THE YORKSHIRE FOOD-VESSEL

By MARY KITSON CLARK

The following paper has no pretensions to originality, it is simply a plain statement of existing facts; but the writer feels that such a statement of facts is urgently needed at the present time, as old and new theories have got tangled up together and obscure the problem. Since Sir Cyril Fox's paper of 1932 (*The Personality of Britain*), we are familiar with the maxim that Britain is geographically divided into a lowland and a highland zone; that in the Lowland zone foreign cultures are *imposed*, in the Highland zone *absorbed*. At least three foreign cultures have been identified at the beginning of the Bronze Age in the Lowland zone of Britain—Neolithic A (from Western Europe), Neolithic B (supposed to be from the Baltic) and the Beaker cultures (chiefly from the Rhine). They usually occur in this order.[1]

Yorkshire straddles the junction of the Lowland and Highland zone of Britain, and we may therefore expect to find this area particularly favourable for the observation of the process of *fusion* or *absorption*: further, owing to the long Yorkshire coast line, opposite the continent, this area ought to prove a useful link in the study of the prehistory of North-West Europe. Moreover, owing to the work of several nineteenth-century collectors, the material from Yorkshire is particularly rich.

We find pottery of the first of these foreign cultures, Neolithic A, in S.E. Yorkshire. In the South-west of Britain this pottery is associated with elaborate rites of communal burial in an elaborate structure called a

[1] Neolithic A and B; V. G. Childe and S. Piggott, *Arch. Journ.* (1932) lxxxviii. 38–158. Beaker cultures: Abercromby, J., *A Study of Bronze Age Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1912, i. 9–16. V. G. Childe, *The Bronze Age* (1930), pp. 153–7.

Long Barrow (Piggott, *op. cit.* 130). In Yorkshire this pottery is associated with varying rites of communal burial, but the association with Long Barrows, though it exists, is less close, and the Long Barrows themselves do not conform altogether to the south country types. A new but equally elaborate rite appears, that of communal cremation ; this has been found under both Long and Round Barrows. (Dr. Elgee suggests[1] that the important change from communal burial to communal cremation took place while Neolithic A was travelling overland to Yorkshire from S.W. Britain).

This communal cremation is quite distinct from communal burial after cremation ; the supreme example of communal burial after cremation is Duggleby Howe.

In communal cremation, the bodies appear to have been laid in a long flue or ' crematorium ' that was fired after the mound had been erected, and they were never disturbed again. The crematorium, built in turf and earth on the old ground level, is said to have been derived from the long communal burial chamber.

In Mortimer's Barrow 81, near Garton Slack (*op. cit.* pp. 238–241), an earth-built crematorium containing the remains of many bodies, and fragments of Neolithic A pottery, was cut through by a grave containing an interment with a beaker.

Here we have an example of another of the foreign

[1] F. Elgee, *Early Man in North-East Yorkshire* (1930), pp. 42–51.

Miss Newbigin points out to me that the association—cremation trench, long barrow, Neolithic A pottery—is not by any means inevitable in Yorkshire ; in fact, that it is shown in only two Long Barrows, Greenwell's ccxxv, Wass, and ccxxiii, Westow, at present (W. Greenwell and Rolleston, *British Barrows* (1877)). I am much indebted to Miss Newbigin for allowing me to use her admirable study of Yorkshire Neolithic Pottery, as yet unpublished.

However, besides these two instances, cremation trenches have been found in Long Barrows, and Neolithic A pottery in cremation trenches, so that until more information appears we are entitled to regard all three as part of the same complex. Miss Newbigin supplies me with the following examples : Long Barrows with cremation trenches but no neolithic pottery ; Greenwell, Rudston, ccxxiv, pp. 497–501, *op. cit.*, Scamridge ccxxi, pp. 484–7, Crosby Garrett ccxxviii, pp. 510–13. Round Barrows Heslerton, vi, pp. 142–5, Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds*, 1905. Cremation trenches with Neolithic A pottery, Huggate, Mortimer (*op. cit.* p. 321), Barrow 254, Garton Slack (*op. cit.* p. 232), Barrow 81. Neolithic A pottery associated neither with Long Barrows nor with cremation trenches can be produced from rather more than a dozen of the examples quoted in Mr. Piggott's list (*op. cit.* pp. 144–7).

cultures we mentioned, with its characteristic pottery and its characteristic burial rite—the interment of a single body alone in the grave—clearly subsequent to the rites and the pottery of Neolithic A. That is what we should expect. But it emphasizes the remarkable fact that in the adjoining barrow, Mortimer's 80, a crematorium of the same type containing the remains of six persons, had been erected *over* an interment with a beaker, so that earth reddened by fire actually touched the beaker skeleton.[1]

A similar example of a crematorium erected over a beaker burial is recorded from the limestone hills north of the vale of Pickering.[2]

We see here not so much fusion between two cultures as the intimacy that precedes fusion—two traditions are sharing the same funeral.[3]

Fusion itself may perhaps be seen in Mortimer's Barrow 4, Painsthorpe Wold (p. 114–6), where beaker burials were found in three graves linked to each other by earthern passages ; the only other example of linked graves that I know occurs in a genuine long barrow (Mortimer Barrow A, p. 333)[4] on the Yorkshire Wolds, and may be a copy in earth of the passage and chambers of a stone-built long barrow (except that the passages are curved).

Fusion perhaps may also be seen in the persistence into later times of the rite of reserved burial, a rite associated with Neolithic A in southern Britain, and

[1] Mortimer *op. cit.*, pp. 235–7. Note that in Barrow 81, p. 240, there were also signs of reserved burial.

[2] T. Bateman, *Ten Years Digging in Celtic and Saxon Grave Hills*, etc. (1861), p. 209.

[3] Miss Newbigin also calls my attention to the association of Neolithic A and Beaker shards in Greenwell's Rudston lxi, Sherburn x, Cowlam lvii ; Neolithic A shards in the beaker grave mentioned, Mortimer, Barrow 81 above ; and the presence of a beaker grave and a Neolithic A crematorium trench side by side in the round barrow Mortimer, Barrow 254 (Huggate). S. Piggot, *op. cit.* pp. 145–7, Mortimer, Barrows 277, 281, 254, Greenwell's Barrow vi. But Miss Newbigin assures me that Neolithic shards appear also in barrows apparently erected as late as the Early Iron Age.

[4] These curved passages or ditches will have to be carefully reconsidered in the light of Mr. Phillip's recent discoveries in Lincolnshire, where trenches for timber constructions were identified in the Long Barrow of Giant's Hills, Skendleby (*Archaeologia* lxxxv, 1935, Pl. xii). I am bound to say that Mortimer's sketch plans do not suggest trenches for timber construction as they stand, as one would expect such construction to surround rather than to link the graves. Further, Mortimer appears to have recognised successfully the remains of timbering in other cases.

which consists of the reburial of a corpse, or part of a corpse, after the flesh has decayed.[1]

An overlap between Neolithic A and the beaker cultures in South-East Yorkshire therefore appears certain, without any intervening period of Neolithic B. This contrasts with the classic course of events in Southern Britain.

In Mr. Stuart Piggott's paper (*op. cit.* p. 158) he mentions three shards of Neolithic B from S.E. Yorkshire. He describes them all as abnormal, and their associations were as follows :

1. Under a round barrow, in a hole at the bottom of a grave containing an interment with a food vessel (Mortimer, *op. cit.* Barrow 211, p. 93).
2. In a hole under a round barrow in which no primary interment was discovered (Mortimer, *op. cit.* Barrow 30, p. 68).
3. In the mound of a barrow covering an interment with a food-vessel (Mortimer, *op. cit.* pp. 176–7).

And Miss Nancy Newbigin assures me that in her subsequent studies of the Neolithic of Yorkshire, she never finds Neolithic B with earlier associations than Food-Vessel.[2]

It is possible that Neolithic B may be recognised in at least one complete vessel from Yorkshire, which was found in a barrow at Burrow Nook, Cowlam, E. Yorkshire (see Fig. 1. 1). It was published by Mortimer after his great volume had appeared (*Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, 1911, xxi, pp. 215–217).

It is made of exceedingly coarse, gritty paste, a

[1] E.g. Mortimer, *op. cit.* various interment associations, Barrow 143, p. 147, B. 163, p. 214–5 B. 17, p. 178, B. 275, p. 161, B. 28, p. 201, B. 229, pp. 306–7, B. 40, pp. 229–30, B. 118, p. 127, of communal interment with food-vessel B. 169, p. 138. Cremation and burial *in situ*, although not in a cremation trench, was also used in later times (Greenwell, *op. cit.* B. cxl, p. 349,-with a food vessel) and it *may* be a survival—it *may* be merely the result of convenience. Communal cremation *in situ*, not in a crematorium, was found in Mortimer, B. 3 (*op. cit.* p. 18) but without any evidence of date.

[2] Miss Newbigin adds to Mr. Piggott's list three groups of shards from the Wolds, in the Mortimer and Greenwell collections. Shards have also been recognised from the Yorkshire Pennines—by Miss Chitty from Carperby Pasture, and by the writer from Sewell's Cave (where beaker shards were also present) through the kindness of Dr. Raistrick. The associations of neither are absolutely certain.

good deal darker than normal Bronze-Age paste in Yorkshire; it has a pinched base but a rounded

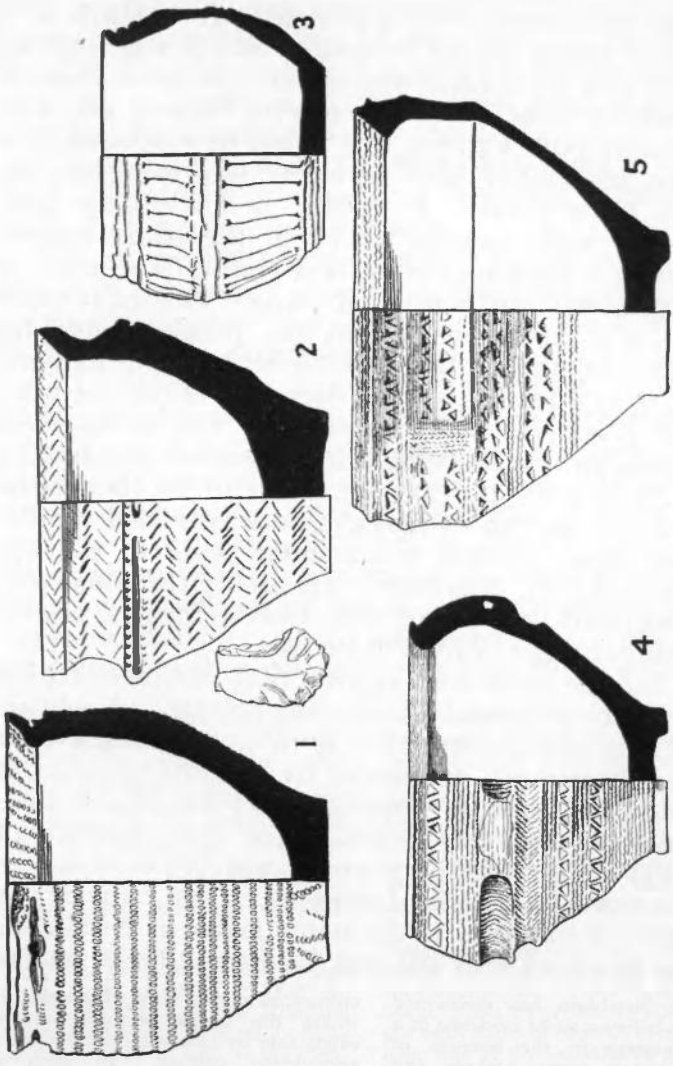

FIG. 1. BURROW NOOK (MORTIMER COLLECTION) 1. SAID TO BE FROM HUTTON BUSCHEL, WITH ASSOCIATED TOOL (YORKSHIRE MUSEUM) 2. SAWDON (YORKSHIRE MUSEUM) 3. GARROWBY (MORTIMER COLLECTION) 4. FIMBER (MORTIMER COLLECTION) 5. $\frac{1}{3}$

profile, it is covered with cord or whipped-cord ornament in spaced zones, it has a high shoulder and a

concave neck and in the neck are great jabs. The profile of the lip is *not* typical of Neolithic B, but I submit that all the other features are, and if I am correct, then its associations are particularly interesting. It was found with a skeleton, at the top of a re-opened grave, at the bottom of which was another skeleton and a beaker. We should also notice that a very similar vessel from Greenwell's Barrow xiii, Fig. 72, Abercromby, Fig. 69, was found on the wrist of a skeleton associated with a burnt interment at the bottom of a grave. It seems to have been contemporary with another grave in the same barrow containing a skeleton and a food-vessel. The rows of cord ornament are normal, if loosely twisted; there are no jabs in the neck, but the profile of the lip approximates more closely to Neolithic B (cf. Piggott, *op. cit.* p. 113, Fig. 13. 4) than does that of the pot from Burrow Nook. In Abercromby Fig. 109, a shapeless pot found with a secondary interment in Greenwell's Long Barrow 67, pp. 257–63, can still be traced the same characteristics of concave neck, rounded profile, pinched base, internal ornamented bevel to the lip, and rows of cord ornament. Its associated interment had disturbed one, if not two, beaker burials, one of them containing a corded B Beaker.

So far the evidence suggests that complete fusion in Yorkshire between two invading cultures—Neolithic A and Beaker—(fusion, that is to say, resulting in a hybrid pottery) was prevented by the interposition of a third foreign culture—Neolithic B; but it will have been noticed that the evidence for the existence of Neolithic B in Yorkshire is very scanty.[1]

The word food-vessel brings us to the crux of the problem. *Food-vessel* is the name given in Britain to Bronze Age pots that succeed Beakers. They are far

[1] Miss Newbigin has discovered what she believes to be evidence of a hybrid pottery in the likeness of paste between some beakers and Neolithic A pottery. That the two cultures existed side by side, apparently intimately connected, without creating such a pottery, is remarkable, and may perhaps be accounted for by the existence of a male and female culture, as among some of the Bantu, where the men's pastoral culture exists side by side with the women's agricultural culture. In such a situation we might imagine that the women had nothing to do with the milking vessels, although they might make the pots for beer. But the thought is quite hypothetical.

more common in the Highland than in the Lowland zone of Britain, and are very common in Yorkshire.

In form they have no obvious resemblance either to Neolithic A or Beaker pottery, but resemblances to Neolithic B have often been noticed. Therefore this is the standard explanation of the origin of the Food-Vessel in Yorkshire—that it is a native British ceramic made by a Neolithic B population after they had absorbed the invading Beaker Folk.

I hope I have made it clear that there is not a shred of evidence to show that Neolithic B preceded the Beaker cultures in Yorkshire.

This statement needs emphasis, for as recently as 1930 one deservedly respected British archaeologist repeated or implied this view in print,[1] and in 1934 another, no less deserving of respect, improved upon the traditional view by stating, in print,[2] that the Beaker invaders when they reached Yorkshire, *impinged* upon the makers of Food-Vessels whom they found already in possession. In actual fact, Abercromby made it abundantly clear in 1912 that Beakers were established in Yorkshire before Food-Vessels. He himself believed that there was a considerable over-lap. This may have been so, but it has never been proved. I have carefully examined all Abercromby's examples and I am sure that wherever it is possible to decide on

[1] F. and H. W. Elgee, the *Arch. of Yorkshire* (1933), p. 66: 'The food-vessel was derived from the round-bottomed bowls used by long-barrow man and his contemporaries, especially the type that is known as Peterborough Ware. . . . Ireland has been suggested as the original home of the food-vessel. . . . Some types may, however, have originated in Yorkshire."

[2] J. G. D. Clark, *Archaeologia* lxxxiv (1934), p. 142: 'That the food vessel culture of the Highland zone, and the beaker cultures pushing into the lowland as well as the highland, were contemporary to a considerable extent, is shown by the numerous instances of beaker and food-vessel ceramic in the same grave; this is characteristic of the Yorkshire Wolds, where the Beaker people impinged upon an established food-vessel culture, with origins in the Neolithic B culture of these islands." The point is dealt with more fully in the next note. A single food-vessel only is quoted by Dr. Clark in this article as associated with beaker and plano-convex knife (from Mortimer's Barrow 83). Here it may be said that the writer hunted for it in vain in the reserve collection of the Mortimer Museum, Hull. Knowing as we do the variety of pots that Mortimer styled "Food Vessels" we cannot press the evidence of this single pot until it can be found. It may have been one of the varieties of pots, not beakers, that are included in foreign Beaker cultures The beaker in question was "irreparably crushed," the food-vessel "even more decayed" than the beaker (Mortimer, *op. cit.* p. 119).

the evidence, the Food-Vessel is secondary to the Beaker.[1]

This applies to those examples, two, or at most three in number (Mortimer, *op. cit.* p. 114, Fig. 267, p. 222-4 ; *Y.A.J.* (1911), pp. 214–17, may be Neolithic B), where food-vessels are found not merely in the same barrow but in the same grave as Beakers. In each case the Food-Vessel is associated with a separate interment and is placed higher than the Beaker, which is at the bottom of the grave. Examination of other instances where there is no associated food-vessel[2] has led me to believe that, far-fetched as it may seem, this is the result of a *reopening* of the actual grave pit before or after the erection of the barrow.

At the most, however, these examples prove contact. They do *not* prove that the Food-Vessel people existed in Yorkshire *before* the Beaker people.

While we are discussing possible contacts between Beakers and Food Vessels, let us examine some vessels from Yorkshire, which, save one, are always listed as Food-Vessels (see Pl. I, A and B). Compare them with Stampfuss (Jung neolithischen Kultur von Westdeutschland ; Tafel viii, 5, 6, 24 ; vii, 14, 7, x, 21, 22, 23 ; see Fig. 2 after Stampfuss). With one exception these vessels are not associated with any other vessel

[1] The crucial paragraphs are 1, 3, 5, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 54, pp. 97–103. Paragraphs 1 and 3 are discussed in the text ; of the others Abercromby gives a very fair summary ; but wherever the actual stratigraphy is given in the original record, the beaker lies with the primary burial. Where there is no such clear relation, Abercromby tends to say that the central grave must be the earliest. This is too slight an indication to be pressed so far, and may be altogether erroneous. In paragraphs 5 (Greenwell, *op. cit.* pp. 161–6), 40 (Mortimer, p. 346), 41 (Mortimer, *op. cit.* pp. 209–11), 42 (Bateman, *op. cit.* pp. 75–6), 44 (Greenwell, *op. cit.* pp. 371–3), 47 (Greenwell, *op. cit.* pp. 234-45), 48 (Mortimer, p. 86–7), 54 (Greenwell, *Arch.* lii. 10–12) there is no definite sequence between beaker and food-vessel to be observed. In paragraph 46 the fact that a beaker burial was cut through by a food vessel burial is passed over in favour of the fact that all the beaker burials were farther from the modern centre than the food-vessel burials (Greenwell, *op. cit.* pp. 257–62). In 43 (Mortimer, *op. cit.* pp. 272–5) a food-vessel was protected by a stone leaning against a cist containing a beaker—this must mean that the food-vessel was subsequent to the cist, even if only slightly subsequent. Abercromby was a pioneer, at a time when ' drinking-cups ' and ' food-vessels ' were *expected* to be contemporary—he was therefore entitled to interpret doubtful cases in this sense. But that is no reason why *we* should follow his example.

[2] Mortimer, *op. cit.* B. 183, p. 184, B. 55, p. 101. I am told that there are instances of the re-opening of the grave pit in Scandinavia.

A. POTTERY FROM BLANCH, SUNDERLANDWICK, WARTER, RIGGS

B. POTTERY FROM TOWTHORPE, GARTON SLACK, WARTER, ALDRO

(All from the Mortimer Collection, Hull. Scales of half-inches)

of pottery. The writer considers that they can be placed with more propriety among Yorkshire Beakers than among Yorkshire Food-Vessels, but even if this is not so, they are a useful warning against the looseness of the designation 'Food-Vessel.'[1]

If we turn to the *distribution* of all British Food-

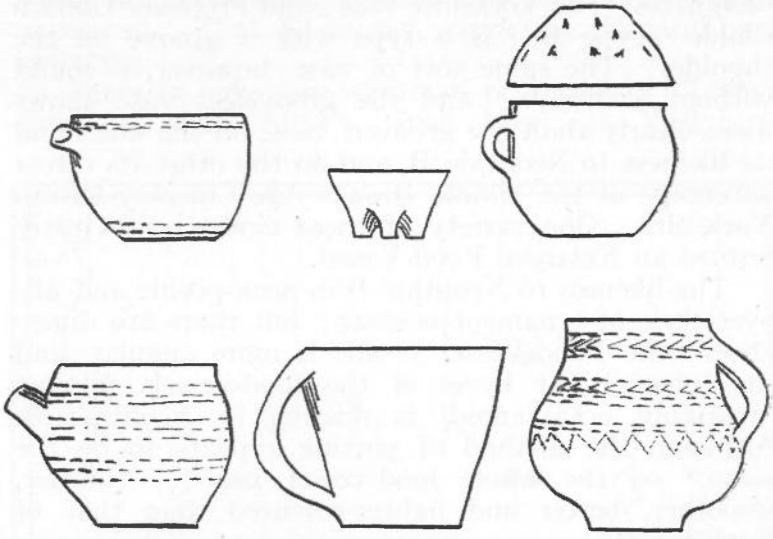

FIG. 2. VESSELS ASSOCIATED (TOP LINE) WITH ZONENBECHER, (LOWER LINE) WITH GLOCKENBECHER (AFTER STAMPFUSS).

Vessels on Chitty and Fox's map, published in the *Personality of Britain*, we see that :

It is coastal, but not Atlantic.
It is riverine, with the vital exception of the Thames.
It is most marked in the Highland zone, but in the Lowland parts of the Highland zone.
Setting aside all other considerations, the distribution suggests a source in the North-East, and not in Britain.

This north-eastern bias would be all the more marked if we could separate the Irish or Western Food-Vessels from the Eastern or British Food-Vessels ; and this fundamental distinction, to which I shall return,

[1] Mortimer, Fig. 26, p. 12 ; Fig. 945, 318 ; Fig. 895, pp. 296 ; Fig. 725, p. 259 ; Fig. 945, p. 317 ; Fig. 990, p. 330. 100, p. 53 ; Fig. 448, p. 178 ; Fig.

has already been made by Professor Childe and by Miss Chitty.

I should like to add that I find Miss Chitty is already prepared to look for a foreign source for eastern food-vessels.

The eastern type of Food-Vessel that Miss Chitty designates 'The Yorkshire vase' and Professor Gordon Childe 'Type B,'[1] is a type with a groove on the shoulder. The same sort of vase, however, is found without a groove; and the grooveless vase shows more clearly than the grooved vase, on the one hand its likeness to Neolithic B, and on the other its direct parentage of the Middle Bronze Age Cinerary Urn in Yorkshire. One variety of these cineraries is justly termed an Enlarged Food-Vessel.

The likeness to Neolithic B in neck-profile and all-over style of ornament is clear; but there are differences; the Food-Vessel profile is more angular, and the internal flat bevel of the food-vessels (almost invariably ornamented) is missing in Neolithic B. Although the method of potting appears to be the same,[2] on the whole food-vessel paste is harder, smoother, better and lighter-coloured than that of Neolithic B.

If we look at the *grooved* food-vessels—Miss Chitty's Yorkshire Vase and Professor Childe's type B—we find that while similar in all other respects to the group mentioned above, these have a groove on the carinated shoulder, containing four or more stops, usually perforated, as if the vessel had had a thong or cord threaded round the shoulder to act as loose handles for carriage.[3] An unpublished example of a typical 'Yorkshire vase' is given in Fig. 1, 2.

[1] V. G. Childe, 1935, *Prehistory of Scotland* (1935), pp. 89–95, Fig. 22; L. F. Chitty, British Association, Blackpool, 1936.

[2] Again and again we find food-vessels breaking along the junction of the clay rings from which they are built up.

[3] Stops *pulled* off rather than knocked off, show that they were so used. As Abercromby long ago showed, perforate and imperforate do give a type sequence within the food-vessel series. But examples such as Abercromby's Figs. 130, 142 (Greenwell, *op. cit.* pp. 312–4) where two vessels are identical with the exception of perforation, show that too much stress must not be laid on this. Handle-like stops like those on Abercromby's Fig. 126 (Blanch, B.M.) *ought* to be typologically earlier than stops with a minute, almost useless, perforation.

The grooved shoulder with stops seems to have nothing to do with Neolithic B. The groove might have been *exaggerated* in imitation of the hollow neck, but it cannot derive from the hollow neck ; for we never find stops on the neck of a food-vessel, unless there are also stops on the shoulder ; and sometimes we find stops on the shoulder pierced and those on the neck unpierced. That is to say, stops on the neck are imitative.

There is only one specimen of Professor Childe's Type A, Miss Chitty's ' Irish Bowl,' in Yorkshire.

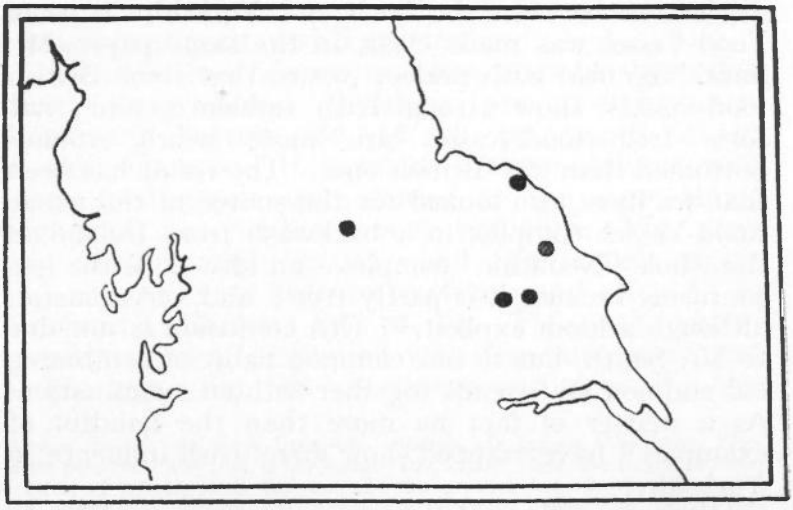

FIG. 3. FOOD-VESSELS FROM BARNINGHAM, GARROWBY, FIMBER, SAWDON AND LYTHE

This is a little pot from Sawdon, in the Harland collection, York Museum. (No details.) (Illustrated, Fig. 1, 3). It is a poor example of its class, with its very simple stab-and-drag ornament, and groove merely indicated. But it illustrates to perfection the difference between the nearly hemispherical Irish Bowl with no neck and a simple lip, and the angular Yorkshire Vase with a bevelled lip and a concave neck. That the two reacted on each other is shown by the hybrids I show with it (Fig. 1, 4 and 5) bearing the peculiarly

Irish motive of ' false relief ' (Fig. 3). The distribution of this motif (Fig. 3) illustrates the double route by which Irish influence reached Yorkshire, possibly direct from the Solway valley over the Pennines (Stainmore) and certainly by way of the Clyde through Scotland and down the (Northumbrian Coast.[1] This east coast route is made abundantly clear by Chitty and Fox's Food-Vessel map.

Before the distinction between Neolithic A and Neolithic B was widely recognised, Mr. Reginald Smith pointed out the strong resemblance between Neolithic B and some Food-Vessels. Before the distinction between the Irish and Yorkshire type of Food-Vessel was made clear, in the same paper Mr. Smith signified with perfect justice that some British food-vessels show strong Irish influence, and that some Irish food-vessels are more nearly round-bottomed than any British ones. The result has been that we have also looked for the source of the whole Food-Vessel complex in a backwash from Ireland of the whole ' Neolithic ' complex—an idea none the less confusing because it is partly true ; and very general, although seldom explicit.[2] This confusion is not due to Mr. Smith, but to our common habit of combining old and new statements together without examination. As a matter of fact no more than the handful of examples I have mapped show *direct* Irish influence in Yorkshire.

With regard to other types out of the 205[3] York-

[1] Dr. Clark recently published an interesting map of false relief ornament. In my sketch map of false relief ornament, I have added two and removed one example from his map : I removed this example because it was an altogether abnormal vessel, and the false relief, although perfectly genuine, was confined to the edge of the lip. I also add the Sawdon Bowl, although it bears no false relief. The pots from Pule Hill, Marsden, I do not believe show Irish influence. Howe Tallon, Barningham, is a barrow mentioned by Elgee in his *Yorkshire* (p. 244). I have been enabled to examine, draw, and eventually I hope publish the Food-Vessel with false relief ornament from this barrow, through the kindness of others (including the owner, Sir F. Milbank).

[2] See Elgee quoted above ; cf. esp. *Arch.* lxii. p. 351.

[3] These figures do not represent anything like the total number of food-vessels from Yorkshire. I have notes of 342 separate vessels (not counting small cineraries which are often included among F.V.) ; these include 24 anomalous pots, with and without direct food-vessel associations ; 20 sets of fragments ; 22 destroyed or doubtful, and 71 on which my notes are not yet complete. I must acknowledge here the great assistance rendered to me by Miss Chitty and Dr. Elgee, who have

shire Food Vessels that can safely be classified, I find that 73 fall into Miss Chitty's category of *typical* Yorkshire vase with groove and stops, 35 have groove without stops, and 87 are without either groove or stops; and the great majority of all these varieties tends to have an angular rather than a rounded profile. Of the 87 without groove and stops, only perhaps half a dozen show in its most unmistakable form the well-marked narrow concave neck and high shoulder that relates them directly with Neolithic B. This is surprising, in view of the long survival of the type, as the classic 'Enlarged Food-Vessel' cinerary.[1] The other types of this grooveless, stopless group are varied enough to suggest varied sources.

What little evidence we have goes to show that these three broad divisions are contemporary. Mortimer's Barrow 280, *op. cit.* pp. 344–6, is the clearest example. It seems as if three children with three food-vessels were buried at the same time; Fig. 1006 has neither groove nor stops, Fig. 1007 has well-marked groove and perforated stops, Fig. 1009 has very degenerate groove and stops.[2] In Mortimer's Barrow 87, p. 64, Fig. 138 (Abercromby 47) was desposited with the same interment as Fig. 139. Fig. 138 has groove and stops, Fig. 139

allowed me to use their lists—Dr. Elgee gave me a long loan of his—and I have, of course, made full use of Dr. Raistrick's '*Bronze Age Settlement in the North of England*'—*Arch. Ael.* (1931) viii. 149–165.

[1] But all cineraries cannot be described as enlarged food-vessels of this special form. In fact, the examples chosen by Dr. Elgee (*Early Man*, p. 88, Pl. xiii) from Brotton Warsett and Pickering (Figs. 2 and 4) suggest that there may be a short cut from the Food-Vessel to the Urn without a shoulder but with a collar; concentration on the angle of the shoulder may produce a moulding or a ledge not unlike the lower edge of the collar of a collared urn (Abercromby, Figs. 210, 176, 46); the collar is simulated in these cases not by the lip but by the whole neck of the Food-Vessel. Cineraries that are simply enlarged *grooved* food-vessels are known (Mortimer, Figs. 406, 904). Here the ridges between the grooves become mouldings (cf. Abercromby, Figs. 70, 110); and again produce the effect of a collar or, by a reverse process, the flattening out of groove and neck can approximate to a collar; compare the food vessel, Abercromby, Fig. 195, with the small cinerary on the same page, Fig. 208. We must therefore be particular to distinguish between the classic 'Enlarged Food-Vessel' and cineraries possibly enlarged from food-vessels of other types.

[2] These three pots, all in York Museum, were entered twice over as separate vessels by Abercromby—once from the Mortimer collection and once in the York collection. Mortimer, Fig. 1007, Abercromby Figs. 56, 150; Fig. 1009, Abercromby Figs. 57, 156; Fig. 1006, Abercromby Figs. 58, 201.

apparently neither, but it is too much decayed to be definite.

Two food-vessels—one with groove and perforated stops, one with groove alone, were found with two skeletons in a barrow near Cawthorn Camps (Bateman, *op. cit.* pp. 207–8, Abercromby, 43. 44). The skull of one skeleton lay over the breast of the other, so that there is no doubt that they were contemporary. Mortimer's Fig. 358, grooveless, and Fig. 360, with rudimentary groove and perforated stops, were found with inhumations in two separate but apparently contemporary graves (B.101).

Therefore, until more evidence appears, we must assume that grooved, grooveless, groove-and-stopped pots are all contemporary, and we may not assume that one form is older than another.

That is the difficulty. It is easy enough, as we have seen with the Neolithic B bowl, to find a likeness to this feature or to that, but no single feature seems to be earlier than the others, and the whole series as yet refuses to be assigned. I am not, I fear, going to lead up to any sensational revelation. I still do not know where the ' Yorkshire Vase ' arose. The Scandinavian prototypes of Neolithic B are so early that they do not really come into this picture at all. The grooved and stopped vessels from La Halliade have been suggested as prototypes of British grooved-and-stopped Food Vessels (Lindsay Scott, *Proc. First International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences,* 1932, p. 133). But the La Halliade vessels are polypod, and appear to be without the concave neck, internally bevelled lip, and sharply carinated shoulder of the Yorkshire Food-Vessel, nor do any known polypod Yorkshire vessels possess a groove with perforated stops; nor do Yorkshire polypod vessels, however abnormal, resemble the La Halliade pots. Also the latter are associated with early Beakers, and the Yorkshire Food-Vessels are later than late Beakers, so that the gap in time is considerable, although it may be considered that it is covered by the necessary time lag. Mr. Lindsay Scott's passage as it stands in the summary is an example of sound deduction

spoiled by use of Irish and Yorkshire material together without distinction.

To take another feature; a flat-topped rim, ornamented exactly like the rims of many Yorkshire Food-Vessels, with transverse or concentric lines of

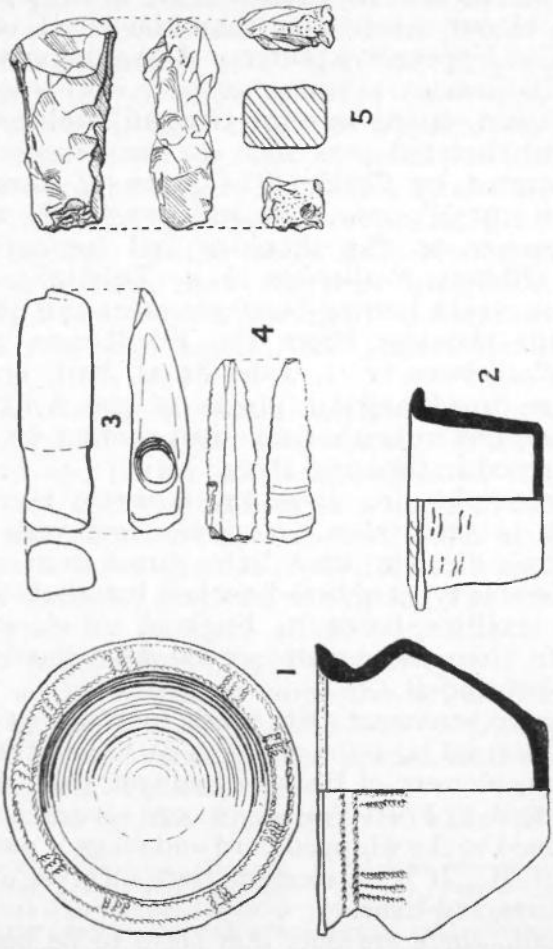

FIG. 4. CONTENTS OF A TUMULUS AT SJORSLEV, JUTLAND; 2. PRIMARY; 1, 3, AND 4, SECONDARY; 5. FROM THE BODY OF THE MOUND. $\frac{1}{3}$

cords, appears on straight-sided vessels from the Upper Graves of Denmark. The appearance of this rim on a small globular beaker in a secondary interment from a tumulus in Jutland (Copenhagen Museum, A2105C, Sjorslev, Viborg Amt, Jutland) produces something not too wholly unlike a rounded food-

vessel (Fig. 4, 1). The associated axe is interesting. Perhaps a score of other little hybrid pots like this are known from the same district, which is almost exactly opposite the Yorkshire coast ; but here again there is a time difficulty ; if these little pots have anything to do with original food-vessels, we must put the beginning of our series later than the latest of the Scandinavian Uppergrave pottery. I owe this criticism to Mr. J. D. Cowen.

Then, again, diving into the German Neolithic, we emerge with isolated pots such as the Grossgartach bowl illustrated by Childe (*The Dawn of European Civilisation* (1925), p. 182, f. 82, left lowest row), with a facetted groove on the shoulder and herring-bone ornament (Ebhert, *Reallexicon* iv. 2—Tafel 263, a.c.), or a bowl, also with herring-bone ornament and pierced lugs on the shoulder, from the Friedberger group (Ebhert, *Reallexicon* iv. 1, Tafel 84 a), both verging toward the broad angular profile of the Yorkshire Food-Vessel, but in neither case can contact be comfortably argued in time and space.

Such examples are, however, a useful reminder that such a grooveless, stopless, food-vessel as Abercromby's Fig. 197, may derive direct from one of the innumerable types of broad-necked, low-shouldered, carinated neolithic bowls in England or elsewhere, rather than from the narrow-necked, high-shouldered bowl of Neolithic B.

Turning to ornament, Mr. Leeds long ago pointed out (*Ant. Journal* ii, 1922, pp. 333–8),[1] that there is a very strong element of Beaker ornament, particularly cord ornament, in Food-Vessels—a cord ornament that is not confined to the whipped-cord and maggot motives of Neolithic B. It is an element that survives and is found on Cinerary Urns.

Yet again, there *are* pots that seem to be beakers turning into food-vessels (Mortimer, Figs. 945, 432—to go out of Yorkshire, Abercromby, Fig. 212 from Northumberland, Abercromby, Fig. 204 from Derby).

[1] Note particularly p. 337 : 'it is surely not unreasonable to hold that influences, at any rate from north-western Europe, if not from Jutland, should have reached Yorkshire direct without needing to pass through Southern England.'

Small pottery troughs,[1] footed vessels,[2] lids, especially conical lids,[3] in Yorkshire are all, perhaps, indications of this original background of 'Corded Ware.' The lids are especially interesting as some are directly associated with food-vessels, as the footed vessels (on the whole) cannot be said to be. Weaverthorpe *is* a food-vessel, but without pierced stops.

Three anomalous pots—Mortimer, Figs. 990 (A.224), 448, 201 (A.73), show *wrapped* cord ornament like Abercromby i, Fig. 1, and it appears on the food-vessel, Mortimer, Fig. 499. Further, although this is purely hypothetical, it is possible to see the origin of the food-vessel groove-and-stops in the amphorae with handles on the body that accompany corded beakers through many of their manifestations (e.g. Childe, *Dawn*, Fig. 116, p. 235). A band of ornament often links the handles, and this I believe might develop into a groove.

The all-over horizontal herring-bone ornament, so typical of Yorkshire food-vessels, is expressed by incision and beaker notch as well as by maggot, and is typical of some beakers as well as of Neolithic B. It is also expressed by the application of a sliver of bone or wood or the end of shell that makes both sides of the V-shaped mark at one time. The result of this is to push up the rows of chevrons into a ridge and furrow (e.g. Abercromby, Fig. 126, 152).

If we knew whence came the British Neolithic B, there we might expect to find it re-combining with one or another late version of the Corded Beaker culture to produce the 'Yorkshire Vase.'

But we do not know exactly where Neolithic B

[1] Mortimer, Barrow 143, Fig. 395, Barrow 141, p. 259; York Museum; Barrow 141 (Fig. 724) associated with handled cup (already illustrated) with upper skeleton.

[2] Weaverthorpe, Greenwell, *op. cit.* p. 194, Fig. 74, Abercromby, Fig. 113. Acklam Mortimer, *op. cit.* p. 89, Fig. 205, Abercromby, Fig. 222; Appleton-le-Street, British Museum, Abercromby, Fig. 223 bis; Blanch, Mortimer, *op. cit.* p. 330, Fig. 990; Abercromby, Fig. 224; Garrowby, Mortimer, p. 137.

[3] Acklam, Mortimer, *op. cit.* p. 84, Fig. 183, Barrow 204; Aldro, Mortimer, *op. cit.* pp. 55–6, Fig. 105, Barrow 116; Ganton, Greenwell, *op. cit.* pp. 164, Fig. 77, Barrow xxi; Goodmanham, Greenwell, *op. cit.* pp. 305–8, Fig. 132, Barrow xcviii; Riggs (anomalous), Mortimer *op. cit.* pp. 177–9, Fig. 448, Barrow 17, figured above, and note the use of the broken base of a food-vessel for this purpose (Mortimer, *op. cit.*, fig. 529, Fig. 530, Barrow 162).

was evolved, we only know its remote ancestors in the Baltic.

The almost complete absence of amber from Yorkshire at any period *seems* to make direct contact with Scandinavia unlikely, although other facts may point the other way. The association of food-vessels with the only two sepulchral timber circles so far known from Yorkshire[1] suggests a Netherlandish intermediary, although, as far as I have been able to make out, the pottery associated with Dutch timber circles is not like Food-Vessels. Some evidence will always be missing, for unfortunately a great part of the Yorkshire coast has gone into the sea. Mr. Sheppard records an interment surrounded by wicker work that was first exposed and then destroyed by the waves; its likeness to Dutch examples and its fate, are alike suggestive.[2] Analysis of the rites associated with Food-Vessels reveals that the majority are associated with inhumation, some with cremation and one or two with both,[3] but not with the rite of cremation *in situ*. Yet, as we know, the descendant of the Food-Vessel is used as a cinerary urn. This seems rather to be a slow change of fashion than a recrudescence of the neolithic rite, as has been suggested, but there may be other factors that we have not yet been able to isolate. Such a factor may be represented by Duggleby Howe, which contained at least 10 inhumed and 53 cremated *single* bodies, all interred at one time. The sole identifiable shard preserved from Duggleby Howe is a fragment of a flat rim, not a Food-Vessel rim, ornamented with faint cord ornament (Mortimer Collection, reserve collection).

There is a fair amount of evidence of the association

[1] Mortimer, Barrow 23, p. 155, Barrow 41, p. 181. Dr. Clark has recently republished Barrow 23, *Proc. Pre. Soc.* (1936) 11.1, pp. 32–4, Fig. 18, but he incorrectly states that there was a secondary burial. Mortimer opened the same grave twice (p. 154).

[2] T. Sheppard, *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Report* (1899) xxv, 245. On the shore near Spurn, a large mound, washed away, contained two skeletons in basketwork enclosed in clay within a circle of flat burnt stones, constructed on peat. The information I originally had verbally from Mr. Sheppard, but the reference is due to Miss Chitty.

[3] Mortimer, Barrow 75. Barrow 36 (p. 173), also Barrow 280, pp. 344–6, Barrow 14, p. 157.

The mixed rites of the Wold Barrows are extraordinarily interesting.

of wooden structures in the grave with food-vessels,[1] but concealed stone circles and cists,[2] and concealed or surrounding ditches,[3] seem to be associated both with Food-Vessels and Beakers in barrows. On the wolds, the rare stone constructions in barrows appear to be particularly associated with Beakers. Primary burials with Food-Vessels in barrows are quite common.[4] On the other hand, I do not yet know of any direct Food-Vessel association with the Yorkshire free standing circles of earth or stone. We cannot therefore safely link the so-called megalithic monuments of Yorkshire with the Food-Vessel culture, we cannot even be sure that the concealed circle in the barrow is an original feature of this culture; we can at best be sure that burial in a barrow is an important feature.

In conclusion we may summarise: (1) Miss Chitty's distinction between 'the Yorkshire Vase' and the 'Irish Bowl' is fundamental. This distinction granted, we see that there are very few of the latter in the Yorkshire area, where there are many of the former. We are inclined, therefore, to look for separate origins for the two.

[1] Examples of wooden structures associated with Food-Vessels:— Mortimer, Barrow 233 (*op. cit.* p. 6), Barrow 62 (*op. cit.* p. 212), Greenwell, Barrow 56 (*British Barrows*, p. 214), Barrow 97 (*op. cit.* pp. 304–5), Barrow 118 (pp. 327–8), Barrow 103 (pp. 312–4), Barrow 243 (*Arch.* lii, ii, 11, 33–35, 37), Circles, mentioned above, Mortimer, Barrows 23 and 41.

Examples of concealed stone circles in barrows:

(*a*) associated with primary Beaker burial, Mortimer, Barrow 55 (*op. cit.* pp. 100–2), note mixed rites; Barrow 83 (*op. cit.* p. 119) also mixed rites.

(*b*) associated with Food-Vessel: Bateman, *op. cit.* p. 207 (interment).

Examples of stone cists in barrows:

(*a*) associated with primary Beaker burial: Mortimer, Barrow 138 (*op. cit.* p. 273), Greenwell, Barrow lxii (*British Barrows*, pp. 238–45).

(*b*) associated with Food-Vessels: Greenwell, Barrow 241 (*Arch.* lii, 9–10), Barrow 240 (*op. cit.* p. 9), Barrow 237 (*op. cit.* p. 6).

[3] Examples of trenches encircling barrows, within or without the mound:

(*a*) associated with primary Beaker burials: Mortimer, Barrow 163 (*op. cit.* p. 214), Barrow 152 (p. 217), Barrow 116 (pp. 54–56), (triple Beaker burial).

(*b*) associated with primary Food-Vessel burials: Mortimer, Barrow 112 (*op. cit.* pp. 245–6) (not absolutely certain); Barrow 151 (p. 216) (double mutilated interment).

[4] Examples of primary Food-Vessel burials in barrows: Mortimer, Barrow 74 (*op. cit.* p. 221), Barrow 237 (pp. 325–6) (not certain), Barrow 62 (pp. 141–2), Barrow 87 (p. 67), Barrow 266 (p. 331). Greenwell, Barrow xcix (*British Barrows*, p. 303), Barrow xciv (*op. cit.*), Barrow xcvii p. 304), Barrow xc (pp. 300–1).

None of these lists are exhaustive. The fact that mixed rites appear both with Beakers and with Food-Vessels is interesting.

(2) Although all three are found there, we find that there is very little resemblance in Yorkshire between Food-Vessel Pottery and either Neolithic A or Beaker Pottery.

We also find that while there is clearly an overlap between the last two, fusion is hard to prove ; and while nothing has as yet occurred to shake the *priority* of Beaker to Food-Vessel, an overlap between Food-Vessel pottery and Beaker, however likely, is not yet proven. The relation of Food-Vessel and Neolithic A pottery we only infer, but as far as we know at present, there is no connection.

(3) We find no proof of the existence of Neolithic B before the Food-Vessel Ceramic in Yorkshire ; we find little proof of its existence at all, and that little appears to be contemporary with the Food-Vessel Ceramic. Yet there is an undeniable, if not exclusive, resemblance between Neolithic B and Yorkshire Food-Vessel. We therefore suggest that the only Neolithic B phase present in Yorkshire is the Food-Vessel phase.

(4) We do not yet know the prototypes of the South Country Neolithic B, so there is no reason why we should rule out as uncharacteristic the rich and distinctive varieties of the Yorkshire Food-Vessel. Together, the two related cultures would make a fairly normal Lowland Zone Distribution.

(5) We include under the term ' Yorkshire Food-Vessel ' vases with a groove and stops on the shoulder, with a groove alone and with neither (broadly, Abercromby's Types 1a, 2 and 3). All these forms appear to be contemporary, but there is little direct evidence. The groove is a very common feature, but appears to have no connection with the South British Neolithic B pottery.

(6) The influence of the ' Irish Bowl ' can be traced. It is important, but not overwhelming.

(7) Beaker elements, particularly in ornament, cannot be ruled out and may prove to be supremely important. As we cannot prove an overlap between Beaker and Food-Vessel in Yorkshire, there is a probability that this element was picked up elsewhere. In looking for this place of fusion, we must not overlook

the rest of the British Isles, although at present it appears more likely to be overseas.

(8) The Yorkshire Food-Vessel culture is a barrow culture,[1] but it is not a 'megalithic' culture; for so far we have no proof that in Yorkshire Food-Vessels are exclusively associated with any other kind of sepulchral structure.

I cannot carry the Yorkshire Food-Vessel beyond this point. But I hope that the way is now clear for a consideration of the problem that will transcend the narrow limits of local study.

[1] Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes points out that this also may be a very significant feature. For help received in the preparation of this paper, the writer especially wishes to thank Miss Chitty, Dr. Elgee, and Mr. Hawkes; and thanks are due to the authorities of Hull Corporation Museums, the Yorkshire Museum, York, and the National Museum, Copenhagen, for kind facilities and permission to publish Figs. 1 and 3 and Plate i.