintwork on these sites seems to be clear.

One small pit or posthole at Peterborough, Northants., from which Rinyo Clacton pottery came contained a cremation and it has been suggested that the pit at Knappers Farm, Dunbartonshire, containing a lignite disc, axe-chips and flintwork as well as Rinyo Clacton pottery, represents an inhumation burial, although there was no trace of a body. The association of what appears to be undecorated Rinyo Clacton pottery, with a burial is however seen at Totterdown, Wilts. At Old Yeavering, Northumberland, the Rinyo Clacton pottery came from a pit which the excavator regarded as 'ritual' as the pit
was filled in a series of deliberate layers, and as sherds of the same vessel came from different layers it would appear that the filling of the pit was a single act.

Occupation sites of the type discussed above have also yielded Rinyo Clacton pottery, for example the West Kennet Avenue occupation site and the site at Icklingham, Suffolk. Two such sites at Shippea Hill, Cambs., and Manham Hill, Yorks., were situated on low mounds. At Edingthorpe, Norfolk, one Rinyo Clacton sherd was found in a posthole on an occupation site and at Craike Hill, Yorks., the pottery was clustered about two hearths.

The fondness of the makers of Rinyo Clacton pottery for sand-dune sites is well illustrated, not only by the coastal sites such as Freswick Sands, Caithness; Walney Island, Lancashire; Gullane, Hedderwick and North Berwick, East Lothian; Tentsmuir, Fife; and Luce Bay Wigtown, but also by the inland sand areas such as Honington, Suffolk and Manton and Risby Warren, Lincs.

Rinyo Clacton pottery also occurs in caves or rock shelters, Whaley II and High Wheeldon, Derbyshire; Torbryan, Devon; High Rocks, Kent and Cockles Wood Cave, Somerset, all apparently in occupation contexts.

Two sites which also appear to represent occupation of some kind are Rothesay, Bute and Beckton, Dumfries. At Rothesay it is not clear whether the Rinyo Clacton
pottery is to be associated with the postholes and at Beckton, although the pottery clearly comes from a pit, it is not possible to say whether the pit is related to the enclosure.

Rinyo Clacton pottery has been found on only three causewayed camps. There is no record of the stratigraphical position of the pottery at Abingdon, Berks., but at Maiden Castle fragments of Rinyo Clacton pottery came from the upper filling of the Neolithic ditch along with beaker sherds. The Rinyo Clacton pottery at Windmill Hill came from the second occupation layer of the Outer Ditch with other late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age types.

The occurrence of Rinyo Clacton pottery in chambered tombs is infrequent. At Lligwy Burial Chamber, Anglesey and Tormore, Arran, the pottery is only known to have come from the chamber and it is therefore not possible to relate the pottery to any phase of these tombs. The Rinyo Clacton pottery found at West Kennet came from the blocking material of that tomb, and at Unival the small vessel was associated with the final use of the tomb. A fragment of 'grooved ware' in the Royce Collection at Stow on the Wold may be from the Poles Wood East long barrow, Glos., but at this site sherds of 'coarse pottery' occurred both in the burial chamber and outside the mound. Childe identified the pottery from Quoyness, Orkney as Rinyo Clacton and it
was listed as such by Scott. The pottery consists of small fragments of red ware, including three undistinguished urns. None of the pottery is decorated. It seems likely that the nature of the other artifacts in the tomb, skewer pin, skaill knife, stone 'knobbed object' etc., strongly influenced Childe's identification of the pottery as Rinyo Clacton.

Rinyo Clacton pottery is found on seventeen Round Barrows. At Hurn, Hants., and Avebury G.55 the relevant sherds came from the pre-barrow surface, and at Cot Nab, Yorks., the Rinyo Clacton sherds were resting on the old land surface sealed by the inner mound of the barrow. Twice Rinyo Clacton pottery has come from pits beneath barrows in contexts which make it difficult to evaluate the relationship of the pits to the barrows. The pit at Cherry Hinton, Cambs., was one of several cut into the chalk in the area enclosed by the ditch. Similarly, the pit in which Rinyo Clacton pottery was found at Fimber Barrow 182 was one of three such pits beneath the barrow. At neither site was there any evidence of primary burial, although at Fimber barrow 182 an unaccompanied crouched inhumation was found above the old ground surface.

Rinyo Clacton pottery was found also in the mound material of the round barrows at Five Knolls 2, Beds., Churn Plain, Berks., and Roundwood, Hants. At Snail Down Site III the Rinyo Clacton pottery was found throughout the mound and the bottom of the ditch. Unfortunately
the barrow at Snail Down XV was too disturbed to be certain whether the Rinyo Clacton pottery was related to the pre-barrow setting of posts around a cremation or to the barrow itself. Three round barrows suggest the association of Rinyo Clacton pottery with burial. At Chippenham B.2, Cambs., the pottery was found with a cremation in a hole cut into the old ground surface beneath the barrow and just inside the surrounding ditch. The excavator regarded this burial as secondary to a primary cremation covered by a collared urn of early type. Also possibly secondary is an inhumation at Calais Wold barrow C.70 accompanied by a sherd of Rinyo Clacton ware. The primary burial at this site is an unaccompanied inhumation, and a second sherd of Rinyo Clacton pottery is from an unknown level. There are also secondary burials accompanied by cinerary urns. The barrow at Fimber C.33, Yorks., was much disturbed but it would appear that the Rinyo Clacton pottery came from the primary burial. (It is possible that the 'heap of stones' which contained pieces of human bones and what appears to be a Rinyo Clacton vessel at Winhill, Derbyshire, was in fact a round cairn but the pottery is now missing and cannot be verified. (Bateman 1861, 255).)

Attention has frequently been drawn to the occurrence of Rinyo Clacton ware on Class I henges. In fact Rinyo Clacton pottery occurs on only four Class I henges, four
Class II henges and at Dorchester I. Rinyo Clacton ware occurs at Maumbury Rings, Dorset, unfortunately at an unknown level in the ditch. The bank itself was not sectioned so it is impossible to know the relation of this pottery to the site. At Durrington Walls and Woodhenge, Wilts., the pottery is found both beneath the bank and in the central area and, inevitably, in the postholes and the ditch. Similarly, at Avebury the pottery is found beneath the bank and in the ditch. At Stonehenge, the Rinyo Clacton ware comes from the primary siltling of the ditch, that is Phase I, the same phase as the Aubrey Holes. The Rinyo Clacton pottery at Dorchester I again comes from beneath the bank and from the ditch silt. The finds from Gorsey Bigbury appear to have come from the ditch fill although the stratification is not certain. At Mount Pleasant the pottery occurs in the old land surface beneath the west entrance and in the primary silt of the ditch. At Marden only Rinyo Clacton pottery was present. There are in addition two associations of Rinyo Clacton pottery with cremations, at Stonehenge I (Piggott 1954, 353) and in a pit inside Circle 2 at Woodhenge (Cunnington 1929, 45, 156).

In addition there are a number of sites of varied nature yielding Rinyo Clacton pottery. There is the Mull Hill Circle, Isle of Man, a denuded cairn with multiple chambers associated with predominantly Early
Neolithic pottery. The exact relationship between the pottery and the site is not clear but it seems likely that the site should be regarded as a devolved chambered tomb.*

One of the three ditched structures, Walud's Bank, Beds., consists of a semi-circular enclosure with a broad shallow external ditch and discontinuous bank. The pottery was found in the primary silt of the ditch. The site at Englefield, Berks., consisted of four conjoined ditches. Rinyo Clacton pottery was found in the filling of a shallow pit inside Ring Ditch I and along with Windmill Hill, Peterborough and beaker pottery in the ditch fill. A somewhat similar site is that at Pakenham, Suffolk, where a ring ditch surrounded a central cremation accompanied by a small, plain vessel. The Rinyo Clacton sherds came from the central area and the ditch fill. There is also Tye Field, Lawford, Essex. This site is, unfortunately, unpublished but appears to have consisted of a ditch and bank with internal post structures.

Rinyo Clacton pottery also is found at Church Hill flint mine, Findon, Sussex. It comes from beneath floor 2 of shaft 4 and is overlain by a later dump. Beaker and other Neolithic potsherds are said to have been found in the shaft.

As has already been shown causewayed camps, pits

* Discussion with Miss A.S. Henshall
and occupation sites, and flint mines all have their origins in an early Neolithic phase. It is noticeable that there is an absence of Rinyo Clacton pottery on Long Barrow sites and, as might be expected, Rinyo Clacton pottery only occurs in the upper levels of the ditches of the causewayed camps at Maiden Castle and Windmill Hill. In the chambered tombs of West Kennet and Unival the Rinyo Clacton pottery belongs to a final phase and at Findon flint mine the pottery overlies an abandoned shaft. There is a noticeable increase in the number of domestic pits containing Rinyo Clacton pottery compared with those containing Peterborough ware and the domestic nature of the pits is stressed by the presence of flintwork and animal bones. The relationship of Rinyo Clacton pottery to Round Barrows is similar to that of Peterborough pottery although the association with burials at Chippenham B.2, Calais Wold C.70 and, possibly, Fimber C.33 suggests that Rinyo Clacton pottery may be more directly connected with the erection and use of Round Barrows.

Rinyo Clacton pottery appears to be more directly associated with henges than Peterborough pottery. It occurs below the banks of the henges at Woodhenge and Avebury and apparently contemporary with the erection of the henges at Durrington Walls and Stonehenge. Rinyo Clacton pottery also occurs extensively in the ditches and central areas at Durrington Walls and Woodhenge and
in the ditch at Avebury. At Dorchester I the pottery occurs below the bank and in the ditch. Early Neolithic pottery is present at Woodhenge, Avebury and Mount Pleasant in primary contexts but in no case in any but rare occurrences.
Childe envisaged a minimum of three building phases at Skara Brae. This would indicate some length of occupation. (The same cause unfortunately cannot be attributed to the depth of the midden). After hasty abandonment the site was occupied temporarily, probably by hunting parties, but by people who were culturally identical to the builders of the village. Childe believed that the village was abandoned suddenly as the result of a catastrophe, perhaps the collapse of part of the village into the sea. The site only remains today thanks to the modern wall built to retain the sand-dunes. Being built upon sand, it would be liable to erosion and the great storm of the 1850's which exposed the village gives some idea of the conditions which may have originally caused the abandonment of the site.

Rinyo must have been occupied at the same time as Skara Brae, on account of the similar pottery sequence, but there is no evidence of sudden abandonment. The village is built on solid subsoil and lies about 1000 yards from the present shore. It is further protected to north and south by rising ground. Altogether, Rinyo is a more suitable site for a village. The area on which it is built was somewhat uneven but this was overcome by artificial terracing, and the rainwater running from
the higher surrounding area drained off. This indicates a certain sophistication in building that is reflected in the houses themselves and their interior fittings. Certainly the character of Caithness flagstone facilitates building but that technical ability in building reached a very high level in Orkney in the Neolithic is well shown at Maes Howe and at Midhowe.

The paucity of evidence of house structure in the Neolithic period makes comparison for Skara Brae and Rinyo almost impossible. Certainly both circular and rectangular structures are known (Piggott 1954, 34) in Neolithic England and Ireland. But rectangular structures which may relate to those in Orkney are the long rectangular house at Ronaldsway (Bruce and Megaw 1947, Fig. 3) and what may be part of a similar rectangular house under the bank of the henge at Durrington Walls (Stone et al. 1954, Fig. 5).* Wainwright has suggested that the rectangular setting of holes outside the henge may also be a house (Wainwright 1968, 23). However this feature is too indeterminate to be certain whether in fact it does represent post-settings.

The Rinyo Clacton layer at Honington, Suffolk, contained a number of roughly circular areas of discolouration associated with pits. This has been interpreted as a camp-site, the discoloured areas

* Suggested by Professor Piggott in conversation
representing the sites of tents.

At Knockadoon, long rectangular houses were present at sites A and B, but at site C both rectangular and circular structures were present. It was at site C that Class II ware was present (O'Riordain 1954, 299 et seq.).

The presence at Skara Brae of megalithic art allied to that of Papa Westray and ultimately to that of the Boyne tombs has frequently been remarked upon (Piggott 1954, 219; Smith 1956, 233-239; Henshall 1963, 132).

At Skara Brae the decorated slabs certainly go back to Period II (Childe 1931, 150). The strength of the art tradition at Skara Brae is most marked in that it is not confined to the structure of the village itself but also appears on the pottery and on the carved stone balls, the spiked objects (Childe 1931, Pl. XXXIX), the stone disc of Picts Knife type and on two of the ivory pendants. The decoration on the bone pins (Childe 1931, Pl. XLII, (1) and (2) ) is very simple but appears to be allied to the same art tradition.

Objects elsewhere in Great Britain which show this art style are rare. Two plaques, one from Graig Lwyd and one from Ronaldsway (Piggott 1954, 350) may be compared with the decorated stone disc from Skara Brae. The perforated object from Garboldishem (Edwardson 1965, Pl. XXXII) although it is made of red deer antler and in form is faintly reminiscent of antler maceheads,
in decoration is comparable to the carved stone balls of Skara Brae type (Atkinson 1962, Pl. 3, lower left).

That this art style in Orkney is derived from New Grange is supported not only by the striking similarity of the techniques and motifs of the art but also by the presence of examples of the art on the tomb of Holm of Papa Westray (Henshall 1963, 129). The tombs of Eday Manse and Pickaquoy are destroyed but stones from these tombs also were decorated with Boyne motifs. Holm of Papa Westray belongs to the Maes Howe class of tomb, although it is a late variant of the class, and the Maes Howe class Henshall would derive directly from the Boyne tombs of which New Grange is the type example, (Henshall, Chambered Tombs of Scotland Vol. II forthcoming).*

It is also interesting to note that the Quoyness tomb belongs to this group, although as Henshall has pointed out the Skara Brae-type objects from this tomb may be related to the later building phase (Henshall 1963, 132-3).

That the Boyne art style continued to flourish well into the second millennium is indicated by two decorated cist slabs covering beaker burials at Catterline, Kincardine and Carnwath, Lanarkshire (Piggott 1954, 219) and also, possibly, by the Folkton drums.

* I am indebted to Miss Henshall for discussion on this point and permission to read the typescript of her forthcoming volume.
ASSOCIATIONS

A list of artifacts associated with Rinyo Clacton pottery is shown on Text Fig. 11. The sites of Rinyo and Skara Brae have not been included in this list as the finds from the latter site are so numerous, particularly the bone-work. The principal additions from these sites would be bone pins of various types, including skewer pins, bone polishers and chisels, bone spatulae and shovels, antler sleeves, 'paint-pots' of bone or stone, beads of bone or stone, boars tusks, skaill knives, carved stone balls, knobbed objects and maceheads.

A large proportion of the artifacts associated with Rinyo Clacton pottery can be seen to be a continuation of early Neolithic types. The leaf-shaped arrowhead from Honington must inevitably belong to this group as must the fragments of polished flint axes. Certain of the bone types too have a perfectly sound earlier Neolithic background; for example the shovel made of ox shoulder blade, a type which is found in a primary level at Windmill Hill. The continued use of the type is also attested at the Easton Down and Grimes Graves flint mines and possibly at Woodhenge. The antler pick found at Woodlands is a well known Neolithic type. The split bone awls found at Sutton Courtenay, Fishiobury and Woodlands and so common at Skara Brae are such a simple
and basic tool type that it is not surprising to find it extending in use from primary Neolithic levels at the Trundle, Whitehawk, Abingdon and Windmill Hill, to the upper levels at Windmill Hill (Piggott 1954, 84; Smith 1965, 129). Stone axes or fragments thereof occur in association with Rinyo Clacton pottery on four sites, Knappers Farm, Sutton Courtenay, Woodlands and Lion Point. The fragments from Knappers Farm are lost and the associated axe from Sutton Courtenay is of ungrouped greenstone. Group VI axes also occur on the occupation sites at Sutton Courtenay, Beacon Hill, Flamborough and Walney Island, Lancs., at which Rinyo Clacton pottery is also present although they cannot be shown to be directly associated. Group VI axes do appear to relate in part to an earlier Neolithic phase, occurring at Ehenside Tarn (Piggott 1954, 296) and in the lower levels of the ditch at Windmill Hill (Smith which occurs at Woodlands and Hole 1, West Kennet Avenue 1965, 113). Group VII probably also relates to an earlier Neolithic phase (Piggott in Evans et al 1962, 234). Group I, however, which occurs in association with Rinyo Clacton pottery at Lion Point does not seem to have any direct association with earlier Neolithic activity.

Although the majority of scrapers found on Rinyo Clacton sites are not sufficiently distinctive to be classified, two forms may be recognised. End scrapers occur with Rinyo Clacton pottery at Creeting St. Mary
Artifacts associated with Rinfo Clacton pottery excluding Rinfo and Skara Brae

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Text Fig. 11
and Woodlands and hollow scrapers at Cherry Hinton and Sutton Courtenay. Two types of flint implement which Smith has shown to be confined to the upper levels at Windmill Hill are spurred implements and flint awls (Smith 1965, 105 and 108) and these occur in association with Rinyo Clacton pottery at Woodlands and Lawford (spurred implements) and Greeting St. Mary, Lion Point, Lawford and Honington (awls).

Two flint types stand out markedly among the associations with Rinyo Clacton pottery, namely, serrated flakes or saws and petit tranchet derivative arrowheads. In his report on Shippea Hill, Clark distinguished between serrated flakes with minute spauls removed from one side only, and saws, much coarser flakes with double spauls (Clark 1933a, 272). Clark regarded the serrated flakes as part of the earlier occupation. Similarly at Windmill Hill, Smith found only serrated flakes in the primary levels whereas saws occurred in the upper levels. However, serrated flakes do occur in association with Rinyo Clacton pottery at Woodlands, Sutton Courtenay and Retfyn, Honington, Pishiobury, Newport and Lion Point. Serrated flakes have also been found with secondary inhumations beneath Round Barrows at Garrowby Wold barrow C. 69 (Mortimer 1905, 138) and Rudston barrow LXVII (Greenwell 1877, 257). At Rudston barrow LXVII the barrow covered a burnt layer in which were seventy nine flint saws.
Petit tranchet derivative arrowheads occur in association with Rinyo Clacton pottery on eight sites, Sutton Courtenay, Ratfyn, Newport, Pishiobury, Woodlands, Lion Point, Lawford and Honington. Clark has shown that the evolved forms of petit tranchet arrowhead E – I develop from the basic tranchet type and has proposed that this development occurred in Sussex where the early type occurs in an Early Neolithic context (Clark 1934). The only example of a petit tranchet arrowhead in a primary context on a causewayed camp is at Whitehawk and this is significantly of type A. Types D, F and H arrowheads occur at Maiden Castle but cannot be related to any one specific phase of the causewayed camp (Wheeler 1943, 173). At Windmill Hill the petit tranchet derivative arrowheads occur only in the upper levels of the ditches, as does the Rinyo Clacton pottery (Smith 1965, 104).

A possible type D arrowhead occurs in a primary level at the Durrington Walls flint mines (Stone and Booth 1951, 387). The arrowhead from Pit 12 Grimes Graves also appears to be from an early level (Armstrong 1934, 387) and certainly earlier than the Mortlake sherd (Armstrong 1934, Fig. 4). (The arrowhead from Pit 85, described by Stone and Booth as petit tranchet (Stone and Booth 1951, 387), appears to be a trimmed flake (Armstrong 1924, Fig. 10) of a type known at Woodhenge (unpublished, Devizes Museum).)

Associations with petit tranchet derivative arrowheads
are limited. A type D arrowhead occurred with the primary inhumation at Duggleby Howe and with the Early Neolithic bowl. Grave D also contained a petit tranchet derivative arrowhead in association with a polished flint knife (Mortimer 1905, 23-30). Apart from Duggleby Howe there appear to be no direct associations with Early Neolithic pottery.

Petit tranchet derivative arrowheads are found in the mounds of round barrows but not generally associated with beakers. An exception is the association with a Long Necked beaker and battleaxe at Durrington barrow G.57, Wilts. (Annable and Simpson 1964, 88). The type A arrowhead at Acklam barrow 205, Yorks., associated with an inhumation was thought by the excavator to be contemporary with a round-heeled beaker dagger (Mortimer 1905, 87). Certainly petit tranchet arrowheads are known in later contexts, for example the type C arrowhead found with an inhumation, flint knife, pygmy cup and clay button at Garton Slack barrow 40, Yorks. (Mortimer 1905, 229).

Petit tranchet derivative arrowheads occur on at least five henges, Woodhenge, Gorsey Bigbury, Dorchester I, Avebury and Durrington Walls, at the Sanctuary and on eight occupation sites on which Rinyo Clacton pottery also occurs. The type of site upon which petit tranchet derivative arrowheads occur shows correspondence with that favoured by Rinyo Clacton pottery and Rinyo Clacton is the commonest association with petit tranchet
derivative arrowheads.

But the majority of petit tranche derivative arrowheads are stray finds. They occur frequently on the Sussex and Wessex Downs, in Wales and in Derbyshire and on the Wolds in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Further north they become rarer, with concentrations in the upper valley of the Tweed and its tributaries and on the Culbin Sands. There is a scatter of petit tranche derivative arrowheads in Aberdeenshire but only eight examples known north of the Moray Firth (Bamford 1966). This is in marked contrast to the distribution of Rinyo Clacton pottery in the north. There are two examples of petit tranche derivative arrowheads from tombs in the north, one from Camster Round, Caithness and three from Ormiegill (Henshall 1963, 254). This is perhaps not as extraordinary as it might first appear due to the scarcity of any type of flint implement in the north, but petit tranche derivative arrowheads are rarer than either leaf-shaped or barbed and tanged types.

The typological evolution of petit tranche arrowheads from type A to type I proposed by Clark is convincing but the evidence to support it is thin. Clark's grouping can be broken down into three main groups, A-D, E-F and G-I. Although type A is the only type to appear in a primary Neolithic context it also appears in later contexts, for example at Woodhenge (unpublished, Devizes Museum). There does not appear to be a great deal of chronological significance in these type groupings. Rather, different sites appear to favour different types, for example at Woodhenge
types G-I predominate and at Lion Point types D-F. Nor is this a cultural or geographical division. The Woodlands site, near Woodhenge, favours types A-D.

Fabricators occur in association with Rinyo Clacton pottery at Honington, Greeting St. Mary and Woodlands. At Honington the fabricators are also associated with petit tranchet derivative arrowheads, a plano-convex knife and an awl, as well as a leaf-shaped arrowhead. Amongst the flint implements at Woodlands also are petit tranchet derivative arrowheads and serrated flakes. At Greeting St. Mary serrated flakes are also present.

Fabricators also are found at Dorchester site II where cremation 17 was accompanied by a fabricator and a skewer pin, and cremation 21 by a fabricator, skewer pin and cushion macehead. At Stonehenge also one of the cremations was accompanied by a skewer pin and fabricator. The fabricator at Crosby Garret was associated with an antler macehead and accompanied an inhumation which was contemporary with another inhumation burial and a skewer pin. Fabricators occur only in the upper levels of the ditches at Windmill Hill, contemporary with skewer pins, serrated flakes, petit tranchet derivative arrowheads and Rinyo Clacton pottery.

As Piggott has pointed out (Piggott 1954, 78) fabricators are known from Early Neolithic contexts. At Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943, 168) the fabricator came
from beneath the Long Mound and therefore the earliest phase of the site. At Corfe Mullen, Devon the fabricator was associated with Hembury ware (Calkin and Piggott 1938, 74). The pottery from the Hembury 'fort' was entirely Early Neolithic and the fabricator may well relate to it. However, the presence of two barbed and tanged arrowheads on the site suggests that the site has been disturbed at a later phase (Liddell 1932, 177-8). Three rather crude objects which might be classed as fabricators came from a primary level at Windmill Hill (Smith 1965, 93).

Although over two hundred polished discoidal flint knives have been recorded (Clark 1929) only three close associations are known for these knives, all with Rinyo Clacton pottery. The sites in question are Creeting St. Mary, Honington and Lawford. The knife from Rinyo, as Childe indicated, although discoidal in outline, relates more closely to the polished blade and flake knives and scrapers than to the true discoidal form. Two further dubious associations of polished discoidal knives should perhaps be mentioned, at Pick Rudge Farm, Overton, Wilts., the knife was said to be associated with a barbed and tanged arrowhead (Evans 1897, 339) and at Ely, Cambs., the knife may have been found with sherds of 'domestic' Beaker (Clark 1929, 46). However, there is no evidence of excavation at either site and it seems likely that these 'associations' are no more than stray finds from
the same vicinity.

The partly-polished discoidal knife from a pre-barrow surface at Avebury barrow G.55, Wilts., cannot be said to be directly associated with the other flintwork from the pre-barrow surface, but it is perhaps significant that this includes a type G petit tranchet derivative arrowhead and two hollow scrapers (Smith 1965a). The lack of other associations with these knives perhaps overemphasises their relationship with Rinyo Clacton pottery. The triangular form of this knife has a markedly eastern distribution and the Lawford knife is of this form. However, the other forms of this knife have a very widespread distribution and occur in numbers where Rinyo Clacton pottery is absent, for example in the Tweed Valley, Aberdeenshire and the Midlands.

There is only one association of Rinyo Clacton pottery with a plano-convex flint knife; this is at Honington. Although the majority of plano-convex flint knives are associated with Food Vessels, their occurrence in chambered tombs, particularly in south-west Scotland, led Piggott to suggest that these knives were part of his Clyde-Carlingford Culture (Piggott 1954, 175). Of the Clyde knives noted by Piggott, those from Slachaig and Sliddery are perhaps best regarded as side-scrapers, the working being confined to one edge of the flake (Bryce 1902, 91 and 95). The Dunan Mor knife is shaped and has trimming on both edges, but there is no top working (Bryce 1902, 354). Such primitive plano-convex
flint knives also occur in Food Vessel contexts (Simpson 1968, 198).

The knife from Torlin exhibits partial top working. It came from the floor of the central cist of the tomb, presumptively at an early level and possibly contemporary with the simple lugged early Neolithic pot (Bryce 1902, 84). The two knives from the north chamber at Tormore are similar to the Torlin knife but are from an unknown context in the tomb (Bryce 1902, 101). The most highly specialised of the Clyde plano-convex knives is that from Giants Graves, which has neat careful top working and secondary trimming on all edges (Bryce 1903, 50). The excavator pointed out that there had been some degree of disturbance in the tomb and that none of the finds could be certainly ascribed to a particular level. At Cairnholy I a plano-convex flint knife very similar to one from Tormore was found on the floor of the antechamber at which level also were found sherds of Beaker and Peterborough pottery (Piggott and Powell 1949, Fig. 9,5). The knife from Cairnholy II is of the less developed form, the cortex of the pebble from which it was made remaining on much of the back of the knife (Piggott and Powell 1949, Fig. 13, 2). All the tombs so far mentioned would fall into the Clyde group (Scott 1969).

There are two examples of plano-convex flint knives in Passage graves. One comes from the Neolithic level in the Achnacreebeg tomb, Argyll; the other from
Blackhammer, Rousay. The Achnacreebeg knife is similar to those from Torlin, Tormore and Cairnholy I. The knife from Blackhammer, which came from the floor of the chamber along with the shallow Unstan-like pot, is also very similar to the Arran knives (Henshall 1963, 185).

A plano-convex knife also occurred in the Lligwy Burial Chamber, Anglesey. As well as the knife, the chamber also contained sherds of Early Neolithic pottery, Rinyo Clacton pottery and cardium impressed sherds. The skewer pin from the same site was not found in the chamber although its contemporaneity seems more than likely (Lynch 1969, 159). The knife from Lligwy is of the type with rudimentary trimming, akin to those mentioned above, and similar to that from Dorchester II which knife was found with one of the cremations (Atkinson, Piggott and Sandars 1951, Fig. 31, 144). The plano-convex knife from Seamer Moor (Elgee 1932, Fig. 6) is also of this type.

Atkinson also drew a parallel between the Dorchester knife and the knife from Stanton Harcourt with polished edge (Grimes 1960, 157). Even more like the plano-convex knives mentioned above are the polished knives from Auchindefour, Aberdeenshire (N.M.A. AA239) and Overhowden, Berwickshire (N.M.A. AA231). There are no definite associations of polished-edge flint knives with Rinyo Clacton pottery but there does appear to be some
sort of relationship.

The polished edged flint knives are made from long blades or flakes, sometimes trimmed to shaped and with the edges and sometimes parts of the upper surfaces polished. Inevitably the majority of these knives are stray finds but their distribution (Text Fig. 12) is markedly northern. The southern examples of this type are confined to the upper Thames Valley and the Wessex Downs. There are two examples in Wales, but the greatest concentration is on the Yorkshire Wolds. Direct associations are few. At Seamer Moor Long Barrow (Londesborough 1843), the polished-edged flint knife was associated with four flint axes, two boars tusks and an antler sleeve. The very similar knife at the Gop Cave, Flints. (Appendix II 139) appears to have been associated with two jet sliders. At Linch Hill, Stanton Harcourt, the polished edged flint knife was again associated with a jet slider. These objects accompanied an inhumation burial enclosed within a causewayed ditch which was cut into by a later similar ditch encircling a beaker burial. The Linch Hill knife is strikingly similar to several from the Yorkshire Wolds and to those from the chambered tombs of Ormiegill and Camster, Caithness (Henshall 1963, 254). Although direct association cannot be shown, it is worth noting that also in the tomb chamber or Ormiegill were three petit tranchet derivative arrowheads and an ovoid macehead. A similar situation exists at Tormore, Arran where a
Distribution of Polished Knives and Scrapers

- knives
- scrapers

Text Fig. 12
polished flint knife occurred in the same chamber as a plano-convex flint knife of rudimentary type, an ovoid macehead and a sherd of Rinyo Clacton pottery (Bryce 1902). The knife from Calf of Eday, Orkney (Henshall 1963, 250) has been retouched to form a leaf-shaped arrowhead and therefore its original shape is unknown. The polished flint knives from Windmill Hill and the West Kennet Avenue are perhaps best considered as polished scrapers (Smith 1965, 106 and 238) as should the object from the Beenham Ring Ditch I (unpublished: Reading Museum). At Liff's Lowe it is not clear where the two polished flint knives were found but they do appear to have come from the cist (Bateman 1848, 4-43). The other grave goods include two polished flint axes, a facetted antler macehead, two flint spearheads and two arrowheads, two boars' tusks and red ochre. One of the polished knives is serrated on one edge and polished on the other. The other is polished all over the upper face. The polished edge flint knife found with an inhumation in a cist beneath the Lomberlow round barrow, Derbyshire, was associated with a flint 'spearhead' (Bateman 1861, 132).

The finest of all such knives, and surely the finest among examples of flint working, are the polished knives from Duggleby Howe and Aldro barrow C.75 (Mortimer 1905, 23-30 and 74). The polished plate-like knife from Duggleby Howe accompanied one of three inhumations, the
other two being accompanied by a skewer pin, five petit tranchet derivative arrowheads and boars' tusks, and a flint axe, lozenge arrowhead and antler macehead. Possibly related to these knives is one from Ronaldsway, Isle of Man (Bruce and Megaw 1947, Fig. 5b).

Aldro barrow C.75 is interesting in that there were two central inhumations, each accompanied by a polished flint knife. One of these knives is of the same type as the Duggleby Howe knife. The other knife is a simple flake polished on one edge and similar to many from the Yorkshire Wolds. It was associated with a saw and forty-four other flint flakes.

A polished flint knife accompanied a cremation and was associated with a typical Ronaldsway vessel and mushroom-headed pin of Irish type at Ballateare, Isle of Man (Bersu 1947, Fig. 4, 2).

Polished flint scrapers, in which are included polished flint objects which are not clearly discoidal flint knives or knives of the long type discussed above, are rarely found in any kind of cultural context and indeed appear to be rather rare. Their distribution seems to accord with that of the polished flint knives of eastern Scotland, Yorkshire and Wessex. At Windmill Hill a polished flint scraper came from the upper fill of the ditch (Smith 1965, Fig. 48, 151) and at West Kennet a somewhat similar object came from the tomb blocking (Piggott 1962, Fig. 15, 26). Although the
objects are missing, the burial at Cop Heap Hill with antler macehead was said to have been associated with flint tools with polished edges (Thomas 1954, 314). The polished flint object from Rinyo (Childe 1939, Fig. 8, 11) should be considered here as although it exhibits a greater area of polishing than is usual on polished scrapers and is discoidal in form it lacks the pre-polishing trimming of the discoidal knives and, as Childe points out, its shape has been determined by the form of the beach pebble from which it has been made.

Although the exact stratigraphy of the maceheads at Skara Brea and Rinyo (Childe) is unknown their presence on the sites does relate them to Rinyo Clacton pottery. At Skara Brea the pestle macehead was discovered before Childe's excavation. This was the case also at Rinyo where the macehead is of the ovoid type.

Roe has divided macehead types into five classes but here one is dealing with the two major types (Roe 1968). As Roe has pointed out the majority of maceheads in Britain are stray finds and associations are few. The only direct association of an ovoid macehead in fact is that at Cam, Glos. (see above p.48) where the macehead was found in a pit with Peterborough pottery, including both Mortlake and Pengate types. An ovoid macehead was also found in the chambered tomb of Ormiegill, Caithness (Henshall 1963, 254). Although no direct association can be shown, other artifacts from the tomb include three
petit tranchet derivative arrowheads and a polished edge flint knife. At Tormore, Arran in the same chamber of the tomb as an ovoid macehead were two plano-convex flint knives, a polished edge flint knife and sherds of Rinyo Clacton pottery (Bryce 1902). The ovoid macehead at Windmill Hill came from the upper levels of the ditch as did the cushion macehead and could relate to Peterborough, Rinyo Clacton or beaker pottery (Smith 1965, 113, 114).

The ovoid macehead from Stonehenge came from one of the cremations in the cremation cemetery (Hawley 1926, 2). The cemetery is contemporary with the Aubrey Holes and other finds with the cremations include skewer pins, fabricators. Similar artifacts along with polished edge knives and petit tranchet arrowheads also occur in the upper levels of the ditches at Windmill Hill. At Garrowby barrow C.69, Yorks. (Mortimer 1905, 138) the ovoid macehead came from the mound of the barrow which had three primary inhumations accompanied by Food Vessels.*

The only direct association of a pestle macehead is with a Food Vessel. This is at Glenhead, Doune, Perthshire (Anderson 1886, 83) where the artifacts were found in one of a number of cists under a cairn. Pestle maceheads are found at two chambered tombs, both in Orkney,

* Although it is not clear how this macehead relates to the burials, it is worth noting that this barrow shows Neolithic characteristics; multiple burial, inhumation and cremation on a platform of chalk slabs. See below p.133-136
Isbister and Taversoe Tuack (Henshall 1963, 247 and 251). Also in the tomb at Isbister were three small axes of Skara Brae type and a polished knife of chert; at Taversoe Tuack pottery included undecorated Neolithic and Unstan ware and Beaker sherds.

With the exception of Doune and possibly Garrowby barrow C.69, it is noticeable that the type of site upon which maceheads occur are essentially Neolithic (Mortimer 1905, 138).

Before dealing with the specialised material from Skara Brae and Rinyo, it is necessary to mention one further possible association with Rinyo Clacton pottery. In 1920 at Ratfyn, Wilts., during the course of building operations a pit was discovered and several sherds of Rinyo Clacton pottery and a stone battle axe recovered. Several years later another pit in the vicinity was excavated and produced Rinyo Clacton pottery and various flints. The association from the first discovery is not at all certain but should be mentioned. The battle-axe is of Roe's Woodhenge type and strongly resembles the battle-axe found with the central beaker burial at one of the Woodhenge circles. These battle-axes are of Roe's primary type which she related to Long Necked Beakers. Smith has suggested that the battleaxe represents a burial which disturbed one of the earlier, Rinyo Clacton, pits which seem to be fairly numerous in the area.
The enormous quantity of bone tools recovered from Skara Brae is one of the most striking features of the site. The low survival rate of bonework inevitably means that parallels for the Skara Brae material are not always available and the lack of comparable material from other parts of the country is not perhaps of very great significance.

The commonest type is the wide variety of pins and awls reference to which has already been made. There are two examples of perforated pins which may relate to a pin of similar type with imperfect perforation in the filling at West Kennet (Piggott 1962, Fig. 17, P.8). Forty-one of the bone pins at Upton Lovel G 2 a, Wilts., were perforated. These pins accompanied two inhumations in a bowl barrow along with boars' tusks, three or four flint axes and two battleaxes. In addition there was a bone spatula and an arrowshaft smoother, a bronze awl of later type, three shell beads and one bone bead. This burial has been discussed in detail by Piggott (Piggott 1962 b) and it seems reasonable to draw parallels with the Skara Brae perforated pins. Four bone needles were found at Gorsey Bigbury, significantly one of the few southern sites on which Skara Brae style pottery is found. A noticeable feature of certain of the larger bone pins at Skara Brae is their decoration. No comparably decorated pins have been found elsewhere in Great Britain.
There are two or three examples of bone chisels or gouges similar to those found in several chambered tombs in the south, for example at Belas Knap, Bown Hill, Notgrove, Poles Wood East and West Kennet (Crawford 1925, 15). Similar chisels occur in the upper levels of the ditches at Windmill Hill, but only one other Scottish example is known, from Giants Graves, Arran (Bryce 1903). Another common tool is the bone adze, of which several are known at Skara Brae, all perforated. A similar adze, but unperforated is known from Windmill Hill, again from the upper levels of the ditch. Perforated adzes of a somewhat similar form are known in Britain, as Piggott has pointed out, but not from specifically Neolithic contexts (Piggott 1954, 333). The shovels made from ox-shoulder blades found at Skara Brae do, however, have perfectly sound Neolithic parallels in the south (Curwen 1926). One such shovel is found in a primary level at Windmill Hill and others, although less clearly stratified, at Easton Down flint mines. A scapula shovel also occurred in one of the post holes at Woodhenge and the fragment of another in the bottom of the ditch (Cunnington 1929, 108).

The single antler sleeve from Skara Brae is unique, the nearest parallel being a sleeve from Northton, Harris from a Neolithic level. The find from Northton indeed confirms that the Skara Brae object is an antler sleeve and not a damaged antler macehead. The possibility
that the antler sleeve at Skara Brae is a macehead with
the internal tissue decayed was suggested by Piggott
(Piggott 1954, 333). The antler sleeve at Northton makes
this less likely. But the similarity between the two
types of object is sometimes confusing. That the antler
macehead may be derived in some way from the axe sleeve
is somewhat strengthened by the presence of facetting
on the butt of the wooden axe sleeve from Ehenside Tarn
(Piggott 1954, 196). The Ehenside Tarn type is of
course strictly an axe sleeve as opposed to the horizontal
mounting of the Skara Brae adze-sleeve, but facetting of
antler maceheads is known at Liff's Lowe, and on four
maceheads from the Thames (Piggott 1954, 360). Other
possible examples of a sleeve being confused with a
macehead are those from Seamer Moor and Cop Heap Hill.
Where the object is worn it is not possible to make a
clear distinction. The antler sleeve from Cop Heap Hill,
Wilts. (Annable and Simpson 1964, Fig. 278) again came
from a round barrow. The evidence is somewhat confused
but there appears to have been at least three separate
inhumation burials, one accompanied by segmented bone
beads and a seashell, a second being unaccompanied and
the third accompanied by the antler sleeve and some flint
tools, of unspecified type, with polished edges (Thomas
1954, 314).

Another unique object at Skara Brae is the bone
macehead. This object can only be paralleled with a
a chalk macehead from Towthorpe barrow 139, Yorks., which accompanied an extended inhumation associated with a bronze dagger and a plano-convex flint knife (Mortimer 1905, 3). The Towthorpe macehead itself is a unique object, although it in turn has been compared with the macehead from Bush Barrow, on account of their similar central perforations (Roe 1968, 146).

With two exceptions antler maceheads are found in what appear to be Neolithic contexts. The antler macehead from Duggleby Howe accompanied an inhumation over the central pit and was associated with a polished flint axe and a lozenge arrowhead (Mortimer 1905, 23-30). At Cowlam LVII round barrow the antler macehead accompanied a multiple inhumation burial and was probably associated with a sherd of Early Neolithic pottery (Greenwell 1877, 214-225). The pottery vessel from Liff's Low is unique but appears to be related to the Peterborough group. With it were two flint axes accompanying an inhumation in a cist beneath a cairn. Probably also associated were two polished edged knives, two arrowheads, two boars' tusks and pieces of red ochre, (Bateman 1848, 4-43). The barrow at Crosby Garret was oval in shape and there the antler macehead was associated with an inhumation and a fabricator. Apparently contemporary in the barrow was another inhumation with a Class II skewer pin and boars' tusks (Greenwell 1877, 389-391). The antler object from Seamer Moor Long Barrow
may be a sleeve rather than a macehead but its associations suggest that it be considered with the maceheads. The associations include four polished flint axes, five lozenge arrowheads, a polished-edged flint knife and two boars' tusks (Greenwell 1890, 1-72).

The antler maceheads from Lambourn, Berks. (Greenwell 1890, 60) and Wetton Hill, Derbyshire (Bateman 1848, 83) both come from later contexts. At Lambourn the macehead accompanied a primary inhumation and was associated with a pygmy cup, a Glass Ib razor and a Snowshill-type battleaxe. The antler object from Collingbourne Ducis barrow G.10 (Annable and Simpson 1964, Fig. 236) and a similar object of bone from Wilsford barrow G.60, Wilts. (Annable and Simpson 1964, Fig. 272) may be related. It is not clear whether or not the Wilsford bone object was associated with the whetstones and dagger and other objects as Hoare's description differs from that of Cunnington (Annable and Simpson 1964, 50).

The antler hammer from Aldro barrow C.76, Yorks. (Mortimer 1905, 71-3) was found on the old ground surface level and over the primary grave containing an inhumation accompanied by a food vessel. Although this hammer is very much more sophisticated with its 'stop ridge' adjacent to the perforation than any of the other objects mentioned it no doubt belongs to the same family.

Roe has suggested that perforated stone maceheads are derived from antler maceheads (Roe 1968), citing the
similarities between the facetted stone maceheads of Maesmore Group and the four facetted antler maceheads from the Thames. The straight perforation of the antler maceheads she believes is derived from stone battle-axes, none of which she would date before 1850 B.C. and which in the main are somewhat later. Roe does, however, regard stone maceheads as contemporary with the earlier battleaxes. Certainly it is possible that the technique of straight perforation on stone maceheads has been derived from battleaxes but it does not seem necessary to postulate such a development for antler maceheads. The cortex of the antler is so much harder than the medulla that any circular perforation made in the cortex would result in a straight perforation of the medulla. Even if originally the perforation were not straight any use would result in the medulla being worn to the same width as the opening on the cortex. There is no technological reason for antler maceheads post-dating stone battleaxes.

One distinctive group of bone objects at Skara Brae are the polished bone plaques; these vary in size but are of fairly consistent thickness and of similar cross section with curved upper face. With one exception they are highly polished all over and many exhibit considerable wear and scratching. It has been suggested that these were used as polishers (Childe 1931, 122) but the polishing has been deliberate and the marks of wear have been
acquired after polishing. Piggott has compared these with the polished flint plate knives from Duggleby Howe and Aldro 175 (Piggott 1954, 334).

The skewer pins which appear at Skara Brae are included in Atkinson's discussion of this bone type. Only two additions have to be made to the list compiled by Atkinson (Atkinson, Piggott and Sanders, 1951): the tip of a possible skewer pin from the West Kennet Occupation Site (Smith 1965, 234), and a side-looped pin from Windmill Hill (Smith 1965, Fig. 55). Skewer pins occur in three chambered tombs, Lligwy, Cop Cave and Quoyness; on three henges, Dorchester, Cairnpapple and Stonehenge; on one oval and five round barrows, Crosby Garret, Northumberland, Aldro barrow 52, Garton Slack barrow 112, Duggleby Howe, Fimber barrow C.33 and Birdsall barrow. They also occur in the upper level of the ditch at Windmill Hill causewayed camp and of course at Skara Brae. Although direct association cannot be shown at the chambered tombs it is worth noting that Rinyo Clacton pottery was present at Lligwy, and at Quoyness there was a stone club akin to those from Skara Brae (see above). At Dorchester the pins (four) occurred with cremations on sites I and II. At site II the pin was associated with a fabricator and another with a fabricator and cushion macehead. One of the many pins at Stonehenge was also associated with a fabricator. The Stonehenge pins, with the exception of
one from a cremation on the edge of the south barrow, came from the Aubrey Holes. The skewer pin at Crosby Garret was found with an inhumation and a boar's tusk. At Duggleby Howe the pins came from Grave A, where they were associated with an inhumation, and from two of the cremation burials.

Skewer pins are also found in Ireland, notably in the Boyne tombs (Piggott 1954, Figs. 32, 2 and 13 and, possibly, 1). The massive size of certain of the Skara Brae pins (Childe 1931, Pl. XLIII (4)) also suggests parallels with the Boyne-tomb pins.

As Piggott pointed out much of the stone industry at Skara Brae relates to Gjessing's Circumpolar Stone Age (Piggott 1954, 330). The objects of flagstone, split and roughly shaped which are also known in Shetland (Childe 1931, Pl. XXXIX, 2, Pl. XL and Pl. XLI, 1) belong to this widespread northern industry. In Shetland this rude stone industry appears to be related to the typical house forms of those Islands (Calder 1956, for list). But it should be noted that three examples came from the infilling of the chambered cairn at Midhowe (Henshall 1963, 152). The Picts knives with their concentrated distribution in Shetland must also belong to this tradition (Atkinson 1962, 25-6). The stone disc with polished edge and incised ornament (Childe 1931, Pl. LII, 2) is somewhat similar to the Picts knives but also resembles in its shape and
polished edge the polished discoidal flint knives. Ten stone discs, one with the edge ground, were found in the chambered tomb of Ty Isaf, Brecknock (Grimes 1939, Fig. 5). Other examples of stone discs are known from Pant y Saer, Anglesey, Cairnholy I, Wigtown (Piggott and Powell 1949, Fig. 9, 703). Sandstone discs which may be related occur at West Kennet Long Barrow (Piggott 1962, Fig. 16, 2), Windmill Hill and Avebury (Smith 1965, Fig. 52, 22, 23 and 77, 24).

There is, however, a difference between the Pict's knives of Skara Brae and the other northern sites and the discs from the more southerly sites. The Pict's knives are correctly called knives in that they are sharp-edged whereas the discs from the south are steep sided and clearly could not function as knives. The same may be said of the flint discs from Champ-Grosset, Brittany, which also exhibit steep side-trimming (L'Helgouach et le Roux 1965, Fig. 6, 4-7).

The large stone discs used as pot lids at Skara Brae and Rinyo are a type which, like the Picts' knives, are widespread in Shetland. The spiked and knobbed clubs (Childe 1931, Pl. XXXIX, 1, Pl. XLI, 3 and 4) can only be paralleled once elsewhere in Britain, at Quoyness (Henshall 1963, Figs. 11 and 12) but recall the spiked objects of the Maglemose culture (Clark 1936, 105). The stone balls at Skara Brae are mostly decorated but undecorated examples are known and two undecorated
stone balls were found at Rinyo (Childe 1939, 27). Similar undecorated stone balls come from the Hedbridean tombs of Clestrain and Unival (Childe 1948, 29). Examples are also known from the chambered tomb of Bryn yr hen Bobl, Anglesey and from Ronaldsway, Isle of Man (Piggott 1954, 208). More significant is the presence of flint balls at Woodlands, Wilts., in association with Rinyo Clacton pottery (Stone and Young 1948, 287). Carved balls of chalk are known at Stonehenge, from all levels of the ditches at Windmill Hill (Smith 1965, 132) and from Grimes Graves, where some were associated with the chalk figurine (Piggott 1954, 42). The carved stone balls of Skara Brae cover a wide variety of types and reflect the immense diversification of the ornament found on these objects. Despite the large number of finds of these objects (Atkinson 1962, Fig. 5) Skara Brae and Rinyo remain the only sites at which they have been found in a cultural context. The find from Ardkeiling, Moray (Childe 1931, 104) in a cist is uninformative. Childe suggests that the burial with the stone ball is secondary to the adjacent cairn with primary cremation and that this 'belongs to the Bronze Age'. But cremation and cist burial are not of themselves indicative of beaker or later date. The distribution of carved stone balls is almost confined to Scotland with outliers in Cumberland and Northern Ireland (Childe 1931, 103) and is closely allied to the distribution of maceheads in Scotland (Roe 1963, Fig. 34). The incised decoration
of many of these stone balls further relates them to the pottery at Skara Brae (Atkinson 1962, Pl.2).

The stone axes at Skara Brae and Rinyo include small types with oval section and larger forms with squared sides. They are similar to finds of polished stone axes from Orkney chambered tombs.

As Piggott pointed out (Piggott 1954, 32) the small stone cups at Skara Brae appear to be copies of small whale-bone cups. These appear to have been used for the preparation of ochre (Childe 1931, 134). A small clay vessel from Rinyo (Fig. 83, 2) probably belongs to the same group. Larger stone mortars (Childe 1931, 135) appear to have been used for grinding fish bones. It is tempting to suggest that the small stone cups are related to the chalk cups of southern England (Piggott 1954, 85). Although it seems likely that some of these cups were used as lamps, viz. the evidence from Gissbury flint mine of sooting on the edge of one cup, Smith has shown that this is not the only use to which they were put (Smith 1965, 132). The presence of cups at Stonehenge, Woodhenge (Thomas 1952, 454 and 457) and Mauambury (Piggott 1939, 158) where Rinyo Clacton pottery was also present is suggestive as is the presence of chalk balls along with chalk cups at Stonehenge, Grimes Graves and Windmill Hill (Piggott 1954, 86).

The variety and quantity of beads and pendants at Skara Brae is unique (Childe 1931, 144-149). The
commonest form is barrel-shaped and may be made of bone, stone or ivory. The pendants include perforated teeth of whales and pig. The boars' tusks pendants are not all perforated; some are notched at one end. The latter type have been carefully shaped. Three small pendants of ivory have perforations at either end, two of these bearing incised decoration.

No comparable collection of personal ornaments is known from any other site in Great Britain and there is a complete absence of comparable material at Rinyo. The largest collection of similar beads is that at West Kennet Long Barrow (Piggott 1962, 51). Here barrel-shaped beads of bone similar to those from Skara Brae (Childe 1931, Fig. 17, 9 and 10) were found in the secondary filling. Also present were similar beads made of shale or lignite and beads made from marine shells. Piggott has commented on the presence of shale beads in the Cotswold chambered tombs and their continued use in Wessex burials (Piggott 1962, 51). But it should be noted that beads made from animal teeth, so common at Skara Brae (Childe 1931, 146), also appear in similar later contexts (Greenwell 1877, 36-140; Ashbee 1960, 83). In discussing the beads from West Kennet, Piggott mentions those from Cop Heap Hill. The Cop Heap Hill beads are segmented and made of bone and have been compared with the segmented beads of faience (Thomas 1954, 315), but it is worth mentioning that they are strikingly like the segmented beads of ivory and bone at Skara Brae (Childe 1931, Fig. 17, 4, 5, and 7)
which Childe regarded as unfinished beads. Unfinished beads of bone are found, in a primary level, at Windmill Hill (Smith 1956, 129). Attention might also be drawn to the segmented or unfinished beads from Knockadoon (O'Riordain 1954, Fig. 42, 1, 2, 5 and 7) which were present at all stages of the occupation.

Boars' tusks are fairly commonly met with in later Neolithic contexts. Longitudinal segments of boars' tusk and unworked tusks were present at Duggleby Howe, Liff's Lowe, Beamer Moor Long Barrow, Stonesteads and Crosby Garret (Piggott 1954). They were also present at Waterhouses (Bateman 1861, 131), Cowlam barrow LVII (Greenwell 1877, 214) and Fimber barrow 273 (Mortimer 1905, 23). All these barrows show other Neolithic features. Perforated boars' tusk ornaments are rare and appear to be all from Bronze Age contexts, twice associated with Food Vessel burials, at Life Hill barrow 294 (Mortimer 1905, 203) and Folkton barrow LXX (Greenwell 1877, 272) and once possibly with a collared urn, Ridgeway barrow 77 (Warne 1866, 47). Two Bronze Age burials with perforated boars' tusk ornaments are of particular interest as they emphasise the strong Neolithic element in certain Bronze Age interments. The Upton Lovel burial has been fully discussed by Piggott (Piggott 1962b, 93-97) but the burial at Langton barrow II (Greenwell 1877, 136-140) also suggests a similar 'Circumpolar' influence with its strange collection of personal ornaments, beaver's tooth and
other animals' teeth, beads, fragments of nerita and dentalium shell, also pierced as beads, a fragment of belamnite, vertebra of a fish and three cowries. This burial was one of three crouched inhumations which lay on or just above the old ground surface and were connected with two stone walls and traces of burning. One of the inhumations was accompanied by a collaredurn. The stone walls and burnt area recall the Mortuary Enclosure at Seamer Moor Round Barrow.

No comparable example of grooved boars' tusks have been found, but unworked boars' tusks are a fairly common occurrence in chambered tombs (Thurnam 1868, 228) but to what extent these are there as part of the bones of pigs is impossible to say.

The form of the decorated ivory plaques of Skara Brae (Piggott 1954, Fig. 55, 15) are unique but may possibly be related to the collection of perforated dog and wolf teeth from South Newton barrow I (Thomas 1954, Fig. I). These teeth have been flattened and are all perforated, three having double perforations. Piggott has compared the Newton burial to that from Upton Lovel.
RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER POTTERY TYPES

Direct association of Rinyo Clacton pottery with Early Neolithic pottery alone cannot be shown on any site. Contemporaneity with Abingdon ware is to be assumed at Dorchester site I where the Rinyo Clacton pottery occurred below the line of the bank, but it is possible that beaker may also have occurred in a primary level on this site. There is no doubt, however, that the Rinyo Clacton pottery at Dorchester I preceded the Peterborough ware which was associated with the re-use of the site. Peterborough ware (Mortlake) is directly associated with Rinyo Clacton ware only at Edingthorpe, Orton Longueville, Hunts., and Letchworth, Herts., but appears to be contemporary at Windmill Hill and West Kennet. At Honington the Rinyo Clacton pottery is separated by a sterile layer from the preceding Peterborough pottery and a similar situation occurs at North Carnaby Temple, Yorks. Although beakers only once have been found in direct association with Rinyo Clacton pottery, at Letchworth, contemporaneity is indicated at Maiden Castle, Windmill Hill, West Kennet, Gullane, North Berwick and possibly, Shippea Hill. But it should be noted that at Cot Nab the Rinyo Clacton pottery came from the old land
surface beneath a round barrow with primary beaker burials and that Rinyo Clacton pottery was stratified below and separated by a sterile layer from beaker pottery at Cockles Wood Cave, Somerset. At Stonehenge, the Rinyo Clacton pottery came from the primary fill of the henge ditch stratified at a lower level than the beaker sherds and a similar situation occurred at Woodhenge. Rusticated beaker sherds occur in direct association with Rinyo Clacton pottery at Letchworth and possibly also at Furzy Latch Farm, and are possibly contemporary at Shippea Hill. The only possible example of beaker pottery preceding Rinyo Clacton pottery is at Shaft I of Church Hill flint mine, Findon, where the Rinyo Clacton pottery occurred just below floor 4 which over-lay the shaft which contained early Neolithic and beaker pottery. However, at Letchworth early collared urn sherds were also present in the pit with Rinyo Clacton and the other pottery types, and Food Vessel sherds occurred in the same level as the Rinyo Clacton pottery at Shippea Hill. Apparent contemporaneity of Rinyo Clacton pottery and collared urns is also seen at Windmill Hill, and at Chippenham, barrow 2, the Rinyo Clacton pottery occurred with a cremation which the excavator regarded as secondary to a cremation in a collared urn.
From this description of Rinyo Clacton associations and the sites upon which such objects are found it is apparent that there are certain factors present which cannot be immediately related to the earlier Neolithic culture of Great Britain. Henges and Round Barrows are two recurring types of site in this survey.

The question of henges is one which is presently undergoing detailed examination, principally as a result of the extensive excavations at Durrington Walls and subsequent work at Marden and Mount Pleasant. Atkinson's survey of henge monuments, in 1951, still remains the basis for any study of henge monuments, although this list has since been greatly extended by aerial survey and excavation. No comprehensive list of henges is included in this work and the following statements are based on Atkinson's lists (Atkinson, Piggott and Sandars 1951) with those supplemented by Tratman (Tratman 1967) Burl (Burl 1970) and Wainwright (Wainwright 1969).

Atkinson regarded Class II henges as being Beaker contemporary, if not in origin, and Class I henges as somewhat earlier in inception. Although over forty per cent of known henge monuments in Britain have been investigated in part, if rarely fully excavated, the
position of henges in British prehistory is little clearer than it was fifteen years ago. The origin of henges still remains a mystery. Certainly they have some features in common with causewayed camps. Both types of sites are bank and ditch constructions with causeways; they are circular and apparently ritual, that is neither defensive nor structures obviously intended for permanent occupation. But the dissimilarities between henges and causewayed camps are equally striking. Causewayed camps, with the exception of Staines, favour high ground and dominant sites. Henges lie on low ground similar to that favoured by cursuses. There is a marked absence of henges in the south and east of England and there are no causewayed camps in the north. Neither type of site suggests prolonged occupation, although temporary occupation is present, for example, at Windmill Hill and at Castilly. There is a marked contrast in the relatively large quantity of finds from causewayed camps such as Whitehawk and Windmill Hill, Combe Hill and Abingdon, compared with the paucity of finds from most henge monuments. Only at Durrington Walls and Woodhenge was there a comparable quantity of material which appears to relate directly to the monuments. One might suggest that it is from the later Wessex causewayed camps that henges derive, and certainly it does seem likely that Wessex is the area of origin of these monuments. But the average size of
causewayed camps is about 500 ft. and the only Class I henges over 500 ft. are the Priddy Circles.

Class II henges of large size include the Yorkshire group, Thornborough N, C and S, Hutton Moor, Gana and Nunwick. These are well out of the causewayed camp area. The other large henge monuments, Marden, Dorchester Big Rings, Mount Pleasant, Devils Quoits, Knowlton S, Avebury and Durrington Walls are well within the possible area of origin. Dating evidence is only available for Mount Pleasant, Avebury and Durrington Walls; and only Durrington Walls and Mount Pleasant appear to be pre-beaker in date.

Henges which do appear to be early are Stonehenge Wilts., which has a radio-carbon date of 2180 ± 105 B.C. (I.2328) from the primary silt of the ditch, and Maumbury and Woodhenge, at both of which chalk cups of causewayed camp type have been found. These henges are within the range 250-350 ft. Other henges within this range are Overhowden, Balfarg and Castlewitch (Class I) and Rudston, Bullring, Arbor Low, Llandegai A, Knowlton C and King Arthur's Round Table (Class II). Of these Stonehenge, Maumbury, Balfarg and Mayburgh all have entrance stones and it is possible that entrance stones are a feature of early henges. King Arthur's Round Table is the only Class II henge with an entrance stone. Of the other henges of similar size, Llandegai A, a Class Ia henge, is the only one completely excavated.
Although no entrance stones were found at Llandegai A, this henge may be regarded as early on account of the ring of cremation pits, admittedly outside the henge, but surely comparable to the Aubrey holes and the pre-henge cremations at Cairnpapple. It is noticeable too that Llandegai A and Stonehenge are both henges with the ditch outside the bank.

Although Mayburgh is of a similar size there are in fact four stones at the entrance and it is likely that these may relate to the stone setting within the circle, also of four stones, and may not be truly entrance stones.

Other Class I henges with entrance features are Priddy I and Gorsey Bigbury. At Priddy I only a stone hole was found, but this is a large Class I henge, of 520ft. Gorsey Bigbury had two possible post holes at the entrance, but it is only 160 ft. in diameter and it seems likely to be post-beaker in construction.

The presence of internal settings of stones or posts is a recurrent feature on henge monuments. As well as Mayburgh, stone settings are found at three Class I henges, Stonehenge, Balfarg and Stripple Stones. At Stonehenge the stone settings are proven to be later than the henge itself. At Balfarg and Stripple Stones it is not possible to know whether the settings are contemporary with the henge or not, but it is possible that they may be later, particularly at Balfarg which
has otherwise early features. Stone settings within Class II henges are a much commoner feature, occurring at King Arthur's Round Table, Cairnpapple, Broomend of Crichie, Stennes, Brodgar, Avebury, Devils Quoits and Arbor Low. Although no evidence of post holes was found at the Bullring, its similarity to Arbor Low suggests that there may originally have been an internal stone setting at this site also.

Settings of posts have been found at Arminghall, Woodhenge, Durrington Walls, Marden and Mount Pleasant. (The posts at Priddy I are a structural feature of the henge, not an internal setting.) Although Clark believed that the entire monument at Arminghall represented a single structure he did point out that the posts must have been erected before the inner ditch was dug, the angle of the ramps indicating that it would have necessitated dragging the posts across the ditch if this were dug first. Since a radio-carbon date was obtained for Arminghall, the site has represented something of an anomaly. How can one accept a radio-carbon date of 2490 ± 150 for the site when rusticated domestic Beaker is found in the base of the ditch? The radio-carbon date, however, was obtained from charcoal from one of the post sockets and is quite acceptable if one regards the site as of two periods; namely a horseshoe setting of posts round which a henge monument has subsequently been added. One may recall the horseshoe
setting of posts in the primary phase at Croft Moraig, Perthshire (Piggott and Simpson 1971). Sherds of undecorated Neolithic pottery came from a contemporary ditch at this site. Further and more tentative parallels may be drawn between horseshoe post-settings and the stone 'coves' of Arbor Low and Cairnnpapple. At Cairnnpapple it has been shown that the cove antedates the henge upon the site, and this may also be the case at Arbor Low.

As Atkinson suggested, Dorchester IV-VI are primarily cremation cemeteries surrounded by hengiform enclosures. Barford Site A is strikingly similar to the Dorchester type of henge. These sites are small for henges and it is striking that Fargo, another exceptionally small henge, is also primarily a burial structure. Conon Bridge, Culbookie, Contin, Wormy Hillock, Greenan and Old Macher, all under 100 ft. diameter, are unexcavated but may prove to be burial henges. Conon Bridge and Culbookie have causeways across their ditches but no apparent entrances in the bank, a feature not dissimilar to that at the Dorchester sites which also lack proper entrances. The Class II henges in the north, Ballymeanoch, Inverurie, Muir of Ord and Broomend of Crichie also are small, around 100 ft. in diameter. The urn burial at Broomend undoubtedly relates to the stone circle but may or may not be contemporary with the henge. At Ballymeanoch the beaker cists were covered by a low cairn which could be later than the henge, as
at Cairnpapple, but at both sites the ideas of henge and burial are united. The cairn inside the henge at Greenan may well prove to be something similar to that at Ballymeanoch.

Atkinson has suggested that the inhumation burials at Dorchester I, Woodhenge and Arbor Low are dedicatory in purpose, related to the erection of the henge. This is something quite apart from the burial use of the henge just mentioned.

The relationship of Peterborough and Rinyo Clacton pottery with henges has already been mentioned. Abingdon ware occurred at Dorchester I and XI apparently in primary contexts. A single sherd of Mildenhall ware was found in secondary fill of the ditch at Maxey I, and Windmill Hill ware beneath the bank at Durrington Walls, Woodhenge and Avebury and from the old land surface beneath the entrance at Mount Pleasant. None of these finds is conclusive but the finds of earlier Neolithic pottery in Class I henges would support an earlier dating for these henges. Avebury is, of course, a Class II henge and Smith suggested that the presence of Windmill Hill ware must be due to the incorporation of earlier material.

Beaker material occurs quite frequently upon henges and in several cases where the relative position does seem of significance. The only Class I henges where beaker
is present are Arminghall, Stonehenge, Woodhenge and Gorsey Bigbury. At Arminghall the rusticated ware comes from the base of the ditch and must relate to the period of construction of that phase of the monument. At Gorsey Bigbury rusticated ware and both Long and Short Necked beakers were abundant in the northern area of the monument and appear also to relate to its construction. The beaker pottery at Stonehenge and Woodhenge occurs only in the later silting of the ditch. There is also the possibility of beaker pottery at Dorchester I.

Beaker ware occurs in early contexts at Durrington Walls, low in the ditch and in the central area, and at Cairnpapple henge. The beaker pits at Llandegai II lay on the inner lip of the ditch and need not be directly related to the monument. At Fargo, however, the beaker burial seems to be connected with the direct use and purpose of the monument. Although Long Necked beakers occurred only in the upper levels of the silting of the ditch at Avebury, Smith believes the henge monument to be contemporary with the outer stone circle which is directly associated with an undecorated beaker (Smith 1965, 24f). At Rudston (Maidens Grave) the beaker pottery came from the centre of the monument and the upper silting of the ditch and cannot be related to the building of the monument. The beaker burial at Ballymeanoch cists set within the bank of the henge and therefore possibly post-dating its construction.
The paucity of sites upon which pottery has been found makes it difficult to relate henge monuments to any particular pottery group. Certain henges of both Class I and II appear to be contemporary with beakers in construction. Other monuments of both types also appear to be pre-beaker in construction. Nor is an examination of other finds from henge monuments much more informative. The antler picks found in the ditches at Arbor Low, Durrington, Dorchester I, IV, V and XI and Maumbury are surely only the tools with which such monuments were constructed. And antler picks, which were used to construct causewayed camps, were still in use during the middle of the second millennium (Mortimer 1905, 132).

Probably the most intriguing objects found on any henge are the carved antlers and deer rib bone from the two henges at Maxey, (Simpson 1967). All three objects are patterned with incised chevrons, the antler incisions being filled with red ferric oxide and those on the bone coloured black. These carved objects should be compared with the decoration of the great pins at Skara Brae. Although no infilling of colour was found on these pins, pots of colouring material were relatively common on the site, the colouring material being powdered haematite, the main constituent of which is ferric oxide. Barbed and tanged arrowheads occur at Arbor Low and Gorsey Bigbury; at the latter site no doubt
relating to the beaker pottery. The arrowhead at Arbor Low interestingly came from the bottom of the ditch.

Petit tranchet derivative arrowheads are found on five of the Dorchester sites: I, II, IV, V, and XI, and at Woodhenge. At Woodhenge they are particularly numerous. Similar arrowheads are also found in the ditch at Durrington Walls and beneath the bank at Avebury.

The macehead from Dorchester II, found in one of the cremation pits, belongs to the 'cushion' type. Although one must await Roe's analysis of this type of macehead, it is worth mentioning that the cushion macehead has a markedly northern distribution with a particular concentration on the mainland of Orkney (Gibson 1944, Fig. 21). The ovoid macehead at Stonehenge came from the cremation cemetery and therefore is contemporary with the henge. Roe believes these maceheads to belong to the middle of the second millennium. Associations of these maceheads are few and include both Peterborough and Rinyo Clacton pottery (Roe 1968, 153).

The bonework occurring on henge monuments is scanty. A bone scoop of early Neolithic type and four bone needles were found at Gorsey Bigbury. The needles are similar to those found at Skara Brae. The most significant bone types from henges are the skewer pins from the Dorchester sites and Stonehenge.

It seems certain that the large number of circular
monuments classified as henges includes a variety of different types of site, fulfilling different functions. Some, like Stonehenge and Avebury, may strictly be classified as ritual in that they can be seen to fulfil no obvious sepulchral or domestic purpose and yet are clearly sites of great activity. Fargo, Barford Site A and the Dorchester sites do appear to be related directly to sepulchral use. Woodhenge, Durrington Walls and, now, Marden and Mount Pleasant are unusual among henges in that they have all produced quantities of pottery. They are also linked to each other by the presence of internal post-settings. Piggott suggested that the post-settings at Woodhenge might represent the remains of a building (Piggott 1940) and Wainwright has subsequently proposed that the circular settings at Durrington Walls, Marden and Mount Pleasant by interpreted also as the remains of buildings.* Simpson has gone so far as to suggest that these may well be domestic buildings, ** the henge itself being in the nature of a cattle kraal. If this interpretation is followed it becomes necessary to regard the bank of the structure as fortuitous, the ditch alone being of significance and playing the part of the modern ha-ha.

In view of the variety of monuments included under the heading 'henge' and the paucity of finds on the

* In conversation with the writer.
** Economy and Settlement in Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Europe; Leicester, December 1969
majority of sites, it must seem presumptuous to suggest any cultural connection. Nevertheless, it does seem safe to say that some at least of the henges are connected in some way with a particular pottery style. The finds of pottery on sites such as Stonehenge, Dorchester, Gorsey Bigbury or Rudston could be fortuitous and the pottery in no way culturally related to the monument. Such an explanation is not feasible at Durrington Walls, Woodhenge, Mount Pleasant or Marden. The extensive finds of Rinyo Clacton pottery on these sites suggest that finds of similar pottery on other sites may also be of significance. At Durrington Walls, Woodhenge and Mount Pleasant the Rinyo Clacton pottery occurred both beneath and within the bank, as well as in the central area, indicating that pottery was present on the sites, at the time of the erection of the bank structures. This might suggest that the Rinyo Clacton pottery represented a pre-henge occupation phase. Smith believed this to be the case at Avebury where the sherds of Rinyo Clacton pottery were in a weathered condition. The presence of Beaker sherds in the central area and low in the ditch at Durrington Walls originally led the excavator to believe that the site was built by the makers of Beaker pottery. Later radio-carbon dates, however, have indicated that this site is likely to be pre-beaker in construction. At Woodhenge, however, the Beaker sherds were very few and could not in any way be shown to be definitely connected with the erection of the site. At Marden the pottery, mainly from the ditch terminals
is all of Rinyo Clacton style and very similar to that from Durrington Walls. There seems little doubt that the makers of Rinyo Clacton pottery were responsible for the building of Marden, and probably Woodhenge, Mount Pleasant and Durrington Walls as well. This is not to say that all henges were built by the makers of Rinyo Clacton pottery. Fargo and Arminghall almost certainly should be attributed to the makers of Beskers.

Despite two radio-carbon dates for henges centred on the middle of the third millennium (Barford and Durrington Walls) it is noticeable that no henge as yet has produced only early Neolithic pottery. Indeed the occurrence of early Neolithic wares on henges is rare and it seems most likely that henges are a development of the later phases of the Neolithic.
The idea that Round Barrows were introduced (Grinsell 1959, 9) by the Single Grave Beaker cultures is no longer tenable following the excavation of the Neolithic Round Barrow at Pitnacree, Perthshire (Coles and Simpson 1965). Although this barrow is unique so far, in construction, it is worth examining those other round barrows which exhibit Neolithic features.

It has been suggested that round barrows with discontinuous or causewayed ditches are Neolithic and that the causewayed ditch reflects influence from causewayed camps (Grinsell 1959, 11). Certainly, there are several round barrows with discontinuous ditches which do exhibit Neolithic features. In Dorset, in addition to Corfe Castle and Handley Down 27 listed by Grinsell, there is Handley Down 26 (Pitt Rivers IV 1898, 58-61) which has a primary inhumation and another inhumation accompanied by a jet belt slider and the ditch of which is broken by a single causeway. Amongst Wiltshire barrows with discontinuous ditches are Winterbourne Monkton barrow 3 (V.C.H. Wiltshire, 1957, 200), Warminster barrow 3 (Arn Hill) (Hoare 1812, 65) and Heytesbury (Hoare 1812, 88). These last two have opposed causeways aligned east–west. Rudston barrow LXIII, Yorks. (Greenwell 1877, 245) also has a discontin-
uous trench although this appears to have been covered by the mound. Potter Brompton barrow XXII, Yorks. (Greenwell 1877, 166) also had a trench beneath the mound with an interrupting causeway. None of these barrows can be assigned to any particular culture as they are either lacking in obvious primary burials or the primary burials are unaccompanied. But causewayed ditches cannot be regarded as a criterion of the Neolithic Round Barrows. Whatever the origin of the causewayed ditch it was certainly used by the beaker barrow builders. Several examples of barrows with discontinuous ditches and primary beaker burials exist, for example at Trowse, Norfolk (Note: Proc. Prehist. Soc. XXV (1959) 275), Wilsford barrow 52, Stockbridge Down barrows I, Berwick St. John barrow 3 and Rollestone Field, Wilts. (V.C.H. Wiltshire, 1957).

More likely evidence for Neolithic Round Barrows is the presence of specifically early Neolithic types in primary context within the barrow. At Kingston Deverill barrow 20 (Hoare 1842, 45) an Early Neolithic bowl accompanied a cremation on the old land surface, presumed to be the primary interment. Similarly, the primary inhumation at Tarrant Launceston barrow 4 (Piggott and Piggott 1944) has a leaf-shaped arrowhead amongst the ribs. Five round barrows in Yorkshire have contained Early Neolithic artifacts in primary positions, pottery at Duggleby Howe (Mortimer 1905, 23),
Seamer Moor (Simpson 1961, 345) and Weaverthorpe barrow XLII (Greenwell 1877, 214) and leaf-shaped arrowheads at Calais Wold barrow 275 (Mortimer 1905, 161). But Tarrant Launceston barrow 4, Weaverthorpe barrow XLII, Cowlam barrow LVIII and Calais Wold barrow 275 share other features which may be regarded as specifically Neolithic.

The mass burial of disarticulated bodies, sometimes with one final articulated inhumation, is a recurrent feature of Long Barrow burial (Piggott 1954, 57). Such burials sometimes take place upon a platform of flints or similar material (Atkinson 1965, 126). At Tarrant Launceston the body was placed on a bed of flints with a figure-of-eight post-hole at the feet, suggesting a post which had rotted and been replaced by another. This would suggest that the burial 'bed' was exposed for a considerable time before the barrow was erected, long enough for the first post to decay and require replacement. This feature, a single post or multiple postholes, is a recurrent feature beneath Wessex and Yorkshire long barrows (Piggott 1954, 56). The primary burial at Weaverthorpe barrow XLII was disturbed by a later beaker interment but consisted of two individuals. Also beneath this barrow was a thick layer of turf containing much charcoal and flint and broken animal bones and reminiscent of the limited turf stacks within long barrows (Piggott 1954, 54). The burial beneath the
barrow at Cowlam LVII was a multiple one. To one side
a platform of thin slabs of chalk supported five dis-
articulated skeletons. A further six disarticulated
bodies lay on the old ground surface. All these burials
appear to be contemporary. At Calais Wold barrow 275
a central single inhumation occurred in an oval grave
but also lying upon the old ground surface was a pavement
of liassic stones upon which were twelve crouched
inhumations amongst which were cremated bones. A
further single inhumation lay on the old ground
surface and another in the inner barrow mound. The
barrow was then capped with a clay mound. A secondary
cremation was dug into the final mound of soil. This
round barrow with leaf-shaped arrowheads in a primary
context contained over twenty-two burials.

Although no burial pavement or bed was recorded at
Duggleby Howe, the barrow structure is somewhat similar
to that of Calais Wold barrow 275 with all burials
being enclosed within a cap of chalk rubble before the
final large barrow was erected. Similar too is the
central burial pit, this time the inhumation being
accompanied by an Early Neolithic bowl. Disarticulated
skeletons of 'a number' of adults and children were
incorporated in the grave filling and further satellite
burials lay on the old ground surface. This time five
inhumations and no less than fifty cremation deposits
were incorporated within the inner barrow mound.
The Seamer Moor Long Barrow is also worth considering in this context. The long mound covered an inner round cairn. The primary burial took place under a flat stone and consisted of a 'deposit' of human bones, possibly a disarticulated skeleton or skeletons, and two further 'masses' of human bones occurred in the cairn material. This multiple burial cairn is clearly similar to that at Duggleby Howe.

It was Greenwell himself who suggested that the primary inhumation at Weaverthorpe barrow XIII (Greenwell 1877, 193) was disarticulated because it had been brought from a previous burial place. However, Greenwell regarded all the burials in this barrow as contemporary, twelve inhumations and one cremation, two of the burials being accompanied by food vessels.

Two other examples, this time of multiple inhumations in round barrows, occurred at Dilton, Wilts. (Hoare 1812, 54) and Therfield Heath, Cambs. (Fox 1923, 23). It is worth mentioning that the Dilton barrow was surrounded by a ring of pits, not a continuous ditch.

A single inhumation accompanied by boar's tusk, bone spatula and two worked flints lay on a thin pavement beneath the barrow at Waterhouses, Derbyshire (Bateman 1861, 131). Beneath the pavement were indications of fire and a few pieces of calcined bone. This is in contrast to the long barrow platform cremations where the fire has taken place upon the platform (Piggott 1954, 58).
It might be argued that the English round barrows exhibiting Neolithic features are the result of a fusion between beaker funerary monument tradition and the earlier Neolithic culture and that the Strathmore Round Barrows belong to some other tradition, possibly associated with the primary round or heel-shaped cairn incorporated beneath some Long Cairns in Scotland (Henshall 1970). Fortunately there is a radio-carbon date from the Seamer Moor Long Barrow. This date of $3080 \pm 90$ B.C. (NFL 73) comes from wood charcoal from the long barrow phase of the monument (Vatcher 1961a, 345) and thus postdates the round barrow phase of the monument. Although there is no direct evidence for the terminal date of the long barrow tradition, there is only one site which suggests long barrows were still being constructed in the second millennium. This is Giants Hill, Skendelby, Lincs., where beaker sherds appear to have been incorporated in the barrow material. That these beaker sherds may be less significant in position or possibly due to worm movement is indicated by the radio-carbon dates from this barrow, both in the third millennium (BM-191 and 192). The Seamer Moor Long Barrow indicates that a round barrow tradition certainly existed contemporary with a long barrow tradition and the date from this site shows that round barrows were being erected at the beginning of the third millennium.
CONCLUSIONS

In this discussion of Rinyo Clacton pottery and related sites and artifacts it will be noticed that all the aspects of Piggott's Rinyo Clacton and Dorchester cultures have been covered. Clark has denied the existence of a Rinyo Clacton culture (Clark 1966, 181), his remarks being based mainly on the belief that the southern type being evolved from an amalgamation of Beaker and Fengate elements, the northern being derived from Unstan ware; (he follows Clarke 1964). This theory does not, however, account for certain elements allied to Rinyo Clacton pottery which cannot immediately be explained in terms either of Early Neolithic continuum or Beaker introduction.

It is suggested that there is a recognisable late Neolithic culture. Inevitably elements of an earlier tradition are contained within it. In no way is it suggested that this late Neolithic culture represents an 'invasion' but rather a movement of the basic Neolithic population within the British Isles.

The dominant feature in this culture is the pottery from which it takes its name, Rinyo Clacton. The presence at Skara Brae and Rinyo of the basic elements of the decorative techniques of this style in unmixed form leads to the suggestion that this pottery style
originated in Orkney. Examples of the three Skara Brae techniques of decoration are known in the south but the two southern styles, Clacton and Woodhenge, are combinations of these three basic techniques. The recognition of the Boyne art style on the Orkney pottery suggests too that Orkney is the area of origin of this pottery as although the elements of the motifs may be recognised on the Clacton style they can no longer be related to the Boyne art style.

The origin of Rinyo Clacton pottery is still imprecise. Piggott and Smith have both suggested that the plastic decoration represents copies of organic containers (Piggott 1954, 329; Smith 1956, 202). But it is possible that this technique of decoration is an attempt to represent in pottery the effect of certain of the motifs carried out in stone in the Boyne art tradition, (Smith 1956, 234).

The two techniques of ornament at New Grange, picking and incision, are used to produce either false relief, where the decorative motif is outlined by picking or incision, or true relief, where the background is picked away and the decorative motif stands proud (O'Kelly 1967, 86). The same effect is used at Skara Brae where the motif is incised (false relief) or the motif is applied (true relief). There does not seem to be any differentiation between the techniques used
on the various motifs, spirals appear in both false and true relief (O'Kelly 1967, Pls. 7 and 1); similarly bisected lozenges are executed in both techniques (O'Kelly 1967, Pls. 31 and 21). The breakdown of motifs apparent on the Clacton and Woodhenge styles has been explained as lack of ritual significance (Smith 1956, 233). This may also account for the preference for the simpler method of incision in the south over that of plastic ornament.

The origin of the form of Rinyo Clacton pottery is more difficult to track down. Flat based pots are known from early Neolithic sources in southern England. They occur in primary levels at Abingdon and Windmill Hill causewayed camps (Case 1956, Fig. 4, 34; Smith 1965, 57), and at least once in Yorkshire (Newbigin 1937, Fig. 4, 12). Among the wide variety of types at Luce Bay are a number of sherds of what appear to be undecorated flat-based pots in a fabric similar to that of the Peterborough Northern on the site (unpublished, N.M.A.). Amongst the sherds are splayed bases akin to those at Skara Brae and Rinyo. The rim forms are very varied but do include internally bevelled forms (McInnes 1964, Figs. 143, 144, 146). A flat-based sherd also came from a late phase at Unival (Scott 1948, Fig. 7, 53). Among the flat-based pottery at Ronaldsway are a number of splayed bases (Bruce and Megaw 1947, Fig.6). These flat-based vessels are contemporary with a debased
form of Hebridean Neolithic.

Flat bases are also present at Croft Moraig, Perthshire (Piggott and Simpson 1971, 10), Loanhead of Daviot (Jones 1935) and Clatchard Craig (Unpublished: N.M.A). At Croft Moraig the flat-based pottery was associated with simple rimmed vessels, probably of Early Neolithic form. At Loanhead of Daviot there were sherds of lugged bowls, of a type that appears to be related to the Irish-Clyde series (Atkinson 1962, 19) and similar to that from East Finnery. At Clatchard Craig at least one, and possibly two, of the vessels associated with the single flat base sherd was of Lyles Hill type, again relating to the Irish-Clyde series (Appendix I, 177).

The occurrence of flat-based undecorated pottery in various styles in Ireland (Case 1961) leads to an inevitable search for comparisons amongst these styles. Case's Kilhoyle Pots have a northern distribution and are coarse and straight sided; the bases, however, are not splayed and although internally bevelled rims are known (Case 1961, Fig. 24, 6) everted rims are more common. They are not known from passage graves but occur frequently in wedge-shaped gallery graves. Although probably contemporary with Beakers at Largantea and Giants' Grave, Loughash, they are almost certainly earlier at Goward, Mournë Park and Kilhoyle itself (Case 1961, 206) Flat based pottery of various forms also occurs in
portal dolmens in Ireland which also have a predominantly northern distribution (Herity 1964, 123-45). It is noticeable that Herity includes Cairnholly amongst his portal dolmens (Herity 1964, 124 No. 17). That this flat-based ware also may be relatively early is suggested by the presence of a sherd in the body of the mound at Ballykeel (Collins 1965, 69).

At Knockadoon, although Class II ware, with flat splayed bases, and internally bevelled rims, replaced Class I and Ia at site C, it was clearly present from the initial occupation of the site (O'Riordain 1954, 342). The Beaker and Food Vessel pottery which also is found on the site only occurred in the final phase of occupation.

The absence of the flat-based wares in the Boyne tombs, and the absence of Loughcrew ware in Scotland, is, however, striking and as far as the pottery at Skara Brae is concerned one can only suggest that possibly the concept of flat-based wares was adopted along with Boyne Art from Ireland.

That this traffic was not entirely one way is indicated by the presence of Rinyo Clacton pottery at Dalkey Island and Lough Gur in Ireland, (Liversage 1968, Fig. 5, 149 and 683; Fig. 6, 166 and 170; O'Riordain 1951, Fig. 8, 1-14). The Irish examples of Rinyo Clacton pottery include simple horizontal grooving but the more
highly decorated wares appear to relate to the Woodhenge Style and may possibly represent a movement from south-west England. It is worth noting that petit tranchet derivative arrowheads, which are fairly rare in Ireland, are found at Lough Gur (O'Riordain 1951, Fig. 3, 3, 4, 49 and 40).

As has already been pointed out, skewer pins and stone balls (uncarved) are also found in Boyne tombs and it is possible that these elements of the Rinyo Clacton culture also came from Ireland with the art tradition. Although it is true that the Irish stone balls are much smaller than those generally found in Scotland, small stone balls were also found at Rinyo.

It is doubtful whether polished discoidal flint knives should be attributed to the Rinyo Clacton culture alone. Their distribution is so widespread that it would be unwise to draw any conclusions from it. However, the idea of polished flint implements, other than axes, does appear to relate to the Rinyo Clacton culture. Polished discoidal flint knives do occur in Ireland, but unfortunately only as stray or unstratified finds. They are also found on the Continent (Smith 1956, 230) but not in contexts that can in any way be related to the Rinyo Clacton culture. It seems likely that these knives evolved to fulfil some technological need. The same reason probably accounts for the presence of fabricators
on so many Rinyo Clacton sites. Fabricators, as has been shown above, have Early Neolithic origins but certainly have been adopted by the Rinyo Clacton culture. Petit tranchet derivative arrowheads are also a component of the Rinyo Clacton culture; this is particularly noticeable in England. These arrowheads are virtually absent in Early Neolithic contexts and their presence on Rinyo Clacton sites is most striking. They strongly suggest a Mesolithic technique which has been adopted, again to satisfy a specific need. The idea of a Mesolithic continuum, from which Piggott derived his idea of 'secondary' Neolithic, is indicated by the presence of barbed and tanged arrowheads in the Tweed Valley which have been manufactured by microlithic techniques identical with the microlithic industries in the vicinity.*

Although one plano-convex flint knife is associated with Rinyo Clacton pottery, and others occur at Dorchester II and Seamer Moor Long Barrow, it is unlikely that these knives belong to the Rinyo Clacton culture. Collins, in his report on the find from Audleystown cairn, distinguished between the double-edged plano-convex flint knife, occurring in neolithic as well as later contexts, and the variety with flaking all over the upper surface, which is typically associated with Food Vessels (Collins 1954, 28). The knives from Torlin, Dunan Mor, Cairnholy II, Lligwy and * Information supplied by Miss Mulholland
Dorchester II clearly belong to the double-edged form, whereas those from Giants Graves and Blackhammer belong to the latter form. The knives from Tormore, Cairnholy I, Seamer Moor Long Barrow and Achnacreebeg, while lacking the detailed top working of the finest of the Food Vessel examples do exhibit a considerable degree of working on the upper face. Both the Seamer Moor knife and that from Achnacreebeg come from explicitly Neolithic contexts which suggests that the so-called Food Vessel form of plano-convex flint knife is a product of the third millennium. Herity has suggested that these knives derive from Larnian Flakes (Herity 1964, 131) and it is possible that their appearance in Great Britain is related to the strong contact with Ireland in the latter part of the third millennium.

One entirely new type which can be attributed to the Rinyo Glacton culture is stone maceheads. That these maceheads continued to be used long after the Rinyo Glacton culture is no longer visible is without doubt. But it seems likely that their origins do lie within the Rinyo Glacton culture.

The antler maceheads, from which the stone maceheads are derived, the antler sleeves, the perforated bone adzes of Skara Brae, the bone and ivory beads and pendants and the knobbed objects and stone knives may all be attributed to Gjessing's Circumpolar Stone Age or
to a Mesolithic continuum, antler maceheads and perforated adzes being found at Star Carr (Clark 1954, Fig. 69) and in the 'Obanian' (Lacaille 1954, Fig. 87, 4). But it is possible to find another source for part of this aspect of the Rinyo Clacton culture. Antler maceheads are a basic component of the Chassey culture of France (Bailleud 1964, 87-89, Fig. 20, 1-2) and are also present in the S.O.M. culture. Perforated animal teeth, beads and pendants of various kinds are particularly common in the S.O.M. culture and many bear a striking resemblance to comparable material from Skara Brae, but, as Bailloud points out, these components of the S.O.M. culture are those which derive from the earlier Neolithic cultures in France, Chassey and Rubané (Bailloud 1964, 226). Case has suggested that the flat-based pottery of Ireland is derived from flat-based wares of north-western France (Case 1961, 211) which entered Ireland together with the wedge-shaped gallery graves. The organic artifacts of the Rinyo Clacton culture may be related to this movement, or alternatively they may be related to the Chassey element in the primary Neolithic settlement of Great Britain.

As for the slate and stone knives and clubs their presence at Skara Brae may simply be explained in technological terms. Mahr recognised in Ireland what he called a Riverford culture (Mahr 1937). This culture was distinguished by crude stone knives and clubs, some
with ground edges. Similar objects are found in the Isle of Man and sporadically in Britain, with concentrations in Orkney and Shetland. This is not a culture in the accepted archaeological sense of the word, as Mahr admitted. Related objects are found in Mesolithic contexts, for example the shell mounds of Oronsay (Mahr 1937, 312) and some slate knives show traces of being prepared with a saw. Similarly Childe pointed out that the use of slate discs as pot covers, seen at Skara Brae, was still in practice in the nineteenth century (Childe 1931, 134). What Mahr did show, however, was that his Riverford culture directly relates to a fishing industry, and more specifically salmon fishing, the clubs being used as salmon clubs, the knives as flensing utensils. Childe remarked on the absence of fishing hooks at Skara Brae, despite the record of fish bones on the site, but there are more ways of catching fish than with a hook. As Gjessing showed, the uniformity of his Circumpolar Stone Age was a technological rather than a cultural one.

It is not possible to date the henges in the north of Scotland and this is particularly unfortunate in view of their presence in Orkney. It is just possible that the quarry ditch at Maes Howe is related to the henge ditches at Brodgar and Stenness (Henshall 1963, 134). However, on present evidence it would appear that henges are a component of the Rinyo Clacton culture in its
south-western aspect at least. Henges are rare in south-east England and what appear to be the earliest types of henges are those found in Wessex where the Woodhenge style predominates.

The radio-carbon date of $2416 \pm 64$ B.C. (Birm.7) for Barford Site A indicates that some type of hengiform enclosure was being constructed by the middle of the third millennium. The Dorchester sites by analogy may well date to this phase also; the presence of Abingdon ware in a primary context would make such a date quite acceptable. That this type of burial henge continued in use into the second millennium is shown by the Beaker burial at Fargo. The relationship between these small burial henges and sites such as Woodhenge and Durrington Walls which may have domestic rather than ritual functions is not at all clear. However, it seems reasonable to suggest that the majority of henges are related to the Rinyo Clacton culture. Certainly, the makers of Peterborough pottery seem to have taken only a passing interest in henges and they cannot be responsible for the existence of henges in the north of Scotland as Peterborough pottery, even in its Northern form, is unknown there. It is, of course, possible that the northern henges are attributable to the Beaker culture.

Henge monuments are known in Ireland but they are few in number (Burl 1970). It is interesting to note the presence of Rinyo Clacton pottery at Lough Gur,
one of the few occurrences of this pottery recognised in Ireland. At Lough Gur it should be noted that the Class II fabric came from beneath and within the bank and thus antedates the site itself (O’Riordain 1954, 451). The henges in Ireland may relate to a reflux movement associated with Woodhenge style pottery.

There is no evidence to suggest that henges occur on the continent and this is a major factor in the argument that they originate within the British late Neolithic, and in their developed form are connected specifically with the Rinyo Clacton culture.

Cremation burial is, of course, known in the early Neolithic (Piggott 1954, 57) and commonly occurred in the Yorkshire long barrows. But these are mass cremations as opposed to multiple cremations such as are found in cremation cemeteries and Neolithic round barrows. In Yorkshire also are occasional occurrences of cremations, unconnected with monuments, and associated with Early Neolithic pottery.* Both inhumation and cremation are found in Irish Passage Graves but cremation preponderates (Piggott 1954, 202). Little evidence is available for the burial rite of the Maes Howe goup of passage graves, but both inhumation and cremation appear to have been present (Henshall 1963, 127-8). Piggott has pointed out that Macalister’s suggestion that the skewer pins were used to close a container for cremated bones would apply

* T. Manby. Scottish Archaeological Forum 1970
not only to the Boyne tombs but also to the cremations at Ballateare, Cairnpapple, Duggleby Howe and Dorchester. The deposits of cremated bone at Lyles Hill with which were associated not only Lyles Hill ware but also coarse ware might also be mentioned here (Evans 1953, 17). The deposits of cremated bones were also related to pockets of dark soil and charcoal which recall the ustrinae at Ballateare and the ritual pits associated with the cremations at Cairnpapple and Dorchester and, in a more sophisticated form, the Aubrey Holes.

The Rinyo Clacton culture is seen mainly as a re-emergence of Early Neolithic traits, in which sense it may be regarded as 'secondary', but with the addition of certain new artifacts. The large round barrow, known from the beginning of the third millennium, is given new importance as is the rite of cremation. The new style of pottery, which receives its decorative style from Irish sources, may in form also relate ultimately to the occasional finds of flat bases in early Neolithic contexts. Irish in inspiration also are the plano-convex flint knives and skewer pins, although most of the flint and bone types are known from primary Neolithic sites. The maceheads appear to be a translation into stone of an organic type which also originates in the early Neolithic. Petit tranchet derivative arrowheads and the stone implements peculiar to Orkney and Shetland are the only objects which cannot
be explained in terms either of early Neolithic origin or Irish influence. It can only be suggested that these are inventions which develop in response to a specific technological need.

Piggott's Rinyo Clacton culture, recognised principally by pottery has now been expanded to include those elements of the later Neolithic which Piggott classified as a separate Dorchester culture. The principal elements which define this culture are petit tranchet derivative arrowheads, polished flint knives, skewer pins and bone and early stone maceheads, certain large round barrows and henge monuments. The recent excavations at Durrington Walls and Marden have emphasised the relationship between Rinyo Clacton pottery and henge monuments but the inter-relationship between the other elements is also clear. What is less satisfactory is the unbalanced distribution of the various elements. Certainly the distribution of Rinyo Clacton pottery is much wider today than that known to Piggott in 1954, and no doubt more pottery will continue to be excavated in each succeeding season. This must in part be due to lack of excavation of suitable sites in Scotland and the existence of henges in central and northern Scotland suggests that the apparent gap in the pottery distribution may not in fact exist. On the other hand this may be due to overemphasising the importance of Woodhenge, Durrington Walls and Marden.
DATING

Only one radio-carbon date is available which can be directly related to Rinyo Clacton pottery. This is for the midden at Durrington Walls where a date of 2320 ± 125 B.C. (N.P.L. 192) was obtained. That the tradition of the Rinyo Clacton style was still prevalent in the mid-2nd millennium is indicated by the date of 1740 ± 115 B.C. at Playden, Sussex (B.M. 450). This date confirms Piggott's original identification of the pottery at Playden.

All other dating of the Rinyo Clacton culture must be by association. That Rinyo Clacton pottery can be shown to be contemporary with Beakers is without doubt. There is also at least one association of Rinyo Clacton pottery with Collared Urn at Letchworth. At Unival, however, the Rinyo Clacton vessel preceded an undecorated Beaker of early Bell Beaker or All-over Cord Beaker type. At Gullane, Hedderwick and Luce Bay the only types of Beaker present were either Bell Beakers or All-over Cord Beakers. Similarly at Craike Hill, Bell Beaker was the only type of Beaker present. Again at Green Howe and Beacon Hill the only beaker-types present are either All-over Cord Beakers or Bell Beakers. Certainly later Beaker types are present at Tentsmuir and the Lincolnshire 'warren' sites, but there does seem to be a connection between the sites favoured by Rinyo Clacton pottery and
early Beaker forms in the north. Further south at Stonehenge and Woodhenge the Rinyo Clacton pottery can be shown to antedate the Beaker pottery. At Woodhenge the Beakers are of Wessex/Middle Rhine type.

The All-over Cord Beakers Clarke would date to around 2000 B.C. and his Wessex/Middle Rhine Group to 1800-1750 B.C. The Developed Northern Beaker at Rinyo Clarke would date to after 1600 B.C. (Roe 1968, 166). This Beaker cannot be directly related to the site at Rinyo as it was found before the excavation but it probably belongs to the final phase there (Piggott 1954, 329).* It has already been indicated that the English Rinyo Clacton styles are derived from the earlier phases at Skara Brae and Rinyo.

The dating evidence from henges is somewhat conflicting. It has been suggested that the date of 2360 ± 75 B.C. (G.R.N. 901) for the pre-henge phase at Durrington Walls was obtained from a fossil sample.** This date must however be more acceptable with a further date from the pre-bank occupation of 2450 ± 150 B.C. (N.P.L. 191). The date of 2490 ± 150 B.C. (B.M. 129) at Arminghall may, as has already been suggested, properly belong to a pre-henge structure. That this may also be the case at Barford is less clear. The date of 2416 ± 64 B.C. was obtained from a wooden platter which

* Confirmed in discussion with Mr. J. Yorston, foreman during the excavation on the site
** Conversation with Professor Piggott
was related to the middle phase of the monument (Birm. 7).

The presence of Beaker sherds in primary contexts at Arminghall, Gorsey Bigbury and Cairnpapple suggests that these henges must all be dated after 2000 B.C., and probably nearer 1600 B.C. as the beakers at Arminghall and Gorsey Bigbury included Rusticated ware and Developed Southern Beakers and those at Cairnpapple, Developed Northern type.

Dating from the artifacts associated with the pottery is unrewarding. As has been shown the artifacts either belong to earlier Neolithic traditions or are peculiar to the Rinyo Clacton culture.

Roe has pointed out that Group I greenstone, which is found with Rinyo Clacton pottery at Lion Point (Smith 1955, 41), was much favoured for the making of earlier battleaxes, but suggests that it is not known in earlier Neolithic contexts (Roe 1968, 168). The battle-axe types in question, II and III, Roe points out are associated with Southern Beakers which would indicate a date of around 1600 B.C. This would be more or less in accord with the Developed Southern Beaker and Group I axe belonging to phase II at Stonehenge (Evans et al. 1962, No. 947); Phase III a/b transition is dated by radio-carbon to $1710 \pm 150$ B.C. (BM 46). Taken with the date from Playden, $1740 \pm 115$ B.C. (B.M. 450) these finds may represent the final extension of the Rinyo Clacton culture.
Thus on absolute dating or association the Rinyo Clacton culture would appear to extend from the middle of the third to the middle of the second millennium B.C. Thus the influence of the Boyne Art style at Skara Brae could relate to the arrival of the Maes Howe style of tomb in the Orkneys. Henshall believes that Maes Howe must be close in date to New Grange, and New Grange has recently been dated to 2550 ± 45 B.C. (Gr. N 5462). (However, it must be admitted O'Kelly's suggestion that the Beaker settlement at New Grange must have been established after the primary slip of the cairn but before the growth of turf cover (O'Kelly 1964, 290) makes this date not entirely acceptable.)

It is therefore suggested that the Rinyo Clacton culture developed in Orkney around 2500 B.C. due to Irish influence on the basic Neolithic population. From Orkney the culture spread rapidly south. That actual emigration to East Anglia took place is not unlikely. Clarke has pointed out that a relatively heavy settlement of Northern Beakers took place around the Fen margin and in North Wessex around 1600 B.C. and there is no reason to suppose that a similar movement could not have taken place somewhat earlier. Wherever it occurs the Rinyo Clacton culture is one adopted by the local Neolithic population and a mingling of local Neolithic and intrusive Rinyo Clacton elements may be seen.
IV THE MESOLITHIC CONTENT
The concept of the later Neolithic as a fusion of Early Neolithic and Mesolithic elements is difficult to demonstrate from example. The whole question of Neolithic-Mesolithic relationship is uncertain in Britain. Unlike the European Continent there is little evidence for a Neolithic-Mesolithic overlap although such must surely have existed. Occasionally mesolithic and neolithic flintwork occur on the same site but unfortunately the sites so far excavated which might have shown this have been either subject to disturbance or are lacking in relevant stratification and one cannot be certain that this has not resulted in false assumptions. Two such sites are Torbryan Caves, Devon and High Rocks Cave, Kent at both of which sites Mesolithic and Neolithic elements are present but the association could be questioned. At Torbryan the C14 date, 2500 ± 200 B.C. (I-549) suggests the Neolithic end of the occupation and at High Rocks the date of 3710 ± 150 B.C. (BM -40) represents possible Mesolithic occupation. However, if the latter date is accepted as Mesolithic it is one of the lowest Mesolithic dates so far obtained in Great Britain. Another mid-4th millennium date from a Mesolithic site was obtained at Ringneill Quay, Strangford Lough, Co. Down, 3430 ± 120 (Q-770); however the dates from this site show occupation extending from
the 6th to 1st millennium.

The occurrence of Mesolithic technique of working on barbed-and-tanged arrowheads in the Tweed valley has already been referred to (above p. 145) and this is perhaps a surer indication for a Mesolithic-Neolithic overlap.

Another possible indication of this overlap is that afforded by the shell midden site on Oronsay where a mesolithic industry (Lacaille 1954, 297) was found in association with bones of sheep (Murray 1971, Table 142). Similarly on Colonsay bones of sheep and cattle (Murray 1971, Table 142) occurred with a mesolithic industry and slate knives (Mahr 1937, 312). But this site is a sand-dune site and therefore scarcely reliable evidence.

If one excludes from the later Neolithic cultures all elements which can be related directly to the earlier Neolithic phase the principal artifacts left are petit tranche\'t derivative arrowheads, tranche\'t axes and the 'Circumpolar' artifacts of Skara Brae, all of which have on first sight undoubted Mesolithic ancestry.

But just how mesolithic are these elements? The typology worked out by Clark for petit tranche\'t derivative arrowheads is generally accepted; certainly Type A is the only type found in a clear early Neolithic context,
but need this indicate a direct i.e. British, mesolithic ancestry? Tranchet arrowheads, which is what Type A represents, are an integral part of Neolithic cultures in France (Piggott 1953, 425), the Low Countries (de Laet 1958, 83) and Scandinavia (Glob 1952, 99), and there is no need to evoke an immediate mesolithic ancestry for the British examples. There is no reason why the Type A arrowheads could not have been an element in the early Neolithic culture of Britain, introduced along with pottery, polished axes, leaf-shaped arrowheads etc. from the Continent. It is recognised that this is a negative argument but it must be stressed that tranchet arrowheads in Britain need not indicate a British mesolithic ancestry. It is perhaps worth pointing out that although tranchet and hollow-based arrowheads are common in western Europe in later Neolithic contexts it is only in Britain that one finds the evolved petit tranchet derivative forms. Evolved petit tranchet derivative forms are found in the Omalian industries in the Low Countries (de Laet and Glasbergen 1959, 53–4) but do not appear in subsequent Michelsburg, Chassey and TRB contexts. As a connection between Omalian and Rinyo Clacton cultures cannot be shown, it is perhaps reasonable to suggest that the petit tranchet derivative form evolved independently in Britain.

The presence at Combe Hill, Sussex of a tranchet axe in association with Ebbsfleet pottery may at first
appear as clear evidence for Mesolithic contact but that this may not be direct is suggested by the presence of such axes in flint mines (Piggott 1954, 281). Such axes are also an integral part of the Michelsberg culture (de Laet and Glasbergen 1959, 62) and therefore such axes in Britain may again relate to early Neolithic sources.

As has been mentioned above (p. 148) Gjessing's Circumpolar Stone Age is a cultural or economic rather than a chronological 'Age'. But the culture is for the most part one which is seen at its earliest in the Mesolithic of Denmark. Nevertheless that some contact may possibly have taken place between Orkney and Scandinavia in the later Neolithic has been suggested by Murray (in conversation with writer). As Murray points out the Skara Brae sheep have heavy, widely divergent horns and are of large size, comparable to the moufflons from Bundsgård, Denmark and Stora Karsslö, Sweden (Murray 1971, 75). Similar sheep are also found at Quoyness (Childe 1952, 139) where also are present the typical 'knobbed objects' generally related to the Circumpolar Stone Age.

It is therefore difficult to show unequivocally the existence of a Mesolithic element in the British later Neolithic. The above argument however is intended only as that of the 'Devil's Advocate'. There must surely
have been a Mesolithic population present in Britain when the first Neolithic settlers arrived in these islands, and it is unlikely that the Mesolithic inhabitants instantly abandoned their old way of life along with their distinctive techniques of flintworking. The adoption of a new way of life based on agriculture with hunting as a supplement would mean the adoption of new artifacts and if the leaf-shaped arrowhead is more effective than the geometric point as a projectile tip then it surely would be gradually adopted. It seems only logical to assume that there was a Mesolithic element in the British later Neolithic; its presence however cannot be clearly seen in the archaeological record.
The concept of a 'secondary' Neolithic as defined by Piggott, 'a complex group of Neolithic cultures characterised by elements which in origin lie outside the Western Neolithic traditions of Europe, and which in many instances seem to have their roots in the Northern European Mesolithic cultures', is one which has to a great extent been abandoned. The use of the term secondary, however, is still valid in connection with the later phase of the British Neolithic, as it is within this phase that a second cultural development may be seen.

The primary Neolithic settlement of Britain, which no doubt was the result of a series of immigrations or invasions, is not truly within the scope of this study. It does seem, however, to have been followed by a period of localised consolidation, represented by the evolution of local pottery forms - Hembury ware in the south-west, Windmill Hill ware in Wessex, Whitehawk-Mildenhall in the south-east, Grimston-Heslerton in Yorkshire and derivatives of the Wessex and Yorkshire forms in Scotland. Although the initial introduction of the chambered tomb 'cult', which must relate to an early phase of Neolithic occupation, suggests a certain unity localised forms are a feature of chambered tombs and are
likely to belong to this consolidating phase. Contact between these various groups is indicated by the distribution of early axe-factory products and the occurrence of at least one pottery type, Hembury ware, outside its immediate area of production, (Peacock 1969, 145-9).

In the main, however, the population as represented by differing pottery styles, appears to have remained fairly static, each pottery type being confined to a relatively limited area. It is not until the evolution of Ebbsfleet and then Mortlake pottery styles that one sees a widespread distribution of a common pottery style over a large area of England. This suggests not only increased contact between the various areas of settlement but a certain unity among the population. The sphere of influence of this secondary development of the original Neolithic culture extends into southern Scotland and leads to the development there of localised pottery styles. At the same time Irish influence, and probably invasion, is experienced in the west of Scotland leading to the development of an individual pottery style in the Hebrides.

This is probably in some way connected with the use of certain chambered tombs, although not necessarily their construction. Irish influence, and again probably invasion, also occurs in Orkney, here more clearly to be connected with the spread of passage graves of the Maes Howe type. This external influence results in the development in Orkney of a localised culture, recognised
principally by its peculiar pottery style but also by other foreign elements in stone and bone, the Rinyo Clacton culture. The subsequent appearance of this culture in south-east England and its spread over most of the country is recognised in the appearances of pottery, artifacts and sites differing in part from the earlier Neolithic culture. The later development of the Rinyo Clacton culture in England is confused not only by the mingling with indigenous elements but the arrival in the British Isles of the intrusive Beaker culture.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX I


A SCOTTISH NEOLITHIC POTTERY SEQUENCE
Isle J. McInnes, University of Edinburgh

The most recent assessment of Scottish Neolithic pottery was that published by Atkinson in 1962 in The Prehistoric Peoples of Scotland (Atkinson 1962). Since then certain aspects of the subject have been studied independently, notably Scott's work on the Beacharra series in the Clyde and Hebrides (Scott 1964), but it is not too soon once more to review the problem as a whole.

Two major difficulties, common to Scottish archaeology as a whole not just to Neolithic studies, are immediately apparent - the lack of clear associations and the paucity of dating evidence. Although the bulk of our Neolithic pottery comes from chambered tombs, much of it was excavated over fifty years ago and stratigraphical evidence is often lacking. Even where unexceptional excavation techniques have been employed it is not always possible to relate the finds to a specific phase of a tomb. It is agreed that chambered tombs had/
had a long life, and the later deposits in a tomb are likely to disturb earlier deposits. No doubt future excavation will provide further stratigraphical evidence, but meanwhile one is forced in part to depend on a typological pottery sequence.

In his paper Atkinson proposed a two-fold Neolithic penetration of Scotland — an east coast spread from Yorkshire marked by form G bowls, and a west coast spread to be recognised by simple bag-shaped pots and coming ultimately from Wessex (Atkinson 1962, 10). Common to both are small hemispherical bowls (Coles & Simpson 1965, Fig. 4 No. 5; Bryce 1903-04, Fig. 5, 26). Form G bowls have a limited distribution in Scotland being found only in the south and east, at Cairnpapple, West Lothian (Piggott 1947-48, Fig. 15 No. 1, 102), Bantaskine, Stirlingshire (Callander 1928-29, Fig. 38 No. 8, 57), Pitnacree, Perthshire (Coles & Simpson 1965, Fig. 4 No. 1, 42), Powsode Cairn, Aberdeenshire (Nat. Mus. Ant. unpublished) and in the south-west at Cairnholy I, Kirkcudbright (Piggott & Powell 1948-49, Fig. 7 No. 1, 119) and Luce Bay, Wigtownshire (McInnes 1963-64, Fig. 1 No. 2, 61). The carinated bowl from Pitnacree, Fig. 1, was originally published as Lyles Hill ware but Manby has/
has shown that it has greater affinities with the lightly carinated vessels of Yorkshire than with the Irish series (Manby 1967). A Yorkshire origin for these form G vessels is borne out at Luce Bay and Cairnholy where the bowls in question are of a fabric which is quite distinct from that of the other local Neolithic wares and at Cairnholy is so like that from some Yorkshire barrows as to suggest possible importation.

Atkinson's western spread of Neolithic pottery, related to simple bag-shaped pots has a rather wider distribution. It extends from Luce Bay in Wigtownshire (McInnes 1963-64, Fig. 2 Nos. 34 & 46, 63), through the Clyde estuary, where it is found on Arran at the chambered tombs of Torlin, Clachaig and Sliddery (Callander 1928-29, Figs. 15, 16 & 18, 46) and on Bute at Bickers Houses (Callander 1928-29, Fig. 21, 49), to Argyll, where again the finds are from chambered tombs, at Crarae (Scott 1960-61, 14), Beacharra (Scott 1964, Fig. 8b, 146) and Ardnacross II (Unpublished information from Miss A.S. Henshall). Further north these simple vessels occur in North Uist at Eilean an Tighe (Lindsay Scott 1950-51, Fig. 5 W1, 15) and Clettraval (Lindsay Scott 1934-35, Fig. 38 IC2, 522), in/
In Harris, at Northton (Nat. Mus. Ant. unpublished), in Orkney at Calf of Eday, Taversoe Tuack, Unstan, etc. (Henshall 1963, No. 16, 249; No. 22, 251; Nos. 22 & 24, 253) and in Aberdeenshire at Pitcopal (Inverurie Mus. unpublished), Fig. 2. In addition there is a stray example of a small bar-shaped pot from Roslin, Midlothian in the south-east (Nat. Mus. Ant. unpublished), Fig. 3. Atkinson concentrated on lugged vessels, regarding the plain bag-shaped pots without lugs as unlikely to have much cultural significance. However, simple bowls without lugs and in particular those with rounded rims as those from Beacharra (Scott 1964, Fig. 8b, 146), Bickers Houses (Bryce 1903-04, Fig. 6, 26) and Luce Bay (McInnes 1963-64, Fig. 2 No. 37, 63) in the west, are equally important to the further development of Scottish Neolithic pottery.

Scott differentiated four basic types of Scottish Neolithic pottery forms in the west (Scott 1964, 152), namely lugged bowls, plain bowls, cups and carinated bowls, and pointed out that origins could be found for all these types in Wessex contexts. Carinated vessels as well as the simpler forms occur for example in the earliest levels of the ditch at Windmill Hill (Keiller 1965, Figs. 26 & 27), and it should be pointed out that/
that some of these Wessex carinated vessels are decorated with simple vertical grooving, and that punctate decoration is also present. In the Clyde it is the less severely carinated bowls which have the simpler linear and punctate decoration (Scott 1964, Fig. 8d, 146), Fig. 8. Whatever their origin, however, Scott has shown that the style of carinated bowl present in the Clyde area also turns up in the Hebrides (Bryce 1903-04, Fig. 4, 26) where the linear and geometric decorative motifs of the Clyde (Scott 1964, 155) are continued, Fig. 9.

In the Hebrides these decorative techniques continue and the Clyde carinated bowl can be seen to develop, for example at Cl Ottraval (Lindsay Scott 1934-35, Fig. 39 IIC1 & VC2, 523), into a deep-based vessel with decorated neck. Also important in the Hebridean series is the carinated bowl with fairly upright neck, seen at Cl Ottraval with hurdle pattern grooving (Lindsay Scott 1934-35, Fig. 38 IIC2, 522). At Unival similar carinated vessels are also present but there is a greater proliferation of decoration and a weakening of the shoulder (Lindsay Scott 1947-48, Fig. 7 No. 2, 21). At Eilean an Tighe (Lindsay Scott 1950-51) and Northton the geometric decoration of/
of the carinated and shouldered bowls, Fig.11, can be seen to develop into the all-over herringbone decoration of the flanged bowl, Fig.12. These deep bowls with their angular and cut-turned rims are in complete contrast to the simple rimmed forms of the parent style. In discussing this development it would seem reasonable to suggest a connection between carinated Beacharra Clyde bowls and Irish Ballyalton bowls (Case 1961, 186-9). These Irish bowls are similar in form to the Clyde carinated bowls, have grooved and/or whipped cord decoration, but in addition to simple rim forms may also have developed everted rims (Case 1961, Fig.13, Nrs.2, 3 & 6, 187). This is not to suggest that Ballyalton bowls are ancestral to the Clyde series or vice versa, but merely to point to a relationship which may be reflected in the Hebridean development. However, it must be admitted that the development from simple rims to complex ones is a feature not only of the Hebridean Neolithic but also of other Scottish and English styles and of the complementary Irish series. It would appear that increased detail in decoration is accompanied by increased detail in form. Lindsay Scott worked out a complicated stratigraphy for Eilean an Tighe in which the simpler/
simpler forms are proportionately commoner in his earlier levels, but the more complex forms, flanged bowls and even Unstan ware, are present from the beginning (Lindsay Scott 1950-51, 29). This contemporaneity is undoubtedly underlined at Northton, Harris, where all forms occur, from carinated bowls with decoration confined to the neck found along-side profusely decorated flanged bowls, similar to those from Clettraval and shallow Unstan bowls.

The presence of Unstan pottery in the Hebrides at Eilean an Tighe and Northton must indicate contact between the Hebrides and Orkney. But the origins of Unstan ware are difficult to assess. The Unstan form is foreign in the Hebrides where bowl forms tend to depth rather than width. It would be possible to suggest that a carinated vessel such as that from Unival, Fig. 10, could develop contrary to the mainstream into a shallow Unstan bowl such as that from Northton, Fig. 13. The decoration is strikingly similar. In the Orkney tombs are undecorated wide-mouthed bowls (Henshall 1963, No.19, 251; No.5 etc., 254) which could be seen as forerunners of the Unstan form. On the other hand, the ornate decoration of the Unstan ware is difficult to derive from Orkney or eastern forms.
forms, whereas it has been shown that linear decoration is present in the Hebrides, deriving from the Clyde series. The stab-and-drag decoration, particularly common at Taversoe Tuack and Unstan (Henshall 1963, Nos. 1 & 3, 251; 252), although not common in the Hebrides, is found on Unstan ware in the west (Lindsay Scott 1950-51, 16; also from Northton, unpublished material, information from D. Simpson). It seems more likely that the wide-mouthed undecorated bowls of Unstan-like form are undecorated forms copying Unstan ware rather than as in any way ancestral; again, undecorated Unstan sherds occur sporadically at Northton. It must be admitted, however, that the absence of other Hebridean forms such as the flanged bowl in the Orkney tombs is puzzling. The only other form which appears to be common to Orkney and the Hebrides is a shallow bowl with rather heavy rim decorated with grooving, seen in Orkney at Sandyhill Smithy and Bigland Round (Henshall 1963, 248) and in the Hebrides at Eilean an Tighe (Lindsay Scott 1950-51, Fig. 6 Y53, 17) and Rudh an Dunain (Lindsay Scott 1931-32, Fig. 12, 199), Fig. 14. It is noticeable that the Sandyhill Smithy bowl, Fig. 15, is decorated on the body also in a manner to be found on the deep bowls of Eilean an Tighe/
Tighe and Northton (Lindsay Scott 1950–51, Fig. 6 Y1, 17; Fig. 8 1.33,21). No doubt we will continue to call this type of pottery Unstan ware despite the possibility of a Hebridean origin.

The somewhat unsatisfactory term Neolithic B has been revived to describe the impressed wares of Scotland. It is necessary to use a portmanteau term for these impressed Neolithic wares, otherwise we are going to speak of Hedderwick ware, Tentsmuir ware, Luce ware and so on. The impressed wares of Scotland have a common denominator in their decoration and in their fabric, but the forms are innumerable and their decoration follows no classifiable pattern. This is in complete contrast to the decorated wares in southern England where localised decorated styles are followed in sequence by Ebbsfleet, Mortlake and Fengate wares. No such pattern can be seen in Scottish impressed Neolithic pottery. At Luce Bay (McInnes 1963–64, 50) the dominant decorative techniques employed are whipped cord, birds’ bone or stick impressions and stab-and-drag, and the forms are principally deep straight-sided vessels with everted or flattened rims, Fig. 4. At Hedderwick, East Lothian (Callander 1928–29, 67–72) cord and birds’ bone impressions/
impressions are also prominent and shape and rim forms are similar to those at Luce Bay but with a tendency for rims to be squarer, Fig. 5. At Brackmont Mill, Fife (Longworth 1966–67, 73) and Grantully, Perthshire (Unpublished, information from D. Simpson, Leicester University) the dominant decorative technique is finger-nail impression, which, though present at the previous sites mentioned, is not common. More marked is the difference in form which at Brackmont is typically wide-mouthed bowl with deeply bevelled rim or collar. At Grantully simple rounded bowls with flattened rims comparable to Luce Bay forms have twisted cord impressions, and shallow bowls with collared rims have finger-nail pinching as at Brackmont. On the sites at which Neolithic B is found in any quantity it is the dominant form and decoration which varies, not the range of forms and decorative techniques which can be seen to be common throughout. Common also is the fabric of the pottery which is very coarse, with large grit present, reddish in colour and tending to be poorly fired.

The nature of the fabric is a strong factor in relating Neolithic B to the Peterborough ware of Yorkshire. As Newbigin/
Newbigin pointed out some thirty years ago (Newbigin 1937, 203) the Yorkshire impressed ware, which she called Neolithic B, although resembling the impressed ware further south appeared to include another element. Since Newbigin's paper, examples of what are explicitly Ebbsfleet, Mortlake and Fengate wares have been found in Yorkshire, for example at Ampleforth (Willett 1938, 338) and Carnaby (Driffield Mus. unpublished), but Newbigin's statement still stands. In Scotland, Neolithic B pottery may be seen as a development of the early Neolithic forms, the bowls with rounded rims, referred to above, to which has been added the idea of impressed decoration. At Luce Bay, therefore, one finds rather deep baggy pots reflecting a development similar to that in the Hebrides, and ultimately harking back to the bag-shaped pots of the early western penetration. A similar situation exists at Hedderwick, although possibly the bowls there are shallower. At Brackmont Mill and Grandtully the wider form of bowl surely reflects the original form G tradition. Longworth (Longworth 1966-67, 74) has related the collared forms at Brackmont to Fengate ware but it is possible to suggest another origin for the collared form, namely/
the Unstan forms of the Hebrides and Orkney. The collared bowl from Blackhammer (Henshall 1963, No.1, 248), is a possible example of interaction between Unstan and Neolithic B. The internally bevelled rim so common at Brackmont Mill and also found at Grandtully is the normal form of developed rim on Unstan ware (Henshall 1963, Nos.1, 3 & 10, 252). This is not to deny the influence of Fengate ware on Neolithic B. Sherds of what, if they were found in England, would be called Mortlake and Fengate wares have been found in Scotland, for example at Hedderwick (Callander 1928-29, Fig.46 No.6, 68), Cairnholy (Piggott & Powell 1948-49, Fig.8 No.4, 120) and Brackmont Mill (Longworth 1966-67, Fig.5 No.2) but they are rare. They do, however, point to contact with the south, probably with Yorkshire, or rather to a number of contacts. But one cannot stress too strongly the localised nature of Neolithic B in Scotland in contrast to the unity displayed by Peterborough ware in the south.

The final style discussed here is that known to us as the Lyles Hill style. The distribution extends from the Solway Firth through the Clyde and Argyll and north into Aberdeen-shire and Caithness. There are three eastern outliers to this/
this distribution, in Perthshire, Fife and Selkirk. Although
the original impetus of this style seems to have come from
Ireland, much of the pottery classified in Scotland as Lyles
Hill is of derived form. Close to the Irish series is the
pottery from Cairnholy I (Piggott & Powell 1948-49, Fig. 7
No. 2, 119), Monamore, Arran (Mackie 1963-64, Fig. 4 No. 3, 26),
Whitemoss, Bishopston, Renfrewshire (Nat. Mus. Ant. unpublished)
and Clatchard Craig, Fife (Nat. Mus. Ant. unpublished), Fig. 6.
But localised forms are apparent. In the west a group of
small rather coarse vessels with carinations sometimes bearing
lugs and decorated with fluting on the rim, and sometimes on
the body as well, occur at Achnacree, Argyll (Callander 1928-
29, Fig. 3, 38), Glecknabae (Bryce 1903-04, Figs. 20 & 21, 48),
and Glenvoiden, Bute (Unpublished information from Miss A.S.
Henshall, Nat. Mus. Ant.). In the east a further group may be
recognised which in form relates more to the form G bowls of
Yorkshire than to the more upright conical forms of Ireland.
Typical of this group is the pottery from Easterton of Roseisle
with all-over fluted decoration (Callander 1928-29, Fig. 37,
56). Other sites in this group are Tulloch of Assyry B,
Caithness (Corcoran 1964-65, Fig. 15b, 43), Culbin Sands, Moray
(Nat./
Also possibly to be regarded as belonging to this phase are the examples of lugged vessels from Loanhead of Daviot (Kilbride-Jones 1934-35, Fig. 14 No. 12, 207), East Finnercy (Atkinson 1962, 19), Pitglassie, Aberdeenshire (Nat. Mus. Ant. unpublished), and Easterton of Roseisle, Moray (Nat. Mus. Ant. unpublished). As Atkinson pointed out (Atkinson 1962, 19), the pointed upturned lugs of the Loanhead of Daviot and East Finnercy vessels are characteristically Irish; in addition the lugs are placed on the body or shoulder which would relate them to the Achnacree form, Fig. 7, rather than to the earlier vessels of the western penetration with lugs below the rim. These groups again suggest a continuation of a local Neolithic tradition with the adoption of Lyles Hill decorative techniques. The two strange vessels, one from Nether Largie, Argyll (Callander 1928-29, Fig. 1, 37) and the other from Cultoquhey, Perthshire (Atkinson 1962, 34) underline this localised development.

Having outlined the various groups of pottery which make up the Scottish Neolithic series one must now turn to the question of dating. At Fitnacree sherds of a simple bowl came from the/
the old land surface along with charcoal which gave a date of $2,860 \pm 90$ B.C. (Coles & Simpson 1965, 46). The form G sherds at Pitnacree also came from the old land surface, although their unabraded condition led the excavators to suggest that they only immediately preceded the building of Phase II of the monument, that is, the rectangular enclosure. But as this enclosure is compared with wooden enclosures beneath the long barrows of southern England, a date shortly after 3,000 B.C. would be quite acceptable for the form G ware as well. At Cairnholy the form G pottery came from below the forecourt blocking (Piggott & Powell 1948-49, 118), possibly at an early stage in the tomb use, and at Cairnpapple the relevant pottery came from the old land surface (Piggott 1947-48, Fig. 15 No. 1, 102) and may antedate not only the erection of the Henge, but also the preceding phase.

No absolute dates are available for the simple bowls, lugged bowls, etc. of the western group, and it is necessary to turn to Wessex for information. Although plain and lugged bowls and bowls with simple decoration analogous to the Clyde series are found in the lower levels of the filling of the ditch at Windmill Hill, analysis of the pre-enclosure material from the site/
site suggests that plain light-rimmed vessels are likely to come from the earlier phase (Keiller 1965, 59). The pre-enclosure phase has been dated to $2,950 \pm 150$ B.C. (Keiller 1965, 58), and this correlates with the Hembury date of $3,140 \pm 150$ B.C. (Radiocarbon V 1963, 106). The presence of a groove-decorated vessel associated with the burials at Fussells Lodge, Wilts, suggests that this type of decorated ware too may date to around 3,000 B.C. (Ashbee 1966, Fig. 11, 18 & 27-8). The absence of any indication of Ebbsfleet influence upon the Scottish pottery now in question suggests that the spread from Wessex must have occurred before the development of Ebbsfleet pottery in the south, that is, before the middle of the third millennium (Keiller 1965, 11).

It is unfortunate that none of the tomb sites in the west gives further information upon this problem. At Torlin, Clachaig and Slidderly the lugged bowls came from the period of use of the tomb, but cannot be related to a specific building phase (Bryce 1901-02, 84, 88-9, 94).

The difficulty of dating the Clyde and Hebridean series has been to some extent resolved by the recent date published for the Rothesay site (Scott 1968). Scott pointed to the connection/
connection between the Rothesay material and one of the pots from Beacharra with heavy decorated rim (Scott 1964, Fig.8f, 146). It seems likely that all the pottery from Beacharra is more or less contemporary. The nature of the deposition of the pottery strongly indicates this, each pair of pots being protected by a mini-cist of schist slabs (Bryce 1901-02, 105). A connection between Beacharra carinated bowls and the Ballyalton bowls of Ireland has already been suggested and the Rothesay pottery and the relevant bowl from Beacharra seem to relate to Dundrum bowls (Case 1961, Fig.16, 192-3). Rothesay pottery dates to 2,120 ± 100 B.C. and Ballyalton bowls are dated at Ballyutoag to 2,160 ± 300 B.C. (Watts 1960, 113). Therefore the dating evidence is also in agreement with the Beacharra pots being contemporary.

The Clyde series therefore must begin in the last quarter of the third millennium and the Hebridean development follow closely upon this. It is possibly significant that in the Hebridean Neolithic pottery series there is no evidence of Beaker influence. This also applies to Orkney. This is somewhat negative evidence and unfortunately there are no viable Beaker dates available for Scotland which would give us/
us a terminus ante quem for the Hebridean series.

The dating of Neolithic B is again somewhat uncertain. Smith's work on Peterborough pottery (Smith 1956) enables one to suggest at what stage in the Ebbsfleet/Mortlake/Fengate series the Scottish pottery is most strongly influenced. The absence of developed necks in Neolithic B suggests that the Scottish pottery should relate to Ebbsfleet ware; this would be borne out by the preference for whipped cord and birds' bone impressions at Luce Bay and Hedderwick. These forms of decoration are common on Ebbsfleet ware, occur on Mortlake but less frequently, and are rare on Fengate ware. One may therefore suggest that Neolithic B began to develop in Scotland shortly after the development of Mortlake in the south but that the contact once made was a continuing one. We are fortunate in having radio carbon dates for the Grandtully site (Forthcoming. Information from D. Simpson, Leicester University). Two charcoal samples, both from pits containing pottery, gave dates of 1,870 ± 100 and 2,030 ± 190 B.C. The Grandtully date would indicate that the Neolithic B style flourished at the end of the third millennium and into the beginning of the second, with the Grandtully pottery towards the/
the end of the sequence. The continuation of the style is suggested by the occurrence of a sherd of Neolithic B in a cist at Drummelzier, Peeblesshire, along with a beaker (Craw 1930-31, Fig.8, 366).

When dealing with Lyles Hill ware it is possible also to turn to absolute dates. The Lyles Hill pottery at Monamore came from a level slightly below that from which a date of 2,240 ± 110 B.C. was obtained (Mackie 1963-64, 12). This would slightly antedate the date at Ballyutoag cairn in Ireland where Lyles Hill ware was associated with Ballyalton bowls (Watts 1960, 113). Although Lyles Hill ware in Ireland is known from around 3,000 B.C. (Watts 1960, 112), its influence does not appear to be felt in Scotland until toward the end of the millennium. The continuation of the Lyles Hill style in Scotland until after 2,000 B.C., and that of the local derivatives, is suggested by the presence of Lyles Hill sherds along with beaker sherds beneath the cairn at East Finnercy (Atkinson 1962, 22). Similarly at Cairnholy a Neolithic B sherd and sherds of beaker were found inside the tomb and blocked by material in the forecourt containing sherds of Lyles Hill ware (Piggott & Powell 1948-49, 119).
To summarize – pottery first begins to appear in Scotland with the sporadic occurrence of Yorkshire forms in the south and east at the beginning of the third millennium. Some time before the middle of the millennium plain and lugged bowls appear which derive from Wessex, where there is also a tradition of carination and linear decoration. These plain wares occur first in the west but spread to all parts of the country and with them a strong local tradition of potting begins. Towards the end of the millennium interaction with Ireland results in the Clyde series and the Lyles Hill style. Both develop local forms. The Hebridean series develops from the carinated bowls of the Clyde and its ultimate form is seen also in Orkney in the individual Unstan form. In the west and north-east localised forms of Lyles Hill develop, as at Achnacree and Easterton of Roseisle. At the same time connections with Yorkshire result, in the south and east, in the ornamenting of local forms recognised as Neolithic B. This style or series of styles, together with Lyles Hill and its derivative styles, continue until after the arrival of beakers in Scotland.

References/
1. Pitnacree - after Simpson

3. Roslin

2. Pitcaple

4. Luce Bay

5. Hedderwick

6. Clatchard Craig

7. Achmacree
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Appendix II

Jet sliders in late neolithic Britain

Isla McInnes

Jet sliders form a small and distinctive group of objects which have been described as *late neolithic*¹ and of the *Early Bronze Age*.² There are seventeen jet sliders in Great Britain with a distribution which extends from Dorset to Skye (fig. 28). They are not found in Ireland or on the Continent, nor is there any indication of the existence of similar objects in a different medium. Jet sliders are therefore a purely British phenomenon.

Of the seventeen examples of jet slider known (see catalogue), four are stray finds, Wiltshire, Basildon, Berkshire, Skye, and Wigtownshire (?); four come from round barrows, Handley Down 26, Dorset, Aldro 177, Riggs 16 and Painsthorpe 118, Yorkshire; two come from the same sub-megalithic tomb, Gop Cave, Flintshire; one from a chambered tomb of Clyde-Solway type, Beacharra, Argyll; one from a cist, Hambleton Moor, Yorkshire, one from a burial enclosed by a double ring ditch, Linch Hill, Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire, and one from a long barrow, Giants' Hills, Skendelby, Lincolnshire. The three remaining examples come from circumstances which are somewhat similar. The finds from Newbury, Berkshire, Balgone, East Lothian and Glinzier, Dumfriesshire, were all made in peat deposits and Newbury and Balgone were associated with animal bones. In addition there were human bones at Balgone. It is tempting to suggest that these finds represent deliberate deposition, perhaps burials, especially in view of the animal bones with the burial in Painsthorpe 118, but this is precluded by the reference to cave bear among the bones at Newbury.

There are two further objects of jet which should perhaps be mentioned. These are both stray finds; they come from Scawton, Yorkshire³ and Hallmyre, Newmains, Peebleshire⁴ (fig. 29, 15). Both of these objects, however, have circular openings in the centre and they are much cruder in manufacture than any of the sliders previously mentioned. In addition they both have grooved ornament.

It is possible to classify jet sliders into two groups. The first group consists of those sliders in which the width is greater than half the length. The four sliders from Linch Hill, Wiltshire (?), Aldro 177 and Hambleton Moor form this group. The central opening is wide and has rounded ends. The upper and lower faces of these sliders are concave to a greater degree than is general in Group II. The sliders in Group I are smaller than those of Group II. In Group II the central opening is sometimes pointed at the ends and the concavity of the upper and lower faces may be absent. However, as will be shown, these groups do not appear to have any cultural significance and it seems likely that the shape of the sliders was to a great degree dictated by the shape of the raw jet from which they were fashioned.
Figure 28. Distribution of jet sliders: only those sliders which have definite finds spots are included.
When Pitt-Rivers excavated Handley Down 26 he found the jet object against the hip of the skeleton. When Painsthorpe 118 had been excavated previously the jet link had been found close to the pelvis of the skeleton. Pitt-Rivers suggested that although the use of the object did not appear to be very clear, 'the fact of two of them having been found on, or close to, the hip made it probable that it was used with a belt or sash', the assumption being that the bodies had been buried fully clothed. From these two discoveries the jet objects now discussed have come to be known as belt-sliders. The writer has only examined nine of these sliders but has been unable to find evidence of wear on the inner edge of the central opening such as would be produced by the rubbing of a belt. On the contrary there is a tendency for this edge to be definitely sharp, particularly on the highly polished sliders such as that from Hambleton Moor. The sliders from Giants' Hills, Glinzier, Balgone and Wigtownshire (?) clearly show crude cutting marks on the central perforation, marks which any wear could be expected to remove. If these objects are indeed belt sliders they cannot have been worn for any period of time before deposition.

The circumstances in which these jet sliders have been found have already been mentioned, but the cultural significance of these circumstances is not at all clear. In Yorkshire, round barrows are not infrequently associated with purely neolithic material, although over the rest of the country the introduction of the round barrow is a phenomenon connected with the coming of beakers. The tomb at Gop Cave is classified as sub-megalithic but the variety of grave-goods found in chambered tombs in Britain has shown that such tombs were connected with a variety of cultures over a period of time and the presence of sliders in a tomb does not connect the objects with a specific culture. The ring burial at Linch Hill, Stanton Harcourt, is one of a number of such burials in the vicinity which can be shown to belong to Beaker, Wessex and later cultures. Unchambered long barrows are generally regarded as essentially neolithic features but at Giants' Hills the jet slider is not connected with the building or use of the structure. One is therefore left with the associations to find a clue to the cultural significance of jet sliders.

The association of Peterborough pottery with the sliders at Gop Cave, Flintshire has been much mentioned. Unfortunately the excavation report is not at all clear. There is no ambiguity regarding the association of the sliders with a polished flint knife; the report specifically states that these objects were found together. But of the pottery the only mention is that sherds of pottery were found in the burial chamber with fourteen bodies. The number of bodies suggests that the tomb was likely to have been used over a period of time (viz., West Kennet, 40 bodies) and there is the possibility that the pottery and jet sliders were deposited at different times. The skewer pin from Gop Cave came from a later excavation than the jet sliders and the polished flint knife. The skewer pin is mentioned as coming from a black habitation layer but it is not possible to correlate this layer with the findings of the earlier excavation.

At Handley Down 26 the evidence is more convincing. There the Peterborough pottery, of Mortlake type, was found in the make-up of the barrow and in the silting of the ditch. Although pottery did not occur in the grave itself it is likely to be contemporary with it. It is possible that the pottery represents a surface scatter which was incorporated into the barrow mound and that it antedates the erection of the barrow; but the mass of the barrow material
must have come from the surrounding quarry ditches and the condition of the sherds themselves does not suggest exposure on the surface for any length of time.

There can be no doubt, however, about the association of the sliders at Gop Cave and Linch Hill with polished flint knives. Atkinson has drawn attention to the similarity between the flake knife from Aldro 177 and the polished knife from Linch Hill. The flake knife from Aldro 177 was found near to the jet slider and although one cannot say that these finds are associated the presence of the flake knife in the same barrow as the jet slider may be significant. Atkinson likens this knife and that from Linch Hill to a knife from Dorchester and points to the occurrence of such knives with skewer pins and their neolithic contexts. Piggott also has pointed out the occurrence of polished flint knives in specifically neolithic contexts such as Duggleby Howe and Seamer, Yorkshire and Liff's Lowe, Derbyshire. Piggott therefore included polished flint knives, and jet sliders, in his Dorchester culture which he regarded not as a single entity but rather as an aspect of his late neolithic cultures in general. Little can be added to Piggott's assessment of the cultural significance of jet sliders except to stress that they are a British phenomenon and that they occur in contexts which are culturally neolithic.

The importance of the date of jet sliders has recently been emphasized by Scott, but the conditions of discovery of the sliders have made their dating a complex problem. As has already been shown the sliders do not come from readily datable sites and only two are clearly associated. Polished flint knives, although occurring in neolithic contexts, can also be shown to be contemporary with beakers. At Windmill Hill, Wiltshire, a polished flint knife came from Outer Ditch I at a level which also contained Mortlake, Rinyo Clacton and beaker sherds. Further polished flake implements, one with a serrated edge similar to that from Liff's Lowe, came from similar levels on the causewayed camp. On the West Kennet Avenue occupation site, Wiltshire three polished flint knives occurred and, although Peterborough pottery preponderated, both Rinyo Clacton and beaker pottery were present.

A date contemporary with beakers for polished flint knives and therefore for jet sliders would, of course, be in accord with the evidence from Giants' Hills, Skendelby, Lincolnshire where the jet slider came from a level in the ditch fill which the excavator equated with that of a beaker hearth. There was also beaker pottery in the primary silt of the ditch. What, therefore, of the evidence from Linch Hill? There the two ditches enclosing the burial with the jet slider and the polished flint knife were cut into by a grave surrounded by its own ditch; this grave contained an inhumation accompanied by a beaker, seven barbed and tanged arrowheads and a bone pendant. Grimes, however, points out that the quantity of silting in the double ditches does not really give any indication of the time lapse between the two burials and this time lapse could be fairly short.

No mention has been made of the types of beakers involved but at the time of writing the publication of Clarke's corpus of British beakers is still awaited and it seems unwise to invoke a beaker classification which by the time of publication will have been superseded.

Jet sliders vary considerably in appearance but they form a distinctive type. They are found on a variety of types of site and their distribution is scattered. The relative rarity of jet sliders suggests that they were made for only a short period of time. The only site from which comes clear indication of contemporaneity between beakers and jet sliders is Giants' Hills, Lincolnshire. This site is complex in character but the existence of weathered beaker
sherds in the mound indicates that the mound cannot be pre-beaker. Therefore the jet slider, which comes from the upper levels of the ditch filling, must belong to a phase some time after the arrival of beakers in Lincolnshire. It has generally come to be accepted that the arrival of beakers in Britain occurred some time in the first quarter of the second millennium. A date in the second quarter of the second millennium is now suggested for the short life of jet sliders.

CATALOGUE

England

1. Newbury, Berkshire (fig. 29, 1)
Jet slider found 4 miles from Newbury 8 ft. below the surface in a bed of peat 16 ft. deep. With the slider were bones of red and roe deer and cave bear.
Length 9.3 cm.; width 1.9 cm. Highly polished
P.S.A. IV (1867-70) 521
Journal Br. Arch. Assoc. XVI (1860) 323
ra. Basildon, Berkshire (fig. 29, 1a)
Jet slider found on dump beside towpath of Thames Conservancy dredgings.
Length 5 cm.; width 2.4 cm.
Berks. Arch. J. LXI (1963-4) 99

2. Handley Down 26, Dorset (fig. 29, 2)
Jet slider found at the hip of a crouched skeleton beneath a round barrow. This burial, 8 ft. off-centre, and a central fragmentary inhumation were regarded by Pitt-Rivers as primary. The barrow was surrounded by an irregular ditch 40 ft. in diameter which was broken by a causeway on the west side. Peterborough pottery occurred in the mound and in the ditch. Beaker also occurred in the ditch, but at a higher level.
Length 7.7 cm.; width 1.9 cm. Highly polished
Pitt-Rivers, Excavations in Cranborne Chase IV (1898) 140

3. Giants’ Hills Long Barrow, Skendelby, Lincolnshire (fig. 29, 3)
Jet slider found in the upper levels of the ditch of the long barrow at a level which is equated with a beaker hearth. Beaker also occurred in the primary silting of the ditch and in the mound of the barrow.
Length 7.1 cm.; width 1.9 cm. (distorted). The edges of the central opening very crudely gouged out and unfinished
Arch. LXXXV (1936) 37-106

4. Linch Hill, Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire (fig. 29, 4)
Jet slider found associated with a polished flint knife accompanying a crouched skeleton in a pit at the centre of a double ring ditch. A secondary burial pit surrounded by its own ditch cut into the first double ditch. The secondary burial consisted of a crouched inhumation accompanied by a beaker, a bone pendant and seven barbed and tanged arrowheads.
Length 4.6 cm.; width 2.7 cm.
Grimes, Excavations on Defence Sites (1960) 154-64

5. Wiltshire (?) (fig. 29, 5)
Site unknown
Length 3.85 cm.; width 2.05 cm.
Annable and Simpson, Cat. of the Neolithic and Bronze Age Collections in Devizes Museum (1964) No. 131
6. Aldro 177, Yorkshire (fig. 29, 6)
Jet slider found in a quantity of dark soil about 12 in. below the surface of a round barrow. Close by was a barbed and tanged arrowhead and a small flint knife. The centre of the barrow had previously been examined by the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club and no grave was found; near the centre at the base of the barrow were the disturbed remains of two inhumations.
Length 3.85 cm.; width 2.25 cm.
Mortimer, Forty Years' Researches (1905) 73

7. Riggs 16, Yorkshire (fig. 29, 7)
Jet slider found nearly level with the old turf line 2 ft. south of centre beneath a round barrow. On the old turf line at the centre was a crouched inhumation of a child.
Length 7 cm.; width 1.4 cm. Highly polished
Mortimer, Forty Years' Researches (1905) 177

8. Painsforth 118, Yorkshire (fig. 29, 8)
Jet slider found near the left hip of a crouched inhumation at the base of a round barrow. There were also animal bones in the grave, which Mortimer regarded as primary. The barrow also contained a number of cremations and Food Vessel and Cinerary urn secondary burials.
Length 7.1 cm.; width 2.35 cm.
Mortimer, Forty Years' Researches (1905) 125-8
Arch. XLIII (1870) 315
Greenwell, British Barrows (1877) fig. 6

9. Hambleton Moor, N.R. Yorkshire (fig. 29, 9)
The discovery of this object is not clearly recorded. It is labelled and recorded (B.M. 82.3-23.41) as having been found in a cist with an iron spearhead. The spearhead is Anglo-Saxon. The locality of this find is also uncertain.
Length 4.15 cm.; width 3.35 cm. Highly polished
Elgee, Early Man in North-east Yorkshire (1930) 112

Scotland

10. Beacharra, Argyll (fig. 29, 10)
Jet slider found in the final blocking of the burial chamber of a tomb of Clyde-Solway type. In the tomb was Beacharra pottery, some of typologically late form.
Length 8.475 cm.; width 2.25 cm.
P.S.A.S. XXXVI (1901-2) 102-9
P.P.S. XXX (1964) 134-58

11. Glinzier, Dumfriesshire (fig. 29, 11)
Jet slider found, not later than 1783, 4 or 5 ft. deep in a very solid peat moss beside the Glinzier Burn, about midway between Overtown of Glinzier and Glinzier Beck Knowe, near Canonbie. (Information from Mr J. G. Scott.)
Length 9.3 cm.; width 3.175 cm. Outside brilliantly polished but central opening roughly cut and incomplete. Unpublished; in private possession

12. Balgone, near North Berwick, East Lothian (fig. 29, 12)
Jet slider found with a number of animal and human bones deeply embedded in peat. 'Several of the animal bones appear to have been formed into cutting implements.'
Length 7.6 cm.; width 2.55 cm. Lacking final polish; cutting marks clearly visible
P.S.A.S. VI (1864-6) 107-8
P.S.A.S. L (1915-16) 221; described as from Berwickshire
13. Skye, Inverness-shire (fig. 29, 13)
Stray find of jet slider.
Length 7·6 cm.; width 1·8 cm. Highly polished
Arch. XLIII (1870)
Wilson, Prehistoric Annals of Scotland (1865) 441

14. Wigtownshire (?) (fig. 29, 14)
Jet slider from a collection from Castle Kennedy. Find spot unknown.
Length 6·7 cm.; width 1·9 cm. (fragment only). Highly polished outside, but central perforation clearly shows marks of cutting
Unpublished

Wales

15 and 16. Gop Cave, Flintshire (fig. 29, 15)
Two jet sliders found associated with a polished flint knife in a sub-megalithic tomb. Part of the cave was walled off to form a burial chamber which contained fourteen skeletons and fragments of Peterborough-type pottery. A later excavation of the site (1920; unpublished) produced a fragment of a skewer pin, a leaf-shaped arrowhead, scrapers and various worked flints.
Length 5·45 cm.; width 2·25 cm.
Length 7 cm.; width 2·9 cm.
Arch. J. LVIII (1901) 322-41
Arch. Camb. XC (1935) 194-200

Acknowledgments: The writer wishes to express her thanks to Miss A. Henshall for the drawing of the Beacharra slider, Mr J. G. Scott for the drawing of the Glinzier slider, Mr N. Thomas for the drawing of the Newbury slider.

Notes

1. Piggott, Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles (1954)
2. Arch. LXXXV (1936) 37-106
3. Elgee, Early Man in North-east Yorkshire (1930) 112, Pl. XVIII, fig. 3
4. P.S.A.S. L (1915-16) 221
5. Pitt-Rivers, Excavations in Cranborne Chase IV (1898) 140
6. Piggott, op. cit. 111
7. Ashbee, Bronze Age Round Barrow in Great Britain (1960) 15
8. Daniel, Prehistoric Chamber Tombs of England and Wales (1950) 46
9. Grimes, Excavations on Defence Sites I (1960) 144
10. Piggott, op. cit. 50
11. Piggott, op. cit. 311; Atkinson, Piggott and Sandars, Excavations at Dorchester, Oxon. I (1951) 72
13. Atkinson, Piggott and Sandars, op. cit. 143
14. Grimes, Prehistory of Wales (1951) 152
15. Atkinson, Piggott and Sandars, op. cit. 72
17. P.P.S. XXX (1964) 158
18. Smith, Windmill Hill and Avebury (1965) 105
19. Bateman, Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire (1848)
20. Smith, op. cit. 241
21. Arch. LXXXV (1936) 104
23. P.P.S. XXXII (1966) 367
24. (ed.) Foster and Alcock, Culture and Environment (1963) 163
APPENDIX III

List of sites upon which Peterborough pottery has been found

ANGLESEY
Bryn yr hen Bobl
Castell Bryn Gwyn
Lligwy

ARGYLL
Nether Largie

AYRSHIRE
Shewelton Moor

BEDFORDSHIRE
Dunstable Barrow 2
Eaton Socon
Kempston
Streatley

BERKSHIRE
Abingdon
Beenham Rind Ditch
Churn Plain, Blewbury
Enborne Gate, Newbury
Englefield Ring Ditch I
Farncombe Down
Lambourn Long Barrow

BERKSHIRE cont.
Sonning
Weycock

BRECKNOCKSHIRE
Cefn Cilsanws

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE
Hedsmor
Iver
High Wycombe

BUTE
Rothesay

CAMBRIDGESHIRE
Chippenham Barrow 5
Thriplow

CUMBERLAND
Ehenside Tarn

DENBIGHSHIRE
Capel Gorman

DERBYSHIRE
Buxton, High Wheeldon Cave
Calton Hill, Taddington
Distribution of Peterborough Pottery

Text Fig. 13
DERBYSHIRE cont.
Churchdale
Hartledale, Fissure Cave
Longcliffe, Rains Cave
Ravencliff Cave
Wedding Wells, Tideswell
Whaley II, Creswell
DEVON
Broadsands
DORSET
Hambledon Hill
Handley Down Barrow 24
Handley Down Barrow 26
Handley Down Barrow 27
Handley Down Barrow 29
Handley Hill Entrenchment
Maiden Castle
Wor Barrow
Thickthorn Long Barrow
DUMFRIESSHIRE
Kirkburn
EAST LOTHIAN
Hedderwick
ESSEX
Clacton
Danbury
Walthamstow
FIFE
Brackmont Mill
Scotstarvit
FLINTSHIRE
Gop Cave
GLAMORGANSHIRE
Mount Pleasant
GLOUCESTERSHIRE
Barnwood
Bourton on the Water
Bown Hill, Woodchester
Burn Ground, Hampnett
Cam
Gatcombe Lodge
Notgrove
Nymphsfield
Poles Wood South
Sales Lot
Salmonsbury
HAMPShIRE
Arreton Down
Bishop's Waltham
Holdenhurst
Lamborough
Niton, Isle of Wight
Priors Dean
Ryde, Isle of Wight
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WILTSHIRE cont.
East Kennet
Easton Down
Fargo
Fussells Lodge
Hamshill Ditches
Lake Barrow 36f
Lake Barrow 37
Lake Barrow 38
Lake Barrow 39
Lenhill
Normanton Down
Porton Down
Rockley Down
The Sanctuary
South Street Long Barrow
Totney Hill
West Kennet Avenue
West Kennet Long Barrow
West Overton Barrow 6a
West Overton Barrow 6b
Wilsford Barrow G.51
Wilsford Barrow G.54
Windmill Hill
Winterbourne Dauntsey
Winterslow
Wylye Barrow 2

 YORKSHIRE
Acklam Barrow 211
Aldro Barrow 30
Ampleforth
Beacon Hill, Flamborough
Butterwick Barrow XXXIX
Craike Hill
Driffield, St. John's Road
East Reservoir, Driffield
Elf Howe, Flixton Wold
Folkton Barrow CCXLVII
Ganton Barrow XXI
Garrowby Barrow 68
Garton Slack Barrow 112
Giggleswick
Goodmanham Barrow CXI
Green Howe, North Deighton
Maidens Grave, Rudston
Painsthorpe Barrow 98
Riggs Barrow 20
Rudston, Carnaby Top
Rudston, North Carnaby Temple
Thornton le Dale
Thwing Barrow LX
West Reservoir, Driffield
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Downton
Lake Barrow 38
Rockley Down
West Kennet Avenue
West Kennet Long Barrow
West Overton Barrow 6b
Wilsford Barrow G.51
Windmill Hill

YORKSHIRE
Ganton Barrow XXI
Riggs Barrow 20
Thornton le Dale
Thwing Barrow LX
List of sites upon which Mortlake pottery has been found

**BEDFORDSHIRE**
- Eaton Socon
- Kempston
- Streatley

**BERKSHIRE**
- Churn Plain
- Enborne Gate
- Farncombe Down
- Sonning

**BUCKINGHAMSHIRE**
- Hedsor
- Iver

**CAMBRIDGESHIRE**
- Chippenham Barrow 5

**CUMBERLAND**
- Ehenside Tarn

**DERBYSHIRE**
- Churchdale
- Fissure Cave, Hartledale
- Rains Cave, Longcliffe
- Wedding Wells, Tideswell
- Whaley II, Creswell

**DORSET cont.**
- Maiden Castle
- Thickthorn
- Wor Barrow

**ESSEX**
- Clacton
- Danbury

**GLOUCESTERSHIRE**
- Bourton on the Water
- Cam
- Notgrove

**HAMPSHIRE**
- Arreton Down
- Holdenhurst
- Niton, Isle of Wight

**HUNTINGDONSHIRE**
- Orton Longueville
- Fenstanton

**KENT**
- Canterbury (near)
- Caesar's Camp, Folkestone
- Tankerton Bay

**LINCOLNSHIRE**
- Crosby Warren
- Normanby Park
- Risby Warren

**DORSET**
- Handley Down Barrow 24
- Handley Down Barrow 26
- Handley Hill Entrenchment
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YORKSHIRE

Ampleforth
Craike Hill
Driffield, St. John's Road
Elf Howe, Flixtont
Garrowby Barrow 68

YORKSHIRE cont.

Garton Slack Barrow 112
Pinsthorpe Barrow 98
Riggs Barrow 20
Rudston, Carnaby Top
West Reservoir, Driffield
List of sites upon which Fengate pottery has been found

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<td>Peterborough</td>
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List of sites upon which Peterborough Northern has been found

AYRSHIRE
Shewelton Moor

BUTE
Rothesay

DERBYSHIRE
High Wheeldon Cave, Buxton
Ravenscliff Cave

DUMFRIESSHIRE
Kirkburn

EAST LOTHIAN
Hedderwick

FIFE
Scotstarvit
Brackmont Mill

KIRKCUDBRIGHT
Cairnholy I

LANCASHIRE
Walney Island

LINCOLNSHIRE
Salmonby

MIDLOTHIAN
Dalkeith

NORTHUMBERLAND
Ford

NORTHUMBERLAND cont.
Old Town Farm, Hexham
Yeavering

Peeblesshire
Drumelzier

PERTHSHIRE
Grandtully

Wigtownshire
Luce Bay

Yorkshire
Aldro Barrow 30
Beacon Hill, Flamborough
Butterwick Barrow XXXIX
Driffield, St. John's Road
Folkton Barrow CCXLVII
Goodmanham Barrow CXI
Green Howe, North Deighton
Rudston, Carnaby Top
Rudston, North Carnaby Temple
Thornton le Dale
West Reservoir, Driffield
APPENDIX IV

List of sites upon which Rinyo Clacton pottery has been found

ANGLESEY

Lligwy Burial Chamber

BEDFORDSHIRE

Five Knolls, Dunstable
Puddlehill, Dunstable
Streatley
Walud's Bank, Leagrave

BERKSHIRE

Abingdon
Bray
Churn Plain, Blewbury
Englefield Ring Ditch I
Farncombe Down
Sutton Courtney

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Saunderton

BUTE

Tormore, Arran
Townhead, Rothesay

CAITHNESS

Freswick Sands

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Cambridge
Cherry Hinton
Chippenham Barrow 2

CAMBRIDGESHIRE cont.

Ely
Shippea Hill

DERBYSHIRE

Green Low
High Wheelond Cave, Buxton
Whaley II, Creswell

DEVONSHIRE

Torbryan Cave

DORSET

Maiden Castle
Maumbury Rings
Mount Pleasant

DUMFRIESSHIRE

Beckton

DUMBARTONSHIRE

Knappers Farm, Glasgow

EAST LOTHIAN

Gullane
Hedderwick

ESSEX

Clacton, Lion Point
Newport
Tye Field, Lawford
Distribution of Rinyo Clacton Pottery

Text Fig. 14
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SUFFOLK cont.
Pakenham

SUSSEX
Findon
Playden

WEST LOTHIAN
Cairnpapple

Wigtownshire
Luce Bay
Mye Plantation

WILTSHIRE
Avebury
Avebury Barrow G.55
Durrington Walls
Everleigh, Snail Down Site III
Everleigh, Snail Down Site XV
Marden
Ratfyn, Amesbury
Rockley Down
The Sanctuary
Stonehenge
West Kennet Avenue
West Overton Barrow 6b
West Kennet Long Barrow
Wilsford Barrow G.51
Windmill Hill
Woodhenge
Woodlands

WORCESTERSHIRE
Broadway

YORKSHIRE
Calais Wold Barrow c.70
Cot Nab, Garrowby
Craike Hill, Garton Slack
Fimber Barrow 133
Fimber Barrow c.32
Manham Hill
Rudston, Carnaby Top
Rudston, North Carnaby Temple
Spaunton
Wykeham
List of sites upon which Skara Brae pottery has been found

BEDFORDSHIRE
Puddlehill, Dunstable

CAITHNESS
Freswick Sands

LINCOLNSHIRE
Risby Warren

NORTHUMBERLAND
Yeavering

ORKNEY
Evie
Skara Brae

ORKNEY cont.
Rinyo, Rousay

SOMERSET
Gorsey Bigbury

WILTSHIRE
West Overton Barrow 6b
Windmill Hill

YORKSHIRE
Calais Wold Barrow c.70
Craike Hill, Garton Slack
Rudston, North Carnaby Temple

List of sites upon which Woodlands pottery has been found

BERKSHIRE
Sutton Courtney

DERBYSHIRE
High Wheeldon Cave, Buxton

DUNBARTONSHIRE
Knappers Farm, Glasgow

DUNbartonshire

FIFE
Tentsmuir

NORTHUMBERLAND
Yeavering

ORKNEY
Rinyo, Rousay
Skara Brae

OXFORDSHIRE
Cassington

SOMERSET
Stanton Harcourt

SUFFOLK
Gorsey Bigbury

SUFFOLK
Creeting St. Mary
Honington

WIGTOWNSHIRE
Luce Bay

WILTSHIRE
Windmill Hill

Woodlands
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List of sites upon which Clacton pottery has been found

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List of sites upon which Woodhenge pottery has been found

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WILTSHIRE

Avebury Barrow G.55
Durrington Walls
Everleigh, Snail Down Site III
Everleigh, Snail Down Site XV
West Kennet Long Barrow

WILTSHIRE cont.

West Overton Barrow 6b
Wilsford Barrow G.51
Windmill Hill
Woodhenge
APPENDIX V

Modes of occurrence of Peterborough pottery

1. Causewayed camps

BERKSHIRE
Abingdon

DORSET
Maiden Castle

MIDDLESEX
Staines

2. Caves

DERBYSHIRE
Churchdale
Fissure Cave, Hartledale
Harborough Cave
High Wheeldon Cave, Buxton
Rains Cave, Brassington
Ravencliff Cave
Whaley II, Creswell

3. Chambered Tombs

ANGLESEY
Bryn yr hen Bobl
Lligwy

ARGYLL
Nether Largie

DENBIGHSHIRE
Capel Gorman

SUSSEX
Combe Hill

WILTSHIRE
Windmill Hill

KENT
High Rocks Cave, Turnbridge Wells

Pembroke
Daylight Rock, Caldey Island

SOMERSET
Rowberrow Cavern

DEVON
Broadsands

FLINTSHIRE
Gop Cave

GLOUCESTERSHIRE
Bowm Hill

Burn Ground
GLOUCESTERSHIRE cont.
Gatcombe Lodge
Notgrove
Nympsfield
Poles Wood South
Sales Lot
4. Flint mines

NORFOLK
Grimes Graves

5. Henges and allied sites

ANGLESEY
Castell Bryn-Gwyn

OXFORDSHIRE
Dorchester Site I
Dorchester Site II
Dorchester Site V
Dorchester Site VI

6. Long Barrows

BERKSHIRE
Lambourn

DORSET
Wor Barrow
Thickthorn

Hampshire
Holdenhurst
Lamborough

KIRKCUDBRIGHT
Cairnholy I

WILTSHIRE
Lenhill
West Kennet Long Barrow

SUSSEX
Findon

WARWICKSHIRE
Barford Site A

WILTSHIRE
Avebury
Fargo

YORKSHIRE
Maidens Grave, Rudston

SURREY
Badshot

WILTSHIRE
Fussells Lodge
South Street Long Barrow
7. Long Mortuary Enclosure

WILTSHIRE
Normanton Down

8. Occupation deposits

DERBYSHIRE
Calton Hill
Wedding Wells

NORFOLK
Edington

SUFFOLK
Cresting St. Mary
Honington
Icklingham

SURREY
Thorpe

9. Pits

BEDFORDSHIRE
Eaton Socon

BERKSHIRE
Enborne Gate

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE
Iver

DORSET
Handley Hill Entrenchment

DUMFRIESSHIRE
Kirkburn

Sussex
Selmeston

WILTSHIRE
The Sanctuary

West Kennet Avenue

YORKSHIRE
Beacon Hill, Flamborough
Craike Hill, Garton Slack
Rudston, Carnaby Top
Rudston, North Carnaby Temple
West Reservoir, Driffield

ESSEX
Clacton

FIFE
Brackmont Mill
Scotstarvit

GLOUCESTERSHIRE
Bourton on the Water
Cam

HERTFORDSHIRE
Letchworth
HUNTINGDONSHIRE
Orton Longueville

LINCOLNSHIRE
Great Ponton
Risby Warren

MIDDLESEX
Heath Row

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE
Astrop
Peterborough

OXFORDSHIRE
Asthall
Cassington
Eynsham

10. Ring ditches and allied sites

BEDFORDSHIRE
Streatley

BERKSHIRE
Beenham
Englefield Ring Ditch I

11. Rivers

BEDFORDSHIRE
Kempston

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE
Hedsor

HUNTINGDONSHIRE
Fenstanton

PERTHSHIRE
Grandtully

SURREY
Wisley

SUSSEX
Selsey

WILTSHIRE
Downton

West Overton Barrow 6a
Winterbourne Dauntsey

YORKSHIRE
Acklam Barrow 211
Aldro Barrow 30
Driffield, St. John's Road

WARWICKSHIRE
Barford Site D

KENT
Ebbsfleet

LONDON
Hammersmith
Putney

Wandsworth
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<td>Worthshire</td>
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<td>Riggs Barrow 20</td>
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YORKSHIRE
Thornton le Dale
13, Sand-dune sites
EAST LOTHIAN
Hedderwick
FIFE
Brackmont Mill
LANCASHIRE
Walney Island
14, Settlement sites
BERKSHIRE
Sonning
BRECKNOCKSHIRE
Cefn Cilsanws
BUTE
Townhead
CUMBERLAND
Ehenside Tarn
15, Stray finds or of uncertain origin
AYRSHIRE
Shewelton Moor
BERKSHIRE
Weycock Hill
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE
High Wycombe
YORKSHIRE cont.
Thwing Barrow LX
LINCOLNSHIRE
Crosby Warren
Normanby Park
Risby Warren
WIGTOWNSHIRE
Luce Bay
GLAMORGANSHIRE
Mount Pleasant
HUNTINGDONSHIRE
Little Paxton
WARWICKSHIRE
Barford Site C
DORSET
Hambledon Hill
ESSEX
Danbury
Walthamstow
GLoucestershire
Barnwood
Salmonsbury Camp

Hampshire
Priors Dean
Ryde

Huntingdonshire
Buckden
St. Ives

Kent
Canterbury
Canterbury (near)
Ceasar's Camp, Folkestone
Tankerton Bay

Lincolnshire
Hall Hill, West Keel
Salmonby

Norfolk
Ickburgh

Northumberland
Ford
Heatherwick
Kyloe Craggs
Old Town Farm
Yeavering

Nottinghamshire
Attenborough
Newark

Oxfordshire
Stanton Harcourt

Somerset
Meare Heath

Suffolk
Barnham
Ipswich
Lakenheath
Runcton Holme

Surrey
Brookham
Croydon
Farnham

Sussex
Castle Hill, Newhaven
Friston

Wiltshire
East Kennet
Easton Down
Hamshill Ditches
Erton Down
Rockley Down
WILTSHIRE cont.
Totney Hill
Wilsford Barrow 54
Winterslow

YORKSHIRE
Ampleforth
East Reservoir, Driffield
Giggleswick
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<tr>
<td><strong>1. Causewayed camps</strong></td>
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<td><strong>BERKSHIRE</strong></td>
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<td>Maiden Castle</td>
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<td><strong>2. Caves</strong></td>
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<td><strong>DERBYSHIRE</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>High Wheeldon, Buxton</td>
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<td>Whaley II, Creswell</td>
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<td><strong>DEVON</strong></td>
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<td><strong>3. Chambered tombs</strong></td>
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<td><strong>ANGLESEY</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lligwy Burial Chamber</td>
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<td>Tormore, Arran</td>
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<td><strong>DERBYSHIRE</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Green Low</td>
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<td><strong>4. Flint mine</strong></td>
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5. Henges and allied sites

**DORSET**
- Maumbury
- Mount Pleasant

**OXFORDSHIRE**
- Dorchester Site I

**SOMERSET**
- Gorsey Bigbury

6. Occupation deposits

**CAMBRIDGESHIRE**
- Shippea Hill

**NORFOLK**
- West Runton

**SUFFOLK**
- Icklingham

**WILTSHIRE**
- The Sanctuary
- West Kennet Avenue

7. Pits

**BEDFORDSHIRE**
- Puddlehill, Dunstable

**BERKSHIRE**
- Sutton Courtenay

**CAMBRIDGESHIRE**
- Cambridge, Hills Road

**WILTSHIRE**
- Avebury
- Durrington Walls
- Marden
- Stonehenge
- Woodhenge

**YORKSHIRE**
- Craike Hill, Garton Slack
- Manham Hill
- Rudston, Carnaby Top
- Rudston, North Carnaby Temple

**DUMFRIESSHIRE**
- Backton

**DUNBARTONSHIRE**
- Knappers Farm, Glasgow

**ESSEX**
- Clacton
ESSEX cont.
Newport
CUMBERLAND
Yeavering
GLOUCESTERSHIRE
Chelshad
OXFORDSHIRE
Christchurch
SUFFOLK
HERTFORDSHIRE
Lechlade
SUFFOLK
Christchurch
SUFFOLK
Lechlade
HAMPShIRE
Christchurch
HUNTINGDONSHIRE
Letchworth
WILTSHIRE
Pishiobury
WILTSHIRE
HUNTINGDONSHIRE
Orton Longueville
WILTSHIRE
KENT
East Malling
WILTSHIRE
NERFOLK
Englefield
WORCESTERSHIRE
Longueville
BOSTEMSHIRE
East Malling
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

North Malling

8. Ring ditches and allied sites
BEDFORDSHIRE
Streatley
SUFFOLK
Walud's Bank
SUFFOLK
BERKSHIRE
Englefield Ring Ditch I
SUFFOLK
Pakenham

9. Ritual site
WEST LOTHIAN
Cairnpappe
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<td>Avebury Barrow G.55</td>
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<td><strong>BERKSHIRE</strong></td>
<td>Everleigh, Snail Down Site III</td>
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<tr>
<td>Churn Plain</td>
<td>Everleigh, Snail Down Site XV</td>
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<td>Farncombe Down</td>
<td>Wilsford Barrow, G. 51</td>
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<td><strong>BUCKINGHAMSHIRE</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Saunderton</td>
<td>Calais Wold Barrow c.70</td>
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<td><strong>CAMBRIDGESHIRE</strong></td>
<td>Cot Nab</td>
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<td>Cherry Hinton</td>
<td>Fimber Barrow 133</td>
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<td>Chippenham, Barrow 5</td>
<td>Fimber Barrow c.82</td>
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<td><strong>HAMPSHIRE</strong></td>
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<td>Hurn Barrow 1</td>
<td>Manton Warren</td>
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<td>Roundwood</td>
<td>Risby Warren</td>
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<td>11. Sand-dune sites</td>
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<td><strong>FIFE</strong></td>
<td><strong>CAMERONSHIRE</strong></td>
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<td>Tentamuir</td>
<td><strong>CALEDONIA</strong></td>
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<td><strong>LANGASHIRE</strong></td>
<td><strong>FIFE</strong></td>
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<td>Walney Island</td>
<td><strong>FIFE</strong></td>
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12. Settlement sites

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<td>SUSSEX</td>
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<td>Rinyo, Roussay</td>
<td>Playden</td>
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<td>Skara Brae</td>
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13. Stray finds or of uncertain origin

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<td>Totterdown</td>
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<td>Dingieshowe</td>
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<td>Evie</td>
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<td>SOMERSET</td>
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<td>Chew Valley</td>
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APPENDIX VII

Polished flint knives

ABERDEENSHPRE

Auchindour (3) Unpublished: N.M.A.
Birse Atkinson 1962
Blaek, Cromar Arkinson 1962
Fintray Atkinson 1962

ARGYLL

Strachur Atkinson 1962

BEDFORDSHIRE

Dunstable Thomas 1964, 29

BERWICKSHIRE

Overhowden Atkinson 1962

BUTE

Tormore, Arran Atkinson 1962
Whiting Bay, Arran Atkinson 1962

CAITHNESS

Camster, Round Henshall 1963, 264.
Orriiegill Henshall 1963, 254

DERBYSHIRE

Liffs' Lowe Bateman, 1848, 4
Lomberlow Bateman, 1861, 132

EAST LOTHIAN

Clints Unpublished: N.M.A.
FLINTSHIRE
Gop Cave

BOYD DAWKINS 1901

ISLE OF MAN
Ballateare

BERSU 1947

MORAYSHIRE
Urquart (2)

ATKINSON 1962

ORKNEY
Calf of Eday

HENSHALL 1963, 191

Unstan

HENSHALL 1963, 243

OXFORDSHIRE
Stanton Harcourt

GRIMES 1960

PEMBROKE
St. Elviss

GRIMES 1951, 159

STAFFORDSHIRE
Cauldon

SHEFFIELD MUSEUM CATALOGUE 1899, 41

WILTSHIRE
Milston, Everleigh

UNPUBLISHED: DEVIZES MUSEUM

Monkton Farleigh

V.C.H. WILTSHIRE 1957

West Kennet Avenue

SMITH 1965, F.206

Windmill Hill

SMITH 1965, F.152

YORKSHIRE
Aldro

UNPUBLISHED: HULL MUSEUM

Aldro Barrow c.75

MORTIMER 1905, 74
YORKSHIRE cont.

Driffield East Reservoir
Garrowby
North Deighton
Pickering
Rudston Woldgate
Seamer Moor Long Barrow
Thixendale

Polished flint scrapers

AYRSHIRE
Buston Crannog

BERKSHIRE
Beenham Ring Ditch

BERWICKSHIRE
Channelkirk
Airhouse
Ninewar, Duns

ORKNEY
Rinyo

WILTSHIRE
Marden
Windmill Hill
West Kennet Avenue (2)
West Kennet Long Barrow

YORKSHIRE
Fimber
Huntow

Unpublished: Driffield Museum
Unpublished: Hull Museum
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Bateman 1861, 229
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Londesborough 1848, 104.
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Munro 1882, 35

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Atkinson 1962
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Unpublished: Hull Museum
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<td>Grinsell, L. V.</td>
<td>1959</td>
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