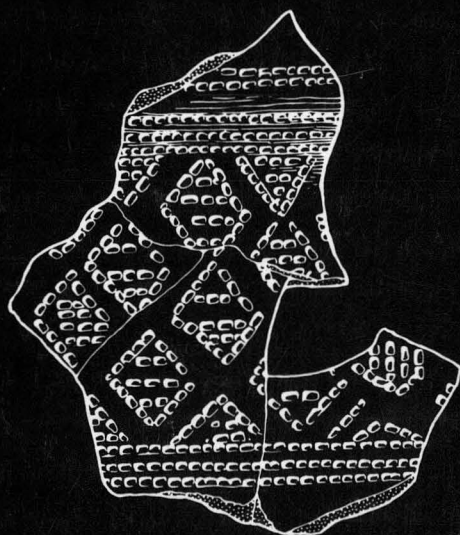


EAST ANGLIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

REPORT NO. 16

NORFOLK

Beaker Domestic Sites
in the Fen Edge and East Anglia



NORFOLK ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT

Norfolk Museums Service

1982

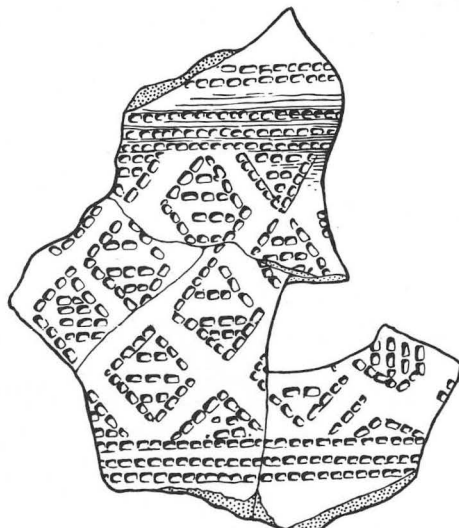
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Beaker Domestic Sites
in the Fen Edge and East Anglia

by

Helen M. Bamford

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Preface

The introduction of Beaker pottery is one of the most easily recognisable events in British prehistory, yet its meaning is hotly disputed and the role of these ceramics in the society of the late third and early second millennium b.c. is elusive.

Opinion on the immigration of a discrete ethnic group endowed with a full Beaker 'culture' (in the Childean sense) is divided and the debate is reviewed by Whittle (1981, 300). Although recent evidence has been presented in support of earlier claims that a new physical type brought this culture to Britain (Brothwell and Krzanoski 1974), the validity of this evidence has been questioned (Burgess and Shennan 1976, 321; Whittle 1981, 301-2). Similarly, the dogma that single grave burial beneath a round barrow was introduced by this 'invasion' has been shown to be ill-founded since single graves, crouched inhumations and round barrows were current before the advent of Beakers (Kinnes 1979). Indeed, many of the unfurnished crouched inhumations which have been designated as of Beaker affinity may have been quite unrelated to those who adopted this ceramic. A change in the arable economy resulting from the arrival of Beaker users is also unconvincing since the suggested swing from a predominance of wheat to barley is not wholly proven (Dennell 1976). It appears that many of the relatively newly constructed ceremonial field monuments, such as henges, were frequented by Beaker users. So it may be argued that changes in the second millennium reflect a purely logical development within insular society. Despite the undoubted arrival of Beakers, 'the "Beaker Folk" evidently had no minds of their own' (Bradley 1978, 110).

Set against this view of conservatism, however, is the evidence of radical change in the material culture. From the outset, a small number of novel items, recurrently found in association, can be distinguished not only in Britain but also throughout Western Europe. Dominant in this pan-European 'package' which 'blended everywhere into local settings' (Burgess and Shennan 1976, 310), is the superior Beaker ceramic. Contemporaneous with the appearance of this 'package', if not actually preceding it (Burgess 1979, 211), are simple metal objects, a tremendous technological innovation. The success of these new fashions demonstrates how rapidly some aspects of material culture can alter, whilst other traditions which characterise the foster society endure.

It is not possible to speak of a change of culture in Britain at this time when there is evidence for the organic development of the existing society due to external influence. There is insufficient evidence for the imposition of a totally new way of life or social constraint which in extreme cases might result from the forceful suppression of old ideas, despite the war-like nature of much of the Beaker equipment.

In the writer's view, it is possible that the people who first brought Beakers to Britain advocated a new ideology which caught the imagination of Neolithic farmers. As the new order rapidly gained popularity a desire to identify with it caused its symbols to be used outside the normal milieu, even in mundane contexts. It might be suggested that initially only the more influential echelons of society held sufficient social status or rank to merit the privilege of initiation into the Beaker order. However, Beakers and their associated artefacts may soon have lost their special significance and status. The reci-

ipient of today's chocolate egg probably has little knowledge of the symbol for the rebirth of Christ which is particularly apt at Easter. Although Beakers may originally have been introduced as special vessels for use, amongst other things, in burials, their role became so altered that in some sections of society Beaker-type vessels became the dominant style especially in later phases. Other traditions, such as Food Vessels and Collared Urns, developed synchronously and these pots may have had their own special role in the same community that employed Beaker-type pots. This would be one way of accounting for the different proportions of Beakers and associated artefacts that appear on settlement sites throughout Britain.

Such a suggestion need not totally exclude the movement of people from the Continent, but the outward paraphernalia of the suggested ideology is more tangible than its bearers. In this hypothesis the mechanism by which Beakers were accepted into the existing society differs from the 'radical proposition' presented by Whittle (1981, 307) who argues that there is no clear evidence for distinctive or separate Beaker settlement before a Late phase and that by this phase there are serious grounds for doubting the meaning of 'separate Beaker settlement'. Both views, however, assign Beaker pottery a specialized and, initially at least, a prestigious role (Whittle 1981, 311). As it has been suggested (Lanting and van der Waals 1972, 44) that the spread and development of the whole of our insular Beaker tradition, which lasted for a millennium, resulted from a relatively short and localised contact with the Low Countries and the Rhineland, it may be derisory to think of the first Beaker immigrants, traders, prospectors, apostles or whatever, as 'an influential beer-drinking cult' (Burgess and Shennan 1976, 312).

Obviously, other hypotheses can be suggested in which the ceramic traditions of the Late Neolithic identify different peoples who may even have performed inter-dependent specialist functions within the same community. Beaker users may have established themselves as prestigious discrete elements who manufactured their pottery by a different process to other groups. Through the medium of these groups, communication and exchange may have been renewed between Britain and the Continent. These groups may not only have persisted, but may have expanded until they became the dominant proportion of the overall population of some regions. Such a view is certainly preferred by Helen Bamford.

The settlements and economy of the period were diverse and regionalised and at some sites Beakers were only incidental in local developments. In Norfolk, a lack of investigated Late Neolithic sites makes an assessment of the local impact of Beakers difficult. However, there was a 'ceramic explosion' caused by the local proliferation of Beakers that was not sustained in the later Bronze Age once the popularity of the Beaker tradition waned.

Whatever place Beakers held in prehistoric society, their funerary function is paramount in most modern assessments of this pottery tradition. It is obviously easier to assess the form and decoration of a vessel when it is largely complete than when it is represented by only a few abraded sherds. Consequently, typologies have been based on complete vessels, generally from graves. This publication will impress on the reader that vast quantities of pottery have been collected from domestic sites which are so similar in fabric and overall technique to the funerary vessels that Beaker domestic ware, despite the summary treatment it has received in the past, has a valid and moreover, significant role in the archaeological record. The study of Beaker domestic ware shows that some forms and decorative styles which were not strongly represented in the sepulchral repertoire were better represented in such contexts. Because the domestic material has been neglected, statements such as 'the material evidence for the makers of beaker pottery comes almost entirely from funerary contexts' (Megaw and Simpsom 1979, 189) prevail in many modern textbooks, while a recent assessment of 'The Beaker Folk' (Harrison 1980) makes no attempt to identify domestic wares in Britain.

Unfortunately, the investigation of Beaker domestic sites has not produced spectacular results. The form of settlements and the structures within them are poorly represented and diverse. Beaker domestic sites and their possible significance are discussed at some length by Helen Bamford (Part III) and independently by Simpson (1971). Although a general generic similarity in pottery can be traced throughout Europe, no standardised Beaker house form is evident; we find a round house at Gwithian, Cornwall, an oval house at Molenaarsgraaf, Holland and a rectangular house at Myrhøj, Denmark. Due to the dearth of house structures, both in Late Neolithic and Beaker contexts in Britain, a change related to the new ceramic tradition is not obvious. The absence of houses in the archaeological record cannot wholly result from inadequate excavation (Clarke 1970, 156). The re-interpretation of stake-hole circles and *disjecta membra* discovered beneath some round barrows (for example, Chippenham Barrow 5, Cambs.; Gibson 1981) suggests that these, our most common surviving prehistoric monument, at times protect the best evidence for settlement, even if it is where least expected.

The identification of the rich sites at Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norfolk results from fieldwalking and, to a great extent, the dedicated efforts of one man, the late Frank Curtis. So much material was collected from this Fen edge location when it was first ploughed in modern times that only two principal sites could be selected by Helen Bamford as the basis for her wider consideration of Beaker domestic sites. The importance of the fen-edge in the second millennium b.c. is manifest from the number of prolific sites that have been recorded on the south-eastern edge of the Fenland basin, while from the extensive excavations on the west side (Pryor 1978), the land management of the time can be inferred. The quality and quantity of the material of the second millennium b.c. on the fen-edge is outstanding in British prehistory and is totally unmatched in East Anglia before the Roman invasion. Although the Hockwold-cum-Wilton material was not recorded in the detailed way that many attempt today, this was a true example of 'rescue archaeology'. Those sites which continued to be ploughed have been obliterated as the fen peat eroded, and sherds no longer appear in the ploughsoil. One can only hint at similarity with those sites which occur in a similar environment and which have been better investigated, such as those in Holland (Kooijmans 1974). Helen Bamford's work demonstrates the importance of the extant collections. A pure Beaker site and one with a mixture of pottery styles have been selected for this study. Other sites exist where Plain Bowl, Food Vessel or Urn ceramic traditions are represented, demonstrating the cultural continuum from the Neolithic to the full Bronze Age. These pots could be the work of different groups in the same community, different phases of the same community, or of different communities entirely, all frequenting the same spot.

The Beaker pottery which Helen Bamford has studied has been accommodated, where possible, within the classification devised by David Clarke (1970). Despite the widescale acceptance of Clarke's typology his views regarding the origin and chronology of the proposed traditions have been challenged. Dutch archaeologists, reviewing the British evidence in the light of Continental developments, have presented an alternative scheme in which a number of developmental steps are proposed (Lanting and van der Waals 1972). Radiocarbon dates generally confirm the analagous developments in Dutch Beakers (Lanting, Mook and van der Waals 1973). However, the evidence from well-stratified British sites, such as Mount Pleasant, Dorset, and Barnack, Cambridgeshire indicates that there may have been a much greater degree of chronological overlap between different typological groups than was originally thought, so that a revision of ideas has been urged (Longworth 1979, 190; Whittle 1981, 308-10). Even if an extensive range of associated radiocarbon dates were established, it might not validate Clarke's sophisticated theoretical framework, derived from a computer-sorted matrix which sought to identify separate social groups on the basis of their pottery alone. By simplifying the model into three stages, as Case (1977, 72) has done, we hope not to regress to 'the innocence of Thurnham (1871) and Abercromby (1912)', the pioneers of the classification of Bronze Age pottery.

In their review of Clarke's classification, Lanting and van der Waals (1972, 33) object to the isolation of a 'Barbed-Wire' (BW) group. They suggest that the use of a thread-wound stamp for decoration is a facet of the unorthodoxy in the early Beakers of the East Anglian-Kentish focal area. The domestic assemblages studied here support this view since BW beakers are met with most frequently as an element of the 'East Anglian' (EA) tradition. The Continental use of this decorative technique appears to be later and the technique may have been a British export.

As the majority of works on Beakers, including David Clarke's, have not considered the affinities and development of rusticated and coarse Beaker-type pottery, Helen Bamford's work fills a void in the archaeological literature. Although ideas on the Beaker phenomenon are in a state of flux and newly discovered material is being assessed, a backcloth against which the new ideas can be viewed is necessary. The data presented here must form part of any future consideration of the British culture of the second millennium b.c. and this review of Beaker domestic ware helps to redress the balance from the necrophiles.

The work presented here remains largely unaltered since it was presented as a doctoral thesis in 1970. Apart from references to sites in East Anglia (at Martlesham, Suffolk and Weasenham, Norfolk), excavated since then, and reference to a rusticated Beaker from Brittany, no completely new material has been added. However, a number of revisions have been made: bibliographical references have been updated and the discussion of some sites, such as Belle Tout and Northton, which have been more fully published since the original thesis, have been expanded; a few passages which now seem inappropriate have been omitted, while endnotes draw attention to more recently published relevant writings; an essential list of sites in the Hockwold area (Appendix II) has been added; the schedule of Beaker sites (Appendix III) has been reorganised and a number of other minor amendments to the text have been made. It is not customary for theses to be published in East Anglian Archaeology but the corpus of material which this work embodies contains essential basic data for all who wish to study the Beaker phenomenon in Britain and especially on the Fen edge.

The bulk of the material, including lithic and faunal remains, from the south-west Norfolk Fen edge from Weeting-with-Broomhill to Feltwell, which was not covered by Helen Bamford's thesis, is now being assessed by Frances Healy at the Norfolk Archaeological Unit. A detailed review of the prodigious Bronze Age metalwork from the same area (Lawson 1980, fig.8) is called for. Meanwhile, a field-by-field survey of this area is being conducted by Tony Gregory, also of the Norfolk Archaeological Unit, principally to recover evidence for the later Romano-British occupation. The Fens remain one of the few extensive areas in Southern Britain where entire prehistoric landscapes have been preserved by natural agencies. The value of this region to the archaeologist has been recognised and a widescale Fenland Survey has been initiated. It is hoped that the results of all this work will appear in later volumes of East Anglian Archaeology.

Andrew J. Lawson
11th April 1982

Introduction

During the early 1960s, a richly productive Beaker domestic site was discovered in the parish of Hockwold-cum-Wilton in West Norfolk.

The Beaker complex in Britain has, hitherto, been defined chiefly according to artefacts customarily buried with the dead below barrows or in flat graves. Domestic aspects of the culture have been given much more cursory treatment, even in David Clarke's monumental study of Beaker pottery, chiefly because relatively few Beaker settlements have been found, and material from them forms only a small proportion of the total available for study.

It scarcely needs to be pointed out, however, that a balanced evaluation of the Beaker phenomenon is impossible on such a lop-sided basis. Something may be deduced from the graves and their contents about the material culture, customs, and even the social organisation of the living people who conducted the rituals of burial, but many other aspects of their way of life could only be illuminated by a detailed study of domestic and non-funerary sites. The assemblages of material from domestic sites may be the unevenly preserved residue of discarded rubbish, but even from a purely typological standpoint they have a particular value complementary to that of funerary assemblages, as Clarke, writing of the pottery, was careful to point out (Clarke D.L. 1970, 35), in that they constitute relatively large, non-selected associations.

Many of the known Beaker sites have been published, but their significance has tended to be overshadowed by that of graves and 'henge' monuments, more easily identified and more immediately rewarding to the excavator. Few have been the subject of large scale investigations and, on most, excavation has been opportunist in character and limited in scope. Several were, indeed, discoveries incidental to the excavation of bronze age barrows. In 1960 the paucity of the evidence seemed to justify the common assumption, expressed by Rainbird Clarke in respect of the Beaker culture in East Anglia, that these people were nomadic herdsmen who practised little agriculture and lived in tents (Clarke R.R. 1960, 65). Environmental research and the results of a number of excavations published or carried out since then have indicated that this conclusion is vastly oversimplified, but a detailed, comprehensive survey and synthesis of the evidence is still lacking.

This attempt to redress the balance a little has been prompted by the finds made at Hockwold, and by the realisation that, in addition, there exists quite a large body of unpublished or very incompletely published material from Beaker domestic sites throughout East Anglia.

It is not an exhaustive account. The starting point is the Hockwold site and the finds from it, described and discussed first in some detail. These are then considered in relation to the other sites and domestic assemblages in East Anglia, not because they are necessarily representative of the British Isles as a whole, but because the region is

distinct geographically, and in it there is a sufficiently large number of sites to make a close comparative study worthwhile. Beaker domestic sites throughout the rest of Britain are then discussed on a general level in the light of the more limited survey. This latter section is concerned chiefly with sites published before 1970.

Beaker domestic sites may be considered from at least two different angles. Firstly there are the sites themselves and the features which characterise them in their topographical and chronological setting. The discussion of these and of the inferences which may be drawn from them forms another major section of the survey. Secondly there are the artefacts from the sites. In the treatment of these, existing typologies are drawn on where possible, with no more comment than is essential, and discussion is confined largely to those aspects of Beaker material culture which are particularly relevant to the domestic context, or which can only be seen in assemblages such as the domestic sites provide. Pottery has, however, been dealt with more fully than the lithic assemblages, which await further study. Within this category falls the whole subject of Beaker rusticated and coarse pottery, the full significance of which within the Beaker ceramic range has only recently begun to be appreciated. Since even Clarke did not consider in detail the typology and affinities of these wares, the matter is reviewed in the final section.

NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

British Beakers

The terms used throughout to describe the types of Beaker pottery found in Britain are those proposed by David Clarke (1970), because, as purely descriptive terms, they allow a fair degree of precision in defining stylistic groups. Their adoption here does not, however, necessarily imply acceptance of all Clarke's attendant theories as to their significance concerning the origins and affinities of the types themselves.

Beakers on the Continent

In discussing the beakers and Beaker culture on the Continent, the classificatory systems of Glasbergen and van der Waals for the Dutch beakers (van der Waals and Glasbergen 1955), and Sangmeister for the beakers of the Middle Rhine region (Sangmeister 1951) have been followed. The classification of rusticated beakers on the Continent is discussed at some length in Part IV and only Lehmann's system for the Dutch Pot Beakers needs mention here. His definitions of three categories, Trumpet Pot Beaker (TPB), Necked Pot Beaker (NPB) and Belted Pot Beaker (BPB), are outlined in a paper published in Helinium (Lehmann 1965), and these definitions have been adhered to, although the general term has also been used for a number of large beakers, or sherds from large beakers, with zoned plastic rustication which are not certainly or exactly like the known Dutch examples.

Techniques of Decoration

A distinction has been made between fine ware, by which is meant beakers decorated by means of a toothed or notched stamp, or by incision, regardless of the actual quality of manufacture or of the degree of excellence or otherwise with which the decoration is executed, and rusticated ware. This last term is used in a broad sense to describe the techniques of decoration used chiefly on Beaker coarse ware, and covers impression or jabbing with the articular ends of small bones, twigs or circular, square or triangular stamps, although similar techniques, such as stamping with a cut or split reed or hollow bone to form circular or crescent-shaped impressions, were sometimes incorporated in the decoration of fine ware. The most common and characteristic methods of rustication on beakers, however, consisted of the non-plastic or plastic treatment of the surface of the pot using the finger tips, finger nails and finger pinching. A non-plastic or only very slightly plastic motif, involving paired, opposed finger-nail impressions, is termed

Introduction

'crow's-foot' decoration, to distinguish it from the similar, but more heavily plastic pinched style. On some of the later Beaker rusticated pottery decoration includes ribs pinched up with the fingers or worked up with a tool. Sometimes, and on East Anglian beakers especially, a similar effect of ribbing was achieved by parallel rows of horizontal or oblique finger-nail impressions which lift the surface of the pot hardly at all. This tends to look a little like cord-impressed decoration and, following a term used by Lehmann, is referred to as 'false-cord' decoration.

PART I

Hockwold-cum-Wilton: The Site

Hockwold-cum-Wilton is a parish situated on the Fen edge in West Norfolk, less than a mile north of the Suffolk border. It lies about twelve miles respectively north-east of Ely and north-west of Thetford, in the valley of the Little Ouse. This is within the area described in the report of the Land Utilisation Survey as the Breck-Fen region (Mosby 1938, 230), a marginal region between the higher Brecklands immediately to the east, and the Fen proper to the west. The fen peat at this point overlies chalk which is capped by sand deposits of varying thickness, and the recorded Beaker and other pre-historic sites are on slight hills or outcroppings of this chalk and sand. Although not exactly similar, the stratigraphy described by Clark in his report on the excavations at Shippea Hill nearby makes a useful and well-documented comparison (Clark 1933, 1935).

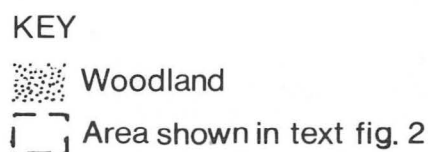
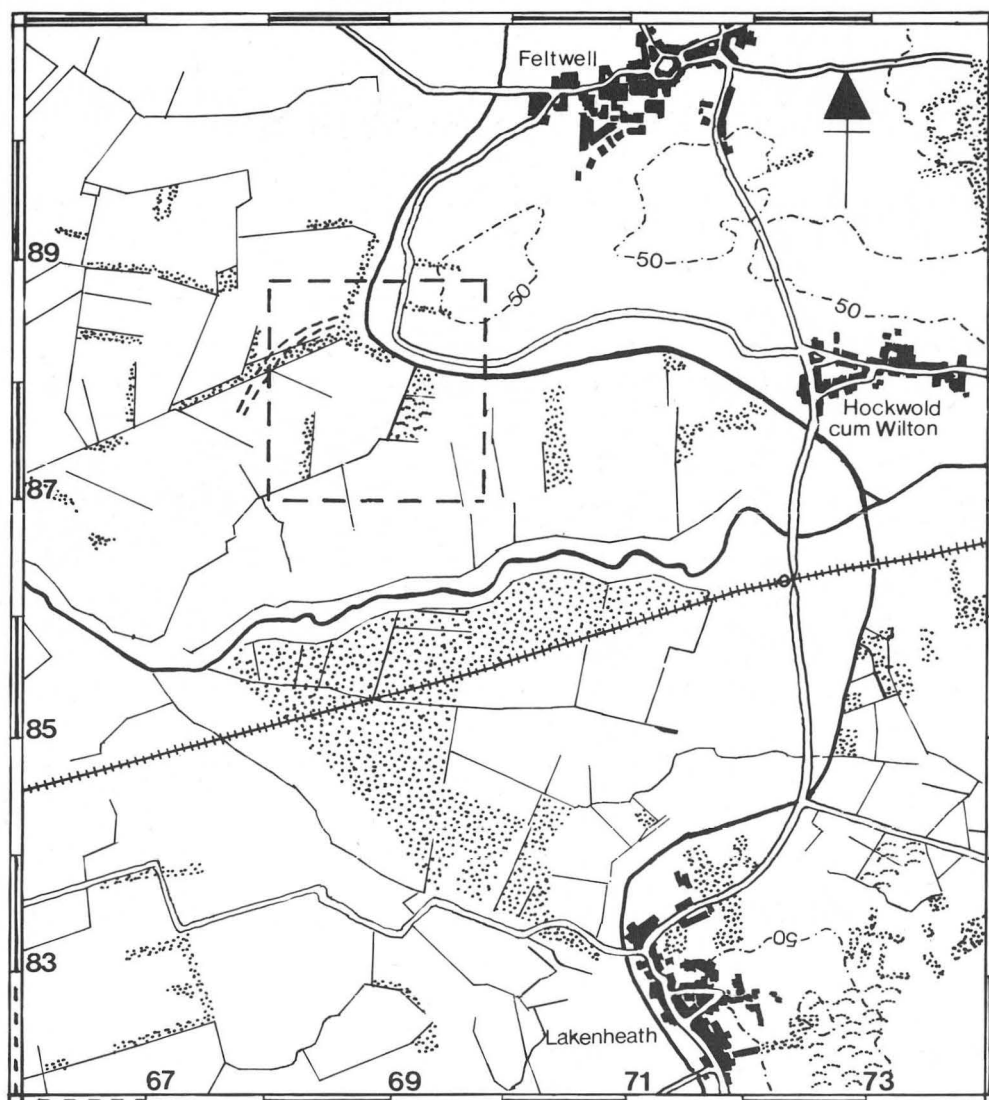
The Hockwold finds occur mostly within a radius of a mile of Blackdyke Farm, in an area skirting the rising ground which marks the extreme western edge of the Breckland. North of the main concentration of Beaker sites, the course of an extinct water way can be seen as shelly silt against the surrounding peat.

Before the last war, much of the fen in this area is recorded as having been derelict and in need of drainage (Mosby 1938, 230), and it was not until the late 1950s and early 1960s that shrinkage of the peat, as a result of more efficient drainage and more extensive cultivation, led to the exposure and discovery of the sites. Such derelict land as still exists supports scrubby woodland of birch, elder and hawthorn, with patches of reeds.

Surface scatters of Beaker sherds and flints are common and have been noted over most of the fields in the area indicated. The best recorded sites, however, form a fairly compact group in Fields 613, 614 and 616 on the O.S. 25 in map of the area. Field 613 is uncultivated and is covered in scrub of the type described above; Fields 614 and 616 were ploughed for the first time in 1961, since when numerous surface finds have been made in them, including considerable quantities of flints and sherds of earlier neolithic pottery, Beaker, Food Vessel, bronze age and Romano-British pottery. Of all these, Beaker material is by far the most common. The finds are listed in Appendix II.

Mr Frank Curtis, who recorded most of these finds, conducted small scale excavations on the sites of some of the greater concentrations of material during the years between 1962 and 1966. These excavations were in the nature of a rescue operation, since the peat is shrinking and being blown off at an estimated rate of 2 in a year and the sites were usually available for only one year, after discovery during ploughing and before the sowing of the next crop, before being destroyed completely by the plough.

Sites excavated in the fields already mentioned, and in O.S. Field 644, include several hearths and 'floors' producing Beaker material, two hearths, side by side, built of puddled chalk and associated with sherds of bucket-urn type, and traces of occupation by people using neolithic bowl and Food Vessel pottery.



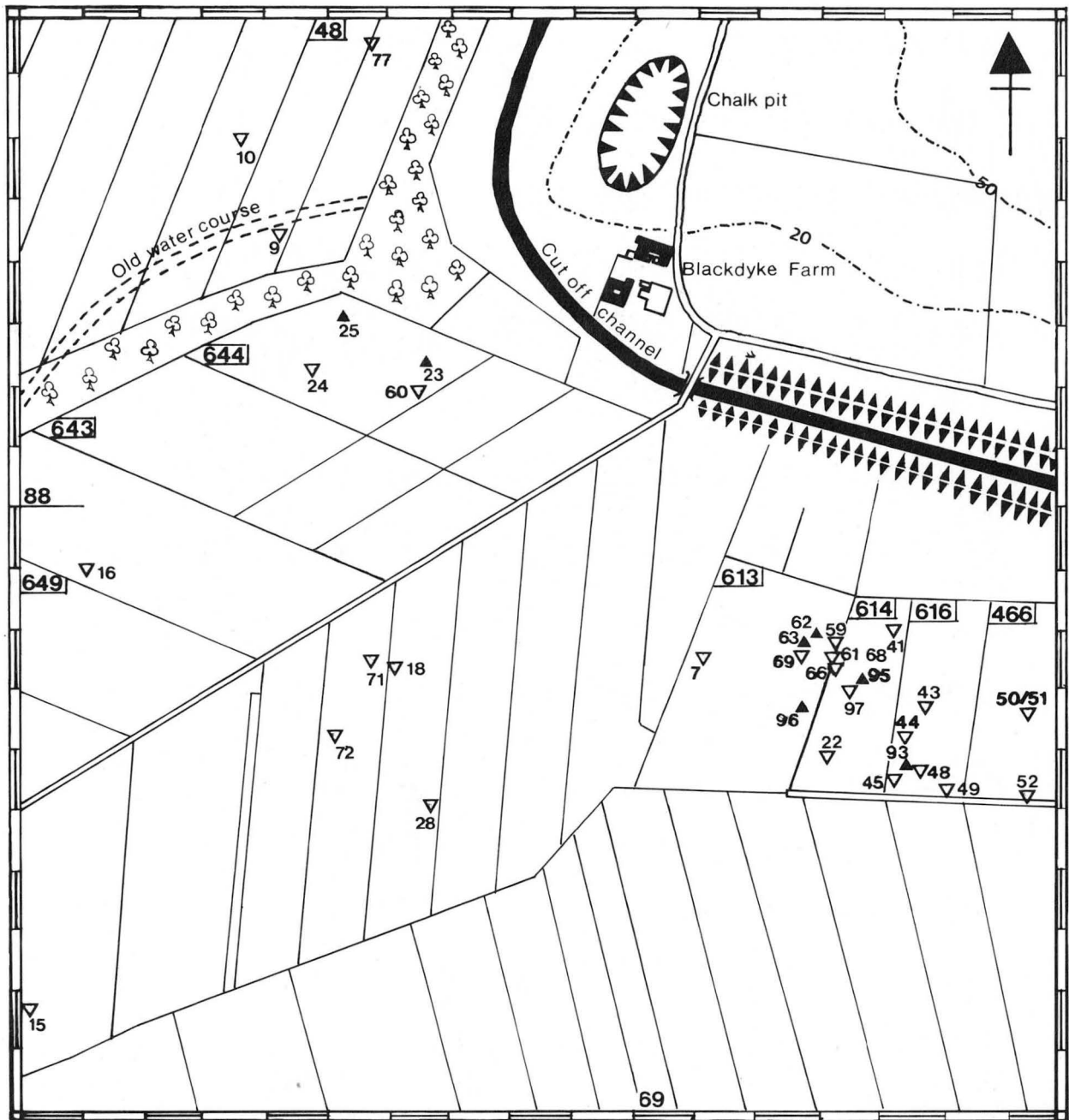
Text Fig.1. Map of Hockwold area. Scale 1:63,360 (1 in to 1 mile).

METHOD

The excavator usually dug each site in a series of small, numbered squares or rectangles, the finds from each being kept separate and their stratigraphical position roughly noted. Records, where kept, consisted of measured sketch plans of the main features of the sites in relation to the excavator's grid, sections and, sometimes, photographs. The approximate positions of the sites were determined by measuring their distance from the two nearest field boundaries, and were marked on the O.S. 6 in and 25 in maps accordingly.

FIELD 616: SITE 93 (Map Ref. TL 6941 8758)

This site is the most complete and informative of those excavated. An exploratory

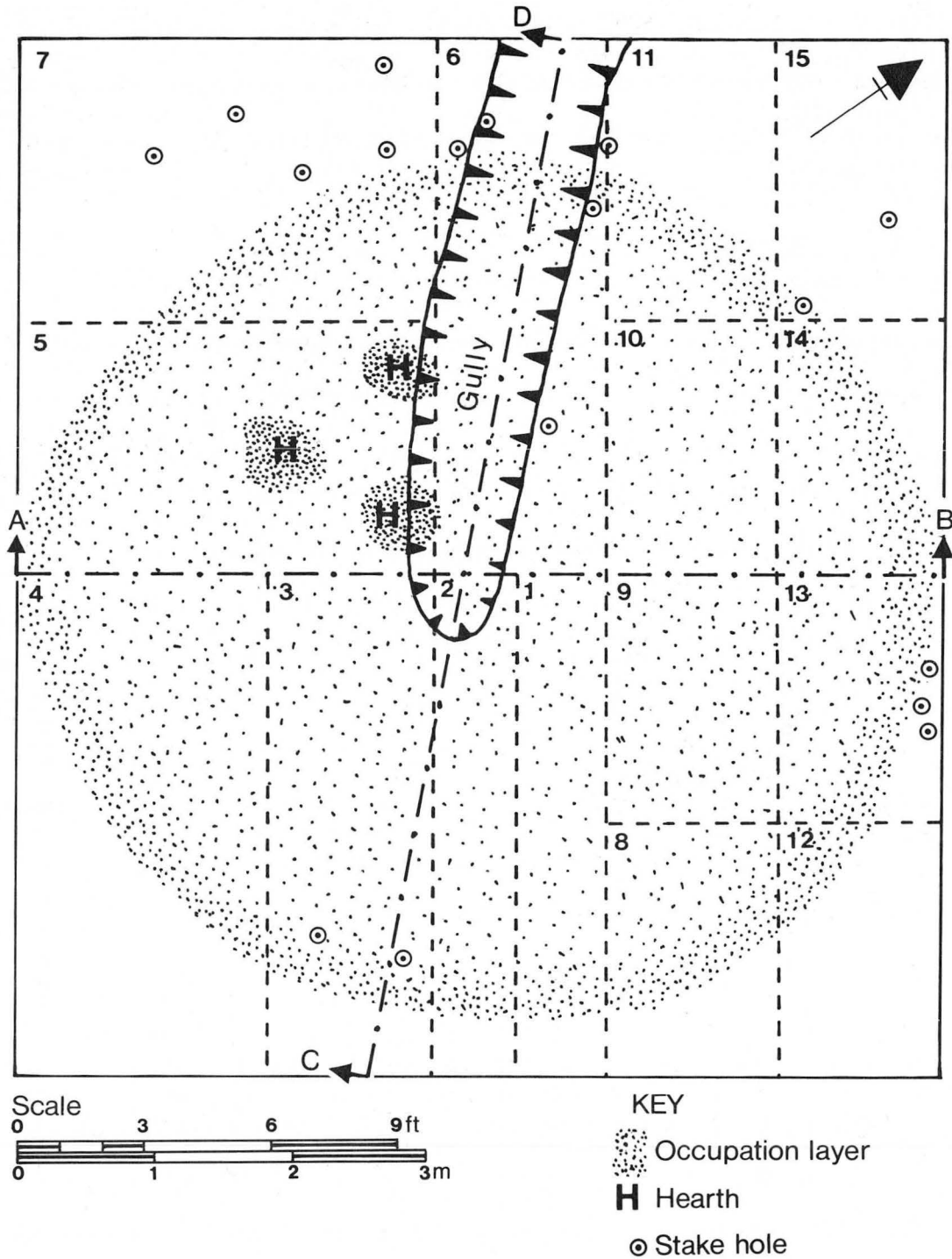


KEY

- ▲ Hearth or 'floor'
- ▽ Beaker sherds

Text Fig.2. Hockwold, Blackdyke Farm area: Beaker finds.
 Scale 1:10, 560 (6 in to 1 mile).

trench, 4 ft wide, revealed evidence of an occupation 'floor' about a foot below the surface of the plough, and the trench was then extended in measured squares in order to find the limits of the feature. This proved to be roughly circular, and was some 22 ft in diameter and up to 8 in thick in the centre. It consisted of a layer of dark, humic sand (layer 2) containing much charcoal, animal bone, flints, a few bone implements and southern Beaker pottery. In the western quadrant of this area were three concentrations of charcoal suggesting hearths, though there was no sign that these had been built or in any way prepared.



Text Fig.3. Hockwold, Site 93: plan of Beaker 'floor'.

The 'floor' was stripped and seventeen stake-holes were recorded, each containing the point of an upright stake between 1 in and 2 in in diameter, identified by the bark as birch. These stakes formed a roughly semi-circular setting around the north and west sides, with a few more scattered on the east and south sides. There appear to have been several more possible stake-holes which did not contain wood and which were not recorded.

Beneath the 'floor' and partly sealed by it was a gully in the underlying sand, running from the centre of the area to beyond its limit on the north-west side. This sloped in depth from 6 in at the south-east end to over 2 ft deep, and was filled with dark soil (layer 3) containing animal bones, pottery of the same type as was found in layer 2 and large fragments of wood. The excavator suggested that this might have been a spring filled with brushwood to level it. Another possibility is that it was dug as a drainage gully.

There is little doubt that this is a single period site. The pottery is consistent with such a conclusion, being all beakers of Late/Final Southern type and, judging by the repetition and similarity of many of the forms and motifs, possibly the product of one potter or a small group of potters working together. There does not seem to be any obviously intrusive material.

The scatter of sherds and other material was confined almost entirely to the 'floor' area and was densest, though not markedly so, in the northern and western quadrants, around the hearths and near the setting of stake-holes (Text Fig. 5). The surface of the deposit seems to have been disturbed by the plough, since the plough-soil (layer 1) directly overlay it and contained sherds matching those from it.

The surviving, undisturbed deposit was apparently without any internal stratification. The sherds from any one of the considerable number of pots represented were scattered widely over the whole area, and there was nothing to indicate that the site had not been continuously occupied throughout its period of use.

FIELD 613: 'OAKS' SITE - SITES 62, 63 and 69 (Map Ref. TL 692 877)

Field 613 had never been ploughed and sites were, therefore, undisturbed, unless by tree roots. The three areas, which adjoin one another, total approximately 1185 sq ft, but Site 69 is the only one of which plans and sections exist. They are arbitrary divisions and there is a considerable overlap of material between them, so that it seems pointless to consider them separately.

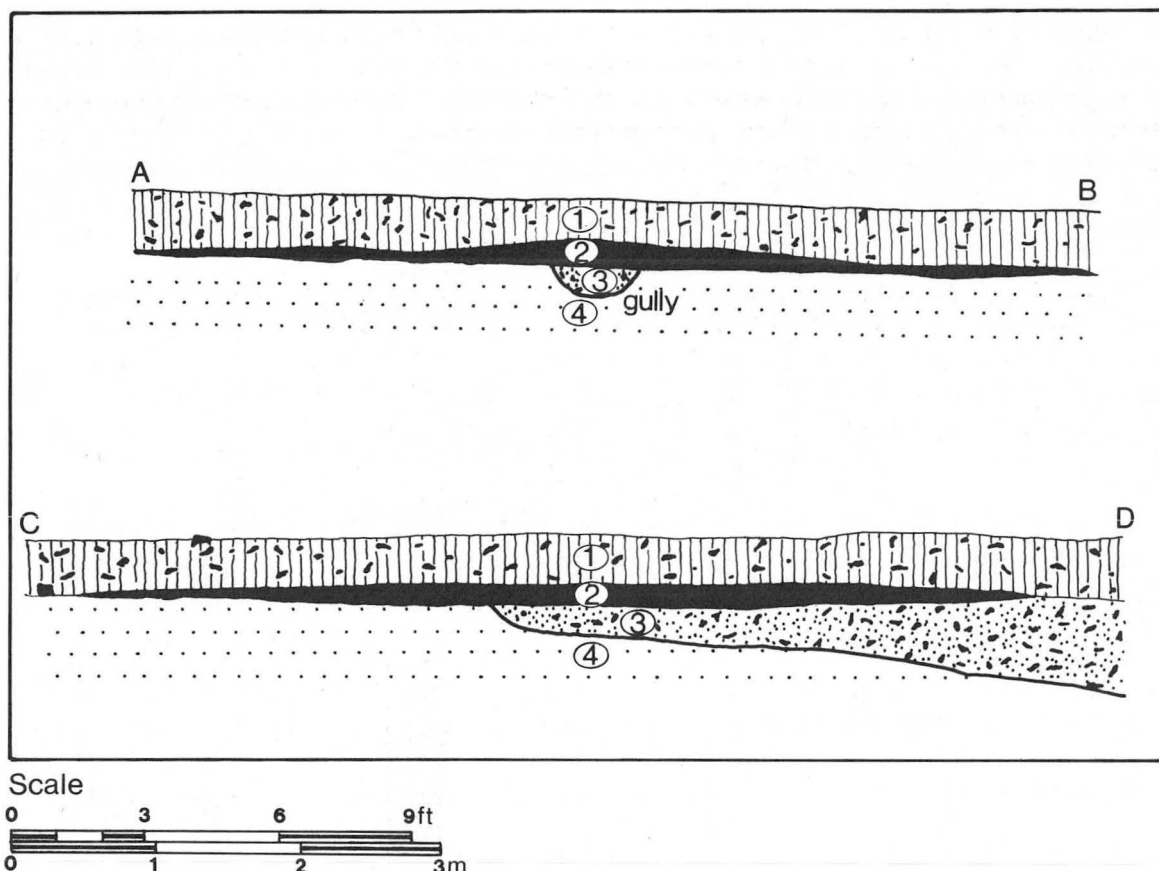
Site 62

(TL 6927 8779) consisted of a hearth only. There were three sherds from it: one was of a Southern-type Beaker, P.63, 062, other fragments of which are recorded as having come from Site 63; the others are like no other pottery found in the area. Both are rim sherds between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ in thick and with plain, squared rims; one of them is undecorated, the other has two small, closely spaced bosses, similar to those on a 'grape cup'. The fabric of both is black with a smooth, glossy surface and contains flint grit.

Site 63

(TL 6925 8878) was an L-shaped area measuring 24 ft x 12 ft and excavated to a depth of between 2 and 3 ft. At the eastern end of this, at a depth of 18 in, was another hearth. It was 4 ft x 6 ft across and consisted of a roughly circular hollow, 7 in deep, dug into the chalk and filled with a mixture of ash, charcoal, burnt flints, a few pieces of burnt clay, and sherds of Southern-type Beakers, including a handle.

Amongst this fill were several lumps of haematite, mostly small, and some large pieces of burnt quartzite. The latter had possibly been used to line the hearth, since it would not shatter as does flint, which is the most common stone in the region. The presence of the haematite is puzzling. Flecks of it are found in the fabric of Beaker pottery from this and several other sites in various parts of southern and eastern England (e.g. Overton Down, Site OD XI: Fowler 1967b, 31), and fragments of limonite and haematite occurred together with sherds of Beaker and Food Vessel pottery and other debris of presumably domestic origin in the mound of Beacon Hill Barrow, Barton Mills, about



Text Fig.4. Hockwold, Site 93: sections.

1. Ploughsoil - dark, sandy peat.
2. Occupation layer - dark sand with charcoal.
3. Fill of gully - dark sand with charcoal.
4. Undisturbed subsoil - sterile sand.

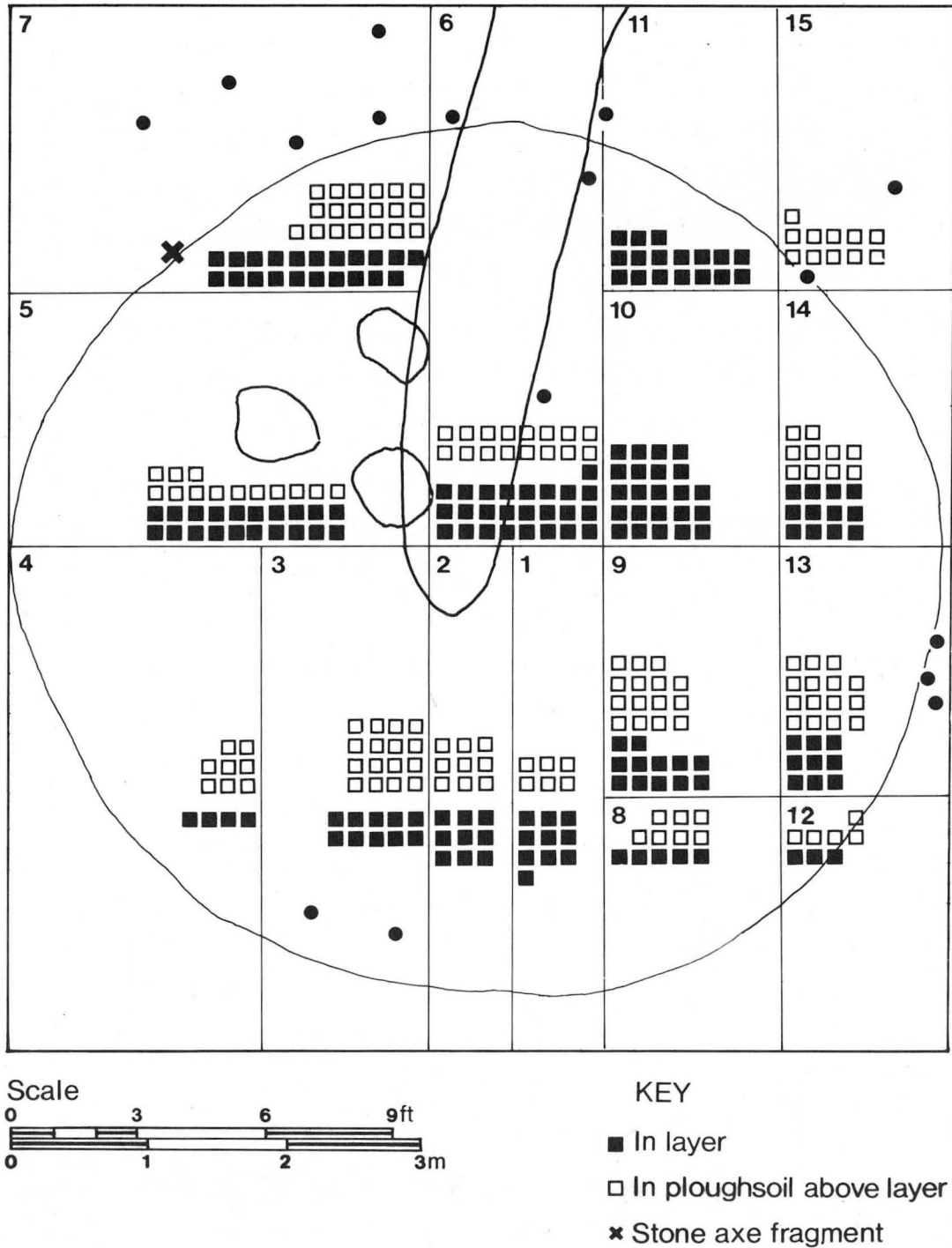
eight miles from Hockwold (Cawdor and Fox 1924). Its source in the Fen edge region is not known; it may have been imported from elsewhere, and was perhaps in general use as a pigment.

Around the hearth, at a similar depth to it, was a plentiful scatter of Southern Beaker sherds, flints and animal bone. Mr Curtis stated that there were several stake holes within this area although their positions were not recorded. He thought that three or four of them may have been set in a straight line, but was unable to see any overall plan. Several of them contained carbonised wood.

Site 69

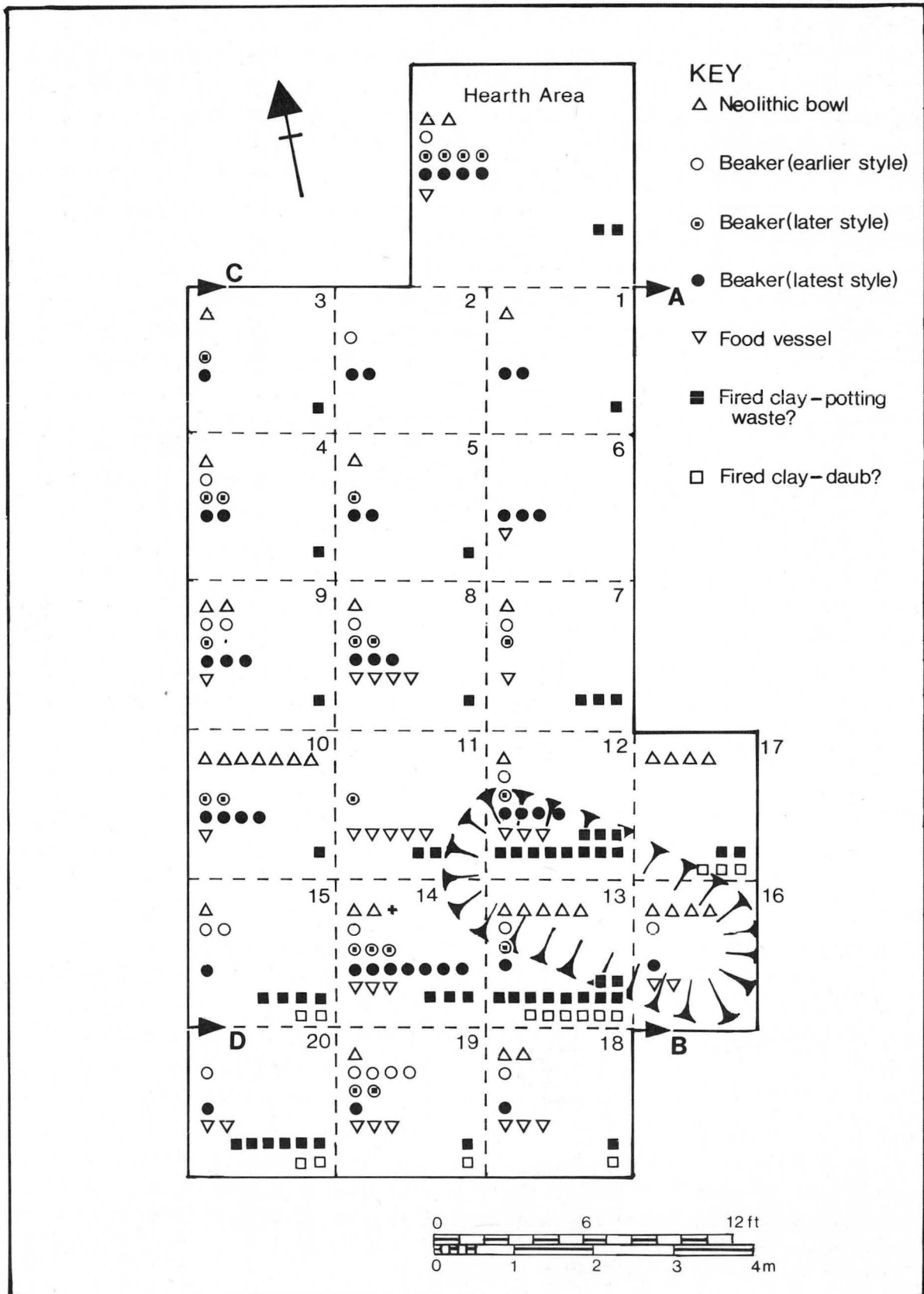
(TL 6926 8776) The area excavated was rectangular, orientated north-south, and measured approximately 789 sq ft. It was divided into eighteen squares of 6 ft x 6 ft and two rectangles of 5 ft x 6 ft, and at the north end of this area was a 9 ft x 9 ft square labelled 'Hearth I'. This last poses a problem, as Mr Curtis was certain that there were only two hearths on the 'Oaks' site. The only finds labelled as being actually from hearth pits are from Site 62 and Site 63, and both are labelled 'Hearth I' also. The rest of the material from Site 63 is labelled 'Hearth II area', but there is nothing labelled as being from Hearth II itself.

There is no large-scale plan showing the exact positions of the sites relative to one another, but the map references given indicate them roughly, with Site 63 between Site 62 to the north and Site 69 to the south (Text Fig.2). The Site 62 and Site 63 hearths are

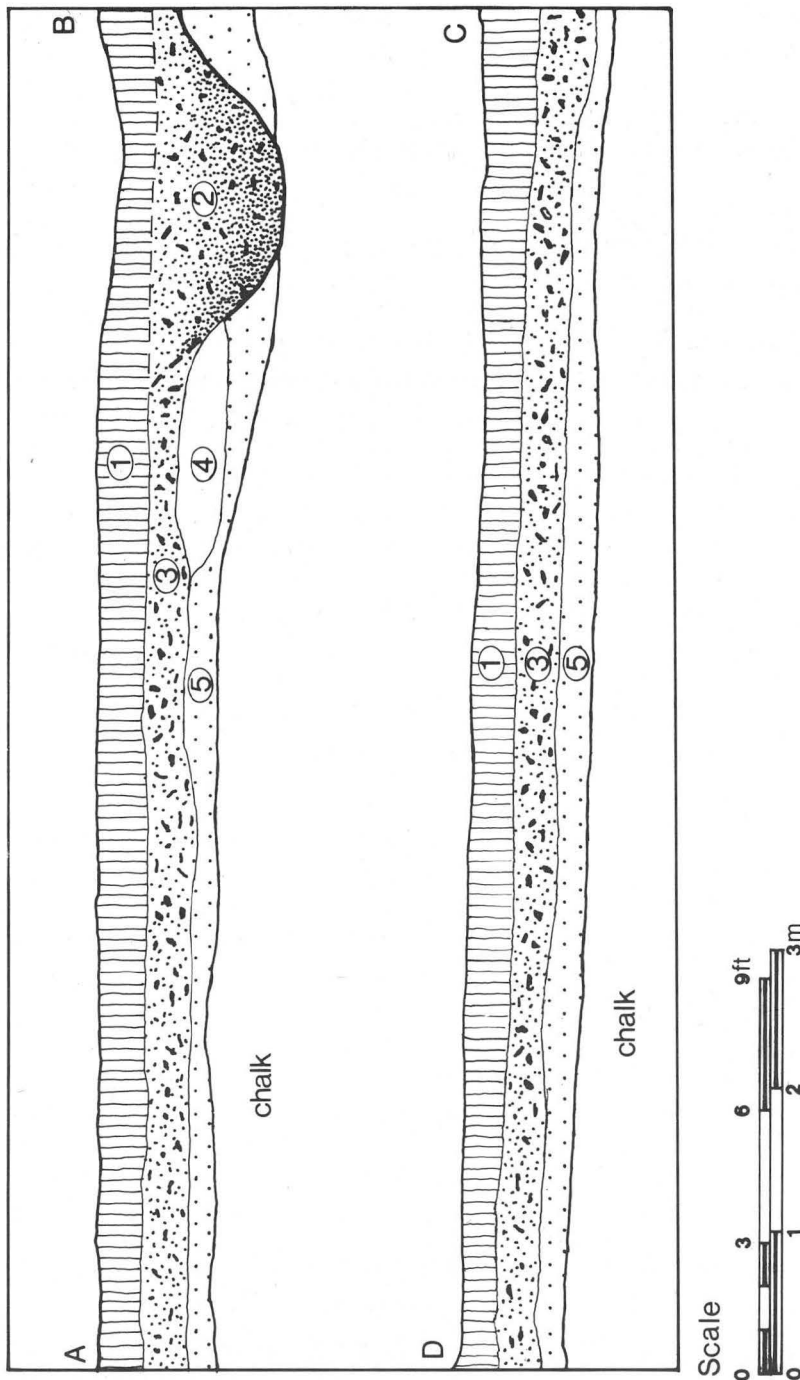


Text Fig.5. Hockwold, Site 93: distribution of pottery sherds.

certainly separate features: the recorded internal evidence for a direct connection between Site 62 Hearth I and any of the material from Sites 63 or 69 consists of one sherd only. It is even possible that Site 62 has nothing to do with the Beaker occupation of the site. The 'Hearth I' of Site 63 and the 'Hearth I' of Site 69 are, on the other hand, almost certainly one and the same, since the pottery from each is closely similar or even, in a few instances, identical, and the 'Hearth area' of Site 69 was apparently immediately south of Site 63. Furthermore, this hearth is presumably to be identified with the 'Hearth II' to which the remainder of the pottery of Site 63 is referred.



Text Fig. 6. Hockwold, 'Oaks' Site 69. Plan of excavated area showing distribution of pottery and fired clay fragments. Within each grid square, each pottery symbol represents one vessel (minimum value).



Text Fig.7. Hockwold, Site 69: sections.

1. Topsoil - dark sandy peat.
2. Fill of pit - very dark, greasy sand.
3. Occupation layer - dark sand.
4. Chalk - upcast from pit?
5. Undisturbed subsoil - sterile white sand.

The only feature marked within the area of Site 69 was a large oval pit, apparently of Beaker date. It measured 14 ft x 6 ft at the top and was 3 ft deep with sloping sides. The fill was very dark sand, greasy in texture (Layer 2), and contained animal bone, flints and 'Western' neolithic and Beaker sherds.

Below 12 in of mixed sand and peat (Layer 1), an occupation layer 6 - 12 in thick, of dark, humic sand (Layer 3), extended over and beyond the area of excavation and it was from this level that the pit appears to have been cut. From Layer 3 came pottery, flints, animal bone, fired clay lumps and pieces of daub(?). The flints, as a whole, are characteristic of most Beaker assemblages, although there are a few types represented, leaf arrowheads, for example, which evidently belong to the earlier phase of occupation. The sherds represent a large number of pots, most of which are of Southern Beaker type, with one or two East Anglian and European (?) Bell Beakers, but which include neolithic bowls, some of Mildenhall type, and Food Vessel.

The occupation layer rested on clean, sterile sand, which formed a capping little more than 6 in thick over the chalk.

Purely on the basis of stylistic analysis of the Southern Beaker pottery it seems as if there may be two or three separate phases of occupation represented here (see discussion and Table I p.21). There is no stratigraphical evidence of this, although if the sherds belonging to the different style groups are plotted separately, according to the square or area in which they were found, there are slight, but not conclusive differences of distribution. Thus, one group, typologically the earliest, is scattered most densely on the south side of Site 69; the second is concentrated in the centre of that area and most densely within Site 63; the third and possibly latest group is fairly evenly scattered over the whole area, but with a slight bias toward the northern end (see Text Fig.6).

Since the exact positions of the two hearths are not known, there can be no certain identification of these pottery groups with either. However, much of the pottery from Site 63 'Hearth I' and from Site 69 'Hearth I' is of the latest looking type, and the second pottery group, which could be contemporary with the earliest looking group, is associated particularly with the area labelled 'Oaks Hearth II' area.

The separate occupations of the site represented by the earlier neolithic and probably the Food Vessel sherds are ill defined stratigraphically, though the finds of both were concentrated in the southern part of Site 69. No vertical stratigraphy was seen to demonstrate their relationship to the Beaker occupation.

Site 61/68

On the eastern boundary of Field 613 and extending into Field 614, about 55 ft east of Site 69, an area of approximately 570 sq ft was excavated. Amongst the Beaker sherds recorded as having been found on Site 61, within Field 613, are many which join or match sherds from Sites 63 and 69, and most of the remainder appear very similar in type and condition. This is not surprising in view of the proximity of the two areas, both, presumably, within the same settlement complex. There is, however, reason to suspect that some mixing of the finds in this particular group may have occurred after excavation, especially as one of the boxes of pottery from Site 61 contained a few sherds which, according to their marking, were excavated on Site 93. In view of this slight uncertainty, sherds ascribed to Site 61 which belong to vessels also represented on Sites 63/69 have been catalogued with the general 'Oaks' assemblage, but the rest of the material from Site 61/68 has not been discussed in detail.

One sherd from Site 61 is, nevertheless, of particular interest because it appears to be different from the rest. This has a shallow, outward-curving profile, is decorated all over with closely spaced, horizontal comb-impressed lines, and has comb-impressed decoration inside the rim. It could be from a beaker of European type. Other sherds from the site group include fragments of earlier neolithic bowls and early bronze age Food Vessel pottery.

OTHER FINDS (see Appendix II and Text Fig.2)

The apparent concentration of Beaker sites and surface finds in Fields 613, 614 and 616 may be due to the fact that the fields had not been long under plough, and to a more exhaustive search there than elsewhere. The distribution of the finds suggests two foci of occupation, one around and to the east of the 'Oaks' area, and one around Site 93, but this may be fortuitous.

The majority of the sites marked were finds of surface material, often in sufficient quantity and of a kind to suggest a 'floor' beneath; others are of unrecorded excavations which revealed no identifiable features. The latter include Site 95, which is described

as a 'probable hut floor', and which produced quantities of flints, animal bone, and sherds of rusticated, comb-impressed and incised Late/Final Southern Beaker pottery very similar in all respects to that from Site 93. In the vicinity of Site 93, Find 44 consisted of a nearly complete beaker of Final Southern type, with a profile tending toward the biconical, two broad zones of comb-impressed decoration with reserved triangles, and a narrow zone of spaced pinches round the base; Find 48 included sherds of Developed and Late Southern Beaker type, both rusticated and with comb-impressed decoration in a range of motifs slightly different from those which characterise the pottery from Site 93. Among the animal bones with this were teeth of beaver. Two hornstone bracers, one with two holes and one (broken) of six hole type (Petrology Nos. N148, N149; Clough and Green 1972), are recorded as coming from near Site 49, which included Southern Beaker and rusticated sherds, flints and animal bone.

Some distance to the north-west of this area is another cluster of sites. Site 23 consisted of two hearths, from which came a group of sherds, some of handled beakers, which bear a general resemblance to examples from the second group on the 'Oaks' site. The decoration includes filled hexagonal and lozenge panels, and circle-stamped motifs which have close parallels in P63.062 and P69.137. In the latter instance, the two sherds in question are so very similar that it is possible they came from the same pot, in which case their presence in two finds groups from such widely separated sites must be the result of accidental mixing after excavation. Also from Site 23 came animal bones and a flint assemblage which included barbed-and-tanged arrowheads and a polished flint axe. Another Beaker 'floor', Site 25, was excavated nearby, and surface finds of Beaker sherds, including fragments of handled beakers, were made in the same field.

Single surface finds from the fields around Blackdyke Farm include many barbed and tanged flint arrowheads, a flint dagger (Find 73) and, most remarkably, a copper knife with tongue-shaped blade and a broad tang with single rivet hole (Find 11).

DISCUSSION

The interpretation of the exact nature of these sites and of the settlement as a whole poses problems. Site 93 has the most concrete features, and it is doubtful that these are the remains of a roofed structure. The stakes were relatively insubstantial and appeared to have been set upright, and there was no sign of any central post or posts such as would presumably have been necessary to uphold a roof over an area of this size in the absence of strong wall supports. Furthermore, common sense and the limited amount known about Beaker domestic structures (e.g. Swarkeston, Greenfield 1960; Belle Tout, Bradley 1970) suggest that dwelling huts would not normally contain such a large and squalid accumulation of refuse as the Site 93 'floor'. It seems more likely that this was an outdoor area for some domestic activity, and that the stakes are the remains of a wind break or fence. Alternatively, it may have been solely a midden for the disposal of rubbish (cf. Wainwright and Longworth 1971, 38f). Others of the sites recorded, including the 'Oaks', where a thick, midden-like deposit was apparently associated with prepared hearths and other features, could also have been parts of such working areas. The assemblages from the various sites are domestic and unspecialised in character, but contain evidence of flint working and, perhaps, pot manufacture.

Apart from the stake settings around Site 93 and possibly on the 'Oaks', only the few pieces of what appears to be daub from the 'Oaks' suggest built structures of any kind. The 'floors', hearths and pit excavated would all appear to have been open to the sky. They and the concentrations of surface finds do, however, seem to be grouped in distinct clusters, although the areas cleared were too few and too small to reveal any clear pattern in this, and the relationships between the separate excavation sites and finds scatters remains hard to determine.

Although none of the features recorded was such as necessarily to imply permanence in the settlement, the quantity and variety of the finds, and of pottery in particular, the size of the area over which the finds were made, the thickness of the deposits excavated, and the discovery of the burnt clay fragments which could be from kilns or ovens (see Part II: p.24f) argue for something considerably more than a camp of short duration. Nor can the absence of anything to be interpreted as hut foundations be taken as conclusive proof that huts were not built, although soil conditions were ideally suitable for the preservation of evidence of this kind. Detailed exploration was on a small scale and somewhat haphazard, and it must be remembered that not all methods of construction involve the use of earth-fast timber uprights.

Leaving aside for the moment the larger question of later neolithic and Beaker economy in general, the remains on the Hockwold Beaker sites indicate that the occupants practised mixed farming. The evidence for animal husbandry is the most prominent, bones of ox and sheep, or goat, being particularly numerous, and pig being present also. Hunting, chiefly of deer, was evidently important as a source of meat and other commodities. A few sherds which incorporate impressions of cultivated grain, probably barley, are the sole evidence for agriculture, but their value is enhanced by similar finds on other sites. (The large pit on the 'Oaks' site is unlikely to have been dug for grain storage, since the ground below the surface was probably too waterlogged for this to be practical.) Such an economy would allow no more than seasonal movement of the population, and it remains to decide whether this site in particular represents a long term occupation of several years at least, or short term, perhaps seasonal occupation, by a community or communities practising some kind of shifting agriculture or transhumance. The latter alternative seems the more likely. The bulk of the Beaker material belongs to one cultural group, that termed by Clarke 'Southern Beaker', and, apparently, to more than one phase of that group, although the precise chronological significance of this is conjectural. Certain differences between the pottery of different 'floors' or hearths could be the work of different groups in the same community, the same community at different times, or of different communities entirely. If it is assumed that this was a single, permanent settlement, the area occupied is either very large for such a small community as we must suppose could support itself by means of primitive agricultural methods and a largely non-metal technology, or very scattered. The absence, too, of any sign of internal stratigraphy on the individual sites, despite the abundance of material, means that there is no very positive argument to support the idea of permanence. On the other hand, it might be argued that the settlement as a whole was fairly static, but that the inhabitants shifted about within a limited area.

The nature of the environment in this region at the time of the Beaker cultures is supremely relevant to the question, and constitutes the most forceful argument against the settlement having been of a permanent nature. Excavation of the Hockwold sites has produced little information concerning this, but what there is can be supplemented by the results of the excavations at Shippea Hill, three miles away (Clark 1933; 1935a). Here it was demonstrated that people using Southern-type Beaker and Food Vessel pottery occupied what were then low sand hills or islands surrounded by fresh water fen, represented by the bottom few inches of the upper peat. At Hockwold, apart from the nearness of the sites to the Fen edge, conditions must have been similar.

The sand hills may never have supported more than light, fairly open vegetation. This is indicated by the results of pollen analysis of the earlier peat levels, although the levels representing the period of the Beaker occupation are too distorted for this purpose by the effects of drainage, surface erosion and ploughing (Clark and Godwin 1962). As sites for settlement, they cannot have been very comfortable and would appear to have been partially waterlogged, judging by the quantity of wood preserved on them. Nowhere has there been found any sign that any attempt was made to build up or extend the surface they provided by means of brushwood platforms or pile structures.

We may reconstruct a landscape of small sandhills and islands merging into the gradually rising ground to the east, and extending westward into a region of marshes and fresh water meres. The higher ground would support light, fairly open woodland, including birch. This seems an environment more suited to hunting, fishing and wild-fowling, and perhaps the pasturing of stock, than to settled agriculture, and to offer less to attract the farmer than the Breckland to the east except, perhaps, a more sheltered site. It will be noted, however, that the animal bones from sites with the possible exception of the otter, do not include any species which reflect hunting, fishing or wild-fowling specifically in the Fens.

If the settlement at Hockwold does represent a series of seasonal occupations, the 'floors' could be explained as areas of outdoor, communal domestic activity, and the large amount of pottery and other debris in each as the refuse of several family units, built up quickly over a period of a few months at most. A high breakage rate in pottery would not be surprising in the circumstances! The exact duration of each occupation and the total length of time represented by all the Southern Beaker material from the whole series of sites are impossible to estimate, since there is as yet no evidence other than the purely typological, and the chronology of the later phases of the Beaker culture is, at best, still largely a matter of guesswork.

Hockwold-cum-Wilton: The Finds

THE POTTERY

Method

The pottery from the Hockwold sites comprises several thousand sherds, most of which are small in size. The sherds in each find group were sorted and matched according to the motifs and style of decoration, the stamps used, and the fabric, colour, thickness and approximate size of the pot.

The number of pots represented was estimated on the basis of this procedure. The catalogue (Appendix I) gives numbers which must be regarded as a maximum estimate: the minimum numbers are represented by the more complete pots and by a few isolated sherds with particularly distinctive decoration.

None of the pots is complete, but it has been possible to attempt a partial reconstruction of quite a large number of them. Classification has been according to the system put forward by D.L. Clarke (1967, 1970) although its application here has often been a matter of part-guesswork when the complete profile and the overall scheme of decoration of the beaker have not been certain.

It was noted that sherds from P93.037 and P93.048 were among the material marked 'Find 22', and that what appear to be rim sherds of P93.006 were among the sherds from Site 95. It must be assumed, therefore, that any of the find groups under discussion may be contaminated, although a close examination of the material of all the major finds does not suggest that this is serious.

Field 616: Site 93

There is an estimated minimum of sixty Beaker vessels from the site, of which thirty-two are rusticated and three have mixed decoration of incised or comb-impressed patterns and pinched rustication. Of the rusticated vessels, nine are of large size, with rim diameter estimated at 8 in or more, and over fifty per cent, both large and small, have zoned rusticated decoration. There is no certain evidence for vessels without any decoration.

The forms among the fine ware, insofar as they can be reconstructed, are nearly all of Southern Beaker type, with cylindrical or incurving necks and pronounced shoulders, either rounded or angular. At least six of the fine-ware beakers have a raised cordon, apparently applied, on the neck just below the rim (P93.002; 009; 012; 013; 015; 018), and there are at least two handled beakers. One unusual rim sherd is from a small beaker with a rolled rim and with a marked convex curve to the neck, which precludes a long-necked profile. About 1 in below the rim there is a double perforation, presumably to take a thong or string for suspension (P93.008). The fabric and decoration of this pot are comparable to others from the site, but it did come from the disturb-

ed layer from above the occupation 'floor' itself, so there is a possibility that it does not belong with the rest of the material. Perforations below the rim are a normal, if not very common feature of Beaker pottery, usually of the larger, rusticated vessels.

The rusticated pots seem to be nearly-all of beaker form. The smaller ones, both zoned and non-zoned, are very similar in profile to the fine ware beakers, with a cylindrical neck and marked shoulder, and some with a suggestion of a rim cordon. The larger vessels seem to be a little more varied, but retain the basic beaker form of cylindrical or flaring neck and rounded belly. The profile does tend to be slacker and more curvilinear than that of the smaller vessels, without any sharp constriction at the base of the neck. There may be other forms represented, though this is not certain: P93.038 could be from a straight-sided, flower-pot like form; and it is possible that P93.050 is to be reconstructed as a large bowl.

The majority of the fine ware beakers are decorated in the comb-impressed technique; very few are incised. On the rusticated ware the most common techniques are 'crow's-foot' and plastic pinching with the finger nails and with finger and thumb, and pinched ribbing. Generally speaking, the larger the vessel, the more heavily plastic the rustication. There are a few examples of other types of rustication, including one beaker decorated entirely with impressions made with the articular end of a small bone (P93.035), and several examples of more unusual uses of the technique of pinched rustication, to form a chevron pattern, for instance (P93.068), or a metopic scheme (P93.067).

The pots appear to be ring built; on some the breaks along the lines of the rings are clear. The fabric and colour of the pots are fairly uniform. Most of the sherds are mid-brown or, more occasionally, reddish brown in colour, and are hard fired with a smooth, in some instances almost burnished surface. Fine grit of burnt flint is present in most sherds, and also some grog, usually fine, but coarser in the larger vessels. The fabric of the really large vessels, such as P93.037 and P93.048, tends to be more open, though still fairly hard.

Field 613: 'Oaks' Site - Sites 62, 63 and 69

The number of Beaker vessels from the 'Oaks' site is estimated at an absolute minimum of ninety-five, of which total thirty-one have rusticated decoration, and a further five a combination of comb-stamped and rusticated decoration. At least nine of the rusticated vessels are of large size, with an estimated rim diameter of 8 in or more. There are some 150 undecorated sherds whose fabric matches that of beakers from the site, mostly of the larger, coarser wares, and one or two of these do appear to be from wholly undecorated vessels. The rest are too small for certain identification.

The vessels are almost all very incomplete and in a very fragmentary state, which makes reconstruction of the profile and scheme of decoration difficult. Of the fine ware, the forms and decoration seem to be nearly all of Southern Beaker type, with cylindrical or, more rarely here, slightly flared neck, and a distinct shoulder, usually rounded. A few, such as P63.092, or P63.094, have a slightly raised cordon below the rim, but this is not a common feature. There are at least two handled beakers. In addition to the Southern beakers there is one beaker, P63.010, of Developed Northern (N2) type, and a number of sherds possibly of European and East Anglian beakers, P69.001, 002, 003, P63.004, P69.008, P63.011.

Most of the fine ware vessels are decorated in comb-impressed rather than incised technique, but the standard and neatness of execution varies considerably. Nearly all the usual techniques of rustication are represented on pots from the site, but the most common are, once again, 'crow's-foot' and more plastic pinching and pinched ribbing.

On one or two sherds, such as P69.180, the 'pinched-rib' effect has been obtained by working the surface of the clay with small slivers of wood or bone. Relatively few of the vessels seem to have zoned rustication, and even on these it is not usually of a very elaborate order. The combination of pinched and impressed rustication in a zoned scheme on the same pot, as found on P69.179, is rare, but found elsewhere, including Site 93 (P93.058). There is at least one vessel with non-plastic zoned rustication consisting of paired finger-nail impressions in horizontal and vertical rows (P63.178), and another sherd with flat 'ribs' in something like the 'false-cord' technique more usually found in association with East Anglian Beaker pottery (P69.196). Noteworthy also, are two vessels decorated with bumps pinched from four sides with the finger and thumb (P63.169, 069.174) in a fashion more common on Dutch Veluwe and pot beakers and rare in England. Very thick-walled vessels with clubbed rims, such as 69.168, are rare everywhere in a Beaker context, but there is another sherd from a similar vessel, found in the same field at Hockwold (Fig.24A). These vessels seem to be bowl-shaped. One small beaker decorated all over with small, comma-shaped jabs is of interest because the complete profile can be reconstructed. It is a completely normal Southern Beaker type, with a slightly flared rim and angular shoulder (P63.145).

As will be argued in more detail later, this is a mixed assemblage of pottery, although generally within the Southern Beaker tradition. The differences are primarily typological, but there is considerable variation in fabric and colour which may also be of significance.

The colour of the pots ranges between buff, through brick red to a dark reddish brown, but the most usual colours are buff or mid-brown. Fabrics are mostly fairly hard and close textured, containing a little fine grit of burnt flint and often some grog, but soft, flaky ware, fabric containing grog only, sandy ware and rather more coarsely gritted ware are also found. Most of the sherds marked as coming from Site 69, Square 11 have a much higher and coarser grit content of burnt flint than any others from the site, and none match sherds from the rest of the area. Sherds from the 'Oaks' site, and particularly from what seems to be the latest Beaker pottery group from that site, tend to be rather softer and more weathered than the majority of sherds from Site 93.

In addition to the Beaker pottery there is a small quantity of sherds of earlier neolithic bowls from the 'Oaks' (Fig.27). These came chiefly from the south-west part of Site 69, and were concentrated in and around Square 13. They are all of dark grey, hard-fired pottery containing a coarse grit of burnt flint which often protrudes from the surface. Forms are simple, including plain, rolled and thickened rims, usually with a concave profiled neck and softly rounded shoulder. Decoration is absent, apart from a herringbone pattern incised round the rim of one vessel (Fig.27:b).

Sherds of Food Vessel were also found, concentrated in the same area of Site 69 as the earlier neolithic sherds. They are of vase type, sometimes with very broad, heavy rims, bevelled internally and overhanging, which suggests an affinity with collared urns of the primary series, or perhaps in the hybrid tradition described by Longworth (Longworth 1961, 285). Decoration is usually confined to the rim, both inside and outside, and consists of spatula-impressed herringbone patterns, circle and other small stamp impressions, and cord-impressed lines (Fig.28). The fabric of these pots is usually open and friable, containing coarse grog, but with a smooth surface. Similar sherds, including matching fragments, came in greater quantity from Site 61/68 about fifty-five yards to the east, and others closely resembling it are found elsewhere in the Fen edge region, at Peacock's Farm, Shippea Hill, for instance (Clark J.G.D. 1935a, fig.9), or from the river Wissey, near Stoke Ferry.

Miscellaneous Sherds: Probably from Site 93 and/or Site 61/68 (Fig.29)

Amongst the Beaker pottery from Hockwold is a number of sherds which were probably found on Sites 93 or 61/68, but whose exact provenance is slightly in doubt owing to vagueness or inconsistencies in the record. Some of these are of sufficient interest in themselves to merit discussion.

Sherds of three pots were found boxed with pottery from Site 61, but were marked in the same fashion as the material excavated from Site 93. The first of these (Fig. 29a) is a rim sherd with straight profile, decorated with narrow zones of horizontal, comb-impressed lines alternating with broader zones containing widely and regularly spaced finger-pinched bumps. The fabric is hard with fine flint grit, and is a uniform dark brown in colour. The general scheme of the decoration recalls both a beaker from a domestic site below Chippenham Barrow V (Leaf 1940, fig.19) and Grooved Ware vessels from Woodhenge (Cunnington 1929, pls.37, 38), although it resembles neither closely. It is presumably part of a beaker, and serves particularly well as an illustration of the stylistic link between later Beaker pottery and some Grooved Ware.

The second (Fig.29b) is a small dish of slightly under 4 in diameter, decorated with an incised chevron pattern. The fabric is reddish brown in colour, fairly hard and sandy in texture with fine flint grit. There is no reason to suppose that it does not belong within a Beaker assemblage, although the form is unusual in such a context.

The third (Fig.29c) is a shoulder sherd of a beaker, the decoration of which includes a zone filled with comb-impressed hatching above a zone of impressions made with what appears to have been a length of very loosely twisted fibrous cord. The fabric of the sherd is coloured brown externally and dark grey inside and is fairly hard, with coarse flint grit.

The remaining sherds are all of rusticated pots, some obviously of beaker form and some apparently from straight-sided or bag-shaped vessels. The fabrics are all very similar, generally dark brown in colour and fairly hard, with a little flint grit and some grog. The decoration is slightly unusual, being impressed with various tools including the articular ends of small bones (Fig.29h, n) and triangular or semi-circular stamps whose effect resembles finger-tip or finger-pinched decoration. Two of these sherds (Fig.29l) appear to belong, in fact, to P93.035.

Discussion

The first, and obvious, point to be noted in a discussion of the pottery from the Hockwold sites is that the material from the two main sites differs. If the individual beakers from each site are analysed and grouped according to the categories of decorative system and motif defined by David Clarke (1970, 16) and the results compared with similar analyses of the pottery from other sites (Table 1) those from Site 93 are consistent with a single period assemblage, as is to be expected from the circumstances of the find, and can be classified as Late Southern (S3) verging on Final Southern (S4). Those from the 'Oaks' site, however, embrace a range of styles wider than is to be expected from a single period find, and represent Clarke's Developed, Late and Final Southern Beaker phases (S2-S4), in addition to the Northern Beaker sherds and the various other Beaker types which could be at least partly contemporary with and intrusive among the beakers, if not residual on the site.

Clarke stressed the fact that in a continuously developing pottery tradition both archaic and forward-looking styles will be represented, and that the classification of any group will depend on the most common styles in current use (Clarke 1967, 183; 1970, 13). Even when one bears this in mind, the pattern of the incidence of various styles

TABLE 1. BEAKER POTTERY: STYLE VARIATION ON DOMESTIC SITES
(After Clarke 1970, 16)

Sites	Styles							Rusticated FP	
	a	b	c	d	d or e	e	o(ii)	Handled	H
Chippenham V	2	1?	-	4+3	-	-	-	FP	H
Gorseley Bigbury	1	1?	-	13	10	5	-	FP	H
Fengate Pit I		1	-	9+4?	-	4	-	FP	
'America Farm' (Fengate ?)		1?	-	5+3	7	2	-	FP	
Risby Warren						3	-	FP	H
Reffley Wood				2	20	2?	5	FP	H
Martlesham						2	3	FP	
Hockwold 93		1?	-	1	5	5	-	FP	
Hockwold 'Oaks'		1	1+1?	3+1?	10	5	2+1?	FP	H

Figures given are the minimum numbers of individual beakers for each site.

in relation to one another amongst the pottery from the 'Oaks' site suggests that at least two separate groups are in question. A more subjective assessment of the material indicates that there may even be three. The first group, and the earliest typologically, according to Clarke's system, is that represented by such beakers as P63.022, in which simple designs in narrow zones are combined to form a band of decoration covering most of the neck, and two or three narrow bands of decoration alternating with undecorated zones of almost equal width over the rest of the body (Clarke's zone style c). Even simpler schemes are represented by P69.006, in which narrow decorated and undecorated zones of equal width alternate over the whole body (Clarke's zone style b). A more developed group consists of beakers in which the decoration is arranged in two broad, principal bands on neck and body, with a break between them at the base of the neck (Clarke's zone style e). This style was in most frequent use during the late Southern Beaker and, to a lesser extent, in the Final Southern Beaker phase. Large filled triangles, metopic designs, and floating lozenge and hexagonal panels are used to fill these broader areas of decoration. Finally all idea of dividing the surface is abandoned, and the entire pot is covered with suitable designs, such as floating lozenge panels and lattice patterns, without any break except, sometimes, a narrow zone round the rim (Clarke's zone style o(ii)).

Among these last two categories of beaker it may be useful to distinguish between examples such as P63.089-092, P63.114-116 and P63.126, in which a certain discipline of style and neatness of execution are allied to well fired fabrics, often of a dark brown colour, and those in which the two-banded scheme of decoration is less rigidly adhered to, or abandoned completely, and the technique becomes careless and untidy, as in P69.103, P63.104, P63.119, P63.094 and P69.096. The beakers with the typologically early characteristics might be contemporary with the first of these latter two groups, but the last type are set apart, not only by the apparent lateness and degeneracy of decoration, but by their fabric, which tends to be lighter in colour and softer than that of the others.

The implications of these various differences in relation to the chronology and use of the site as a whole are discussed elsewhere.

Finally, it may be noted that small numbers of handled beakers such as came from Hockwold Sites 23, 63, 69 and 93, are found in most of the larger Southern Beaker assemblages, as, for instance, those from Risby Warren, Chippenham, Fifty Farm,

Cottage Field and Gorsey Bigbury, and appear to be a normal component. Such handled vessels are more commonly decorated in the fine ware tradition, but a few have jabbed or finger-nail rustication.

WORKED FLINT AND STONE

Site 93

Type	Fig.No.	No.
'Thumb' scraper	Fig.30:g	1
Short scrapers on thick flakes: 1-2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in across	Fig.30:a, c, d, e, f.	53
" " on thin flakes: abrupt retouch		13
" " " " " invasive retouch	Fig.30:b	6
" " on irregular flakes		3
Long end scraper	Fig.30:j	1
Concave end/side scraper	Fig.30:h	1
Flake: oblique end with abrupt retouch	Fig.31:b	1
Heavy, notched flake	Fig.30:i	1
Knives on flakes, single edged	Fig.31:a, d, e, h.	13
Flake: straight edge with flat retouch	Fig.31:c	1
Piercer	Fig.31:f	1
'Fabricator'	Fig.31:g	1
Laurel leaf (?)	Fig.30:l	1
Arrowheads: Triangular (?)		1
Barbed-and-tanged	Fig.31:j	3
Blades	Fig.31:i	2
Miscellaneous retouched flakes		14
Flakes without retouch		71
Polished stone axe (broken)	Fig.34:h	1

'Oaks' Site

'Thumb' scrapers	Fig.32:q, r.	17
Short scrapers on thick flakes: 1-1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in across	Fig.32:l, m, s.	135
" " on thin flakes: abrupt retouch	Fig.32:n, o, p.	5
" " " " " invasive retouch	Fig.33:t.	13
" " on irregular flakes		9
Side scrapers	Fig.32:g, k.	2
Long end scrapers		7
Concave end scraper		1
Flake: oblique edge with abrupt retouch		1
Heavy, notched flakes	Fig.32:e	2
Knife/end scraper	Fig.32:b	1
Plano-convex knives	Fig.32:a, c.	5
Knives on flakes, single edged	Fig.32:d, f, j.	17
Triangular points with bilateral flat retouch	Fig.33:q ?, r, s.	3
Triangular piece with bifacial retouch	Fig.33:p.	1
Serrated flakes		2
Borer/Piercer	Fig.32:h.	1
'Fabricator'		1
Arrowheads: Leaf	Fig.33a-e, g-i, f (broken)	9
Barbed-and-tanged: small, irregular	Fig.33:l, m.	3
larger, regular	Fig.33:n, o.	3
unfinished (?)	Fig.33:k.	1
broken	Fig.33:j.	2
Blades	Fig.32:i.	5
Miscellaneous flakes with retouch or marks of use-wear		28

Hockwold-cum-Wilton: The Finds

<u>Type</u>	<u>Fig.No.</u>	<u>No.</u>
Flakes without retouch		389
Cores: Single platform with blade scars		1
With two platforms		1
Polyhedral		1
Keel		5
'Sponge-finger stone' of slate (broken)	Fig.34:a	1

Discussion

The worked flints from the Hockwold sites have not been analysed here in any detail, and the lists given are intended only as a guide to the general nature of the two principal assemblages.

The finds from Site 93 should, according to the context, be homogeneous, and the flints as a group do in fact seem to be consistent with a later neolithic/Beaker date. Blades and flakes of blade-like proportions are rare, and there are no specifically early tool types represented.

Of the 188 pieces found, a relatively high proportion (62%) are tools with secondary working or obvious marks of use-wear, such as microflaking on the edge. This, and the absence of cores suggests that flint working was not carried out in the immediate area of the 'floor'. Characteristically, scrapers are by far the commonest type, the majority being short end or end/side scrapers, with a few of the 'horseshoe' variety (Fig.30:a). Knives are the second most common implement, most being flakes with flat retouch along one edge, and two being on blades. Barbed-and-tanged arrowheads, of which three examples were found, are typical of Beaker-associated finds. A small, broken and weathered stone axe identified as of chialstolite slate (Fig.34:h. Petrology No.N117, Clough and Green, 1972) was found on the perimeter of the 'floor' area.

On the 'Oaks' Sites 63 and 69 an earlier neolithic occupation is indicated by the pottery finds, and the flints from this area must be presumed to be a mixed assemblage. The leaf-shaped arrowheads are, however, the only clearly diagnostic earlier forms present.

674 worked flints are recorded from the area, of which approximately 41% are identifiable as tools. Cores and other specific evidence for flint working are few as compared with numbers from some other Beaker domestic contexts as, for example, at Chippenham Barrow V (44) (total 16), or from Fengate Pit 1 (total 20; Wyman Abbott 1910, 355). The relative numbers of blades and flakes of blade-like proportions are slightly greater than from Site 93, but they are still not a very significant component of the whole, which could indicate that the greater part of the assemblage dates from the Beaker and later occupation.

Scrapers once again form the largest group of implements, and the types are generally similar to those from Site 93. The extremely small 'thumb' scrapers, of which there are seventeen, seem to be associated particularly with later neolithic sites, although the large number found in such a context on the submerged Essex coast at Clacton were sufficiently unusual to justify the postulation in that instance of a specialised industry (Hazzledine Warren *et.al.* 1936, 182). Single-edged flake knives are again fairly numerous, and the five plano-convex knives, as a later neolithic type, can presumably be ascribed to the Beaker occupation. The roughly triangular points with flat edge retouch (Fig.33:r, s) could be another specialised form of knife. Similar implements are known from other Beaker domestic sites, as for example at Edingthorpe, Field 64, Site 9 (Fig.38:e, f), or at Fifty Farm, Mildenhall (Leaf 1934, 121, fig.2:13).

Barbed-and-tanged arrowheads occur in small numbers on many Beaker domestic sites, and here may perhaps be linked tentatively with evidence for hunting among the faunal remains. The small, irregular type (Fig.32:l,m) and the larger, straight-sided or ogival types with squared or obliquely-cut barbs (Fig.33:n,o) are often found on the same site. The latter varieties, which recall the finely made set from Breach Farm Barrow (Grimes 1938, 115), seem to be a later development of the form (Piggott S. 1963, 77f). They do not seem to have been found in association with the earlier types of beaker, but do sometimes occur in Developed Southern Beaker burials (Clarke D.L. 1970, 218). Another item which seems to have specifically Southern Beaker associations is a small, broken, tongue-shaped implement, elliptical in cross section, made of smooth greenish slate, with faint striations on the surface (Fig.34:a). This is evidently part of a 'sponge-finger' stone of the type discussed by Smith and Simpson (1966, 139). Clarke (1970, 219) considered them to be whetstones: there are five associations in Developed Southern Beaker graves, all buried with males.

Three broken polished stone axes came from Site 61 on the eastern edge of the 'Oaks' group of sites (two of Group VI; Petrology Nos.N72, N79; Clough and Green 1972), but these and the axe from Site 93 are the only specialised 'factory' products excavated from the sites under discussion here. Polished flint axes were recorded as surface finds from the Beaker sites at Edingthorpe, and a broken polished flint axe and a flaked discoidal knife were found there in association with sherds of Final Southern Beaker (Field 63, Site 11). A rather poor example of a polished knife was found with a surface scatter of Southern Beaker and Food Vessel sherds at Right Up Drove, Lakenheath about one and a half miles south-east of the Hockwold sites. Presumably, however, such highly finished implements were too precious to be discarded, and were normally cannibalised as raw material for other implements when they became useless for their original function.

WORKED BONE

The few bone implements from Hockwold Site 93 (Fig.34:e-g) are representative of all such finds and more varied than most. Slender points, roughly circular in cross section, and smoothed and polished, such as the three illustrated (Fig.34:b-d) are occasionally found on other Beaker domestic sites. They are an unspecialised type, by no means exclusive to Beaker contexts, and are presumably pins and needles of varying purpose. At Gorsey Bigbury, two needles, complete with 'eyes' were found. The broader point from Hockwold Site 93 is evidently an awl or punch, perhaps for leather working (Fig.34:g).

The flat, polished 'spatula' (Fig.34:f) has parallels from Gorsey Bigbury, Lough Gur Site C and Archerfield, Gullane, and from a limited number of Beaker burials in association with Wessex/Middle Rhine and Southern beakers. These tools have been discussed by Smith and Simpson (1966) and by Clarke (1970, 203), and are most probably part of an archer's equipment, though the simplicity of the type leaves open the possibility of a wide range of uses. Clarke stated them to be particularly characteristic of the Primary and Developed Southern Beaker groups.

FIRED CLAY FRAGMENTS

A total of sixty-eight lumps or fragments of fired clay were found on the 'Oaks' Site 69, concentrated near and possibly in the large pit. Twenty-seven were from grid squares 12 and 13, and a further twenty-eight from the squares immediately around and to the south of the pit (Text Fig.6). They were of two types:

- i) Small, irregular or rounded balls of fine clay, mostly small in size, fired to red, buff or brown throughout. Several contained flint grit or grog, and a num-

ber bore finger and thumb impressions.

Total: Fifty-three

- ii) Irregular, broken pieces, generally larger in size, of light, vesicular fabric, thoroughly fired to buff colour. At least two of the examples bore impressions of slender rods about $\frac{1}{2}$ in in diameter. - Daub?

Total: Fifteen

Both types have been found on a number of other Beaker domestic sites, scattered on the surface or in the fill of pits. The general similarity of the first kind to the fabric of Beaker pottery suggests that they may have some connection with the manufacture of pottery on or near the site, perhaps as accidentally fired waste from the process. Direct evidence of such activity is scarce, but at Cottage Field, Wattisfield in Suffolk a pit containing sand and much clean, plastic clay was observed in section. At Burnt Dune, Luce Sands, Wigtownshire another pit, similarly filled with clean, plastic clay was found, as well as fired clay lumps, on a site which produced neolithic and Beaker material (McInnes 1964). Occasionally larger, brick-like pieces are found, from which lumps have been torn while the clay was still pliable. One such came from the upper fill of one of the ditches at Windmill Hill, together with a few of the more usual small fragments. These finds were stratified with later neolithic and Beaker sherds, and their fabric indicated a specifically Beaker association (Smith I.F. 1965a, 82, 84).

The second type, with the stake impressions, would appear to be from the wall of some kind of structure. At Fifty Farm, Mildenhall, Suffolk finds of burnt clay included a similar fragment bearing distinct impressions of parallel stakes 1 in in diameter; and at Risby Warren a considerable quantity of such fragments was scattered round a central area of blackened sand and in a series of adjacent pits. Besides stake impressions, some of these bear the clear imprint of ferns and grasses (Riley 1957, 42f). About 700 pieces were found in 1972 amongst Beaker occupation material on the old ground surface below Weasenham Barrow 6 in north-west Norfolk (Petersen 1974). Some of these are reported as having rounded corners, and a few bear the impressions of sticks; the excavator thought they might have been from kilns or ovens.

The association at Hockwold of fragments of this kind with what appears to be potting waste tends to support the idea of a kiln, although the evidence is by no means conclusive. The distribution of the finds strongly suggests a direct connection with the pit, although the records of the excavation are not sufficiently detailed for this to be certain. It is possible that the pit was itself part of the structure.

ANIMAL BONE

Site 93

<u>Species</u>	<u>No. of bones</u>
Sheep/Goat	142
Ox	51
Pig	20
Red Deer	6
Roe Deer	36
Dog	1
Otter	1
unidentified fragments	24

'Oaks' Site 63

Sheep/Goat	21
Ox	76

<u>Species</u>	<u>No. of bones</u>
Pig	5
Red Deer	4
Roe Deer	2
unidentified fragments	28

Discussion

The above is a breakdown, according to species, of the bones scattered abundantly in the occupation deposits of Hockwold Sites 93 and 63 and now in Norwich Castle Museum. For various reasons, it was not considered feasible to draw any conclusions regarding the numbers of animals represented, or their age at death. It is not certain to what extent selection by the excavator had taken place before the bones reached the museum. According to his own account, he did not keep all that were found, owing to the problems of transporting them. There are few very large bones represented, and this fact and the absence of ribs in the collection in the museum are probably significant.

The bones from Site 93 may be taken as a more reliable group, in view of the circumstances of the find. A fair number of roe deer are indicated by the jaws present, apart from the relative frequency of the bones, and many of the sheep/goat remains are from young animals. One of the antlers has been cut, apparently by notching it all round and then breaking it, rather than by sawing.

The bones from the 'Oaks' Site 63 are more fragmentary and, of course, are not certainly of one period. The same species are represented here as from Site 93, but in different proportions.

Very few exact figures have been published in connection with animal bones from Beaker domestic sites, but those from the Hockwold sites accord, in most respects, with what is known from others. Domestic animals are represented chiefly by ox, sheep, goat, pig and occasionally, dog, horse being absent. Red and roe deer are usually present to indicate the part played by hunting in the economy. Usually, however, the most abundant remains by far are of domestic cattle, with sheep/goat and pig represented in far less number, and in that order of frequency. The preponderance of sheep/goat remains from Hockwold Site 93 is anomalous, and the figures are best regarded with doubt.

PART III

Beaker Domestic Sites in Britain

Before discussion of the Beaker domestic sites of Britain in more detail, it may be useful to outline a few general points. It can be said at once that, with one exception, all the known purely domestic Beaker occupation sites are not marked by any visible earthworks. The association of Beaker material with neolithic causewayed enclosures and 'henges' appears to be of a different order and, in the former instance at least, has no connection with the construction and primary use of these monuments.

Nearly all of the sites are characterised by pottery of either the All-Over-Corded/European Beaker, East Anglian or Southern Beaker groups, with Wessex/Middle Rhine and Northern beakers scarcely represented. The pattern of their distribution is consistent with that of non-domestic finds of the same pottery types (see Clarke D.L. 1970, 577ff), but with certain shifts of emphasis. Thus, the East Anglian and Southern Beaker sites are almost all located south of the Humber and with a greater concentration in eastern England than might have been expected, while the almost exclusively All-Over-Corded/European Beaker sites known in northern Britain show a predominantly coastal distribution (Text Figs.9 and 10).

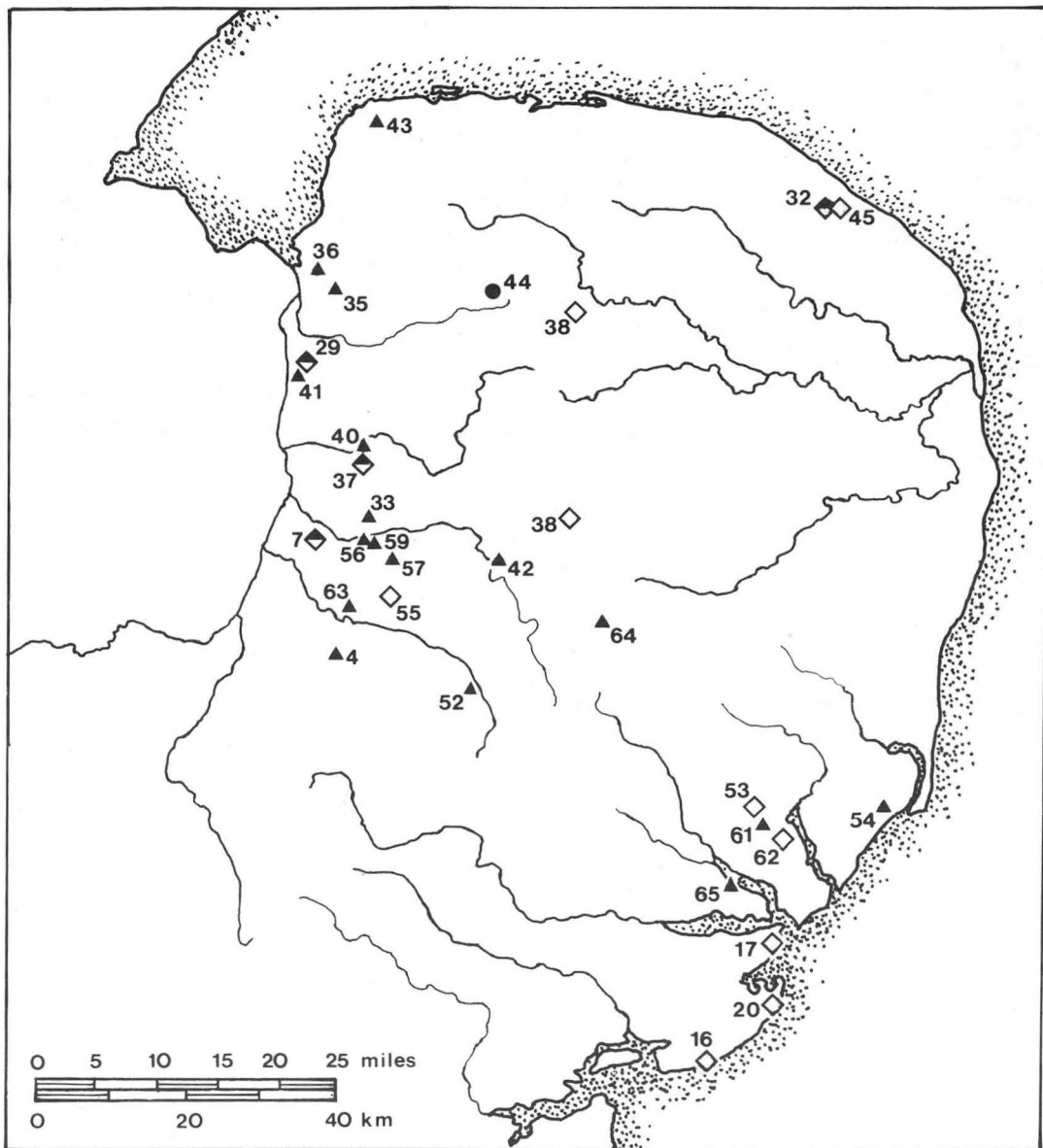
There is no obvious explanation of this seeming cultural and geographical bias. The differences between the plotted distributions of the known domestic sites and those of the funerary sites of each particular Beaker group are almost certainly fortuitous, since the domestic sites are so few, relatively speaking, and the circumstances which have led to their preservation and discovery very much a matter of hazard. Recording of the often slight evidence has doubtless been uneven in different areas, and could be unrepresentative over Britain as a whole. The fact that some Beaker groups, especially the earlier ones, are unrepresented or only sparsely represented on domestic sites might, however, reflect changes in social or economic practices of the people using the different pottery types¹. Such changes might, for example, have affected the location or nature of settlements and the activities which took place in them and so, incidentally, the chances of their remains surviving and being observed. The significant relationships of the different sites to natural and other features of the landscape will be discussed in connection with specific sites and regions.

A schedule of known domestic sites and assemblages is given in Appendix III.

EAST ANGLIA

A discussion of the Beaker domestic sites of Britain on a regional basis involves arbitrary divisions which correspond, at best, only partially to realities of the settlement of prehistoric Britain by the people of the Beaker cultural groups. As arbitrary divisions they need some justification.

East Anglia is considered separately from and in greater detail than the rest of the British Isles partly because, as was stated in the introduction, it is a distinct geographi-



KEY

- ▲ Southern Beaker domestic sites
- ◇ E. Anglian Beaker domestic sites
- ◆ Domestic sites, mixed
- European Bell Beaker

Text Fig.8. Distribution of Beaker domestic sites in East Anglia.

cal unit within which there happen to be known a particularly large number of productive Beaker domestic sites of various types, and partly because it is the immediate and most telling context in which to see the Hockwold sites. Fox (1933) and Rainbird Clarke (1960, 13-27) both discussed the geology of East Anglia in relation to prehistoric settlement of the region, and their observations need little elaboration here. The main distribution of settlement at the time of the Beaker culture seems to have followed an inland belt of light soils over chalk, including the Chalk Downland region in east Cam-

bridgeshire, the Breck-Fen region in Cambridgeshire and south-west Norfolk, the Breckland in north-west Suffolk and south-west Norfolk, the Greensand Belt in north-west Norfolk, and a coastal belt, chiefly along the coastal sand and gravel soils, including the Good Sand and Loam regions of Norfolk and the Sandling region in east Suffolk. The central regions are largely covered by heavy boulder clay soils, less easy to clear and farm, though access was possible via river valleys. Areas of sand and gravel within them were inhabited, as demonstrated by the developed European Beaker domestic scatter found preserved beneath a barrow at Weasenham Lyngs in mid-Norfolk, and by one or two sites in the High Suffolk region.

The distribution of Beaker domestic sites follows, in simplified fashion, that of the distribution of funerary finds. The greatest concentration is along the inland belt of the Breck-Fen region, the Brecklands and the Greensand belt, and there is a lesser concentration in the Sandlings region.

The Fen Edge Sites

The Hockwold sites are among a remarkable group strung along the eastern edge of the Fens, east of the River Ouse; a group which includes sites at Reffley Wood, near King's Lynn, Methwold, Shippea Hill, Lakenheath, Mildenhall and Chippenham. Not all, by any means, are closely similar to the Hockwold sites, although several, including those at Methwold, Shippea Hill, Mildenhall, and most of the sites around Lakenheath, are in the same Breck-Fen region and situated on sand hills in the peat. Material dredged from the River Wissey at Stoke Ferry probably originated on a similar site. To the north, the Reffley Wood site is on light, poor soil in the Good Sand region, and finds from gravel diggings at Runcton Holme and Stowbridge in the same region are presumed to be of domestic material. There are several sites on the very edge of the slightly higher ground which marks the eastern edge of the Fens and the beginning of the Breckland and Chalk Downland regions. Such are the 'Sahara' site at Maids Cross Hill, Lakenheath, and another at Eriswell, both of which are on sandy heathlands on the edge of the Breckland region, and the Chippenham barrows site, which is just within the Chalk Downland.

All these sites are on light soils, and nearly all near obvious sources of water, but the occupation would appear from this record to be concentrated chiefly in the peat fen, while few sites are known from the apparently very suitable adjacent Breckland and Good Sand regions to the east of the Greensand Belt and north of the Breckland. A glance at the distribution of Beaker finds in aggregate, such as is illustrated by Rainbird Clarke (1960, 64, fig.15), or at the distribution of barbed-and-tanged arrowheads, quickly balances this impression. The known Beaker domestic sites in this group are all in such a position as to have been protected from ploughing, at least until recent years, and it is to this fact that we owe their preservation. The sites in the Fens have all been under peat and, thanks to the vigilance of several observers in the area, were recorded before the plough destroyed them. The Chippenham and Reffley Wood sites were partially preserved under barrows, a solitary remnant of Beaker domestic material was preserved in the Good Sand Region at Thornham, under the rampart of an earthwork of AD first-century date, and the relatively few sites known in the Brecklands were recorded on unploughed land. It must be assumed that most domestic sites elsewhere are now marked only by surface scatters of worked flint, the most durable material from them.

Nearly all the Fen edge sites produced Southern Beaker material only, or, occasionally, a mixture of Southern, East Anglian and All-Over-Corded/European Beaker, as at Methwold and Shippea Hill. One, at Foxhole Heath, Eriswell, produced a small assemblage of East Anglian Beaker pottery alone. None of the pottery, with the possible rather doubtful exception of that from Joist Fen, Lakenheath, is of the earliest phase of the Southern Beaker tradition, and most is of the Developed, Late and Final Southern

groups. The fact that the vast majority of material found here is Southern Beaker-type may be significant and betoken either a long period of occupation or a comparatively dense population in comparison with other Beaker groups.

On many of the sites no features are recorded other than the scatter of pottery and flint and on none was there any recorded feature more substantial or informative than those at Hockwold. At Chippenham V the site, as preserved, consisted of a series of adjacent and overlapping hearths of irregular size and shape. The area of occupation evidently extended far beyond the limits of the barrow, as a scatter of similar pottery and other finds was noted below Barrow I of the same group. At Reffley Wood the site was marked chiefly by surface scatter and was much disturbed by rabbits and by the planting of conifers. There was one conical pit filled with blackened sand and charcoal containing sherds, and there was a small heap or concentration of fire-crackled flints, or 'pot boilers', nearby, also containing a few sherds. There were, in addition, a number of hearths, but most of these are recorded as being associated with cremations in the barrow. The Lakenheath 'Sahara' site consisted of a series of hearths, pits and depressions filled with discoloured soil, and some of these seem to have been associated with Beaker pottery although most belong to a later, iron age occupation of the same site. At Rabbit Hill, Lakenheath, there was a single, small, conical pit which contained discoloured sand and over 200 sherds. At Fifty Farm, Mildenhall, no features were noted other than the 6 in thick greyish layer of discoloured sand from which the finds came. The other principal finds were of surface material only, though at Methwold the quantity of material and the concentrations of 'pot boilers' and lumps of fired clay which first drew attention to the site indicate a settlement of some size and importance. The pits on all these sites are usually small, the hearths do not seem to have been prepared or built, and the occupation 'floors' seem to be of the same character as those at Hockwold. No essential differences can be discerned between the sites in the fen and the sites on higher ground here.

Despite the general shortage of illuminating features, many of the sites produced material in quantities similar to the Hockwold sites. This is particularly true of Fifty Farm and Reffley Wood, but, in proportion to the area excavated, Chippenham V and some of the Lakenheath sites were also very productive. As at Hockwold, there seems never to be any sign of internal vertical stratigraphy, and there are rarely clear indications of the duration of the occupation. In most instances the Beaker pottery must be assumed to be probably of one period, though sometimes only for lack of clear indications to the contrary. On a few sites, such as Methwold, the presence of All-Over-Corded/European, East Anglian and Southern beakers suggests strongly that these are traces of more than one occupation, although the presence of beakers of more than one type cannot, in itself, be regarded as conclusive proof of this. Sites such as Chippenham and Reffley Wood could be the remnants of larger complexes on the scale of that around Hockwold. In no area is the profusion of recorded sites and finds as dense as the latter, but the Hockwold sites themselves are part of a larger cluster comprising Stoke Ferry, Methwold, the Lakenheath sites, Fifty Farm, Shippea Hill and Chippenham, all within an area fifteen miles across. It is clear, too, from the accounts of people living and working in the area, that many of even the more spectacular finds of prehistoric material made there have never been reported, and that the sites recorded, which represent the activity of a very few observers, may not be fully representative in their distribution. It should be added that the pottery from each of the different sites of this cluster has no more than a general cultural similarity to that of any other (see Part IV, p. 51f).

The Sandlings

The second distinct group, that on the south-east coast, is around Ipswich in the Suffolk Sandlings region, and is separate, culturally and geographically, from the sites of the submerged surfaces of the Essex coast across the Stour estuary. The total num-

ber of sites is considerably less than in the Fen edge region, and the quantity of material from them is also less in general, although it is probable that this is due largely to less favourable circumstances for preservation. The picture they present is to some extent counterbalanced by a distribution map of all Beaker pottery finds.

The sites, which include Butley, Martlesham, Woolverstone and Great Bealings, are on light soils, often sandy heathland, or land which has never been under continuous cultivation, and are sometimes preserved under barrows, as at Martlesham and Brightwell Heath. The Beaker pottery from below Martlesham Heath Barrows I-III and from the Great Bealings site, all within an area approximately three miles across, is of the Barbed-Wire/East Anglian group. The material from Martlesham Barrows II and III could well be the remains of a single settlement. The pottery assemblage from Barrow II comprises over 1000 sherds, as well as fired clay lumps and worked flints; that from the adjacent Barrow III is smaller. The two are broadly similar in character and consist predominantly of sherds of Barbed-Wire and finger-nail impressed beakers and plain wares. The pottery from Barrow I, just over half a mile to the north-west is comparable but, in the excavator's opinion, could be slightly later (Martin 1976, 40). The only features associated directly with these finds were a post hole below Barrow II and a small pit below Barrow I.

The fine collection of East Anglian Beaker pottery from 'The Rookery', Great Bealings was found with a slightly lesser quantity of other neolithic material comprising sherds of plain, heavily gritted ware from neolithic bowls, and sherds of about five Grooved Ware vessels.

The flint collection from the site is noticeably more varied than on a purely or predominantly Beaker site. It includes a large number of finely made leaf-shaped arrowheads, though no petit tranchet derivatives, and a large number of scrapers, of which a high proportion have abrupt retouch, in contrast to the shallower flaking which characterises the rest and which is generally the more common on Beaker sites. There are also a large number of small blades and a few microlithic points. Among the presumed Beaker types present are several barbed-and-tanged arrowheads, and there are fragments of three axes, two of which are polished. Cores and unretouched flakes suggest flint working on or near the site, although not necessarily in association with the Beaker occupation.

Unfortunately, little is recorded about the site itself, and the opportunity for observation of the relationship between the various groups represented has been lost. All that is known is that the finds appear domestic in character and that they came from an earthen mound. Whether the mound was natural or artificial, perhaps a barrow, is not clear.

The remaining sites were associated with Southern Beaker pottery. One, on Martlesham Plantation, about $\frac{1}{3}$ mile north-west of Martlesham Barrow I, was also below a barrow and was near, but not directly associated with, patches of discoloured sand and a mass of charcoal which was probably a hearth. At least four circular, bowl-shaped pits were found nearby, each approximately three feet across and two feet deep, containing sherds, burnt flint and charcoal. They were discovered and partly excavated during the digging of pipe trenches on land which had never been under cultivation except in 1900, when it was ploughed in order to plant trees. The subsoil, against which the pits showed, was pure sand, at a depth of 12 - 18 in, below dark brown sand (C. Campbell pers. comm. 1968). The pottery from the pits consisted chiefly of rusticated sherds and can be classified, as a whole, as Final Southern Beaker. Traces of Beaker domestic material below at least one of the barrows on Brightwell Heath, in the same neighbourhood, suggest even more extensive settlement of this area (Moir 1927).

The site at Neutral Farm, Butley, also produced Late and Final Southern Beaker sherds, but in smaller quantities. It was discovered as a result of surface finds in plough soil, and consisted of a typical 'floor' or midden and hearth, without any trace of structure. Among the finds were sherds of a large, zoned rusticated beaker (Clarke No.869).

The sites in this Sandlings group as a whole differ from the Fen edge group chiefly in the substantial occurrence of Barbed-Wire/East Anglian Beaker material on some, and in the almost unvarying typological lateness of the Southern Beaker from the rest. Occupation of suitable areas could have equalled in density that of the Fen edge. The information available is limited by the various factors already enumerated, and hints at greater possibilities.

Edingthorpe

Perhaps the most important of the miscellaneous sites and groups of sites scattered over central and north-eastern East Anglia are those on Bacton Wood Mill Farm, Edingthorpe, and they deserve consideration at some length. They are comparable to the Hockwold complex in scale, though not, apparently, quite as productive of finds.

The sites are scattered more or less thickly over an area of 150 acres within the so-called Loam region, near the north-east coast of Norfolk. The relief is low, but with many hummocky hills and small valleys. The valleys have clay soils with wide spreads of alluvium, but the hill tops are sandy with gravel patches and were evidently heathland at one time, though now under cultivation. The hill tops themselves are well drained, but several springs emerge on the slopes.

Finds of bronzes and flints have been noted here over a fairly long period, but deep ploughing in 1948 led to the discovery of large numbers of hearths of uncertain or widely differing dates, some of which were excavated in the years following. Generally speaking, the hearths and floors which produced prehistoric material are on the dry, light soils of the hill tops, but some hearths associated with lumps of fired clay were found on or near clay deposits, suggesting pottery manufacture on the site, and large deposits of flint 'pot boilers' were found around many of the springs. This latter phenomenon is of interest in connection with similar sites in Norfolk, at Hoe and Eccles and elsewhere, and will be discussed further in connection with these sites.

Beaker pottery, chiefly Southern type, but including some East Anglian, was found on fifteen of the sites, a few earlier neolithic sherds on three, Mortlake ware on one, and Grooved Ware on two. Some of the earlier neolithic sherds came from hearths which produced nothing else. The rest seemed to be residual on Beaker sites. The traces of non-Beaker occupation are not plentiful. Perhaps three sites produced Food Vessel or other bronze age pottery.

The sites were of various kinds. There were pits measuring between 1 ft in diameter and 6 ft by 3 ft in surface area, and between 3 in and 3 ft in depth measured from the base of the plough soil, which contained humic material with flecks of charcoal, pot boilers, flint chips, sherds, lumps of fired clay and charred hazel nut shells, all without any sign of stratification; there were large, relatively shallow, irregularly shaped pits, usually about 12 ft by 8 ft by 3 ft; and there were 'floors' of roughly the kind found at Hockwold. Both the larger pits and the 'floors' were often near or associated with hearths consisting of hollows scooped in the ground and containing charcoal, discoloured sand and, sometimes, calcined flint.

The larger pits were interpreted by one of the excavators, Mr J.E. Turner as hut sites, which brings up the vexed question of 'pit dwellings'. These hollows could not

have been lived in comfortably; they were irregular in outline and in depth, tending to have a shallow 'flange' and to dip steeply towards one end. The fill is stated to have been similar to that found in the smaller pits, with the difference that the sherds contained in it were usually more abraded, and that the 'floors' were always impacted to a hard, solid texture. Mr Turner suggested that the deepest parts might have been for drainage and covered originally by some kind of flooring, presumably of wood, set in the 'flange' or at a level removed by ploughing. There seems little evidence to support this notion. It is not entirely clear from the account whether it was the bottom of the 'flanges' alone or the bottom of the entire hollows or, indeed, the surface of the fill which was impacted hard, but the two latter circumstances at least would not be consistent with such an interpretation. No settings of post or stake holes to suggest associated features were recorded around the hollows and, although such features might, if insubstantial, have been destroyed by ploughing, the general degree of preservation on the subsoil surface suggests that plough damage up to the time of excavation had not been very great.

The best recorded of the hollows are two excavated by Mr G. Larwood in 1951 - Site I O.S. Field 64. These formed a complex with two hearths, were $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft apart and aligned differently. One of the hearths was between them, and the other was cut into the fill of one of them. The hollows were irregular in outline, though roughly oval, and measured 11 ft by 8 ft and 11 ft by 6 ft, with a maximum depth of 3 ft below the base of the ploughsoil. In section they appeared as shallow, irregularly conical scoops in the sand. Very few finds were recovered from them, but such as there were included Southern Beaker sherds and flints. Between them, across the northern end of one and the southern edge of the other, was a row, 7 ft 6 in long and aligned south-west by north-east, of eleven large flint nodules. Some of these lay on or in the fill of the hollows, just beyond the edge, but could have fallen or been kicked there; they could very well have been in position when the hollows were open, although not necessarily connected with them functionally. Possibly they were weights, perhaps for holding down a light roof or tent cover. Almost certainly they were brought onto the site from a source nearby. Such nodules do not occur naturally on the site itself.

A 'floor' of more familiar type is represented by Site 11B, O.S. Field 63. This consisted of an area at least 30 ft across, with a black occupation deposit and two hearths. One of these was roughly in the centre of the area, with a clearly defined, trampled path leading up to it on the north-east side. A smaller hearth lay about 7 ft south-east of this first and at a somewhat higher level. Sherds were scattered over this area, particularly on the south side, but the quantity of material is much smaller than from any of the Hockwold excavated areas. A series of small pits lay in an arc south-west of the floor. The finds from the whole complex amount to sherds of about twenty pots, both fine and rusticated, of Final Southern type, and many flints, including flakes, scrapers, a broken polished axe and a flaked discoidal knife. This constitutes the biggest collection of material from any single site in the Edingtonthorpe group. The total number of hearths noted after ploughing in this area runs into hundreds, but most of these either produced no material and were not further investigated, or were of AD eleventh- or twelfth-century date.

The general character of the Edingtonthorpe sites is comparable to that of Hockwold. Most of the Beaker pottery is of Late and Final Southern type, but assemblages from separate sites tend to differ from one another in details of style. Sherds of European and East Anglian beakers occur also, and East Anglian Beaker sherds predominate on a few sites, though never, apparently, to the complete exclusion of Southern Beaker sherds. The precise nature of the association of the different Beaker pottery styles here is impossible to establish, and it would be unwise, therefore, to invest it with too much significance.

'Pot Boiler' Sites

Two groups of finds, at Hoe and at Overa Heath, Quidenham in the mid-Norfolk and Breckland regions respectively, are of interest because they are in many ways unlike the usual Beaker domestic site. They both consist of large deposits of fire-crackled flints and other burnt material, sometimes several inches deep and covering a wide area. Sherds of East Anglian beakers were found in the deposits at both and, at Overa Heath, flints also, including a barbed-and-tanged arrowhead. It will be recalled that deposits of fire-crackled 'pot boilers' were found at Edingthorpe, and there are similar sites at Buckenham Tofts, Stanford (Layard 1922), Swangey Fen near Attleborough and Wilby Warren (Apling 1931), none of which produced any datable material other than a few flints from Buckenham Tofts of a type consistent with later neolithic or early bronze age date. At the latter site there were seven deposits wholly or partially excavated, the largest over 40 ft across and 2 ft deep, including at least one hearth pit lined with flint nodules and filled with charcoal and burnt material.

All these sites, except the ones at Hoe and Edingthorpe, are within twelve miles of one another, and all are closely associated with water. At Hoe the deposits were on either side of a small tributary of the Wensum; at Overa Heath they were associated with a series of natural, shallow, water-filled pits, some of which appeared to have been artificially banked up; at Edingthorpe heaps of 'pot boilers' occurred over the whole area, but the thick deposits were beside springs; at Buckenham Tofts they were on the slopes of hummocks between channels cut by a series of small springs.

Fire-crackled flints are often scattered around hearths on Beaker sites, but deposits of this size and nature are something apart. They are also distinguished from the occupation 'floors' by the scarcity of associated finds. Miss Layard, in her report on the Buckenham Tofts site, discusses the practice of cooking by means of heated stones and concludes that the deposits represented '...a permanent kitchen of large size, or something in the nature of a communal kitchen'. The almost total absence of food debris in the form of animal bone could be due in this case to soil conditions inimical to its preservation. The proximity of such sites to the occupation 'floors' and hearths at Edingthorpe is of particular interest in the light of this interpretation, but cooking is not the only activity that such sites might represent, since the evidence simply suggests the heating of water, either on a large scale or over a long period ².

High Suffolk

As stated earlier, although the distribution of Beaker finds in East Anglia is largely and conspicuously confined to areas with light, well-drained soil, there are a few within the region of mainly heavy boulder clay soils which cover most of Suffolk. Most of the latter are confined to river gravels, as is the domestic site at Creeting St Mary, near Needham Market and above the river Gipping. The exception is the Cottage Field site, Wattisfield, which is on very heavy clay soil which must at one time have been heavily wooded and is still difficult to work.

The site at Creeting St Mary produced chiefly Grooved Ware and flints of a type normally associated with Grooved Ware, but there was also a small quantity of nondescript sherds of Beaker pottery. The site consisted of a complex of scooped out, bowl-shaped hearth pits, about 3 ft in diameter and 1 ft deep, the pits being clustered in groups, and the groups about 10 ft apart. A minor feature of interest was the presence of burnt pieces of quartzite in some of them, as in the hearth of Site 63, Hockwold. Five or six of them seem to have produced Beaker material only, and Beaker sherds were recorded in the same pits as Grooved Ware, though which, if either, was the residual material is not clear.

The Cottage Field site is unusual in other respects than its location. The soil is heavy clay with small patches of sand, and it overlies chalk. The surface indications of the site were the usual spread of flints, covering the whole field, and black patches showing in the plough. Subsequent excavation revealed a deep shaft in the chalk, and sherds were found in the fill of this and at the bottom. This and a similar shaft in Calke Wood, about 200 yds away, are now considered to be natural formations of comparatively recent date (N.Smedley pers.comm. 1968). The Beaker finds in them are from a site above the shaft and represent material collapsed or percolated into it. The drawn section of the stratification of the upper 'fill' shows a steep settling of what appears to be an occupation layer into the mouth of the shaft. For the rest, the site appears to have consisted of the usual black occupation layer containing sherds, flints and charcoal. The amount of material is large, though much of it consists of small, nondescript sherds. The pottery is Final Southern Beaker and is consistent with a single period of occupation.

The only other feature noted in the area excavated was a pit 3 ft 9 in deep containing clean, plastic clay. It appeared to cut through the occupation layer, but the top had been removed by the plough. A number of irregular lumps of fired clay, possibly potters' waste, were also found, and the pit may have some connection with the manufacture of pottery. The clay in the field itself is unsuitable for the purpose; but that in Calke Wood is softer and micaceous.

The Essex Coast

Finally, the submerged sites on the Essex coast, at Clacton, Dovercourt and Walton-on-the-Naze, are set somewhat apart from the rest of East Anglia by reason of their geographical position, and accident of their preservation and, perhaps, the almost total predominance of the Barbed-Wire and East Anglian types among the Beaker material from them. They have been published and discussed in some detail (Warren 1912; Warren *et.al.* 1936; Smith I.F. 1955), so there is little to do here but pick out a few salient features.

The sites date from a time only just before the marine transgression and were evidently liable to partial flooding at times. The fact that they are submerged has ensured a very extensive preservation of the finds in a sealed deposit, even more complete than in the Fens. Moreover, it has enabled a much more comprehensive survey of the complexes of individual sites than has been possible elsewhere.

There is a widespread scatter of flints and other material over the surface and the sites yielded much material, though perhaps not as much in relation to their area as the Southern Beaker sites of the Fen edge. The specific features were of the usual type, and included hearths, small pits approximately 3 ft in diameter and 2 ft deep filled with burnt material and, at Mill Bay, Dovercourt, and Stone Point, Walton-on-the-Naze, 'floors' about 30 ft across consisting of a concentrated accumulation of flints, sherds, fragments of burnt clay, 'pot boilers' and charcoal. At Stone Point wattles of interlaced small boughs were found preserved and, although these cannot with certainty be linked with the Beaker remains, they could well have been part of light structures such as windbreaks, as postulated for Hockwold Site 93.

The Clacton sites are probably better known for the Grooved Ware from them, but, in addition to this and the Beaker assemblages, there was ample evidence for earlier neolithic occupation. The three groups are distinct in their associations, and the sites, sub-sites or features from which they came seem normally to have been separate, notwithstanding their general similarity one to another. At Lion Point, two sites produced earlier neolithic ware exclusively, and one Grooved Ware, all in the same area as the Beaker site. At Dovercourt, a floor similar to the Beaker one and two cooking holes all

yielded earlier neolithic pottery only.

There is no apparent vertical stratigraphy within any of these sites, but Hazzeldine Warren (Warren 1912) claimed that the flints and pottery collected overall came from two separate layers, that the two groups of flint so obtained exhibited different degrees of patination, and that the two groups of pottery were of different types. The second group, as he described it, contained Beaker rusticated sherds, and the first, plain coarse ware. The general character of the two flint assemblages appears to be consistent with this observation. The former includes leaf-shaped arrowheads, many of them rather crude, triangular points, petit tranchet derivatives of the chisel type (Clark's types C-D), and the smaller and more irregular type of barbed-and-tanged arrowhead; the latter include polished stone and flint axes in much greater number and variety, perforated stone axe hammers, numerous very finely-made leaf-shaped arrowheads, barbed-and-tanged arrowheads, mostly of the larger and more regular type and a few oblique petit tranchet derivatives (Clark's type D and G). There are also a few micro-liths. Scrapers are, as usual, the most common type in both groups, but the small 'thumb' scrapers are unusually common. Both groups, judging by the presence of barbed-and-tanged arrowheads, and by other indications, belong, in part, within the period of Beaker settlement.

Conclusions

The pattern of Beaker settlement in East Anglia is remarkably consistent in a variety of different locations. The division between East Anglian Beakers in the south-east coastal region and Southern (Long Necked) Beakers in the north-west belt of the Fen edge and Breckland is not as marked as perhaps Clark once suggested (1931a, 420), though the slight shift in emphasis is no less significant or real. The character of the sites themselves varies far more in the different circumstances which have contributed to their preservation than in their individual features. All sites, whether small or large, well or poorly preserved, and of whichever Beaker group are, to all appearances, of a similar type. They are random in plan, without traces of any substantial structure, but with pits of various sizes, hearths which are, at best, no more than scooped-out hollows, and roughly circular 'floors' - either working areas or simply middens - 20 to 30 ft across and apparently open to the sky. Beaker domestic sites often coincide with earlier neolithic or Grooved Ware sites and, in general, the features of all look to be very similar.

The people of the Beaker cultures, as of all other neolithic and early bronze age groups, favoured lighter, well-drained soils for settlement, as has long been realised, and this is clearly reflected in the distribution pattern for East Anglia. From this, indeed, it would even appear that the very poorest soils were preferred, and though it is precisely on such soils, which are often now uncultivated heathland, that conditions are most suitable for survival of the evidence, the distribution of the flint types, as the most durable testimony, does tend to confirm the same picture.

It would be difficult to guess at the density of population represented by these sites, for together they must represent at least 200-300 years of occupation, but it was probably evenly distributed over all the more suitable areas such as the Brecklands, the Sandlings, and possibly even the Good Sand region.

THE REST OF THE BRITISH ISLES

The dichotomy in the pattern of distribution of Beaker domestic sites in Britain has been outlined already. Following this, all sites south of the Humber, together with Southern Beaker sites in the region of the Yorkshire Wolds, are considered here under the heading 'Southern Britain', and the All-Over-Corded/European and Northern Beaker

sites found north of the Humber under 'Northern Britain'. Sites in Ireland are treated separately.

Southern Britain

With very few exceptions the Beaker domestic sites of Southern Britain differ little in basic character from the range known in East Anglia. They of course cover a greater variety of geological regions, but they usually coincide with light soils, whether on chalk, limestone or gravels, such as would have been dry and easy to work and, by this time, at least partially cleared of woodland cover. There are obvious concentrations in the Mendip region, on the Downs and on the sand-on-limestone regions of north-west Lincolnshire and Humberside. It is possible to consider them in terms of vague geographical and cultural groups, though these cannot be defined very strictly at the moment.

Sites other than those of the Southern Beaker culture are relatively few, and most of them produced All-Over-Corded/European Bell Beaker or East Anglian/Barbed Wire Beaker pottery. Their distribution does not differ significantly from that of the Southern Beaker sites and, indeed, many produced pottery of both types. It is somewhat remarkable that even in the Wessex region which was the centre of distribution of the Wessex/Middle Rhine beakers, and where a comparatively large number of Beaker domestic sites are known, there is hardly any definite trace of domestic occupation associated specifically with Wessex/Middle-Rhine pottery.

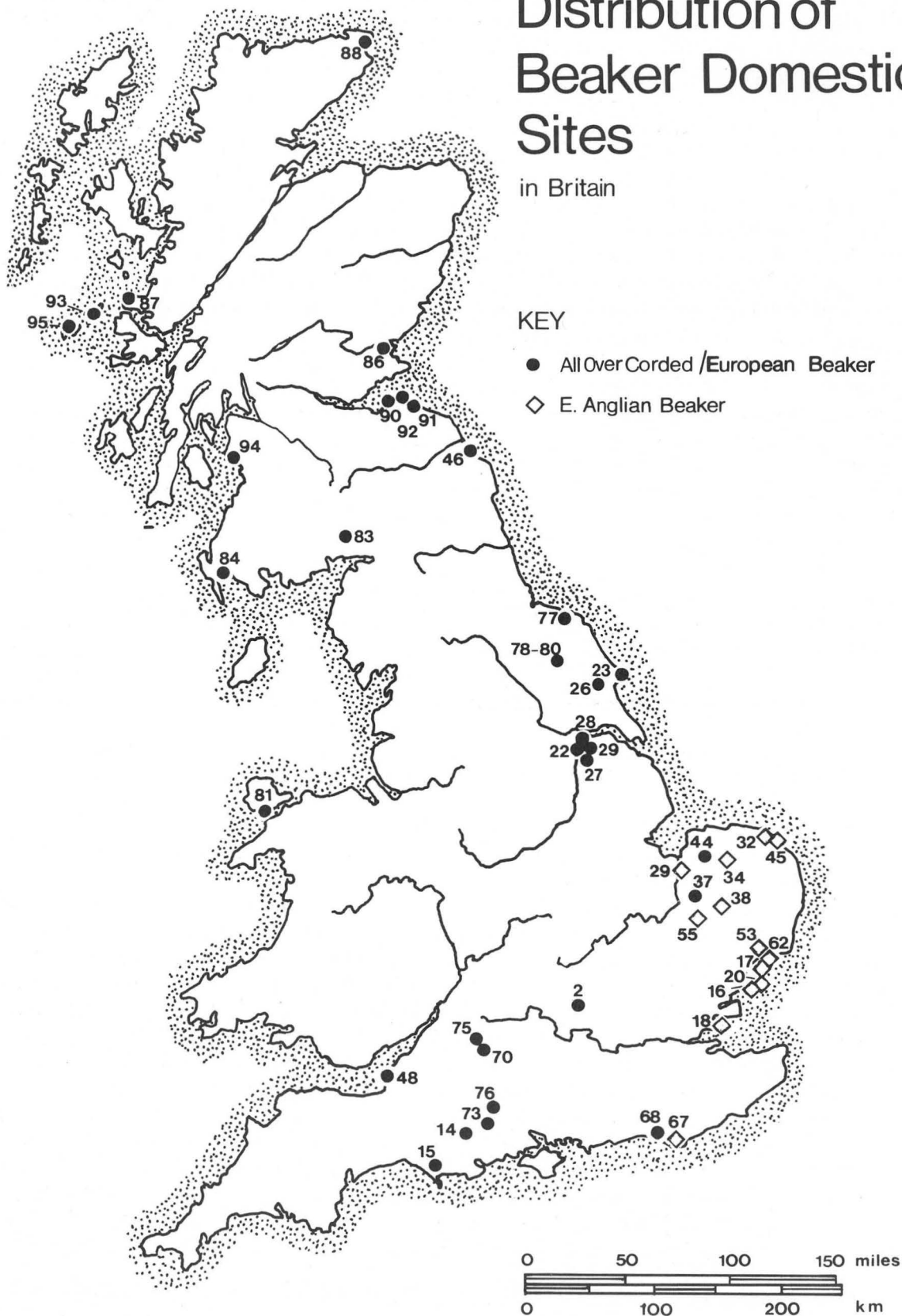
All-Over-Corded/European Beaker Sites. Brean Down site, in Somerset, is useful and almost unique in that it provides a clear stratigraphical relationship between occupation layers producing All-Over-Corded/European Bell Beaker and Southern Beaker pottery. These layers were in the sand talus at the foot of limestone cliffs and contained no features other than the occupation debris itself, which consisted of sherds, flints, animal bone and sometimes a scatter of charcoal. Southern Beaker sherds were well stratified in a separate layer above one with All-Over-Corded/European Bell Beaker sherds, and partly separated from it by a more or less sterile sand layer.

On the Wiltshire Downs two sites which seem representative of the general type and which produced All-Over-Corded and European Bell Beaker sherds, have been excavated at Downton and Easton Down respectively. The former occupied a natural hollow on a gravelly soil, and was marked chiefly by a scatter of over 200 sherds and other finds in an area measuring approximately 50 ft by 30 ft. This was centred around and over a roughly L-shaped setting of post and stake holes of greatly varying size, widely spaced across about 40 ft. There were also five shallow depressions or pits in a roughly rectangular formation, of which three were on the same line as the post holes. One, it is suggested, may have been a drainage ditch (Rahtz 1962, 127); another contained a hearth, the lining of which sealed what may have been a post hole. No concrete evidence was found that a roofed structure formed a part of this complex at any time. The site is of further interest because material from it was found in rare stratigraphical relationship to Ebbsfleet, Mortlake and Fengate ware on an adjacent site. The two sites were sufficiently close for material from each to be found on the other, but the main concentration of Beaker sherds was quite distinct in area from that of the Peterborough sherds, and on the neolithic site Beaker sherds were found mostly above the Peterborough sherds. The length of time which elapsed between the two occupations is not, of course, apparent.

Finds of All-Over-Corded and European Beaker material sealed beneath barrows at Crichel Down, and at Avebury, in the same region, are probably the remnants of similar sites, though the traces preserved were relatively slight. At Crichel Down barrow II sherds of several different pots came from a small circular pit cut by the barrow ditch, as well as from the material of the mound itself; at Avebury G55 the barrow

Distribution of Beaker Domestic Sites

in Britain



Text Fig.9. Distribution of All-Over-Corded/European and East Anglian Beaker domestic sites in Britain.

covered a cluster of small pits which contained both All-Over-Corded/European Beaker and Southern Beaker sherds, representing about six vessels of the former and seventeen of the latter, as well as other normal occupation debris. Similar material was found in the plough soil over an area about 150 ft across around the barrow, together with sherds of earlier neolithic pottery, all types of Peterborough ware, and Grooved Ware.

The sites at Easton Down are the most extensive known in the region and consisted of complexes of various pits, hearths and post holes. Their proximity to the well-known flint mines is an added feature of interest, and it is possible that they were occupied by people connected in some way with the flint-mine working. However, the features of the site or sites in general, although more comprehensive than usual in variety, are in no way different in character from those recorded on domestic sites elsewhere.

In an area of over thirty-four acres at least four concentrations of surface finds suggesting domestic occupation were noted, and two of these were extensively investigated by Stone in the 1930's. Both produced All-Over-Corded/European Bell Beaker and Southern Beaker pottery, as well as some possible Wessex/Middle Rhine sherds. Usually, however, the different types came from separate pits or floors, and All-Over-Corded/European Beaker sherds predominated on one site, Southern Beaker on the other. On both sites the usual kind of occupation material was associated with the same kinds of features. These included large, shallow pits not unlike those at Edingtonthorpe, except that they were frequently surrounded by irregular settings of perpendicular stake holes, and smaller pits approximately 3 ft in diameter and 2-3 ft deep containing burnt material. On the Downs nearby were found several large, well-defined deposits of burnt flint about 18 in thick and containing Beaker sherds. Stone likened these specifically to the sites at Buckenham Tofts (Stone 1933, 231f). He describes the larger pits as 'pit dwellings' but, despite the stake hole settings which could represent a light, beehive-shaped superstructure, the same general objections to the theory apply here as at Edingtonthorpe. Within the pits 6-9 in thick deposits containing refuse were found near the top of the fill, above a much deeper chalky, sterile layer. Even if we accept, for the sake of argument, that such pits could have been used as dwellings, this stratigraphy suggests that the 'floors' relate to a secondary use of them.

Beaker domestic material including pottery of the All-Over-Corded/European group has also been found at several neolithic causewayed camps, including Whitehawk, Windmill Hill and Maiden Castle, where it was invariably stratified well above the material of the primary occupation in the ditches. Such finds are also associated with small pits and hearths in the interior of the enclosures. At Whitehawk the finds were few, and came from a single pit and adjacent hearth and from the upper fill of the ditch nearby; at Windmill Hill the circumstances were very similar, except that there were at least four pits which produced Beaker material, and Southern Beakers outnumbered the All-Over-Corded/European beakers by an estimated sixty to fourteen (Smith I. F. 1965a, 80); at Maiden Castle, sherds of both groups were scattered plentifully in the uppermost fill of some of the ditches of the neolithic enclosure and of the neolithic long mound and, again, Southern Beaker sherds were present in far greater quantity than the other. Sherds of Grooved Ware and possibly Food Vessel pottery were also found on this site, in contexts implying a rough contemporaneity with the Beaker finds. On none of these sites is there any firm evidence that this occupation was other than sporadic and on a small scale.

The All-Over-Corded/European Beaker sites in Humberside have more in common with the sites of northern Britain than with the southern group, being mostly surface collections from the sandy 'warrens'. Some such as Crosby Warren, produced sherds of this type only, but most, and Risby Warren in particular, a mixture of this and Southern Beaker pottery.

East Anglian Beaker Sites. The East Anglian Beaker group, as its name implies, seems to have centred on East Anglia, but finds belonging to it are commonly found also in south-east England. The most notable site, apart from those of the Essex coast already discussed, is one excavated by Richard Bradley at Belle Tout on the Sussex coast. It is a ditched enclosure which seems to be of purely Beaker date and construction, characterised by East Anglian beakers with some possible All-Over-Corded Beaker derivatives. It consisted originally of two successive overlapping rectangular enclosures, each surrounded by a ditch and bank, but almost all of the smaller and earlier of the two, together with perhaps half of the larger, has been destroyed by cliff erosion. Within the larger enclosure traces of several structures were found, defined by vestigial post holes or slots. Plans could be reconstructed of five of them. One, apparently earlier than the enclosure, was rectangular, one was trapezoidal and two were oval. There was also a semi-circular post setting of about 4.5 m (15 ft) diameter which may have been a wind-break, as postulated at Hockwold, rather than a roofed building. The interiors of one of the oval structures and the trapezoidal were marked by a pronounced local reduction in the density of finds, whereas there was a concentration of flint waste within the semi-circular structure which suggested that the area was used for flint knapping. A number of hearths, fourteen pits and a possible midden site were also excavated. Analysis of the pottery, as well as the stratigraphy of the ditches, suggested that there had been at least two distinct and separate occupations of the site (Bradley 1970, 359). The practice of agriculture was attested by impressions of barley, emmer, flax and weed seeds on pottery sherds.

Southern Beaker Sites. On the Downs of Southern England there is no difference apparent between Southern Beaker domestic sites and those producing typologically earlier Beaker material, and often, as has been noted previously, they occupy the same ground. The Easton Down site has been discussed at some length. The typologically later pottery was chiefly of the Developed Southern group, and it seems fairly clear that it belongs to a separate and presumably later occupation. Apart from Windmill Hill and Maiden Castle, another causewayed camp, Knap Hill, produced pottery of this type, consisting of sherds of some seven or eight Late or Final Southern beakers scattered in the upper fill of the ditches and inside the enclosure. At Maiden Castle there is a slight difference in the distribution of the All-Over-Corded/European beaker and that of the Southern Beaker pottery, which is of the Developed or Late groups. The latter is associated particularly with an area round and in the ditch near the eastern causeway and with a small pit in that area, and looks consistent with a single period occupation.

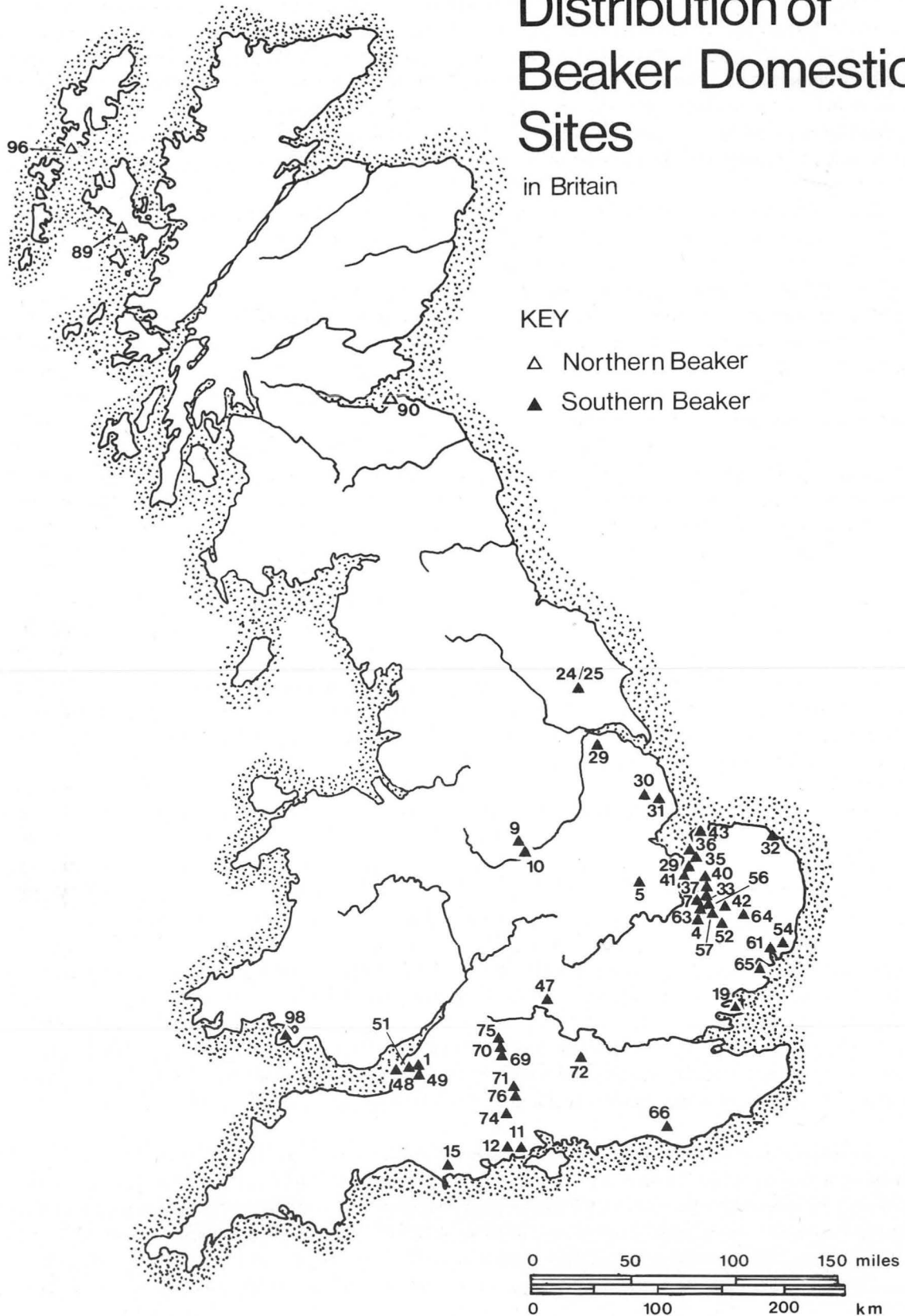
Various isolated pits which produced small quantities of Beaker domestic finds have been recorded, as, for instance, the one at Bulford Down. Another was found at Itford Hill, cut by the later levelling of the ground during the construction of an enclosure in the later Deverel-Rimbury settlement. The pottery from it appears to be of Southern Beaker type, and the fill also contained some quern fragments which are of interest. Querns have rarely been found in direct association with Beaker domestic sites.

On another Deverel-Rimbury site at Martin Down, Southern Beaker pottery and flints occurred below the rampart and at all levels in the ditch fill and inside the enclosure. Finds of later pottery were scanty by comparison, but the only feature which was almost certainly of Beaker date was a large pit measuring 12 ft long and nearly 5 ft deep.

In the south-west, Gorse Bigbury is the largest and most productive site. It cannot strictly be termed domestic, but the finds are domestic in type. The deposits in the ditches are reminiscent of earlier neolithic ones in the lower levels of the ditches of the causewayed camps: there is the same mixing of material at all levels, and the same hearth-like layers which could be material dumped there rather than primary deposits. The implications of this will be discussed later. The pottery from the site matches that from a series of finds in caves in the nearby Mendip region, the chief of these being Bos

Distribution of Beaker Domestic Sites

in Britain



Text Fig. 10. Distribution of Northern and Southern Beaker domestic sites in Britain.

Swallet and Rowberrow cavern, near Burrington. Both the latter deposits were found, unfortunately, to have been completely disturbed, but the material with the sherds suggests that they came from domestic hearths or 'floors'. At least twenty pots are thought to be represented in the find from Bos Swallet, and the blackened material associated with them in the miners' spoil in which they were found formed a layer about 6 in thick. The pottery is of Developed/Late Southern type and is consistent with a single period occupation. Beaker finds in cave sites are known also in Derbyshire, as, for example, at High Wheeldon, Earl Sterndale, but these are very scanty traces and do not suggest, as do the Mendip finds, that the caves were habitually or for any length of time used as shelters.

In eastern England the distribution of Beaker domestic sites continues along the line of maximum concentration of all Beaker finds from the south-western edge of the Fens, opposite the eastern Fen edge group, to the Yorkshire Wolds. The well-known site at Fengate, near Peterborough, is on a gravel promontary surrounded by fen, and was estimated to be several acres in extent. The Beaker pottery from it was chiefly of the Developed/Late Southern group. The features of the later neolithic and Beaker occupation as a whole consisted of large and small pits of the types by now familiar. Two kinds of small pit were noted, the first being deep and conical, and the second flat bottomed and shallow, but both contained a similar fill of burnt material, flints and bone. The large pits, and particularly Pit I (Wyman Abbott 1910, 334), contained sherds and domestic material also, and no post or stake holes are recorded as being associated with them. One find of particular interest was the large rusticated beaker of Wessex/Middle Rhine type which was discovered where it had apparently been placed deliberately, upright and intact in a bowl-shaped pit 5 ft across and 4 ft deep (Leeds 1922, 26, fig. 5).

Further north there are traces of domestic occupation on the Lincolnshire Wolds at Stainsby, Ashby Puerorum, where there is another very productive site consisting of a group of pits, and at Giants Hills Long Barrow, Skendleby, where no more than a scatter of Southern Beaker sherds and traces of hearths were found in the fill of the barrow ditch, perhaps residual from a temporary camp or camps near the ditch. Further north still the 'Warren' sites in the Scunthorpe area have already been mentioned. The most intensively studied of these is at Risby Warren, where a large collection of finds were associated with various hearths, small pits and occupation 'floors' of the usual pattern within an area about 150 yds across, the hearths and pits being clustered respectively in separate groups. This area was closely examined and partly excavated, having been exposed originally by wind action, but a less concentrated scatter of Beaker sherds was found on the surface over a much wider area. Among the hearths there was a small mound, particularly rich in finds, which may have been a midden. The hearths, as usual, consisted of patches of burnt material only, and the pits contained refuse and sand discoloured with humic material rather than ashes or any sign of burning. An irregularly oval 'floor' of blackened sand with a roughly central hearth was associated with a cluster of fifteen pits and with a scatter of burnt 'daub'.

The remainder of Southern Beaker domestic sites are those preserved under barrows in Humberside, Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire. Often the only record of these is the bare mention by Mortimer or Bateman of sherds, some of which were certainly of Southern Beaker pottery, flints, and sometimes animal bone found in or sealed below the barrow mound, but such finds seem to have been very common (Bateman 1861, 192). Of all these the best recorded and most informative is that excavated at Swarkeston, Derbyshire. Here there was a complex consisting of a scooped-out hearth pit, a burnt patch, several small pits and a complex of 262 stake and post holes which formed two recognizable structures and probably represented at least two phases of construction. One of the structures consisted of two parallel rows of stakes, about 6 ft apart and at least 40 ft long, and may have had something to do with an animal pen, as the excavator suggests (Greenfield 1960, 17). The other consisted of two

rectangular post settings, 12 ft by 12 ft and 10 ft by 4 ft respectively, each with an entrance. The larger had a central post and, although they were not aligned in the same way, both seem to have been connected to each other and to a further complex of post holes which was not excavated. The enclosed areas were empty of finds. This and the discoveries at Belle Tout constitute some of the most convincing evidence for roofed structures on purely Beaker domestic sites in Britain. Sherds of earlier neolithic pottery were also found scattered over part of the site, but the structures do seem to be connected with the Developed Southern Beaker material.

Northern Britain

All-Over-Corded/European Beaker Sites. The character of known occupation sites associated with All-Over-Corded/European Beaker pottery in northern Britain is particularly uniform, and so requires less discussion in detail. The majority are among sandhills on or near the coasts of north-east England and eastern and south-west Scotland, and most of these are known chiefly through surface finds, as the shifting, wind-blown sands expose buried land surfaces and shell middens, or rabbits bring the evidence to the surface. As a rule, little information is recovered with the finds. Features other than the deposits of occupation material and the occasional hearth are rarely found, and the exact extent of the deposits has not often been recorded. Stratigraphy, too, is often unreliable, owing to the instability of the sands which contain the deposits. Individual sites seem, on the whole, to be smaller and less productive than, for example, those of the Fen edge to the south, but some areas prolific in finds, such as Tentsmuir or Luce Sands, seem to have supported widely scattered sites of many different phases, even within the Beaker culture. The pottery and worked flint recovered from these northern sites varies very little, but then the range of ceramic forms and decoration within the All-Over-Corded/European Beaker group is very limited.

The most southerly of these sites, and one unusual in the detail with which it is recorded, is at Beacon Hill, Flamborough Head in Humberside. Here, in a natural hollow on a hill of sand and gravel, Beaker sherds and flints were associated with a hearth or area of burnt soil and post holes forming a small, roughly oval setting. This occupation was clearly stratified above another, similar one, identified by finds of Heslerton and Ebbsfleet pottery.

Most of the sites to the north, at Ross Links, Northumberland, in the group around Dunbar and Gullane in Lothian, and on Tentsmuir sands, in Fife, and to the north-west at Shewalton and Luce Sands, around the coast of south-west Scotland, are all very much of a type, as described above. On the Archerfield Estate, Gullane, three separate, small Beaker occupation 'floors', two of which were associated with All-Over-Corded/European Beaker pottery, and one with Northern Beaker, were found on a shell mound. These deposits were each about 100 sq ft in area and a few inches deep, and consisted of compact concentrations of food refuse, chiefly shells, in discoloured sand, containing pottery, bone implements, flints and animal bone. Although they were fairly close to one another, the pottery from each differs, and there is no reason to suppose that they were contemporary. Nor do they seem to represent an occupation or occupations of long duration, since the quantity of artefacts is not great, and shell mounds would build up quickly.

At Tusculum, North Berwick, the evidence suggests a rather more prolonged occupation. The site as excavated consisted of two large middens or occupation deposits, each over 50 ft across and about 1 ft thick, which produced pottery, flints and animal bone in quantities to rival some of the sites in East Anglia. On the first of these middens was a well-defined hearth, high in the deposit. The midden itself consisted largely of shells, but included bones of domestic and wild animals.

A similar but outlying site of some interest is one at Newborough Warren, Anglesey. This does not seem to have been particularly extensive, and is presumably to be linked

with the Beaker settlement of Scotland, rather than with that to the south or east.

The contrast between this pattern of coastal sand dune sites associated predominantly with All-Over-Corded/European Beaker pottery in the north, and of inland sites in southern Britain must be misleading to some extent. The distribution of Beaker finds in general in Scotland and northern England tends to follow the lowlands near the coast, but is by no means confined to the coast itself. Surface scatters of flint implements, including barbed-and-tanged arrowheads, in the Tweed valley and in the light soils of north-east Scotland attest occupation of those areas, whether or not specifically domestic sites are found to demonstrate the point. In the south-west, there is one inland site published, at Kirkburn, Lockerbie. Here, on the site of a later, early bronze age flat cemetery, All-Over-Corded Beaker sherds and flints were found in association with a group of small pits, over an area of about 530 sq yds, as well as earlier neolithic and a few Grooved-Ware sherds, associated with separate, but similar pits and two slots containing stake holes. In Yorkshire/Humberside the remnants of at least two sites of the period were sealed under barrows at Barnby Howe II and at Garton Slack.

The Windypits sites, near Helmsley, are usually mentioned as if they were domestic sites but they are, in fact, difficult to interpret. They consisted of small hearths, often associated with a few sherds, and big deposits of animal bone, sometimes mixed with human bone and also containing a very small quantity of All-Over-Corded/European Beaker sherds. These were all in fissure caves which are difficult or awkward of access, and for this reason alone it is hard to accept that they were domestic habitations in any ordinary sense, even if the finds were of the kind and in the proportions usual on Beaker domestic sites. They are not at all like the cave sites of the Mendips. It is easier to think that they had a more esoteric function, perhaps in connection with rites allied to those of the neolithic chambered tombs in which Beaker pottery is sometimes found, or that they were used as places of refuge.

Northern Beaker Sites. Domestic sites associated with pottery of the Northern Beaker group are, as has been indicated already, very rare, although sherds from vessels of this type are occasionally found on later Beaker sites in southern England. Apart from the small 'floor' at Archerfield, already mentioned in connection with All-Over-Corded/European Beaker deposits, there are a few sherds and flints found scattered in Rudh 'an Dunain cave on Skye, and the site excavated by Simpson among the coastal dunes at Northton on South Harris. This last yielded well-stratified evidence of quite extensive but intermittent occupation in a series of midden deposits, two of which contained the Beaker material. In the earlier of these were found the remains of two stone-built structures, the better preserved of which was an oval enclosure, about 20 ft by 14 ft, around a setting of widely spaced stake holes, a hearth, and a small pit by the hearth. The stone 'wall' was flimsy in construction and may have been no more than a windbreak to shield a light wooden structure, represented by the stake holes (Simpson 1966, 1976, 222f). There were two distinct occupation levels within this enclosure, each only an inch thick, separated by a layer of blown sand. Apart from pottery, finds included bone points and 'spatulae' and an impoverished flint industry.

Ireland

There are several large and extensively recorded Beaker domestic sites in Ireland, although the sum of knowledge obtained from them does little more than confirm observations made elsewhere.

The well-known multi-phase settlement on Sites C and D at Lough Gur, Co. Limerick, included a good deal of Beaker pottery, chiefly of the All-Over-Corded/European type, but including some with possible Wessex/Middle Rhine affinities. None of this was associated for certain with any of the structures recorded on the site, although its strati-

graphical position in relation to earlier neolithic and later bronze age occupation is fairly clear. In Rockbarton Bog, nearby, similar pottery was recorded from at least two hearths in the peat itself. One of these was built on stones to prevent sinking but, because of their situation, they can hardly represent anything but very temporary camps. Sherds of several pots were found with each.

At another site, on Dalkey Island, Co. Dublin, both All-Over-Corded/European Beaker and Necked or 'Southern' type Beaker pottery were found in quantity on the same site, but each appears to form a separate, typologically homogeneous group. This pottery, together with animal bone, flints, burnt stone and charcoal, was found in a black layer which appears to cover most of the island. Several pits and hearths were found, but these were of pre-Beaker neolithic date. The one feature which seemed specifically linked to the Beaker occupation was a shell midden which contained several areas of burning and what looked to be a hearth built of flat stones. Within this midden sherds of 'Southern' Beaker seemed to be stratified consistently higher than All-Over-Corded/European Beaker sherds, while below it were sealed the traces of the earlier neolithic settlement. The Beaker pottery corresponds roughly to the Developed, Late and Final Southern styles, but is of a distinctive Irish type. The near absence of rusticated vessels amongst it is particularly noteworthy in the domestic context. Sherds identified as Food Vessel type were also found, as well as vessels which seem typologically half-way between these and the 'Southern' Beakers on the site. There must, therefore, have been at least three, if not four phases of occupation, of which at least two were by different Beaker groups.

Neolithic and Beaker Occupation on the same site

It is quite common, as we have seen, for various other neolithic pottery and flint types to be found on Beaker domestic sites, in association with the same kind of features as the Beaker assemblages. The circumstances need to be examined more closely, because it is becoming increasingly clear from radiocarbon dates that the later neolithic and Beaker ceramic traditions overlapped chronologically (Piggott S. 1962, 77; Clarke D.L. 1970, 266ff), and the relationship between them is thus a matter for debate³. The possible links between the ceramic styles as such are touched on elsewhere (Part IV, p. 74f).

On balance, it would seem that such instances of apparent association between different groups are in fact the result of quite separate episodes of occupation on the same site. Where the relationship of earlier neolithic and Beaker material is in question, the matter is rarely in doubt. At Beacon Hill, Flamborough Head, All-Over-Corded and European beakers were stratified above the level characterised by earlier neolithic bowls (Moore 1966), and at Shippea Hill in the Fens, Beaker and early bronze age pottery was found at the base of the Upper Peat, whereas earlier neolithic material was stratified in the Lower Peat, with the clay of a marine transgression between (Clark 1933; Clark and Godwin 1962). Sometimes, where vertical stratigraphy was lacking, there was a form of horizontal stratification, as was noted in a slight degree on the Hockwold 'Oaks' site. At Easton Down the distribution of earlier neolithic sherds was localised in association with a slot with stake holes, amongst the more extensive spread of European, Wessex/Middle Rhine and Developed Southern Beaker sherds and associated features (Stone 1933, 232). On the Swarkeston site sherds of earlier neolithic pottery not only had a restricted distribution, but are recorded as being distinctly more abraded than the Beaker sherds, as if they had weathered on the surface for longer (Greenfield 1960, 23f).

On one or two sites there is similar stratigraphic separation of later neolithic and Beaker material. The stratification on the Downton site of Ebbsfleet, Mortlake and Fen-gate wares relative to All-Over-Corded and European Beaker ware has already been mentioned, and the evidence from the submerged surface at Clacton has also been dis-

cussed. On a number of other sites one or other type of pottery predominates strongly; very small quantities of later neolithic sherds are found on Beaker sites, and vice versa. Thus, at Edingthorpe Field 49, sherds of Mortlake ware and a weathered sherd of Grooved Ware occurred together in a pit in an area of much more numerous Beaker finds and sherds of several beakers were found amongst the predominant Grooved ware from pits at Creething St Mary, Suffolk.

The majority of all known neolithic domestic sites in Britain, both earlier and later, exhibit very much the same characteristics as the Beaker sites, whether or not they coincide, and in general they occupy the same types of land. Pits of varying size are the most common feature, particularly small pits, and there are hearths and discoloured 'floor' deposits, just as on many Beaker sites. The well-known site at Hurst Fen, Mildenhall, in Suffolk, is a fairly typical example, which consisted in the main of a complex of pits containing blackened sand and refuse (Clark 1960). Like so many of the Beaker sites of the region, it, too, was on a sandhill in the peat of the Fen edge. There is, it is true, rather more evidence for the building of substantial structures on earlier and some later neolithic sites than there is in Beaker contexts, but this still amounts to remarkably little.

The economy of later neolithic and Beaker society in Britain may have differed in some ways from that of the earlier neolithic period here (Jessen and Helbaek 1944; Helbaek 1952)⁴, but reasons for the reoccupation of an earlier settlement by a different, later community are not hard to find. The area of land required under an inefficient farming system to support a small community would have been relatively large, and the types of land most suited to that economy limited, especially as populations grew. Whatever the differences between earlier and later neolithic and Beaker society, their requirements in this respect would have been the same. It is likely, moreover, that land which had previously been cleared would attract subsequent settlers in preference to virgin land on which all the work of clearance and preparation had still to be faced, especially if the later comers were seeking open grazing for livestock. This alone might well explain the near exact coincidence of so many sites.

Unfortunately, none of this resolves the question of the nature of the relationship between the Beaker and contemporary later neolithic cultures in Britain. Comparison of the development of pottery styles is the best means we have as yet of assessing this, and the degree of illumination it provides is severely limited.

DISCUSSION

The nature and function of one specific site, at Hockwold, has been discussed at some length. It is now necessary to re-examine conclusions reached in the light of information yielded in the survey of other sites. So far the similarities between nearly all the known Beaker domestic sites have been more apparent than the differences. Most of the obvious differences seem to have to do with secondary factors and not with the nature of the occupation sites themselves, and these will be dealt with first.

Quite a large number are sealed below barrows, and the excavators of these have sometimes assumed in the past that there was a simple and direct connection between the remains on the surface below the barrow or in the barrow mound, and the barrow itself, and that the former was evidence of some ritual prior to the building of the barrow (e.g. Leaf 1940, 49). There seems no reason to uphold this view. The primary burials in these barrows are sometimes not of the Beaker culture, and sometimes clearly of a rather later period and, at Swarkeston at least, there was a sterile layer between the occupation layers and the material of the mound, suggesting the passage of some time. At Arretton Down, the weathered condition of the sherds on the old surface implied that the site may have been abandoned for some time before the barrow was built; at Chip-

penham V the original ditch of the barrow cut across features of the site underneath; and here and at other sites, such as the Martlesham barrow group, there is evidence that occupation extended well beyond the limits of the barrows. If the evidence of occupation is often confined to an area below the barrow, this seems to be because the old surface has been eroded away or ploughed out except where protected by the mound. In every respect, other than the presence of the barrow, the features of the sites in question resemble those of other domestic sites, and it seems far more likely, as David Clarke suggested (1970, 215) that the construction of barrows on previously cleared sites reduced the amount of preparation necessary and had, therefore, a purely practical purpose. Some assemblages of Beaker pottery have been found associated with funerary sites, notably chambered tombs such as West Kennet Long Barrow (Piggott, S. 1963) but such finds are different in character.

Beaker domestic pottery, or what seems to be domestic pottery is, sometimes found on or near 'henge' monuments, as at Durrington Walls (Wainwright 1967; 1971) or West Kennet Avenue, Avebury (Smith 1965a, 210ff) but does not seem to represent much more than an incidental presence on the sites. The distinctive nature of the site at Gorse Bigbury has already been mentioned, for the site has some of the characteristics of a small 'henge' and some of the characteristics of a causewayed camp, and it produced much material of a domestic type. In neither event could the site itself be described as domestic, however. Many causewayed camps are now thought to have had a ceremonial or semi-ritual function which evidently involved their temporary occupation at certain times. Whether or not there is any direct link between the tradition of the causewayed camps and that of the 'hengés' is uncertain.

Beaker occupation of earlier neolithic causewayed camps is possibly, though not certainly, a pure coincidence. It certainly took place long after the builders of the enclosures had abandoned them, and when the ditches had silted up almost completely.

The features which recur on domestic sites of the neolithic and Beaker cultures are constant. Pits of different size, shape and contents are common and, as the most usual feature remaining of neolithic settlements in general, have been discussed at some length by Isobel Smith (in Field *et al.* 1964). She concluded that they were usually storage pits, and that after their usefulness as such was over they were filled with refuse. It seems less likely that pits were normally dug for the primary purpose of burying refuse. Houlder (1963, 14-16) described pits which occurred on a single neolithic site at Hazard Hill, Totnes, and classified them according to size, shape and contents as quarry pits, food storage pits, water storage pits and pot stands, and these suggestions, although without much to confirm them, are reasonable and could be held to apply to most other sites. The first kind, identified as large, steep-sided pits containing few or no finds, do not seem to be found on Beaker sites, though some of the larger pits at Edington, for instance, conform to the description to some extent. On most Beaker sites it is difficult to see what earth would have been quarried for, unless for earth-walled buildings - an hypothesis incapable of proof at present. The earth thus quarried would not generally have been suitable for use as daub, or in 'cob' construction. Storage pits, according to Houlder, are also large, but contain a secondary fill of refuse, and this seems the most likely use of most of the large pits on Beaker sites, including many that have been called 'pit dwellings'. Settings of stake holes round such pits, as at Easton Down, could represent covers or fences to protect the contents. Many of the deeper small pits, 1-2 ft in diameter, could well have been made to hold skin or pottery containers for water and other substances, and the find of a large Beaker vessel upright in a pit at Fengate supports the idea, though in this instance the pit is much larger and deeper than the pot itself. Others of similar size, but filled with ash, seem to have been some kind of earth oven and are, in fact, often referred to as 'cooking holes'.

Apart from the 'cooking holes', hearths on Beaker sites are usually fairly small,

and consist of shallow scoops in the ground, or of burnt patches where fires were evidently kindled on the surface without further preparation.

The possible nature of the occupation 'floors' has already been discussed at some length in connection with the Hockwold sites, and it is unnecessary to add anything further here, except to repeat that they are merely deposits several inches thick, sometimes to be described as 'middens' and that no trace of any substantial structure has been observed in, near or around them, unless one regards the burnt clay daub scattered around the 'floor' at Risby Warren as such. The 'pot boiler' deposits discussed in connection with the sites at Hoe and Quidenham in Norfolk, and found near a few large settlement sites further the idea of outdoor communal activity as the norm, in this case cooking or washing or some activity requiring the heating of water on a large scale. Evidence for pottery manufacture in the form of fired clay waste is common, and there is, as we have seen, reason to think that quite elaborate clay-lined kilns or ovens may have been constructed.

If we return to the discussion of the evidence for huts or other structures on Beaker sites there is a little more to add⁵. Clarke's claim that Beaker settlements regularly consisted of wattle and daub huts (1970, 213) seems overstated at the least. Traces which could be so interpreted are very rare, although the absence of such traces can be taken absolutely for granted only in ideal conditions where the old ground surface is well preserved and recording of the site has been meticulous, a state of affairs which is not common. Light wattle or timber fences and windbreaks were certainly constructed on some sites, and it is possible that pens were built for the animals, although they may have been of brushwood only, and have left no trace. At Swarkeston there were the remains of substantial-looking rectangular enclosures which could have been huts; at Northton, there were the oval stone-walled constructions, one of which enclosed what may have been a light timber hut, and at Belle Tout there was evidence for both oval and rectangular structures with upright timbers in the walls. Two successive circular timber buildings with central post holes excavated at Gwithian in Cornwall (Megaw 1961, 1976) are usually claimed as 'Beaker' huts and, if so, are the most substantial such remains known. They may indeed be contemporary with some of the later Beaker sites elsewhere in Britain, but, strictly speaking, sherds of true Beaker pottery, probably of European or Wessex/Middle Rhine type, are relatively scarce in the layers associated with the structures, generally in a weathered condition, and so probably residual in the context. Most of the pottery appears to be of a local later neolithic/early bronze age type, although with possible Beaker affinities.

Sites on the Continent which afford a comparison are rare. Childe (1949, 82), writing of later neolithic house-types in general in Europe, hinted that the type of small, square, unicellular houses of flimsy construction known on such sites as the Goldberg may have been in use within the Beaker culture. The huts in question are about 13 ft by 13 ft in area and sunken about 8 in into the ground, often with a central pit and hearth, and the walls and roof seem to have been supported by saplings only. There is, however, no direct association with Beaker material, and any superficial resemblance between these and the 'pit dwellings' claimed at Easton Down or Edingthorpe certainly does not constitute grounds for accepting the latter. At Vlaardingen, in the Netherlands, at least one rectangular timber structure was associated with an early Bell Beaker site (van Regteren Altena *et al.* 1962, 234), and at Arnhem rectangular timber huts were also recorded on an unpublished Beaker site (van Giffen 1958, 39). At a domestic site at Schipborg near Anlo, a series of rectangular and circular post holes in a roughly rectilinear setting were associated with Barbed-Wire Beaker sherds, but this does not seem to have been a roofed structure (van der Waals 1962). None of these seems to have been particularly solid. The one at Vlaardingen had a central row of posts, presumably to support a roof ridge, but the whole seems to have been a flimsy affair, with thin, un-dressed wall posts. The majority of Beaker domestic sites known in western

Europe, and there are not very many of them, seems to be like the majority of those in Britain.

It would appear, therefore, that rectangular and circular post structures, either of which could be interpreted as huts, were built at least occasionally, and that the variation in plan does not necessarily have cultural or chronological significance. Traces of rectangular constructions have been found on European Bell Beaker, East Anglian and Southern Beaker sites, and of circular or oval ones in European Bell Beaker, East Anglian and Northern Beaker contexts. One characteristic which all the structures had in common was their relatively small size.

Understanding of the internal organisation of Beaker settlements has been impeded seriously by limitations in the survival of the evidence and in the scope of most investigations. When only small fractions of sites which clearly were once extensive have survived or been examined, the possibility exists that what has been observed may have been unrepresentative or have been misconstrued. Certain recurrent patterns do, however, seem to be emerging.

Variations in function among different sites are difficult to discern. A few, such as the hearths in Rockbarton Bog or some of the shore sites, are evidently the remains of camps of short duration, although many seemingly small sites may originally have been a part of something larger. Caves and natural shelters seem to have been occupied occasionally and on a limited scale but, characteristically, Beaker domestic sites consist of a combination of some or all of the features discussed above. There is, moreover, some reason to think that these features were normally grouped according to their specialised functions, and perhaps also in clusters corresponding to family or other small units within the larger settlement. Thus, small and large pits and hearths occur in clusters and may be grouped separately, as apparently at Risby Warren. Occupation 'floors' or middens are less common, and seem sometimes to be set apart from and sometimes within or near the clusters of pits. 'Pot boiler' sites are usually set slightly apart from the main concentrations of features. The evidence from Belle Tout is of signal importance in this respect, in that the area of settlement was more clearly defined than on other sites and it was possible, therefore, in excavation, to employ a more purposeful sampling technique, as well as intensive area excavation on a larger scale than usual. The same separation of features and activities was, as a result, even more clearly apparent (Bradley 1970, 364, fig.16).

All this tends to confirm the impression, received from the Hockwold site, that these were generally somewhat diffuse settlements of a small group or several small groups of people, many of whose domestic activities were conducted in the open air and perhaps on some kind of communal basis. The enclosure of the Belle Tout site by an earthwork and other boundary features is so far unique among Beaker sites, although there are other possible neolithic parallels, and the practice could well have been more common than is now apparent. This matter has, however, been treated by Bradley (1970, 367ff) and requires no further comment here.

It is not at all certain, though on sites such as those of the Fen edge it seems probable, that a good many of such settlements were occupied seasonally, or in other ways intermittently. The evidence from Northton might suggest this, whereas that from Belle Tout apparently does not (Bradley 1970, 360), and the thickness and richness of deposits surviving on well-preserved sites such as Hockwold would be equally consistent with either intermittent but regular use of the same site by a community or group of people over a long period, or of prolonged continuous settlement. The absence of evidence for the building of substantial houses or huts does not, of course, necessarily imply that the settlement was not permanent, for reasons which have already been outlined.

It is clear, however, that in a good many instances groups of people using quite different types of Beaker pottery occupied the same site. The degree of relationship between these groups is, in most instances, probably the same as that between any individual Beaker group and other neolithic occupants of the same site, which is to say, they are probably separate in time⁶. This underlines the fact that, sooner or later, most of the sites were abandoned. The precise duration of any occupation by a single community must remain a matter of conjecture at present, since any estimate of this would need to take into account such factors as population size and density, for which the data are, to say the least, inadequate. Nevertheless, even seasonal occupation of most sites is likely to have lasted several months at a time, not only because this is inherently more likely, given what little we know of the economic basis of Beaker society, but because of the frequency with which evidence occurs for such 'settled' activities as pottery manufacture.

From time to time, even in continuously occupied settlements, moves would probably have been necessitated by exhaustion of arable or grazing land in the immediate area and, no doubt, by other factors as well⁷. Since a number of sites are often found within a few miles of one another, such movement may have been within a circumscribed area, but it must be stressed that no exact resemblance is usually discernible between comparable pottery assemblages, even in the same locality (see Part IV p.57ff), nor can their date relative to one another be fixed with any precision.

The composite picture which is emerging of the life of people of the later Beaker culture in Britain suggests fairly small communities practising agriculture and animal husbandry, supplemented by hunting and food gathering. They were certainly not nomadic herdsmen after the manner once conjectured. Some, though the evidence is still a little ambiguous, may have inhabited permanently occupied, loosely organised, though perhaps not absolutely static farmsteads or villages of a kind which might underlie the development of more obviously structured settlements such as are known in bronze age Britain, and which can perhaps be seen emerging in the earlier phases of occupation of the site at Gwithian. Others seem to have followed a shifting pattern of existence, returning a number of times to the same settlements, for perhaps several months at a time, in an ordered cycle which suggests transhumance, though specific environmental evidence to confirm this is still largely lacking.

It would seem to be a way of life characteristic of Beaker and many contemporary neolithic peoples throughout Western Europe.

Beaker Domestic Pottery

SOUTHERN BEAKER DOMESTIC ASSEMBLAGES: GENERAL DISCUSSION

David Clarke, discussing his approach to the aims and problems of the classification of Beaker pottery, rightly stressed the importance of the study of domestic assemblages in any attempt to form a total picture of the development of Beaker pottery styles and regional variations (Clarke 1970, 7, 35). The large corpus of complete funerary beakers must be the basis of typology, but only by reference to groups of sherds from domestic contexts, found in stratigraphical relationship, is it possible to check this typology fully and gain an unbiased idea of the styles and forms current at any one time.

There are two obstacles to this ideal. The first may be relatively minor, but is a factor which needs to be taken into account: in very few instances is it possible to demonstrate conclusively that any large domestic find is 'closed' stratigraphically. On a few sites such as Chippenham V, which consisted of a group of related hearths sealed beneath a barrow of Early Bronze Age date, the evidence seems straightforward enough, but on most sites the necessary stratigraphic detail either is not to be found, or has not been observed during excavation. To assume that a find is of a single period or otherwise, solely on the grounds of whether or not the pottery appears to be of roughly the same type, however reasonable this might seem in particular instances, would be to create a dangerously circular argument. The second, and more immediately telling point, which Clarke acknowledged, is the relative scarcity of large domestic pottery assemblages. Even in East Anglia the number of known sites, relative to the 200 years or more over which the Southern Beaker pottery type was probably in use and developing, seems a mere handful.

A question which further arises is: how far can the differences between any given domestic pottery assemblages of roughly similar date be assumed to be of general, or even limited typological significance, and how far are they variations peculiar to the work of individuals or communities? When one considers the fairly extensive body of evidence for the manufacture of pottery on many Beaker sites, it becomes clear that this factor is of at least potential significance.

It is not difficult, when reviewing large numbers of beakers to perceive, even intuitively, the main differences which distinguish Beaker assemblages of various regions and phases of development and, effectively, classification of Beaker pottery from Abercromby's A, B, C (Abercromby 1912) to Clarke's complex quantification and analysis, has been a progressive refinement of this perception. It is surprisingly difficult, however, to place any given Southern Beaker domestic assemblage in precise chronological or cultural relationship to any other, and this is not entirely because prehistoric pottery from a domestic context tends to be so fragmentary. The general classificatory divisions of Beaker pottery are an abstract frame, superimposed on the continuous and organic process of change and development. If they are to be usable, they cannot allow for minor innovations or preferences shown in the work of the potters of individual communities.

This is particularly true in relation to developments within the Southern Beaker group, which is characterised by an increasing inventiveness, boldness and freedom in the adaptation and use of the basic motifs, most marked during the Late Southern and Final Southern phases. Here it is possible to discern the use of what could be designs traditional to particular families or communities. We cannot hope to isolate this factor with any certainty while the data are so limited, but it is a problem worth exploring. The Hockwold material provides a particularly good illustration of its nature.

The main typological differences observed in the Beaker pottery from the Hockwold sites seem real enough, even though their meaning, in terms of the duration of the occupation of the site, is in doubt. The matter is complicated by the many minor variations in style which may be of strictly local significance.

The repetition of certain motifs used in similar ways on a number of pots from the same site may define these as a group, in contrast to other groups from the same site characterised by other individual styles of decoration. It may not be too fanciful to suggest that, while the stamps and other details differ, P63.089-92 (Fig.16) are by the same hand, or at least by hands mutually influenced; similarly, P63.108 and P63.109 (Fig. 19), P63.114 and 115 (Fig.20), P93.004 and P93.005 (Fig.1), P93.010 and P93.026 (Fig.3) and P93.012-015 (Fig.2).

The same observation is true of pottery from several other sites in the Fen edge region and East Anglia generally, and especially so of that from Cottage Field, Wattisfield, in Suffolk, which includes five almost identical beakers, two of them handled, which are decorated with an unbroken design of large, floating lozenge panels, covering the entire pot. All are incised, not comb-impressed (Fig.40:a, b). Amongst the pottery from Fengate near Peterborough, several different beakers, decorated with metopic schemes of varying complexity but great basic similarity, seem unquestionably to be by the same hand and contrast with the style of other beakers from the same site (Fig.36: a, b). From the site at Reffley Wood, Norfolk, come at least two beakers decorated with a similar lozenge chequer pattern, (Fig.43:b, f) and two others are decorated with large, reserved bar chevron patterns, done in an unusual stab-and-drag technique (Fig.43:e).

Similar factors could determine some of the differences between pottery of different sites. At Hockwold, the 'Oaks' site and Site 93 must be considered, on general typological grounds and in a cultural sense, to overlap. Whether the overlap is also chronological is uncertain. Given the larger typological similarities and differences, the two pottery assemblages are still consistently unlike in some respects, chiefly in the designs favoured. The profiles of the beakers are not dissimilar, but the rim cordons which are a distinctive feature of many of the beakers of Site 93 are rare on the beakers of the 'Oaks' site. This could be a functional variation, but in this context it seems unlikely. Among the broad zone motifs, floating lozenge panels, and the various, more unusual, reserved designs which are common on the beakers of Site 93, are much rarer on the pottery of the 'Oaks' site. Likewise, the rectangular, filled panel motif and the large pendant triangles, both of which recur on groups of beakers from the 'Oaks' site, are not found among those of Site 93. Conversely, similarities may be apparent in the pottery from quite separate occupation floors, as between that from Sites 93 and 95. It is less easy to point out differences between the rusticated ware in any two pottery groups, although there may be some significance in the numbers of zoned, rusticated beakers from Site 93, as opposed to the relative scarcity of the type on the 'Oaks' site.

Developed Southern Beaker Pottery

Beakers which can be classified as Developed Southern type occur in some number on several sites, but notably at Chippenham Barrow V. Here, simple designs of narrow,

alternating decorated and undecorated zones occur frequently (Leaf 1940, figs. 18, 19 and 20, 23, 24); so do more complex designs of narrow, alternating reserved and filled bar chevrons (Leaf 1940, figs. 16, 17), and broad bands of such designs as small, floating panels, covering the entire neck, above narrow, alternating zones on the body (Leaf 1940, fig. 17, 21). Many of these bear some resemblance to beakers from Gorsey Bigbury, Somerset (Jones and Grimes 1938a, fig. 12). A very specific parallel can be seen in a broken lozenge chequer pattern, present on sherds at both sides (Leaf 1940, fig. 16: 15; Jones and Grimes 1938a, fig. 13:19). But the Gorsey Bigbury pottery as a whole, while bearing no motifs that are not common to Southern beakers of most phases and regions, has the characteristics which distinguish the Southern Beaker pottery of south-west England and south Wales, as opposed to that of eastern England; the predominance of the funnel-necked form, and broad-zone reserved bar chevron and the saltire motifs (Jones and Grimes 1938, figs. 12:6; 13:16, 18; 14:25). In particular it is comparable to pottery from another domestic site in the region, a cave site, Bos Swallet, Burrington. The relative shortage and limited style of rusticated pottery from these sites, as compared with sites like Chippenham V, may be significant, although Gorsey Bigbury itself is not, strictly speaking, a typical domestic site and the finds from it may not be fully representative.

Developed Southern Beaker pottery from Fengate (Site 6) has features in common with that from the above sites, but it is not specifically comparable. The commonest of the simpler styles of decoration found here are alternating, cross hatched and undecorated zones. There is one beaker with decoration which, on the neck, matches another from Chippenham V, with narrow zones of spaced pinches, bordered by horizontal lines, and alternating with undecorated zones (Leaf 1940, fig. 19). There is another with a broad band of multiple, alternating bar chevron decoration on the neck (Fig. 36:f).

The typologically earliest pottery from the 'Oaks' site, Hockwold, is unlike any of these groups, although it has many of the formal attributes of a Developed Southern Beaker group. The narrow zones, here, tend to be clumped into twos and threes, to form broader bands which cover most of the neck and, on the body, two or three bands which alternate with undecorated zones of similar width. The best example of this type is P63.022 (Fig. 14). Sometimes the narrow zones are closely spaced over the whole surface of the pot, and the undecorated zones have almost disappeared, as on P63.062 (Fig. 14) which has, otherwise, a slight resemblance to one from Chippenham V (Leaf 1940, fig. 20:23). The beaker P69.045 (Fig. 15) has the simple alternating, narrow zones characteristic of many of the pots from the Chippenham site, but no specific likeness is apparent.

Late Southern Beaker Pottery

Among the domestic Beaker pottery classed as Late Southern Beaker, and this includes assemblages from Gorsey Bigbury, Fengate (Site 5) and Fifty Farm, as well as Hockwold 'Oaks' and Site 93, the individual divergencies are greater. The general characteristics of the Late Southern beakers, the decoration divided into two broad bands, on neck and body respectively, and the motifs grown appropriately larger, or developed to fill the broad spaces, are all present; and designs based on floating lozenge or hexagonal panels, large triangles, broad-zone bar chevrons, and large metopic schemes are used widely, though by no means all universally.

The peculiarities and affinities of the Gorsey Bigbury and related groups have already been mentioned. Designs incorporating large, reserved bar chevrons are not so common on sites in eastern England, but do occur from Fifty Farm (Leaf 1935, pl. 1) and Fengate (6). In both instances, single, reserved bar chevrons, defined by plain, filled triangles, cover the neck and body of the pot in two broad bands. Large triangles are a common motif, often in designs repeated on neck and body. There are many vari-

ations on this basic design, as can be seen on sherds from the Hockwold 'Oaks' site (P63.89-92:Fig.16), as compared with others from Fengate (6) (Fig.36c:d). An unusual variation is found on Beaker sherds dredged from the River Wissey, near Stoke Ferry in Norfolk. Large, filled, pendant triangles are split by a narrow, vertical, reserved bar, so as to form inverted mitre shapes.

Lozenge and floating lozenge panels are common motifs, as has been stated, but not equally common on all sites. They are rarely found on the Fifty Farm pottery, for instance, but are relatively common on that from Hockwold Site 93. There is usually less individual variation in the use of these, but P93.012 and 015 (Fig.2), from Hockwold, with the repetition of a floating lozenge design in different form on neck and body respectively, are distinctive and unlike the floating lozenge patterns on sherds from Fengate for example (Abbott 1910, fig.5). An unusual variation on the theme is found on P63.100 (Fig.17), on which small, floating lozenge panels on the neck have been incised with the finger nail or with a crescent stamp.

Hexagon panels appear to be a motif used more often on typologically later pottery, and are rare in this context. There are least two beakers from Fengate (6), however, whose decoration includes small, horizontally elongated, floating hexagonal panels.

Some of the features which distinguish the pottery from Hockwold Site 93 may be typologically late in respect of a Late Southern Beaker group. There are beakers with reserved designs, for instance, which are unusual, possibly individual, and which appear developed in comparison with the more general use of simple reserved panels (e.g. Fengate, Abbott 1910, fig.5).

Each of the above domestic pottery groups is characterised, as a group, by the prominence of some particular motif. In the second of the Hockwold 'Oaks' groups, it is the large triangle, and the rectangular filled panel. On the beakers from Fifty Farm, it is the technique of excision or, sometimes, impression with a triangular stamp to form small triangular pits and false relief patterns (Leaf 1935, fig.3:18, 19, 20, 21, 23). This technique is known elsewhere, at Hockwold Site 93 (P93.019: Fig.4), for instance, and at Swarkston (Greenfield 1960, fig.10:43), but is generally rare. At Fifty Farm it is used on about seven different beakers. At Fengate (6), the distinctive motif is the style of metopic decoration already referred to (Fig.36:a,b), and at 'Sahara', Lakenheath, it appears to be a form of saltire panel (Briscoe 1948, fig.10:a,c).

Final Southern Beaker Pottery

The definitive characteristics of Clarke's Final Southern Beaker type are biconical or bucket forms, and the absence of the zoning of decoration which, on earlier forms, had emphasised the demarcation between neck and body. The decoration, usually incised, consists of broad-zone motifs suited to an all-over scheme, floating panels and lattice patterns in particular. In the domestic pottery assemblages classified by Clarke as Final Southern, beakers of this type are the extreme form. Profiles tend to be slack, but biconical and straight-sided vessels are rare, and the break in decoration at the neck is more often retained than not, though the emphasis on this decreases. Variations in style become, on the whole, increasingly limited and the designs more carelessly executed, though as often comb-impressed as incised.

The latest beakers of the Hockwold 'Oaks' group are of this phase. Some, such as P69.096, P63.109, and P63.110 (Fig.17:19), retain a break in decoration at the shoulder, though a less pronounced one. Others, such as P63.094, and P63.108, are covered in an unbroken pattern of lattice or floating panel motifs. Large, hexagonal panel motifs become more common.

The two largest known Final Southern Beaker domestic sites are Reffley Wood, Norfolk, and Cottage Field, Suffolk, and there are many other sites which have produced pottery of this phase. Between the pottery from these two sites mentioned there are still clear differences, despite the general trend toward greater uniformity in style.

At Cottage Field, incised decoration is much more common than comb-impressed, and by far the most common design consists of large, floating lozenge panels covering the entire surface of the pot without a break. A separate, narrow zone below the rim is common, often above a very slightly raised cordon. There are two sherds with a decoration of filled rectangular panels, similar in a general way to those from Hockwold 'Oaks', and several sherds bearing indications that they came from pots which had a break in decoration at the neck. At least six of the beakers were handled.

Several of the 'floors' at Edingthorpe produced Final Southern Beaker sherds, including one which echoes the style of handled beakers from Cottage Field, with all-over decoration of large, floating lozenge panels. In general, however, these sites did not produce enough pottery to be useful for comparison.

The Reffley Wood material does not present as late an appearance, typologically, as that from Cottage Field, nor does it closely resemble the latest group of pottery from Hockwold 'Oaks'. Lozenge panel and floating panel decoration is common, particularly with vertically elongated hexagonal panels, but a very common motif appears archaic in this context, being the large, reserved bar chevron, covering the neck. Where it is possible to see, there are usually at least traces of a break in decoration at the neck, whatever the design. The beakers here are more often comb-impressed than incised. This is a very varied group and, though none of the sherds is necessarily out of place in a late context, the circumstances of the finds leave open the possibility that not all the vessels represented are closely contemporary.

Many, if not most of these broad differences observed within the overall conservative style of the pottery from different, but very roughly contemporary sites must be the outcome of preferences of individuals or of the immediate groups, and of little import ultimately in the slow development of the pottery style over the whole region or country, as seen broadly by the typologist. Exact statistical analysis of such limited data might not produce meaningful results, but if the general observation is valid, it is both a useful reminder of the fundamental complexity of the process of development of styles in pottery decoration, and a potential guide to the better understanding of Beaker settlements and even, perhaps, of the economics of pottery manufacture at this time.

RUSTICATED BEAKER POTTERY

Introduction

The study of pottery from the later Beaker domestic sites in Britain shows how significant a proportion of this is 'rusticated'. The techniques of rustication are found only rarely on the pots from funerary or probably funerary contexts on which studies of the Beaker cultures have had chiefly to be based and have, consequently, been treated in somewhat summary fashion in such studies.

The amount of material known is still comparatively small. Domestic assemblages provide most of the firm information on rusticated ware within the context of the Beaker culture, but because the known sites are so few in number, so obviously biased in both geographical and chronological distribution, and so often inadequately recorded, the study of such rusticated ware must remain, at present, full of uncertainties and queries. A number of isolated finds of complete or nearly complete vessels help to give a clearer idea of the range of forms and decoration to be found. It is evident from these examples and from the domestic material that, although there is a range of rusticated and coarse

pottery which is distinctively 'Beaker', it would be unsafe to place too much emphasis on typological comparisons between vessels of this type and those of the better known and better represented 'fine' ware groups. The decoration may differ in the way it is disposed on the pot, as well as in technique, and the forms show differences which must often be functional in origin. A self-standing typology for the group, arrived at in the light of demonstrable, direct associations with fine-ware types, is a sounder basis for study.

Since this rusticated ware seems, even on such evidence, to form an important element in the Beaker ceramic tradition in Britain, it is obviously desirable that its origins, affinities and development here should be investigated as fully as possible, both within the framework of the Beaker culture and outside it, since similar techniques of decoration occur on the pottery of other groups of comparable date in the British Isles.

Furthermore, since Beaker cultures are a European phenomenon - a tenuous, not always clearly defined network of cultural links, extending from Central Europe to Ireland, and from North Germany to the Mediterranean - rusticated beakers, as every other aspect of the Beaker cultures of Britain, have to be seen ultimately in this wider context.

Rusticated Beakers in Britain

Presumably because of the paucity of known or published material, there have been few attempts at a classification of British rusticated beakers. Clark (1936, 19-23) defined three types on the basis of the decoration alone and established, loosely, their Beaker context. He limited the term 'rustication' to plastic treatment of the surface, and his Arminghall (random jabbing and pinching), Holdenhurst (ordered arrangement of jabs and pinches) and Somersham (ribbed) styles are not adequate to cover the wide range of pottery types now known: moreover, they have no reference to their various contexts.

Robertson Mackay (1961, 103) criticised Clark's narrow definition and outlined a survey of methods of rustication. His study was based on material from Southern and East Anglian Beaker sites.

ApSimon (1961, 109, 112) made a fundamentally useful distinction between a Bell Beaker group, in which only the simpler forms of rustication occur, and the more complex, plastic rustication on vessels which seem to be found in association with Southern (Long Necked) beakers only, but David Clarke (1967; 1970) was the first to consider systematically the purely domestic pottery types proper to each of the main Beaker groups as redefined by himself. His survey is comprehensive, but brief and generalised. Discussing rusticated ware, he divided it into non-plastic, plastic (non-zoned) and plastic zoned, and he touched also on the subject of the origins and development of the British material.

His conclusions often appear rather sweeping, and he depended heavily on what is little more than conjecture to fill in gaps, but an overall picture emerges for the whole span of the Beaker culture in Britain, of a developmental series in which the proportion of rusticated ware to non-rusticated gradually increases, and the techniques and styles of rustication become increasingly elaborate. Within the framework he outlined, there is room for further examination of the evidence and for discussion of his conclusions, as well as for refinement in detail.

All-Over-Corded and European Beaker types. There are enough good associations, both domestic and otherwise, to establish that vessels with non-plastic rustication formed an integral part of the normal All-Over-Corded and European Bell Beaker assemblage in Britain. This rustication consisted most usually of finger-nail impressions, either

singly or paired in a 'crow's-foot' pattern, and arranged randomly or in vertical rows over the whole surface of the pot. There seems little point in dealing with the European group separately from the All-Over-Corded Beaker ware. For the latter, evidence is much more abundant, mainly because of the domestic assemblages from the coastal sites of north-east England and of Scotland, and European Beaker sherds occur in many of these.

The best association between European and rusticated beakers is that at Brean Down, Somerset, a closed find of an unmistakable European beaker of typologically early appearance with part of a large beaker of similar profile, decorated with non-plastic 'crow's-foot' rustication. Judging by the finds from Easton Down, the domestic pottery of this group was more usually without decoration (Stone 1931, 369; 1933, 233; 1935), though here the sites are of mixed date and the pottery associations often unclear. A small quantity of finger-nail rusticated pottery occurs with All-Over-Corded and European Beaker from domestic sites such as Kirkburn, Lockerbie (Cormack 1963, figs.6, 7), Tusculum, North Berwick (Cree 1908, figs.9-12) and Archerfield, Gullane (Curl 1908), but a far larger proportion of the coarse wares from these sites is undecorated.

At Kilkey South, Ross, (Henshall 1963, 255) the upper part of a large vessel decorated with finger-tip impressions was found in a chambered tomb, together with All-Over-Corded beakers. Material from a chambered tomb cannot be considered a closed find, except in a broad sense, but in this instance the rusticated vessel resembles the others so closely in form that it is probably safe to consider the association as direct.

Clarke made no formal distinction between finger-nail and jabbed or impressed rustication within his non-plastic group. The latter techniques do occur on vessels in the All-Over-Corded/European group, but are less common than the other. The vessels in question are often large and straight sided, or with high shoulders and narrow mouths. The decoration on them consists of impressions or jabs made with the end of a blunt-ended stamp, regularly spaced over the surface of the pot. One or two examples have been found in domestic contexts as, for example, at Rockbarton Bog, where sherds of a large, straight-sided vessel decorated on the upper part with spaced impressions of a square-ended stamp were associated with sherds of European Beaker (Mitchell and O'Riordain 1943, fig.6). At Edingthorpe Site 8, sherds of a beaker of normal, wide-mouthed Bell Beaker form and size, with decoration similar to the Rockbarton Bog vessel, were found also in association with European Beaker sherds (Fig.39:d, e, f).

A small number of complete beakers with 'crow's-foot' rustication have been found in graves, or in circumstances which suggest that they were originally placed with bodies of which all trace had subsequently disappeared. These pots often appear to be carelessly made, but have a recognizable, wide-mouthed, European profile, and are of a size normally found in graves. One such was found in a grave with two other vessels, one a fine European beaker, and the other of the same type but degenerate appearance, at Brantham Hall, Suffolk (Clark 1931b, 356; pl.XXVIII:3-5), and this particular example has parallels in isolated finds from Sheepwash, Iford, Hampshire (Calkin 1951, pl.1b), and Tottenhill Church, Norfolk (Kendrick and Hawkes 1932, pl.VIII:3). Normally the decoration on these covers the entire surface of the pot, but occasionally zoned decoration seems to be foreshadowed. The beaker from Iford has a break in the decoration at the shoulder, and another vessel of possible European Beaker affinities, found with an inhumation at Thorrington Hall, Wherstead, Suffolk (Clark 1931b, pl.XXVIII:1), has rows of 'crow's-foot' decoration arranged in two bands around the neck and belly. The only known example of plastic rustication possibly associated with this pottery type is a sherd from Barrow 11, Crichel Down, Dorset, which is decorated with flattish horizontal pinched ribs in a manner usually associated with East Anglian Beaker pottery. The sherd was one of a number found in the barrow mound and in a pit below the barrow, presumably from a domestic site. All the other sherds are of All-Over-Corded

and European beakers, together with one decorated with simple finger-nail impressions (Piggott S. and C.M., 1944).

As far as can be seen, the rusticated and coarse vessels of this group are often larger than the fine-ware beakers, but resemble them fairly closely in shape, with wide and narrow-mouthed forms, often with a cordon below the rim. Such rim cordons seem to be particularly common on both rusticated and other beakers from the domestic sites, and are presumably functional in origin.

Within the All-Over-Corded/European Beaker group it is almost impossible to isolate the earliest elements, and even more so, on internal evidence, to establish whether rusticated pottery was integral to either or both at the time they were first introduced into Britain. This is a question which can better be answered by reference to early, dated finds on the Continent. The All-Over-Corded and European Beaker types, although the earliest to appear in Britain, apparently had a very long life, derivatives surviving in some form perhaps into the seventeenth century bc (cf. Charlton Sandysford, North-umberland; 1670 \pm 50 bc:Gak 800), and there is no reason to suppose that the major known sites associated with them are particularly early. To what extent, if at all, the associated rusticated wares underwent modification during this long period is uncertain, but it does not seem to have been very great. Perhaps the practice of putting rusticated beakers of this type in graves was developed in Britain and is in itself an indication of later date, since it is found rarely, if at all, on the Continent. If so, the only developments noticeable in the examples to hand are a general slackening of profile and the tendency toward zoning which has already been remarked upon.

Wessex/Middle Rhine Beaker Types. Wessex/Middle Rhine beakers correspond to some extent to Fox's B1 sub-division (Fox 1943), and represent, in Clarke's definition, an immigrant group originating, as the name indicates, in the Middle Rhine area. There is very little evidence at all to confirm the existence of associated rusticated pottery, and in the absence of any certainly identified domestic assemblages it is impossible to get a sound idea of the relative importance of this element in the ceramic range. If the pottery of Lough Gur Site D is of this group, as Clarke suggested it may be (1970, 88), the pattern would appear to be much as in the All-Over-Corded/European Beaker assemblages. Undecorated coarse ware is more common than rusticated ware and rusticated ware is decorated with simple, non-plastic, finger-nail impressions (O'Riordain 1954, figs.35-37).

Very largely, the proof rests with a single, closed find from Fakenham, Suffolk, possibly from a grave, though no body was found. The report states that the finds, including the pottery, a fine flint dagger and a bronze ring, were from a pit or 'sunken floor', and notes in the Ipswich Museum indicate that the artefacts were found in blackened sand flecked with charcoal (Maynard 1950, 11f). The pottery consists of parts of two good examples of Wessex/Middle Rhine beakers, and two sherds of a large, thick-walled vessel, decorated with non-plastic 'crow's-foot' impressions, apparently placed horizontally in rows, almost in 'false-cord' style (Fig.41:f, g). There were also several sherds of thick, coarse, undecorated ware.

Clarke mentioned a possible association, in a Wessex/Middle Rhine grave group at Summertown, Oxford, of a small beaker decorated with single finger-nail impressions and a narrow-mouthed beaker decorated all over with horizontal lines. Another rusticated beaker, from a grave at Stanton Harcourt (OXON.55) although it is without direct association, seems to belong to the same group. It has the elongated, shallow 's' profile and slight foot characteristic of Wessex/Middle Rhine beakers and is decorated with horizontal flat ribs, made with paired finger-nail impressions in a sort of 'false-cord' style (Hamlin and Case 1963, fig.8). It comes from a group of graves associated with a ring ditch, one of which produced a Wessex/Middle Rhine beaker (OXON.54; Clarke

No.773) and another a cord-impressed beaker of tall, narrow 's' profile and ovoid body (OXON.56) which Case suggests need not be earlier than the others (ibid 1963, 33).

There is a large beaker, probably a storage jar, found upright in a pit at Fengate, Peterborough (Leeds 1922, 225, fig.5), which resembles the Wessex/Middle Rhine beakers in profile, with a slight rim cordon and narrow base, and with the upper two thirds of the body decorated with rows of single finger-nail impressions. It has a strong likeness to some North German Riesenbecher (see p.137ff), though the characteristics mentioned relate equally well to Westdeutschebecher. Unfortunately, there are no directly associated finds nor, apparently, any other Wessex/Middle Rhine pottery from the site.

In the closely related North British/Middle Rhine group there is no direct evidence for rusticated ware, and for the North British/North Rhine group Clarke named only one rusticated beaker, from a grave at Hasting Hill, Offerton, County Durham (Clarke No. 221), attributed on the basis of its form alone. If it is such, it is interesting that the decoration of differently shaped cuneiform and oval jabs is arranged in zones. The group as a whole, according to Clarke, is contemporary with and shares a similar background on the Continent to the Barbed-Wire Beakers.

Barbed-Wire and East Anglian Beaker Types. Barbed-Wire beakers represent a development somewhat outside the mainstream of Bell Beaker culture, and on the Continent, in North Germany particularly, can be seen to contain a very strong non-Bell Beaker element. In Britain, the finds of characteristic pottery decorated with thread-wound stamp impressions are concentrated in the south and south-east, and are met with most frequently as an element in the East Anglian Beaker tradition, which seems to be one of the terminal avenues of Beaker ceramic development in this country. Assemblages of both pottery types, separately and together, include a large proportion of rusticated vessels, and see the introduction, or at least the rise in importance, of a new, plastic style of rustication.

The assemblage from Clacton, Lion Point Site 114 (Smith I.F. 1955) has produced most of the good evidence for rusticated ware in association with unmixed Barbed-Wire beakers. It is a closed find from a 'cooking hole', and there can be little doubt that it is correctly attributed. The radiocarbon determination of 1800 ± 150 bc (BM 172) is not inconsistent with the strong evidence on the Continent for dating Barbed-Wire pottery from around 1700 bc onwards⁸. Of the eight beakers represented in the find, six are rusticated. The forms of these seem to follow the barrel or shallow 's' profiled bell-shape of the 'Barbed-Wire' decorated beakers; their decoration is mostly non-plastic, consisting of 'crow's-foot' impressions, sometimes in vertical rows, finger-tip impressions, and continuous horizontal lines formed by horizontal finger-nail impressions, but one sherd has horizontal ribs formed by pushing up the clay with the finger tips (Smith I.F. 1955, fig.1:6). Non-domestic finds such as are ascribed by Clarke to this group seem to confirm the general use of a non-plastic style of rustication, much the same as that found on All-Over-Corded and European Bell Beakers, though it is hard to be sure because the quantity of known material is so small.

An all-over decoration of flattish, horizontal pinched ribs does, however, occur quite commonly on Beaker pottery of the East-Anglian type. Several fairly large assemblages from domestic sites are known. There is a large collection of sherds from the submerged surface at Lion Point and Dovercourt and these, in contrast to the All-Over-Corded and European Beaker domestic groups, are almost entirely from rusticated vessels. Most of the pots are decorated in the same manner as those from Lion Point Site 114, but some have more heavy, plastic pinching of the surface, and there is at least one sherd decorated with alternating rows of horizontal and oblique finger-nail impressions, and another with horizontal pinched ribs. This last may even have been zoned, since there are sherds with random spaced pinches which appear to be from the

same vessel. All the pots, large and small, tend to be barrel-shaped, sometimes with rim cordons.

At Belle Tout, in an East-Anglian Beaker assemblage of over 1000 sherds, over 50% of the vessels represented are rusticated, the majority in 'crow's-foot' technique or with single finger-nail impressions, but some with flattish, horizontal or vertical ribs defined by a 'false-cord' technique (Bradley 1970, 335ff). From the unpublished site at Great Bealings there are several sherds with such 'false-cord' decoration associated with East Anglian Beaker sherds, and from Witton, Norfolk, there is a probably associated find of two such sherds and a part of a very large, high shouldered beaker decorated with spaced, heavily plastic finger pinches (Fig.44). The group of East Anglian beakers from Shoebury, Essex, is from a quarry, and the circumstances of the discovery are not recorded; typologically, however, it seems homogenous. More of the beakers represented here are of fine ware, chiefly decorated with toothed or notched stamps, than of rusticated ware, and the technique of rustication used is finger-tip impression, in one instance closely spaced to push up slight ridges. There are also two large, undecorated beakers with high shoulders and rim cordons. As a rule, undecorated vessels do not seem to have been in common use within this cultural group, although at Martlesham Barrows II and III, undecorated sherds were proportionately more numerous than rusticated, 'barbed-wire' decorated, or comb-stamped sherds (Martin 1976, 30, 37).

In addition to the domestic or probably domestic groups of sherds, there are a considerable number of single finds, most if not all of them from graves, of rusticated beakers which appear to be in the same tradition. Among these as a group, a rather higher proportion than of the domestic finds are decorated with horizontal ribs, ranging from the non-plastic, defined with the finger nail, as on one from Kingston Buci, Sussex (Musson 1954, 188, fig.1), to the fully plastic finger pinched, as on those from Dover (Antiq. J. XVI, 459, pl. LXXXVIII) and Lakenheath, Suffolk (Fox 1923, pl.1:3). Others are decorated all over with rows of finger-nail impressions, or jabs or incisions which give the same effect, as on one from Halstead, Essex (Hull 1946, 67; pl. IX:1), or on another from Houghton, Huntingdonshire (Coote 1932, 248, fig.3).

Judging by all these finds, both domestic and funerary, the usual form of both small and large rusticated beakers in the East Anglian group was the same as that of the fine ware; a barrel-shaped or high shouldered, ovoid body, with an outward curving or rolled rim and sometimes a foot. The most common type of rustication was still non-plastic and generally finger-nail impressed, but ribbed and plastic decoration appeared and became increasingly common. In either case the decoration seems to have covered the entire body of the beakers without any break or zoning, and the stylistic relationship between the horizontal emphasis of the ribbed decoration and the horizontal linear decoration of the fine ware, whether comb, cord or 'barbed-wire' impressed, is obvious.

Southern Beaker Types. This group has produced the greatest quantity of rusticated pottery of any, and the most widely varied. Most of the key material comes from domestic sites such as Hockwold, and the survey of the Hockwold pottery will have shown how great the variety is. The proportion of rusticated ware on such sites averages about 50%, although it tends to be less in the typologically earlier groups and more in the later ones. Undecorated pottery is hardly known.

It is not often possible to reconstruct profiles with confidence from the sherds remaining, but it seems as if the small rusticated vessels retained the necked beaker form, and are in most respects like the fine ware beakers. The larger vessels also, though no doubt intended for a greater variety of uses, adhere fairly closely to the basic shape. The profile does tend to be slacker, however, and single or double cordons below the rim are particularly common. Often the rim itself is thickened. Straight-

sided, conical bowl shapes occur sometimes, as, possibly, Hockwold (Fig.9: P93.050) and an isolated find from Moordown, near Bournemouth (Calkin 1951, pl.1:b).

The usual range of types of rustication is represented in the Hockwold finds, although the proportions in which these occur seem to vary from site to site. The simpler styles continue in use and remain the most common. 'Crow's-foot' decoration covering the whole pot is a particularly frequent style, although now the technique differs slightly from the completely non-plastic treatment most usual among the pottery groups discussed above, and the clay tends to have been very slightly pinched up (e.g. Figs.7; 22; 23; 37:b, e). There are also the various forms of jabbed and impressed rustication, of which impression with the end of a small bone and cuneiform jabs seem to be the most common (e.g. Figs.29; 37:a; 41:a; 42:b). On both small and larger pots, but particularly on the large, coarser ones, there is a greater emphasis on the plastic treatment of the surface. Ridges are pushed up with the thumb nail, surfaces are dimpled all over with finger-tip impressions, and much use is made of horizontal and vertical pinched ribs. Very rarely, bumps pinched from four sides are found, as at Hockwold (Fig.24), Chippenham (Fig.35:b) or Lakenheath (Fig.37:h).

On the domestic sites anything between an estimated 12% and 35% of all the rusticated pots have the decoration arranged in zones. (The proportions seem to have no significance in relation to any difference in the probable date of the sites.) For the non-domestic finds of both small and large rusticated beakers the figure is about 50%, the rest being decorated in all-over style. The zoning consists of the arrangement of bands of decoration, combining various techniques of rustication, over the whole surface of the pot (e.g. Figs.8; 9; 10; 25; 35; 37:d, h; 38:d; 41:b; 42:a; 43:h, l; 45). It is used chiefly on pots which have, recognizeably, the necked-beaker forms, and the disposition of the zones relates to the form of the pot in the same way as does the zoning of the fine-ware beakers. Generally speaking, the division between the neck and body is emphasised by the division of the decoration into separate bands covering those parts. Horizontal ribs form narrow bands at rim and base of neck, sometimes being associated with a raised cordon, particularly on larger vessels. Between them, covering the rest of the neck, is a broad zone with a vertical emphasis, sometimes with vertical ribs, as in the large beakers from Somersham and Great Barton (Fox 1923, 26; Lehmann 1967a, 66f: figs. 1, 3) or the smaller beakers from Hockwold Site 93 (Fig.10: P93.054), or sometimes with rows of spaced pinches. The body is normally covered by another broad zone of spaced pinches or vertical ribs, sometimes with a narrow zone of horizontal ribs at the base, or horizontal ribs may continue down from the shoulder, as on the Somersham beaker. The smaller beakers tend to conform more strictly to the scheme of a horizontal emphasis at rim and shoulder and a vertical on neck and body. Rarely, ribbed decoration is arranged to form rectangular panels or even more elaborate designs, as on sherds from Hockwold (Fig.11: P93.067; 068), Chippenham V (Fig.35:c) or Reffley Wood (Fig.43:j, k) designs.

On a few beakers, as we have seen, the techniques of rustication and comb impression are used together. Sometimes the two are combined in narrow zones which alternate with undecorated zones over the whole pot, as on beakers found at Chippenham V and at Goodmanham, Yorkshire, both illustrated by Leaf (1935, figs.15, 19); more commonly the neck, and sometimes part of the body, is decorated in normal fashion with comb-impressed or incised techniques, and the rest of the body with finger pinches or some other type of rustication. There is a good, if rather unusual example of the latter kind from Hockwold Site 93 (Fig.5: P93.030), and others from Houghton, near Huntingdon (Coote 1934, 248, fig.1) and Ganton, Yorkshire (Greenwell 1877, 162, fig. 101). Sometimes rustication is confined to a single row of finger pinches round the neck or base, as on one beaker from Brantham Hall, Suffolk (Clark 1931b, 360, pl.XXX:8).

Most of the Southern Beaker domestic sites known belong to the middle and late

phases of that tradition and, as Clarke admitted (1970, 200) it is not easy to identify any of his Primary Southern Beaker pottery among the sherd material from them. It is impossible to be sure, therefore, whether the more elaborate types of rusticated ware commonly found on domestic sites were present in the Primary Southern Beaker group, or whether there is any development or change in the types of rusticated pottery in use, to correspond to the development in the Southern type as a whole, though the latter supposition at least is likely. Elaborate zoned styles were certainly common in the Developed Southern phase in eastern England, at Chippenham V, for instance, and analysis of the rusticated pottery from all the major sites, though perhaps not a very reliable guide, suggests that in assemblages which appear to be late, as at Cottage Field, there was a reversion to the general use of simpler styles, often non-plastic, even though the proportion of coarse ware to the whole increased. It may be significant, too, that on the west side of the county, at Gorse Bigbury and the cave sites of the Mendips, rusticated pottery forms a much lower proportion of the total assemblage than is usual in eastern England, and that amongst the Beaker pottery from Dalkey Island, Co. Dublin, it is rare, and includes only one possible example of a zoned rusticated beaker (Liversage 1968, pl. VII:P89).

Northern Beaker Types. As far as can be seen, zoned rustication appears among the Southern Beakers already developed in all its complexity. Assuming that Clarke was correct in his theories about the origins of the Northern Beaker series and its relationship to the Southern series, it would be reasonable to suppose, as he did (1970, 157), that this style of decoration at an earlier stage of development was introduced by immigrants from the Low Countries, as part of the Primary North British/Dutch 'package', and transmitted through the Northern Beaker tradition to the Southern group. Unfortunately, there is virtually nothing concrete to support this latter hypothesis. The Continental material will be considered in detail later, but it should be noted here that, as evidence, it is less conclusive than Clarke would have it. In Britain the absolute scarcity of Northern Beaker domestic sites means that we cannot assume a rounded knowledge of the Northern Beaker culture, but there is an equally mystifying shortage of isolated finds of rusticated beakers attributable to this group. The small collection of Late Northern sherds from Archerfield Midden II (Curle 1908) does not include any rusticated ware, and the one 'crow's-foot' decorated sherd illustrated from Midden III was not definitely associated with the Northern Beaker finds. The pottery from Northton includes sherds of undecorated beakers, but only a few with simple finger-nail impressed 'crow's-foot' decoration (Simpson 1976, fig. 12:2, 3). There are also one or two single finds of rusticated beakers which could be classified in this group. One of these is from Muirkirk II (Fairbairn 1927, 272, fig. 5). It has a slack profile, and the decoration includes vertical rows of pinches on the body, while the neck appears to have been decorated in comb-impressed technique. There is another from Wincanton, Somerset, which has a zone of vertical ribs on the neck and which was classified by Clarke as Developed Northern type (Clarke no. 822). This does not add up to a body of evidence on which to base any firm conclusions. There is another beaker cited by Clarke in support of his argument whose value as evidence must be discounted entirely. This is a large, necked vessel with zoned rustication (Clarke no. 1413.1) in the collection of the National Museum of Archaeology in Edinburgh. It is from a purchased collection, its provenance is unknown, and on purely typological grounds it could be a Southern beaker. Clarke's drawing of it is, in fact, inaccurate, the neck of the pot being proportionately taller and more nearly cylindrical than is shown. Height of neck alone would not, in any case, be grounds for classing it as Northern type. Some of the pottery from domestic sites indicates that large beakers with necks relatively shorter than this example probably existed as functional variants within the Southern Beaker type range.

Amongst the small amount of rusticated pottery which is attributable to the Northern Beaker group there is nothing which appears prototypical of the zoned plastic decorative schemes common in Southern rusticated beakers.

Rusticated Beakers on the Continent

As we have seen, rusticated ware forms an important part of the domestic pottery of several, if not all of the Beaker cultural groups in Britain. Since some of these apparently originated with groups of settlers coming from the middle and lower Rhine area, it is desirable that the subject of Beaker domestic pottery in Germany and the Netherlands be examined, if only to obtain a better understanding of the background and possible origins of the technique of rustication in Britain. Such a review may also help to shed a little new light on the wider composition and interrelationships of the Beaker cultures in western Europe.

The term 'Beaker' on the Continent covers, in this context, both the Bell Beaker and the Single Grave/Corded Ware cultural groups. The ultimate nature of the connections between the two has never been fully resolved and seems to be complex⁹, but in this matter also the incidence of rusticated ware in each is of interest.

Beaker rusticated pottery in north-west Europe has, to date, been studied in two main categories, not necessarily mutually exclusive: the Pot Beakers of the Netherlands, and the so-called Riesenbecher of the German writers. The application of both terms is limited, although the latter has never been precisely defined and has, hitherto, been used in a somewhat elastic manner, and no writer has yet attempted any kind of comprehensive survey of Beaker domestic pottery on the Continent. As an attempt at such a survey the following must remain inadequate, since it is concerned above all with rusticated pottery, and it has had to be based largely on secondary sources. It is justified only insofar as it succeeds in clarifying a rather confused subject.

Dutch Pot Beakers. The best known, best documented, and larger of the two categories, and the one most often referred to by British writers seeking comparative material for British rusticated beakers, is that of the Pot beakers, which are found in the lower Rhine area, and in particular in the Veluwe region in the Netherlands. Most Dutch writers refer to any Beaker rusticated sherds as 'Pot beaker', but to use the term within its strictest definition, these are large beakers, decorated with plastic rustication in elaborately zoned schemes. They have been discussed most recently by Lehmann (1965; 1967a), who classifies them according to form and decoration into Trumpet Pot beakers, Necked Pot beakers, and Belted Pot beakers, and establishes with reservations their affinity with Veluwe beakers. There are enough loosely associated finds and finds stratified in Bell Beaker barrows to confirm the conclusion that they are of the Bell Beaker culture, though the fact that they are more usually found singly, without association, sometimes in megalithic tombs, and have in their decoration a superficial resemblance to the pottery of the megalithic tombs has tended to obscure this point in the past.

There is an obvious close resemblance between Veluwe beakers and Necked Pot beakers, which have the same kind of short, upright or slightly flared neck, with a sharp, angular junction between it and the body, and the same kind of zoning with a multiplicity of narrow, horizontal zones on the neck, and a strong emphasis, usually vertical, on the shoulder zone. There are, moreover, a number of Veluwe beakers, nearly all of late appearance, with normal, zoned decoration on neck and shoulder and pinched bumps or ribs on the lower part, as well as a few with all-over zoned rustication in a style closely resembling that of the Necked Pot Beakers. Many of these are illustrated by Bursch (1933, Abb.74, Taf.II, III, IV).

The Trumpet Pot beakers might be assumed, on typological grounds, to be earlier. The 's' profile and the disposition of alternating zones of equal width over the entire surface of the pot recall the European type of Bell Beaker; one from Hanendorp has, as Lehmann remarks (1965, 8), a resemblance to a PF beaker. One from Ede, however,

appears to be stratigraphically later than a Veluwe beaker of type 2^{1e} in a barrow (Lehmann 1965, 11). Modderman (1955, 41) suggests some kind of relationship between the type and Barbed-Wire beakers, and the profile certainly has a close resemblance to some of these, and to large vessels of the Single Grave culture with which they form a link.

The function of Pot beakers as domestic pottery is not usually certain from the circumstances of the finds, though their size suggests that they were designed as storage containers. Some discovered complete, empty and inverted, could have been ritual deposits. This suggestion has been made by Lehmann and is given weight by a find from Melzendorf-Woxdorf, in Lower Saxony, of a large beaker of the Single Grave culture inverted over a skull (Wegewitz 1960). The connection between Dutch Pot beakers and the latter find may be remote, but the beaker in question is of the type already referred to in connection with Trumpet Pot beakers. A vessel from Bebra, Kr. Rotenburg/Fulda, in Germany, which resembles a Dutch Necked Pot beaker, did have traces of blackened incrustation on the inside, which indicates possible domestic use (Uenze 1961, 1). Sherds found scattered in burial mounds in the Netherlands recall the similar finds, probably domestic in origin, in Britain, but from only one well-documented domestic site, Anlo, do there come any which can reasonably be identified as Pot Beaker type according to Lehmann's definition (Waterbolk 1960, fig.30:16).

Pot beakers in the strictest sense are a late manifestation; all indications are that they belong in the latest phase of the Veluwe Beaker culture. It could be said that they are analagous to the larger Southern zoned, rusticated beakers in Britain, and indeed, Lehmann has suggested (1967, 65) that the same term 'Pot beaker' should be used for both. The two variants, Veluwe and Southern Beaker, developed on either side of the North Sea, apparently from a common parent type. The rusticated wares belonging to each constitute the most elaborate and the most numerous of all the known types of Beaker rusticated pottery in their respective countries, standing at the tips of two parallel, branching stems, and Pot Beakers and rusticated Veluwe Beakers can be said to stand in roughly the same relation to their British counterparts as do non-rusticated Veluwe beakers to non-rusticated Southern (Long Necked) beakers (Piggott S. 1963, 90). There are differences in form, of course, and in zone distribution and in technique, to the same extent that there are between the two groups of fine ware. Otherwise the Dutch Pot beakers are decorated with vertical and horizontal ribs in similar fashion to British rusticated beakers, although the Dutch examples often seem to be more delicate in execution. One feature which is very commonly used on the Dutch and only rarely on the British beakers is the practice of pinching the surface of the pot into a series of bumps from four sides. The apparently greater variety of forms and decoration met with in British Southern rusticated beakers is almost certainly misleading.

Riesenbecher. The term 'Riesenbecher' has chiefly been used by writers discussing large, beaker-like vessels found in north-west Germany, and while it is clear from their work that there is a body of large, rusticated beakers in that region which are unlike Dutch Pot beakers and which have a different cultural background, they have argued that the number of such vessels known is too small to admit a detailed classification or definitive evaluation (Stegen 1954, 270; Struve 1955, 132). The distinction between Pot beakers and other types of rusticated ware in north-west Europe has remained blurred. For Stegen the chief criterion in the definition of a Riesenbecher is form and size, not decoration, and he listed together various types, with and without decoration, including some sherds remarkably like Pot Beakers. Struve implied that the term covers all kinds of large beaker, including the Dutch Pot beakers and British rusticated beakers. Inevitably this vagueness has caused some confusion in any attempt to discuss origins and affinities. More recently Uenze used the name 'Riesenbecher' in a similarly generic sense, but under this heading distinguished between Pot beakers (he does not use the term), giant, cordoned, undecorated beakers, giant beakers with 'barbed-wire' decora-

tion, and a fourth group decorated with finger-nail rustication and not unlike Pot beakers. Further than that he was not prepared to go within the limitations of a short article (Uenze 1961). Most recently of all, Lehmann (1965, 27) has underlined the need for a sharper clarification of thought on the whole subject by his emphasis on the strict definition of Pot beakers and their difference from most of the pots discussed by Stegen and Struve.

The word 'Riesenbecher' as used till now has, therefore, so broad an application as to be practically useless in this context. Sub-types have been defined, but this has not much furthered understanding of the subject. Jacob-Friesen (1959) used the term 'Bentheim Beaker' to describe one type of large beaker found in north-west Germany. The eponymous find consists of two very large beakers with ovoid bodies, collared rims, narrow bases, and rustication all over, in one case with random 'crow's-foot', and in the other with bone-end impressions. Stegen, who confined his study within the geographical limits of Hannover and Oldenburg, defined two basic types of Riesenbecher: Decorated, and Undecorated (Stegen 1954, 270). The beakers from Bentheim belong to the former group, obviously, but he preferred not to use that name of other decorated giant beakers. The undecorated, of 'Moislingen' type, which he regarded as typologically earlier, consists of large, ovoid beakers with shallow 's' profiles, high shoulders, narrow bases and, often, a cordon below the everted rim. Struve noted further that the types with and without cordons are contemporary and appear to be distributed mainly in East Hannover. He also pointed out that the distribution of rusticated giant beakers is limited.

If we dispense, for the moment, with the all-embracing concept of Riesenbecher, and set aside, firstly all non-rusticated vessels in that category, and secondly the Pot beakers and any sherds which, by reason of their zoned, plastic rustication, may be classed with them, we are left with a somewhat heterogeneous collection of large, rusticated beakers, whose distribution extends from the Elbe in the east to Drenthe and Gelderland in the west, and from Lower Saxony in the north, to the river Main in the south. The majority of them have a general stylistic similarity, and it is with these, together with the undecorated ones, with and without cordons, that Stegen and Struve were, in fact, chiefly concerned. They ascribed both to the Single Grave culture, an idea which will bear further investigation, particularly with respect to the rusticated group.

In fact the evidence concerning this is rather inconclusive, demonstrating mainly that these vessels were made in a late neolithic context not specifically or directly connected with the Bell Beaker culture, and that there are indications that they belong to the Single Grave/Corded Ware complex.

At Altendorf, Kr. Wolfhagen, a large ovoid beaker with high shoulder and rim cordon, decorated with rows of spaced 'crow's-foot' impressions over the whole surface was found in a megalithic stone cist grave, together with sherds of cord-decorated beakers (Uenze 1961, 5), and sherds of large beakers of very similar appearance were found in stone cist graves at Hammah 12, Kr. Stade (Wegewitz 1949, 25, Abb.26), and at Zuschen, Kr. Fritzlar Homburg (Uenze 1961, Taf.4a, 5a, 5b) though not with corded ware. The rim of another large beaker, double cordoned and decorated with vertical lines of pinches came from Site 12, Boburg. This is a domestic site which produced both late Single Grave and Bell Beaker material, and the context of the sherd in question is not clearly stated (Struve 1955, 133, Taf.24:2). More often the finds were isolated, and none has been known in the context of a single grave, apparently. Many of them recall Single Grave beakers in certain characteristics of form and in the disposition of the decoration on the pot, and are even closer, typologically, to Barbed-Wire beakers in both north-west Germany and the Netherlands. Barbed-Wire beakers are, in turn, generally held to be closely connected with the late Single Grave/Corded ware as well as with the later Bell Beaker cultures. It may be noted that the rusticated giant beakers in

question would not look out of place among the rusticated vessels accompanying the East Anglian and Barbed-Wire beakers on the submerged surface on the Essex coast. From Esperke, Kr. Neustadt, comes a giant beaker with sagging, bulbous body, two rim cordons and a small peg foot (Struve 1955, Taf.24:4). The decoration covers the entire body, a feature not typical of Single Grave/Corded Ware beakers in general, but the foot does constitute a possible morphological link with them. Another find, from Appel-Oldendorf, Kr. Harburg, which was discovered, like some Pot Beakers, inverted in sandy soil, had a narrow foot and decoration on the upper half only (Wegewitz 1960, 12f.).

These rusticated giant beakers are considered by Stegen and Struve to be closely related not only to the larger Barbed-Wire beakers of north-west Germany, but to the undecorated 'Moislingen' type and to large beakers with finger-tip impressed or wave-moulded rim cordons, on the grounds of similarity of form and fabric and the circumstances in which they were found. The latter types occur in similar contexts to the rusticated ones, especially in megalithic tombs, and in the same region. The beakers with finger-tip impressed and wave-moulded cordons have a much wider distribution, but there is no doubting the Single Grave/Corded Ware connections of all of them (Becker 1955).

It seems fair to conclude, therefore, that there exists a group of large rusticated beakers which can be assigned in a general way to the later Single Grave culture. Whether or not all the rusticated giant beakers which bear a general resemblance to these belong to the group must remain an open question. If the group is to be named after a single find, Altendorf type would seem preferable to the term 'Bentheim', since the latter finds are not the most typical and were without other associations.

Bliedersdorf Beakers. In addition to the giant beakers discussed above, a series of small beakers with rusticated decoration have been assigned to the Single Grave culture. The type was originally defined by Stampfuss (1929, 57) and named after one found deposited in a megalithic tomb and evidently dating from late in the tomb's period of use. It is a small, rather slack profiled vessel, footed, with belly curving gently out above the foot, a cylindrical body and an everted rim, decorated with spaced finger-nail impressions on the upper part of the body only. Another similar example was found in a stone cist grave at Deinste, Kr. Stade (Wegewitz 1949, Taf.73), and Stampfuss described and illustrated others from Haltern, Kr. Coesfeld, and Urmitz, Kr. Koblenz. Struve discussed the type and illustrated a further example from Brummelhoop, Kr. Oldenburg (Struve 1955, 130f.). He linked them with a series of small, undecorated beakers of nondescript shape which were found in single graves and megalithic tombs, and which he saw as perhaps an ancestral form.

All the examples mentioned so far possess features in their form and decoration which relate them to Single Grave/Corded Ware beakers; the decoration on the upper half only, the general profile, and the distinct foot, although the one from Haltern is atypical in having widely spaced single rows of finger-nail impressions at the rim, round the belly and round the foot. The term 'Bliedersdorf Beaker', however, seems to have been used of almost any small beaker with simple rustication, including some whose affinities seem rather to be with the Bell Beaker cultures, and it is thus of doubtful value. Struve included in his list one from Selm which is without a foot and decorated all over with random pinches (Struve 1955, Taf.24:8). It looks very like a British beaker of the Barbed-Wire or East Anglian group, as Isobel Smith has noted (1955, 39) and was found in a grave which cut a double ring ditch containing sherds with 'barbed-wire' decoration, a fact which might support this kinship. Then there are indeterminate beakers such as that from Grauen, which has a pronounced foot and a cylindrical body, but random finger pinches covering the whole surface.

Perhaps the most important fact of all to emerge is that where these rusticated

beakers, giant or small, can be linked with the Single Grave culture, they can also be shown to be late in the Single Grave series, and as Struve stressed, well after the Bell Beaker culture was established in the area of their distribution (Struve 1955, 133).

Other Beaker Rusticated Pottery. Pot Beakers, Altendorf beakers and 'Bliedersdorf' beakers with Single Grave culture affinities seem to be types which occur late within their several contexts. Extrapolating from the evidence found in Britain, it is reasonable to expect that rusticated ware and large domestic vessels may also form an integral part of earlier phases of the Bell Beaker culture, in the Rhineland and the Netherlands at least. Clarke referred briefly to material from the Continent, but he did not discuss the matter at any length, and his conclusions do not always seem justified. As regards domestic sites, the situation in the Netherlands and Germany is similar to that in this country, for although a varied assortment of rusticated sherds is known from barrow excavations and stray finds, there are few published sites, and even fewer which have been excavated systematically. Over the rest of the Continent matters seem worse. Yet, obviously, it is from domestic sites if anywhere that the conclusive evidence will be found concerning the nature of Beaker domestic pottery.

Bell Beakers. The two earliest well documented sites are in the Netherlands, at Vlaardingen and Oostwoud, and both have produced rusticated sherds, though in very small numbers. At Vlaardingen (van Regteren Altena *et al.* 1962) the well-stratified deposit contained Bell Beaker sherds of type 2^{1a} and a sherd of rusticated ware with finger pinches; at Oostwoud (van Giffen 1961; van Regteren Altena *et al.* 1962) the pottery includes sherds with spaced pinches and one with pinched ribs. It looks to be homogenous, despite van Regteren Altena's statement to the contrary (1962, 231), and to date from early in the Bell Beaker series. The radiocarbon determinations from Vlaardingen agree on a date of around 1950-1900 bc, which is within a hundred years of the earliest date postulated for the appearance of Bell Beakers in the Netherlands.

Seeking comparative material on the Continent for the rusticated pottery associated with All-Over-Corded Beakers in Britain, Clarke cited surface finds of sherds with complex schemes of pinched and jabbed rustication from Belgische Kamp, Appeldoorn, Doesburger and Ederheide and Wekerom (Clarke 1970, 59), but there is no reason to think that these are particularly early in date, and he referred to them also in connection with later Bell Beaker types.

There are two finds from Brittany of Bell beakers and sherds with vertical rows of spaced 'crow's-foot' decoration, from the megalithic tombs of Kercado, Carnac and Mane-er-Roh (Riquet *et al.* 1963, 85, fig.10:5,7; 87, fig.11:1). Both were with a whole series of Bell beakers of distinctly Breton type, and though the association is not absolutely unquestionable, this suggests that they do not date from the earliest Bell Beaker settlement of Brittany. In Central France another Bell beaker, from Augy, Yonne, decorated all over with circumflex impressions, was associated in a flat grave with an All-Over-Corded beaker and a European Bell beaker (Joly 1961). The latter, which is decorated with narrow zone, reserved bar chevrons and a 'calyx' pattern of pendant triangles round the base, may have affinities with those of the Rhineland. Of various unassociated finds in Germany and the Netherlands, the two giant beakers mentioned previously from Bentheim may belong to the Bell Beaker culture, and even to a fairly early phase of it, for they recall some rusticated European Bell beakers in Britain, particularly one nearly complete though much smaller vessel - an isolated find from a cairn at Glecknabae, Bute (Callander 1929, fig.57).

Middle Rhine Beakers. Amongst the various regional types which developed subsequently in the Rhine area, Sangmeister's Middle Rhine phase 2 beakers have been considered to have the closest affinities with the Wessex/Middle Rhine group in Britain, as Clarke's term indicates. There are a few rusticated vessels which seem to have

fairly secure associations with Middle Rhine or similar developed Bell Beaker types, and it is interesting that some of these appear to conform to a type, being large, and decorated on the upper half only with spaced impressions of bone ends or similar implements. Decoration confined to the upper part of a beaker is, of course, usually regarded as a characteristic of Corded Ware, and it may be significant as such here.

At Friedburg-Fauerbach, in Lower Hesse, a large Bell beaker with a slight cordon below the rim, decorated down to the widest part of the belly with spaced, oval impressions, was found in possible association with another large beaker of similar form which was decorated over the upper two-thirds with narrow zones of ladder pattern, and a Middle Rhine beaker of fairly early appearance (Sangmeister 1951, Taf.1:1, 13, 16). There is another large beaker from Schalkholz, Norderdithmarschen, with angular profile and small foot, decorated with bone-end impressions down to the carination, and with three sets of double perforations round the rim. It was found with a small Bell beaker similar to the Dutch type 2^{1c} (Struve 1955, Taf.21:10, 11). Clarke mentioned another, similar association of a bone-impressed beaker, decorated on the upper half only, with a beaker related to the British Wessex/Middle Rhine type from Helversiek, Kr. Rotenburg. He also mentioned closed find associations of finger-nail decorated beakers and early Middle Rhine beakers from Niederbieber and Neuwied, and an unassociated find, attributed on typological grounds to the same group, from Weissenturm, near Koblenz (Clarke 1970, 89).

Veluwe and Other Later Beakers. The rusticated pottery of the later phases of the Veluwe Beaker culture in the Netherlands has already been discussed under the heading of Pot Beakers, but there is little comparable material known to be connected with the earlier phases of the series and, in particular, with the beakers intermediate between the European and Veluwe types (Types 2^{1b} and 2^{1c}) which Clarke considered to be significant in the development of British Northern beakers. Clarke cited rim sherds from the Doesberger and Ederheide which have horizontal pinched rib decoration as belonging to a proto-Veluwe type, but his reconstruction of the profile looks questionable and they could be perfectly consistent with early Veluwe type beakers; there is only typological evidence to judge them by. He also referred to a large beaker with zoned, ribbed rustication from Winnekendonk, Kr. Geldern, near the Dutch border, which was found near a beaker resembling the Primary North British/Dutch type. If this was indeed a direct association, and if the form drawn by Clarke were correct (1970, 337, fig.469), then it might well be considered evidence for the use of this style of decoration before the appearance of the developed Veluwe style in the Netherlands or the Southern Beaker type in Britain. In fact, the pot is not complete, although Clarke evidently believed it to be so, and the reconstruction is dubious. It could be a Necked Pot Beaker of normal type (Lehmann pers.comm. 1970).

Other pot beakers with similar decoration from Speulde (Lehmann 1964), and the Driese Berg, Drie (Lehmann 1967b) might have better claim to be early in type, though on the basis of form only. A large beaker from the Leuserheide, which appears to have Pot Beaker affinities, might belong to a phase of the Bell Beaker culture prior to the development of Veluwe beakers. It was found unaccompanied and inverted, like some of the Pot Beakers, and it has a wide-mouthed, Bell beaker-like profile, with horizontal, smooth ribs on the neck, and the body covered in vertical rows of spaced 'crow's-foot' impressions. Spatula-impressed herring-bone decoration in a band round the rim, and spatula-impressed decoration on the shoulder constitutes a possible typological link with the PF beakers (Modderman 1955, 40, fig.7).

Large beakers and sherds with zoned, plastic rustication are not confined in distribution to the Netherlands, but while these are not necessarily identical with the Dutch Pot Beakers, they are not necessarily earlier, either; most are obviously as developed, typologically, as the Dutch vessels. Sherds of zoned and ribbed beaker, most of which

could have come from Pot beaker-like vessels, have been found as far apart as Dringenburg, Kr. Ammerland (Stegen 1954, 273, Taf.36) and Leverkusen-Schlebusch, near Cologne (Kersten 1938, 71, Taf.12:1-6). The type of decoration suggests the Necked Pot Beaker, though one sherd from Leverkusen has a concave curved profile. Such finds are, as Kersten remarked, sporadic in the Rhineland (*ibid* 74), and their distribution mostly corresponds to a scatter of Veluwe-type beakers up the middle Rhine. South of the main concentration of Pot beakers in the Netherlands there is a Trumpet Pot beaker from Wijerkense Berger, Lommel, in Belgian Limburg, differing from the known Dutch examples only in its exaggeratedly curvilinear profile (Marien 1952, fig.134:7). Well to the east of the Rhine there is a single find from Bebra, Kr. Rotenburg; a large vessel which looks very like a Dutch Necked Pot beaker, though the widely spaced vertical ribs on the lower body are eccentric (Uenze 1961, 1, Taf.1). To the south there are sherds from Preist, Kr. Bitburg, of a large beaker decorated on the neck with horizontal ribs, with rows of oblique finger-nail impressions between the ribs. The body seems to have been sparsely decorated, and the vessel as a whole does not fit into any of the existing categories of Pot beaker (Trierer Zeitschrift XIV 1939, 199, Abb.2), but there are sherds of an almost identical vessel from a hunebed at Exloo (van Giffen 1927, 220, 225; Text fig.9:25).

Barbed-Wire Beakers. The Barbed-Wire Beakers constitute a problem perhaps less well understood than the Bell Beaker culture as a whole, although on the Continent association of the type with domestic sites is documented. The date suggested for Barbed-Wire pottery everywhere is generally late. According to Clarke (1967) the British Barbed-Wire Beaker assemblages are closest to those of the southern Netherlands and the Lower Rhineland, although the technique is, as we have already seen, found also on pottery in North Germany.

The techniques of rustication found on Barbed-Wire Beaker pottery on the Continent are mostly of the simpler type, such as 'crow's-foot' pinching, finger-tip or other spaced impressions, and horizontal pinched ribs. There are small collections of sherds from several probable domestic sites in the region of Recklinghausen, near the Dutch/German border, which consist of or include Barbed-Wire beakers and rusticated ware as well as some sherds on which 'barbed-wire' and finger-tip impressed decoration are combined (Stampfuss 1940, 124). Among Barbed-Wire Beaker sherds from a domestic site excavated at Datteln are several from at least three vessels decorated with horizontal pinched ribs, in the style common with East Anglian Beaker pottery in England (Bell and Hoffman 1940, Taf.18, 19) but, judging by groups of sherds found on other sites such as Haltern and Hertzen South, finger-tip impression was probably the more common style of rustication in use (Stampfuss 1940, Abb.6). None of these collections is very large, and in some of them the associations are not a matter of absolute certainty, so it is difficult to be sure on this point.

Another domestic site at Schipborg, near Anlo, produced Barbed-Wire Beaker sherds and a few Bell Beaker sherds of a fairly early type. The only rusticated ware consisted of a few sherds of finger-nail and finger-tip impressed pottery and a large beaker with ovoid body, short, narrow, straight neck, and a rim cordon, decorated all over with small, cuneiform impressions. It is described in the report as a 'Pot Beaker' of degenerate type, but in fact, judging by its appearance alone, could even be domestic early Bell Beaker (van der Waals 1962, 239; fig.26). The site also produced TRB sherds. There is a radiocarbon date, based on a sample from a Barbed-Wire Beaker pit, of 1820 ± 65 bc (GRN 2445), which is comparable to the date of 1800 ± 150 bc (BM 172) from Lion Point Site 114, Clacton, already quoted.

The long survival of the type is suggested by two more dates of 1460 ± 656 bc (GRN 852) and 1395 ± 80 bc (GRN 1977) for pits containing sherds with 'barbed-wire' decoration from another site at Anlo, where traces of Bell Beaker and earlier bronze age occupa-

tion were sealed by a bronze age ploughsoil (Waterbolk 1960). Among a number of Dutch Barbed-Wire beakers whose decoration incorporates 'barbed-wire' and finger-nail impressions or finger pinches, most look degenerate and late (Bursch 1933, Taf. III:9; Modderman 1955, 37, fig.4:5, 6).

As has been mentioned already, a number of 'barbed-wire' decorated beakers of north-west Germany are similar in size and form to the Moislingen and Altendorf types of giant beaker. This similarity does not necessarily imply more than a very general relationship, though it is possible that there is a closer connection.

ORIGINS OF THE TECHNIQUE OF RUSTICATION ON BEAKER POTTERY

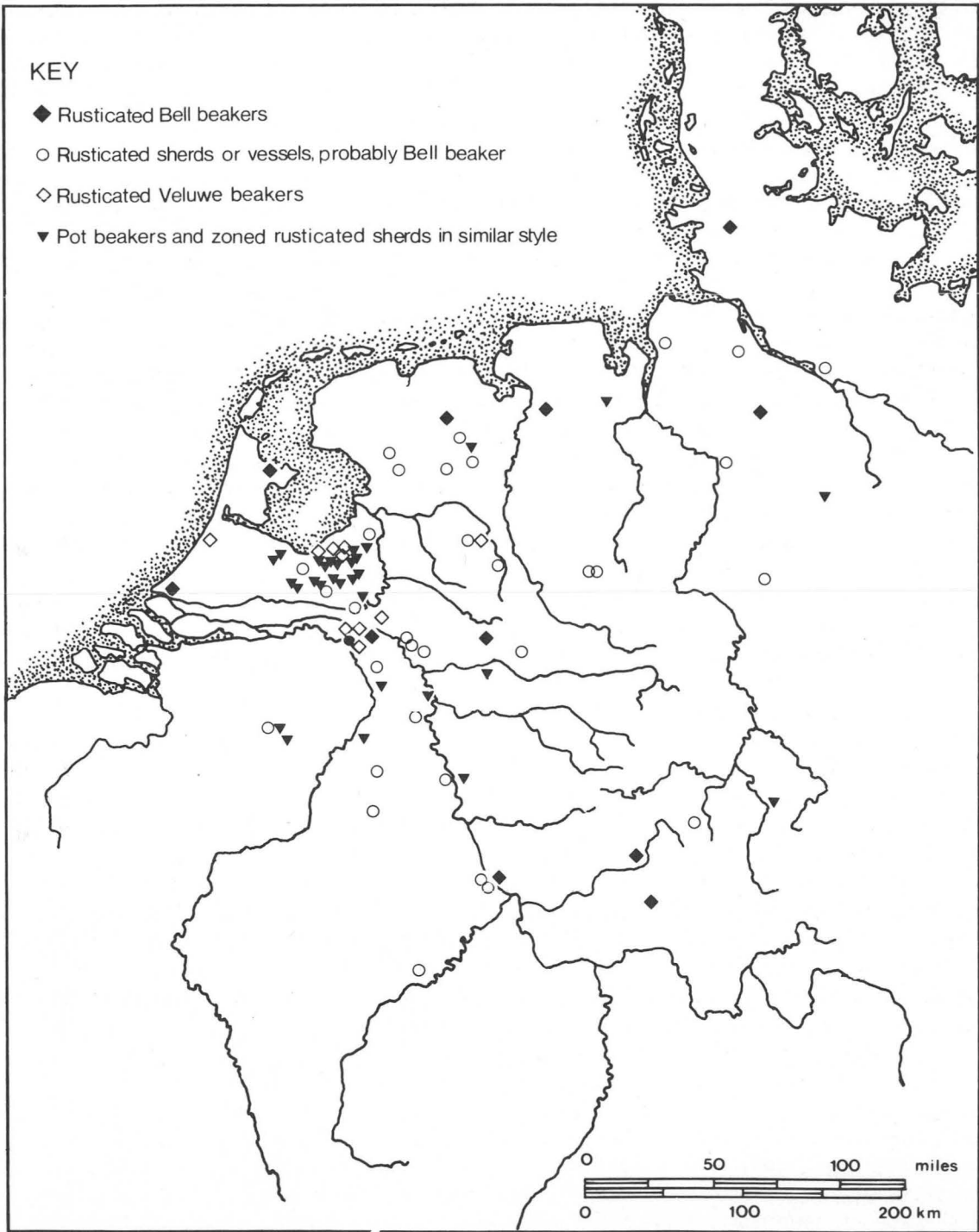
Despite the shortage of available information, there is enough evidence to show that rusticated vessels, some of them very large, are a feature of Bell Beaker culture in some parts of the Continent from a fairly early, if not the earliest phase. That the survey above is confined chiefly to those regional groups of Bell Beakers which have affinities or direct connections with those in Britain, namely All-Over-Corded, European, Middle Rhine, Barbed-Wire and Veluwe-type beakers, is not an oversight. The known distribution of rusticated Beaker ware of all types is confined largely to north-west Germany west of the Elbe, the lower and middle Rhine area, and central and western France.

There seems to be no trace of rusticated ware associated with the Bell Beakers of Central Europe, despite the fact that they have been studied extensively. Not many domestic sites producing Bell Beaker pottery are known here, either, but the range of ceramic types from those which have been excavated does not include anything resembling the Beaker coarse wares of north-west Europe and Britain¹⁰. A site comprising five pits at Nahermemmingen, Nordlingen, in Bavaria, for example, produced only sherds of Bell Beaker 'fine ware' and undecorated vessels (Frickhanger 1937).

Hardly any rusticated beakers have been found in Spain or Portugal. What there is appears to be of simple type, but in a late context (e.g. Castillo 1928, pl. XXV). A beaker referred to by Lehmann (1965, 26) from San Isidro, near Madrid, is late in form and decorated in a false relief style which resembles a Pot beaker more superficially than actually. In France the sherds already mentioned from Brittany, and another from Crugov, Plovan, Finistère (Castillo 1928, pl. CIV:7), stand almost alone. The writers of a general survey of French beakers stressed that these were the only examples of the type they had come across (Riquet *et al.* 1963). The impressed beaker from Augy seems, as has already been stated, to have affinities with Sangmeisters Phase 1 Middle Rhine beakers. There is, however, a more recent find, from an apparently early context intrusive in a megalithic tomb at Gavres, Morbihan, of a large beaker decorated with simple finger-nail impressions in horizontal rows associated with an All-Over-Corded beaker (L'Helgouach 1976, fig. 2). It is probable that rusticated Beakers were introduced into western France from the region of the Rhine. There is little reason to suppose that the style had an origin in either France or Iberia, although simple finger-nail impression is a technique found on some Mediterranean Impressed Ware.

It looks, in fact, as if Beaker rusticated pottery must have originated in one of the areas where it is found most commonly, in the middle or Lower Rhine region or, conceivably, in Britain itself. The next stage is to examine when, how and where more exactly this took place. For the purposes of this investigation the discussion is concerned chiefly with all kinds of finger-nail impressed and finger-pinched rustication as the most common and characteristic technique on Beaker pottery.

It was once usual to regard this decorative style as entirely late in the Bell Beaker culture, and to look for its source, and the source of large beakers generally, to the



Text Fig. 11. Distribution of rusticated Bell Beaker pottery in north-west Europe.

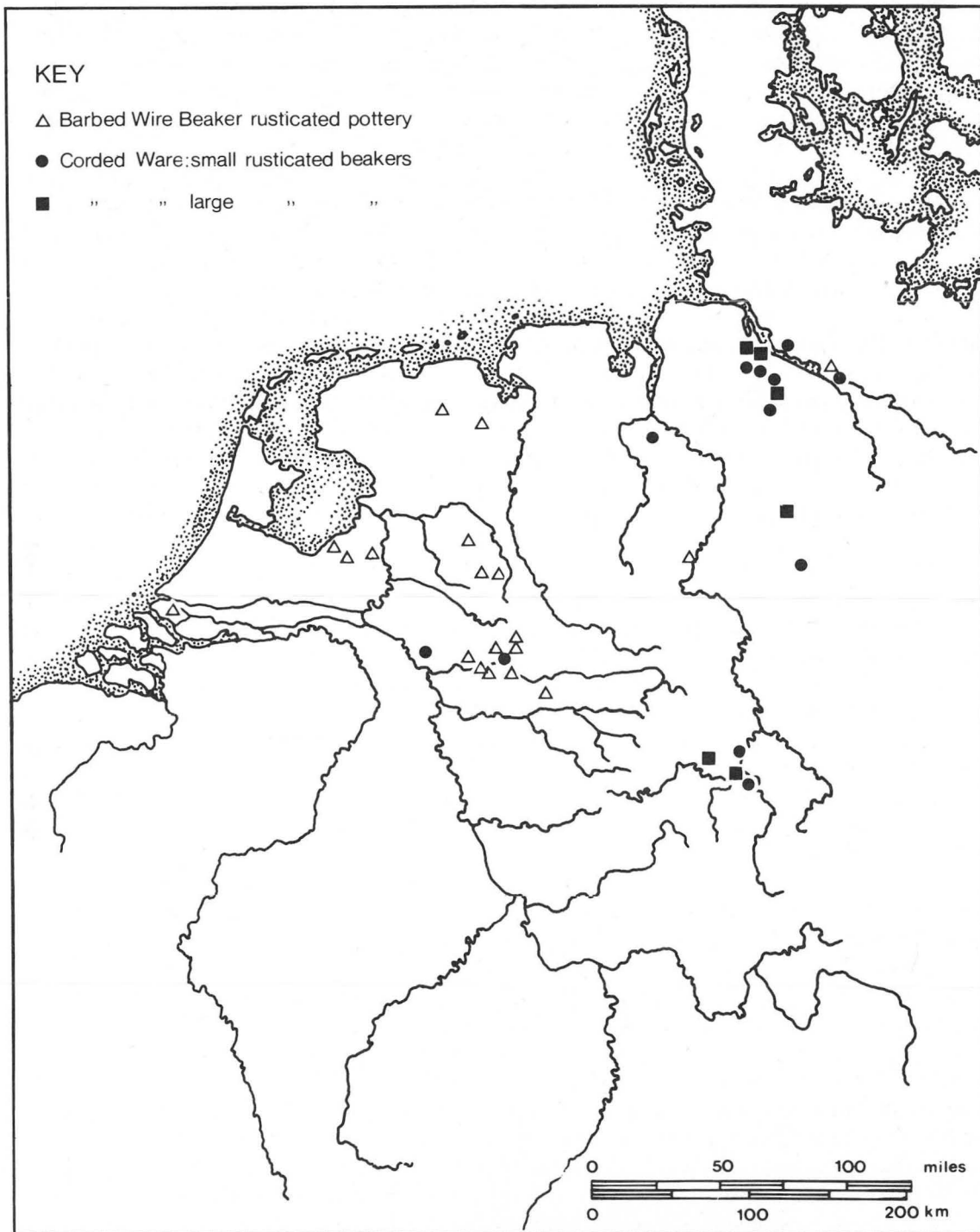
pottery of late-surviving mesolithic or sub-mesolithic traditions such as Pit-Comb ware (Kersten 1938; Stegen 1954, 281ff; Struve 1955, 133f). Kersten's theory of a westward movement of the Eurasian Pit-Comb culture has long been discredited, however. There are no known settlements of such a culture in the Netherlands or north-west Germany at any time (Lehmann 1965, 27). Moreover, there is very little real similarity between the finger-pinched and finger-nail rustication of Beaker pots and the pitted and impressed decoration of Pit-Comb pottery. One sherd in particular cited by Kersten, from Cado-bec, in Siberia (Ebert Reallexicon XII, Taf.7n) does resemble a style of rustication characteristic of Beaker pottery, but this is by all accounts a very rare type in this context, and too far removed geographically from the Bell Beaker culture to have any significance. If the principles of pitting and impressed decoration are considered alone, they are so widespread in the neolithic cultures of Europe that it would be absurd to assume that there was necessarily any direct link between any two groups employing them.

Vessels decorated with the simplest forms of rustication are occasionally found associated with the earliest form of Bell Beakers, the All-Over-Corded type. Did the style originate at this point, or in an older-established neolithic culture in north-western Europe? The technique is, as we have seen, found on Corded Ware pottery of the region, but not so far in any context which can be shown to be earlier than the emergence of the Bell Beaker culture. When considering the relevant pottery associated with Corded Ware/Single Grave complex it is important to distinguish clearly between rusticated giant beakers and the undecorated type, while recognising the probable relationship of some of the forms. A cursory look at the European Corded Ware complex as a whole shows that large pots of a type comparable to the undecorated Moislingen giant beakers are widespread within it and are found, for instance, among pottery from domestic sites in Switzerland which Struve likens to Single Grave ware (1955, 103f), and in the Oder/Elbe and Central European Corded Ware groups (Becker 1955). Moreover, such vessels are common in many late neolithic contexts in Europe other than Beaker, including Michelsberg and Altheim, and have a long history there. Finger-tip impressed decoration is found on many of all these, usually round the rim or on a raised cordon, but occasionally used sparingly in the decoration of 'amphorae'. The rusticated Altendorf-type beakers, on the other hand, are found not only comparatively rarely, but only within a Corded-Ware/Single Grave context, and only in north-west Europe. The distribution of such finds is limited to an area where an overlap of the Corded Ware and Bell Beaker cultures is known, and to contexts which indicate that they are late in date relative to the Corded Ware/Single Grave culture.

This returns us to the Bell Beaker culture itself, but the possibility that the Beaker style of rustication was, after all, adopted or inherited by the makers of Bell Beakers from some other pre-existing neolithic culture of the region should not yet be dismissed out of hand. The relationship of the Beaker people to other contemporary groups is still very much a matter for debate.

Plastic finger-pinched decoration, a technique very like that found on pottery of the later Beaker culture, was used much earlier on Linear Pottery. Finger-tip impressed and finger-pinched rustication are known on late Linear Pottery (Phase IV vessels) in Saxony (Hoffman 1963), the Netherlands (Modderman and Waterbolk 1958, 1959), and in the Paris Basin (Bailloud 1964, 30f, fig.7), where the pinches are flattish and arranged in single horizontal and oblique rows on the rim and upper half of the bowls. It is not, however, seriously proposed that there could be a direct connection between these and Beaker rusticated ware, although Sangmeister (1951, 72) did suggest that there might be a late survival of Phase IV of the Linear Pottery culture in western Europe, and refers to a possible association of Bell Beaker pottery of his Middle Rhine Phase 2 and late Linear pottery at Geleen (Bursch 1937).

In the Michelsberg culture pottery is sometimes decorated with finger-tip impres-



Text Fig.12. Distribution of rusticated Barbed-Wire Beaker and rusticated Corded Ware in north-west Europe.

sions, though usually sparingly. In the middle Rhine area itself there is a single example, from Urmitz, of a round-based, beaker-like form with five rows of finger-tip impressed, plastic ornament covering the neck (Scollar 1959, fig.2:24): the form of the pot is said to have parallels in the Chassey culture. The style of decoration is not like that of the earliest known rusticated Bell Beakers, but it does resemble that on a beaker of Westdeutschebecher affinities from Altenbauna, Kr. Kassel-Land (Sangmeister 1951, Taf.XXI:10). Further south, from Buttelhorn, Darmstadt, there is a vessel similar to that from Urmitz, although with a shorter neck (Scollar 1959, fig.3B:18). As for the possibility of overlap and contact between the Michelsberg and Beaker cultures in the region, at Urmitz itself the ditches of the later phase of the Michelsberg culture settlement contained Bell Beaker and Corded Ware low in the fill.

In the north, at Boburg Sites 12 and 15 there were assemblages of TRB pottery which include funnel-necked beakers or jars, amphora-like vessels, and collared flasks, many of them with non-plastic finger-tip impressed and jabbed decoration covering most of the upper half or two-thirds of the surface (Schindler 1953, Taf.IX, XII, XIII). It is not certain how extensively this kind of rustication was used on TRB pottery, or how early. Very few domestic sites of this later period are known, and the pottery found in the northern gallery graves, which must be roughly contemporary, bears a different style and technique of ornament. With the Boburg pottery were found a few sherds decorated with comb-and-cord impressed ornament. Some of the vessels recall those of the Single Grave/Corded Ware tradition in a general way, and related, though more degenerate-looking pottery came from the nearby cemetery at Sande, where Corded Ware beakers were also found. It will be noted that no 'crow's-foot' ornament of the characteristic early Bell Beaker type is known among this group, either.

Of course, none of this can prove direct cultural connections, though the possibility of these is not ruled out. It could equally demonstrate the likelihood of an independent development of such techniques within several different cultures, as evidently happened again, long after the Beaker culture had ceased to exist as such. Where pots are made by hand, decoration with the fingers and finger nails is an obvious method, especially on large, coarse pots. Certainly, as can be seen, the simplest forms of finger-nail and finger-tip impressed decoration occur very widely.

Another possibility is that rustication of Beaker pottery originated in Britain. There is no reason, in principle, why traffic across the North Sea should not have been two-way. This, nevertheless, seems unlikely in the face of the facts as they are usually interpreted, and the evidence available favours the hypothesis that the basic techniques of rustication were first used to decorate Beaker pottery on the Continent. Simple 'crow's-foot' rustication occurs on All-Over-Corded and European Beaker pottery in the Netherlands, and these types were apparently introduced to Britain from the Netherlands. The Vlaardingen site, which produced a rusticated sherd among European Beaker material, is dated c. 1950 bc. In Britain the estimated date for the introduction of All-Over-Corded Beaker is between 2100 bc and 1900 bc, but there is no proof at present that rusticated ware, such as is found in developed All-Over-Corded/European Beaker domestic assemblages in this country, appeared here similarly early.

Most of the later neolithic ceramic groups in Britain include pottery decorated in styles of rustication roughly similar to those found on Beaker vessels, and these are the only possible source of the tradition here outside the Beaker culture itself. But even when the decoration of Peterborough and Grooved Wares was seen as evidence of contact between neolithic peoples and a sub-mesolithic continuum, writers on the subject tended to reserve judgement on the question of whether or not the technique was adopted from these late neolithic groups by Beaker immigrants (Piggott S. 1954, 341), mainly because of the obvious likeness between some rusticated Southern Beakers and the Dutch Pot beakers. Grimes (1960, 196) thought that it was an instance of parallel or conver-

gent development, and that the postulated underlying north European tradition had influenced each independently.

Mortlake, Fengate and Grooved Wares have now been shown to be largely contemporary with Beakers in Britain, and Piggott (1962, 77) has pointed out that the features common to both series are more likely to derive from the Beaker tradition than vice versa. Clarke followed this to an extreme conclusion, and suggested that all decoration of any kind on British late neolithic pottery might be traced to the influence of the Beaker culture. There is indeed little in the 'Western' neolithic background of British later neolithic ceramic types to presage the development of some of their more elaborate decorative elements, such as zig-zag motifs, the extensive use of cord impression and, for that matter, pinching of the surface. Simple finger-nail and finger-tip impressed decoration is, however, sometimes found on Ebbsfleet ware, and while Ebbsfleet ware does seem to overlap chronologically with the earlier Beaker types, it was almost certainly in use before their arrival. Similarly, non-plastic rustication is found on some Grooved-Ware types which appear to predate the first appearance of Beakers in this country (I. McInnes pers. comm. 1969). It would thus seem that, while there is nothing to show that the more complex rusticated decoration on either later neolithic or Beaker pottery derives from this source, use of the simpler forms of the technique in this country antedates the arrival of the Beaker culture. It is something to note alongside the instances of rusticated decoration on the pottery of pre-Beaker neolithic cultures on the Continent.

The question of the ultimate origin of Beaker rustication, therefore, remains largely unresolved, though on balance the evidence favours a late neolithic/Corded ware/Bell Beaker background in the region of the lower and middle Rhine. This still leaves for discussion the whole matter of the subsequent typological development of rusticated Beaker pottery, and of the interrelationship of the Beaker culture in Britain and on the Continent insofar as it affected this.

It has been usual to see the British Beaker culture as the product of an entirely one-way traffic from the Continent. Clarke did so, and attributed all the major innovations observed in British rusticated beakers to this process. Certainly the main population movement may have been in this direction, but there is, as has been stated already, no reason to suppose that features of the Beaker culture as it developed in Britain, including pottery styles, could not have been fed back and assimilated into Continental Beaker culture as a result of contact maintained between the two.

The possibility is underlined in respect of rusticated beakers by the fact that the quantity and variety of such pottery known in Britain seems to be relatively greater than that known on the Continent. As a consequence of this it is easier to trace the outline of a typological development in Britain than it is on the Continent, and thus tempting to relate features of rusticated Beaker pottery in north-west Europe to the British series rather than to any self-standing internal series. Even if these circumstances prove to be completely misleading, they are worth consideration.

The most fruitful subject for study would seem to be the origin and development of plastic and zoned styles of rustication as seen ultimately in the Southern beakers of eastern England and in Dutch Veluwe beakers.

Rusticated Southern and Veluwe Pot beakers are obviously similar to each other and the arrangement of the decoration on them into zones is related to the zoning of the decoration on the equivalent fine ware beakers. This idea of zoning evidently took hold at a relatively late date, when the process of 'zone contraction' on fine-ware beakers was well advanced. The techniques used include plastic pinching and pinched ribbing of the pot surface.

In Britain, Southern beakers were considered by Clarke to be a development out of his Developed Northern, Wessex/Middle Rhine and possibly European Beaker types. We may review these in typological order.

The majority of all the known examples of rusticated pots with All-Over-Corded and European Beaker associations are from Britain, although this may be simply because it was a more common practice here to bury such pots in graves. The 'crow's-foot' style of non-plastic rustication most commonly used on them is nearly always disposed either randomly or in vertical rows, despite the horizontal emphasis in the decoration of the fine wares of these groups. Vertical rows of such paired finger-nail impressions are found on a good many beakers of rather slack profile, and this arrangement continued in use on British necked beakers also. On only a very few European, and perhaps also Wessex/Middle Rhine beakers, does the decoration embody some rudimentary idea of zoning, with a break at the shoulder in an otherwise all-over scheme.

Among the few rusticated beakers attributable to the Wessex/Middle Rhine group in Britain, some which have a kind of 'false-cord' or horizontally ribbed decoration have already been described; for example, those from Fakenham and Stanton Harcourt. In the context, these motifs could be either a spontaneous development or, equally possibly, have been adopted late, as a result of contact with other, more developed groups. In the corresponding pottery of the middle Rhine region there do not seem to be any related vessels with such decoration, with the possible exception of one from Weissenturm, Kr. Koblenz, described by Grimes as having flat 'ribbed' decoration (Grimes 1960, 196), and attributed to this group by Clarke on the grounds of form. Such zoned rusticated beakers as have been found in the middle Rhine seem usually, if not always, to be offshoots of the Dutch Veluwe type.

The fact that no example of a vessel with developed or zoned rustication has been known to be associated with Northern beakers in Britain, and that rusticated pottery of any kind is rare in the group, has already been stressed. Whatever the reason for this lack, it is clearly useless at present to look there for clues to the development of the techniques and styles of Southern Beaker rustication.

The first consistent use of horizontal and vertical ribbed decoration on beakers in Britain is to be found in the East Anglian group, although the style may also have been in use on Barbed-Wire beakers at a relatively early date, judging by the one sherd from Lion Point Site 114. On the Continent a similar style of ribbed rustication was used on Barbed-Wire beakers, as we have seen, but not necessarily in the earliest phase of that type. In fact, most of the published assemblages, including those which seem to be earliest, include no ribbed beaker. Sangmeister (1951, Taf. XII:12) illustrates one apparently early example from Staatsford-Melzungen, found in a barrow with two 'fischgratenbecher', which has a profile approximately like a British East Anglian beaker and which is decorated all over with horizontal rows of alternating oblique impression, possibly done with a finger nail, which look more like 'false-cord' than herring-bone decoration.

There is thus a gap between this stage of stylistic development and the much more elaborate zoned rustication of the Southern beakers in Britain and of the late Veluwe and Pot beakers in the Netherlands respectively. As suggested previously, the hypothesis that the style was developed first in the pre-Veluwe beakers of the Netherlands and was brought to Britain by immigrants of Clarke's Primary North British/Dutch group is not supported by hard evidence.

In the Netherlands, as we have seen, zoned rustication may occur on early Veluwe Beaker pottery, and a rough typological background for the Pot beakers may be discerned, but it is not known for certain on beakers which could be seen as ancestral to both

the Veluwe and the British Northern series. One from Nijmegen, which Clarke cited as an example of such, could well in fact be degenerate and late. It has a bulbous, nondescript profile, horizontal ribs on the neck, and rows of pinches on the body (Clarke 1970, 337, no.465). Another, from Hazekampje, near Nijmegen, even looks to have British affinities (*ibid.* no.467). It is like an early Veluwe beaker in profile, except that it has a long neck, and the decoration consists of vertical ribs covering the neck, and horizontal, flattish pinched ribs bordering the neck zone and on the lower body, with a narrow undecorated zone at the junction of the neck and body. The form and disposition of the zones, with the vertical emphasis on the neck, look to have more in common with Southern beakers than with any proto-Veluwe or early Veluwe type.

There remains the possibility that the style originated with the Southern Beaker tradition in Britain. If so, the process must have been rapid. Not much is known of Primary Southern coarse or 'domestic' pottery, but in the Developed Southern group, developed forms of rustication were already widely used, as can be seen in the assemblage from Chippenham V. A beaker from East Tuddenham, Norfolk (Clarke no.524), might be an intermediate form in such a development. The form suggests a Southern beaker, and Clarke identified it as early (1970, 201). Its decoration of horizontal ribs is closer to the East Anglian Beaker style of rustication than to any other known Southern beaker, and it was found in a sandpit with what Clarke classed as a Primary Southern beaker (Clarke no.523). According to the original record of the find in Norwich Castle Museum, this may have been a direct association, but there is some doubt as to the accuracy of the observation.

If any stylistic innovations such as zoned rustication did originate in the later Beaker culture in Britain, it is possible that an independent development of decorative styles within the contemporary British late neolithic pottery tradition may have played a contributory part. In Mortlake ware the most usual techniques of rustication involve a plastic treatment of the surface, including pitting with the finger tips, which is not particularly Beaker-like, impression with the end of a small bone, plastic finger pinches, which do resemble Beaker styles, or, occasionally, horizontal ribbing, as on sherds from Heathrow, Pit II (Grimes 1960, fig.77:11, 12). Zoning of decoration on Mortlake vessels is an idea which almost certainly derives from Beaker pottery rather than the other way round, but zoning of rusticated decoration on them is not usual. An exception is a pot from Lion Point, Clacton (Smith I.F. 1956, fig.39) which has non-plastic finger-nail impressed rustication and recalls an unusual, large beaker from Hallsford (Fig.45). The latter probably belongs to the Southern series, although the form is uncharacteristic and there were no associated finds.

Rustication on Fengate pottery is generally non-plastic and not much like the usual Beaker style, but sherds from the eponymous site have spaced pinches and vertical pinched ribs. Rustication on Grooved Ware is usually heavily plastic and includes finger-pinched and impressed techniques, as well as a type of applied and finger-moulded decoration which is similar in effect, but which seems to be a variation found in this ceramic alone (Cunnington 1929, pl.27:7, 8; pl.29). A form of zoning, in combination with grooved decoration, is found on the Clacton and Woodhenge sub-styles and some of the results are closely similar to the rustication on some Southern beakers.

All of the later neolithic rusticated pottery mentioned so far is to be found in the south of England, and distribution is usually extremely localised. In the north, in Scotland, plastic, spaced, pinched rustication occurs on late neolithic sherds, as at Brackmont Mill, Fife (Longworth *et al.* 1967, pl.IV:20; fig.4) or Kenny's Cairn, Caithness (Callander 1929, fig.4; Henshall 1963, 254), in contexts which do not preclude the possibility of contact with Beaker groups. One of the sherds from Brackmont appears to have squared, pinched bumps in the Veluwe manner, but there is no zoned rustication.

Comparative chronology is, of course, important in this discussion. There are dates for Veluwe beakers ranging from 1902 ± 180 bc (GRN 326) for two beakers from Bennekom, to a *terminus ante quem* of 1755 ± 80 bc (GRN 2996) from St. Walinck, Gelderland¹¹. In Britain, Clarke estimated a date of 1650 bc for the beginning of his Southern Beaker development, and had the Northern beakers appearing not before 1700 bc. If this were so, it would obviously make nonsense of any suggestion that a development within the British Necked Beaker series could have affected in any way the Veluwe Beaker pottery of the Netherlands. Clarke quoted the date for the Wattisfield site of 1560 ± 150 bc (BM 77), although the pottery from it is very late looking, and the determination is thought to represent a minimum value (British Museum Quarterly XIII 1961, 120). Such a chronology would allow no more than a hundred years for the whole Southern Beaker series, and would leave something of a gap between these and the early Northern beakers which preceded Southern beakers typologically and which should, in theory, be contemporary with the early development of Veluwe beakers, if both are derived directly from the Dutch types 2^{1b-c}. There are, moreover, two dates, both of 1850 ± 150 bc (BM 152; BM 133), from Chippenham V and Fifty Farm, both sites being of the middle period of Southern Beaker development. These dates may seem a little too early, despite their agreement, but Southern beakers could appear as early as 1800 bc without creating any alarming inconsistencies within Beaker chronology. Northern beakers could perhaps begin by 1850 bc, which would bring everything more into line with the Dutch dates. Clarke had the earliest Wessex/Middle Rhine beakers appearing around 1750 - 1700 bc, a date which depends on the date of the Middle Rhine beakers which he considered ancestral to them, and ultimately on the date of Adlerburg-Straubing; and Southern beakers ought not to be earlier than Wessex/Middle Rhine beakers. The beginning of Adlerburg-Straubing may, however, be as early as 1900 - 1800 bc (Butler and Van der Waals 1967, 55), which would, in part at least, resolve this difficulty.

It begins to look as if all the various postulated immigrant groups could have arrived in Britain by 1850 bc, and that specifically British Beaker types had a long and extensively overlapping development here, as did their counterparts on the Continent. Typologically, All-Over-Corded beakers and the earliest European, Middle Rhine and Primary Northern British/Dutch beakers could be the product of a fairly short period of development, and there is no reason to think that there was any great lapse of time between the emergence of types on the Continent and the first appearance of related types in Britain.

To sum up, there are not yet enough data to justify more than an outline for a consistent cultural and chronological scheme for the various kinds of rusticated pottery under discussion, but this outline seems clear. Distinctive styles of jabbed, impressed and pinched decoration occur on pottery belonging to most main phases and groups of the Western Bell Beaker culture, ranging from the few simple European Bell Beaker types to the relatively numerous and elaborate later variations in eastern England and the Netherlands. While our knowledge of, for example, the Northern Beaker group is imperfect it is as well not to be dogmatic in drawing conclusions about the origins, affinities and exact sequential development of these styles in Britain or elsewhere. This investigation has attempted to show, rather, the complexity of the subject, touching as it does on the whole question of interrelationships among the various branches of the Bell Beaker culture and contemporary neolithic groups, and to point out various approaches to it.

REFERENCES

1. This question has been touched on by Case (1977, 74f). The comments of Lanting and van der Waals (1972) concerning the significance of Clarke's pottery types and their distribution may also be relevant.
2. For a more recent discussion of 'Burnt Mounds' see Bradley 1978, 83, 84.
3. Some writers have, indeed, questioned the assumption that a 'Beaker people' ever existed as a cultural entity distinguishable from the indigenous neolithic population of Britain (Burgess and Shennan 1976; see also Case 1977).
4. For a more up-to-date summary of the evidence and its possible significance see Evans J.G. 1975, and Bradley 1978.
5. A separate survey of evidence for structures on Beaker and related sites has been published by Simpson (1971).
6. The apparent association of different Beaker pottery types in stratified deposits at Mount Pleasant, and the more precise evidence which is now available to suggest the late survival of 'earlier' styles in some regions, does not necessarily invalidate this conclusion. Some caution should be exercised in interpreting the evidence from Mount Pleasant, since this was a ceremonial centre which presumably served a number of different small communities. Furthermore, most of the Beaker pottery in question was spread in the secondary silt of the ditch of Site IV, by no means all of it in the most direct association. There is thus no absolute proof that it is all exactly contemporary.
7. The concept of settlement 'drift' within a very restricted area has been touched on by Clarke (1970, 57) and discussed in more detail in relation to Belle Tout by Bradley (1970, 360).
8. See Lanting and van der Waals (1976).
9. But see Lanting and van der Waals (1976), who argue that in the Lower Rhine region Corded Ware and Bell beakers are parts of a single cultural continuum.
10. See Burgess and Shennan (1976).
11. These dates are now supported by a much longer series (see Lanting and van der Waals 1976).

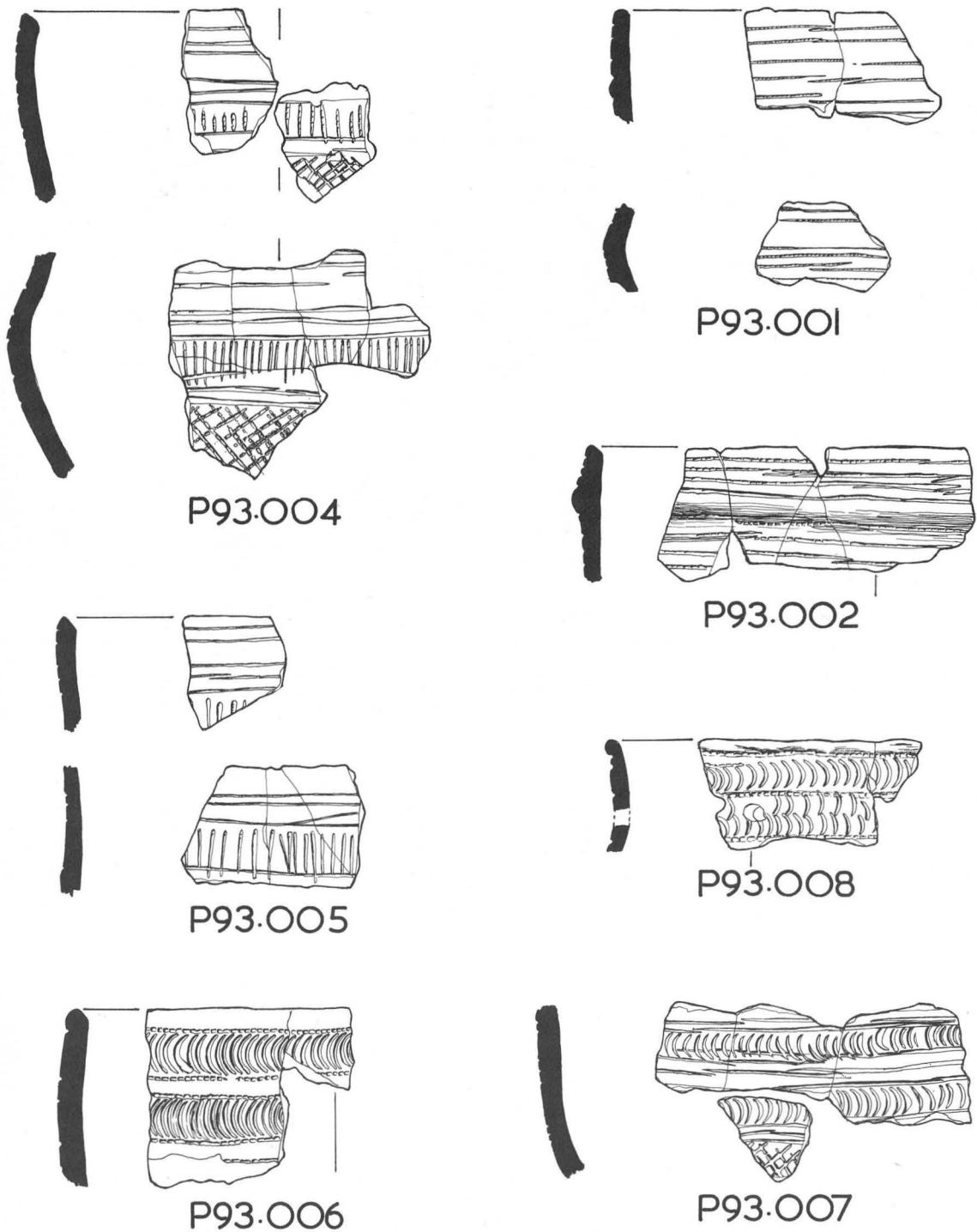


Fig.1. Hockwold Site 93: Beaker pottery - comb-impressed and incised ware. Scale 1:2.

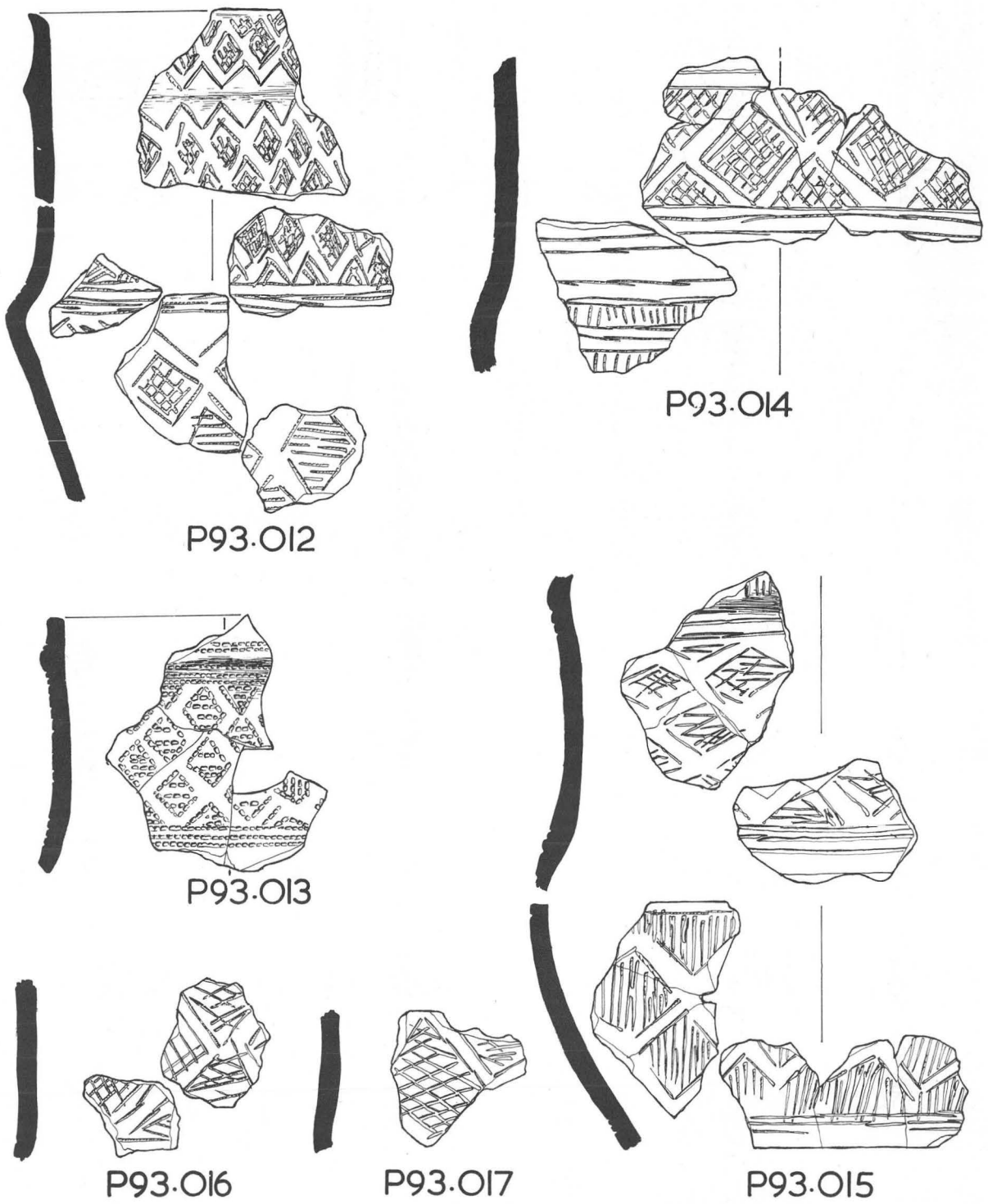


Fig.2. Hockwold Site 93: Beaker pottery - comb-impressed and incised ware. Scale 1:2.

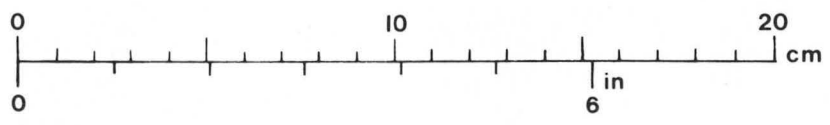
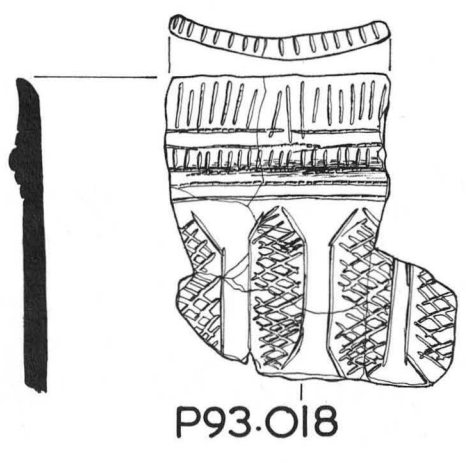
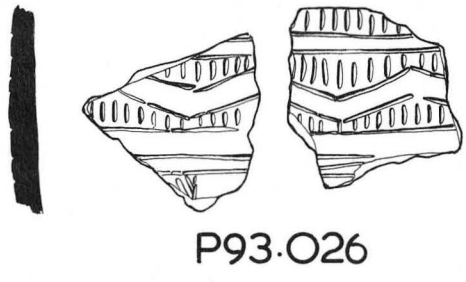
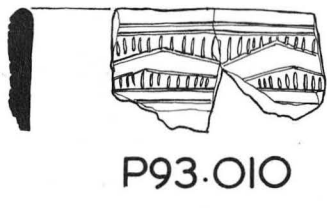
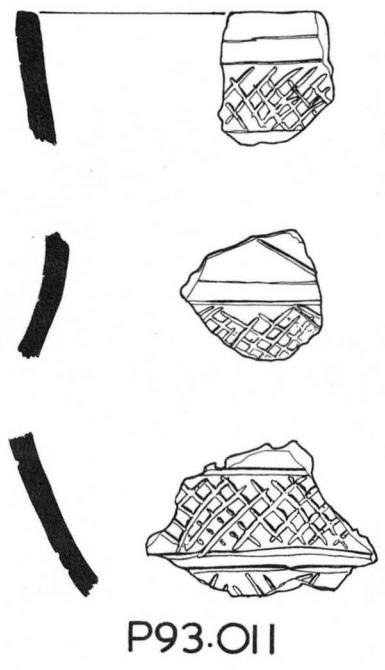
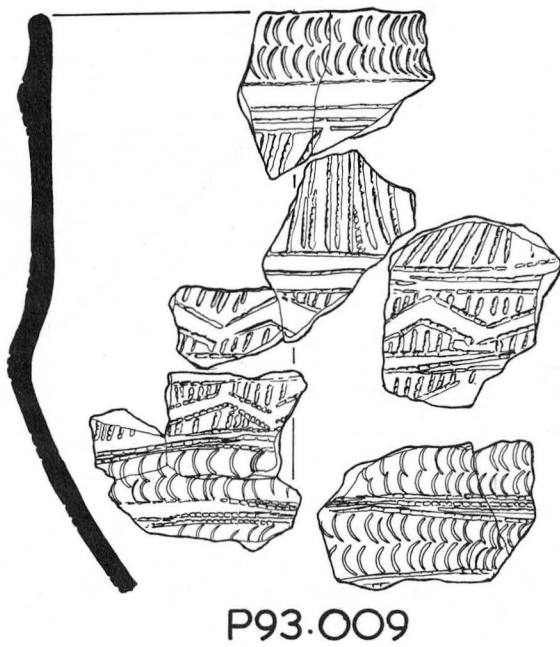


Fig.3. Hockwold Site 93: Beaker pottery - comb-impressed and incised ware. Scale 1:2.

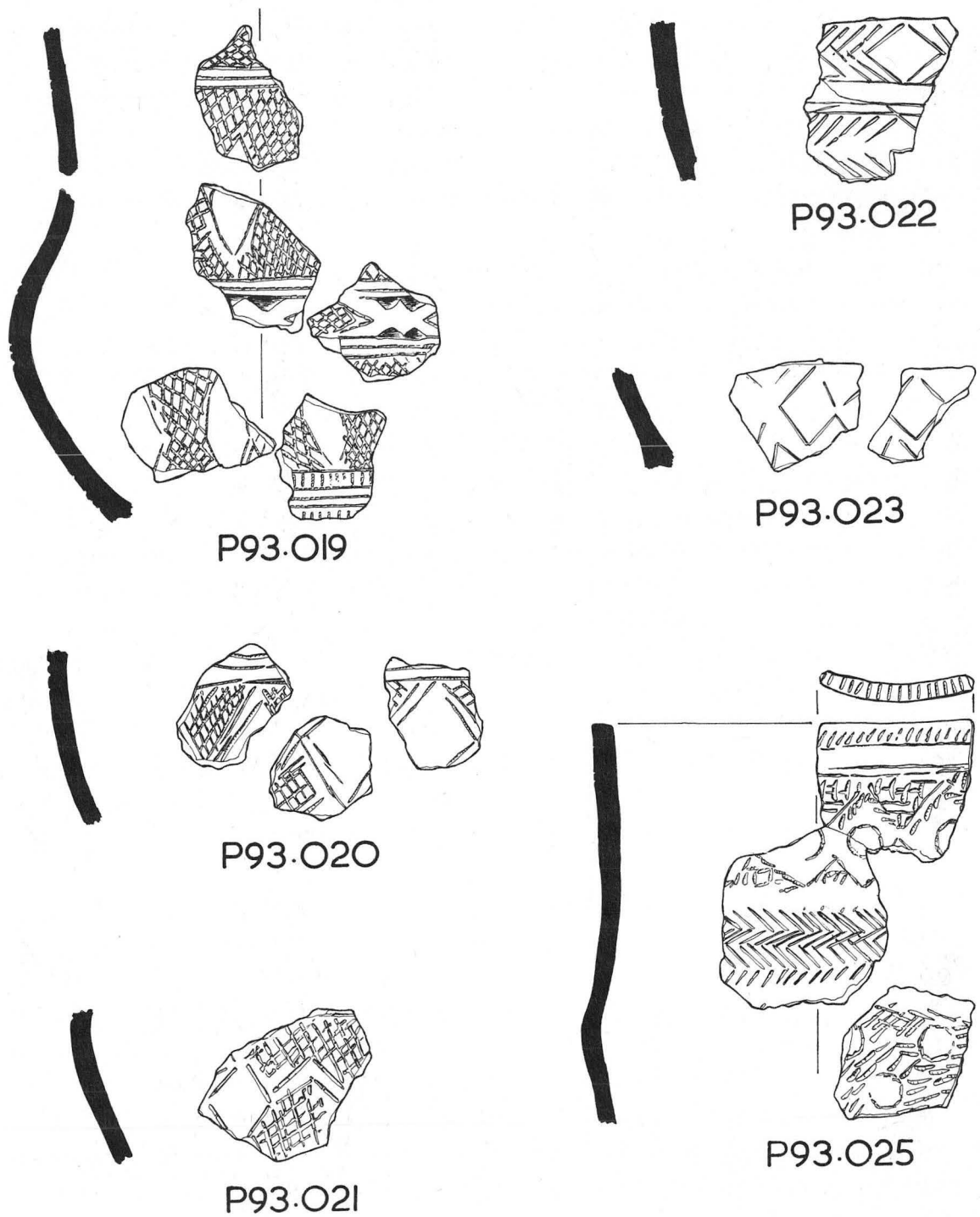


Fig.4. Hockwold Site 93: Beaker pottery - comb-impressed and incised ware. Scale 1:2.

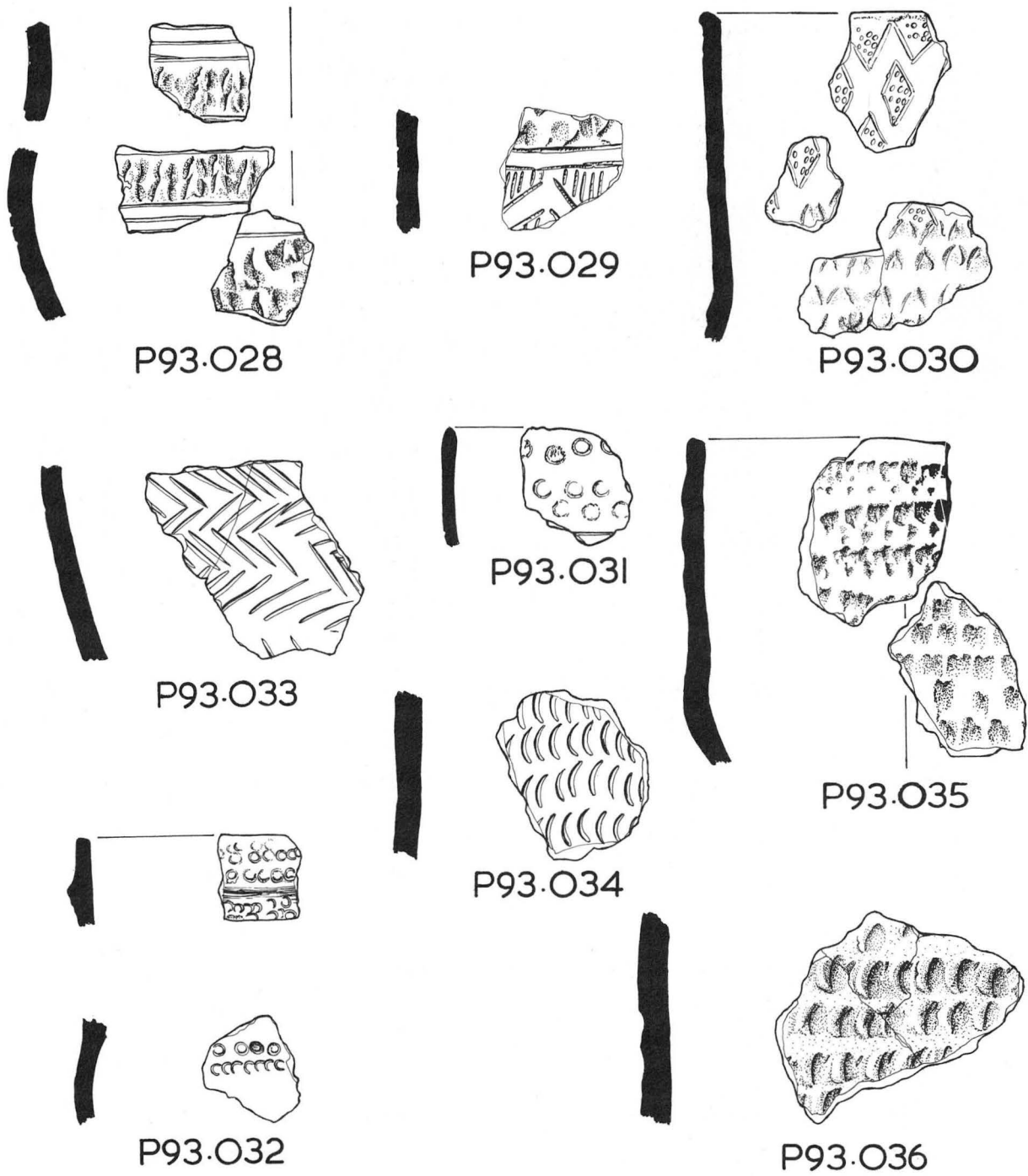
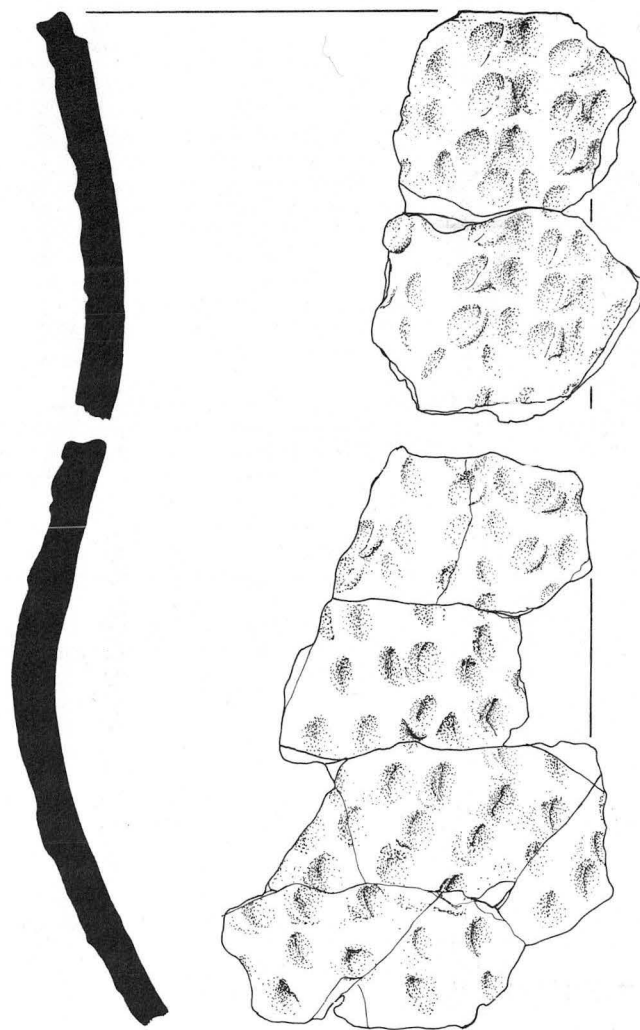


Fig. 5. Hockwold Site 93: Beaker pottery - impressed and rusticated ware.
Scale 1:2.



P93.O37

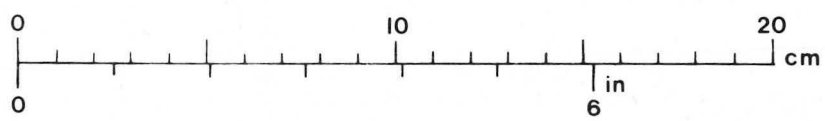


Fig.6. Hockwold Site 93: Beaker pottery - rusticated ware.
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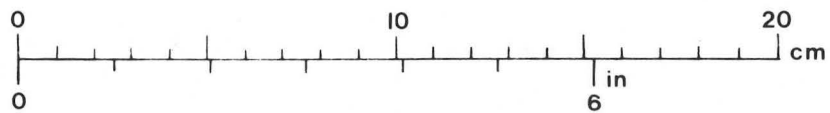
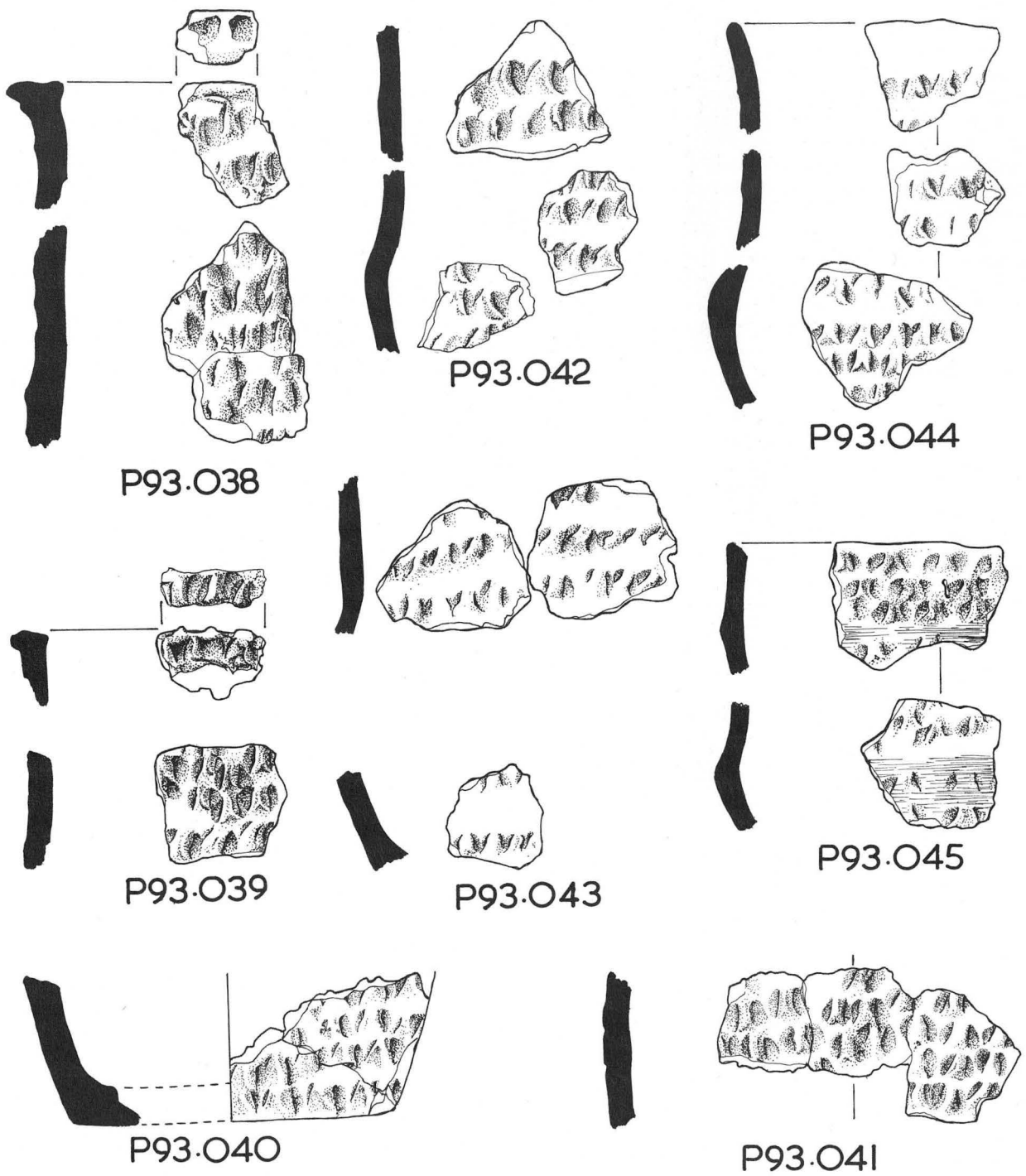
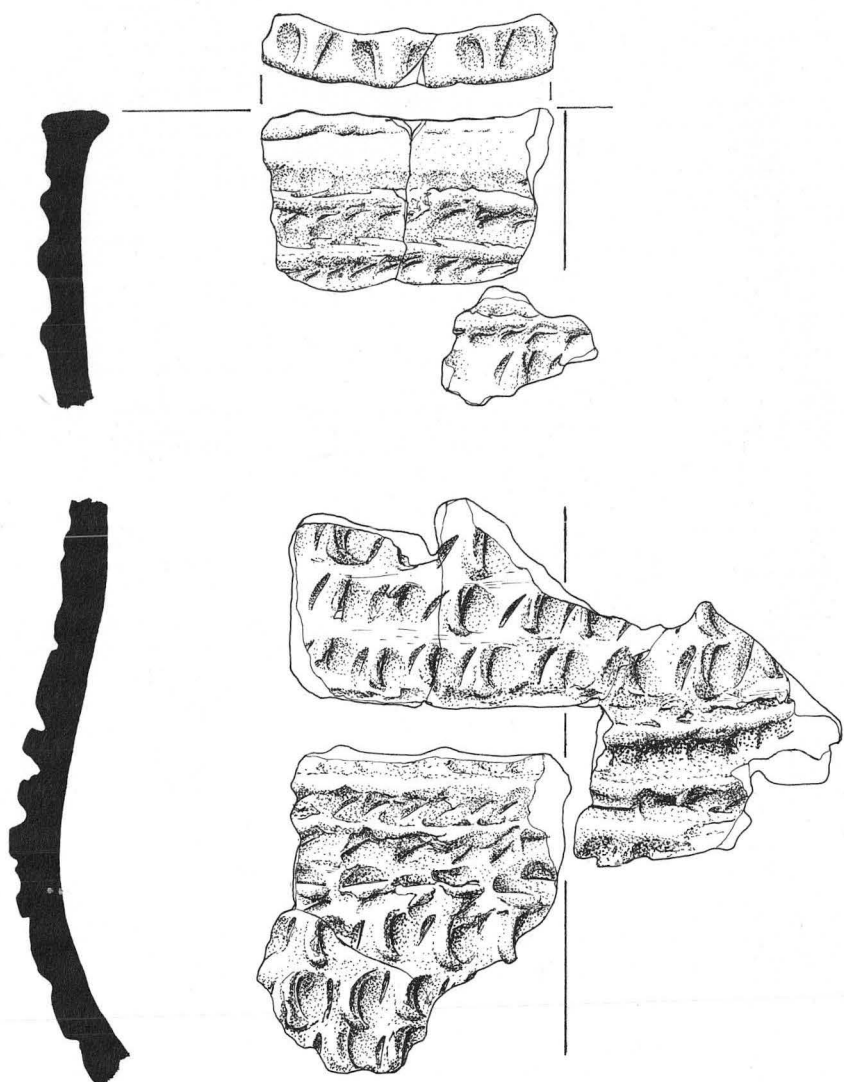


Fig.7. Hockwold Site 93: Beaker pottery - rusticated ware.
Scale 1:2.



P93.O48

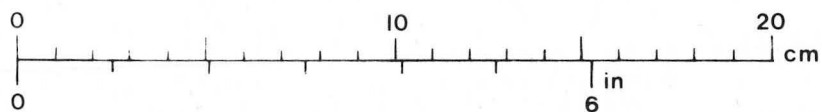


Fig. 8. Hockwold Site 93: Beaker pottery - rusticated ware.
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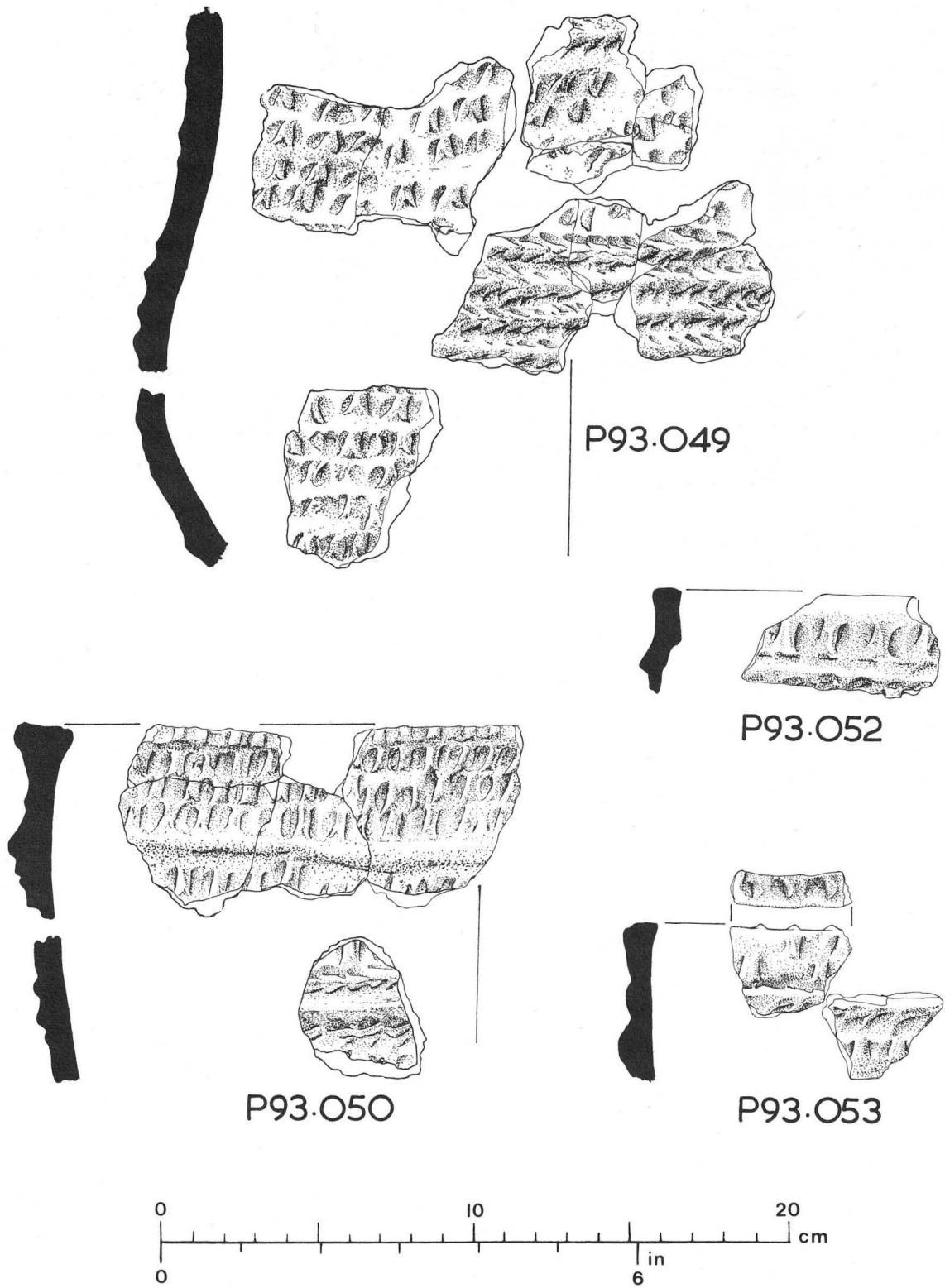


Fig.9. Hockwold Site 93: Beaker pottery - rusticated ware.
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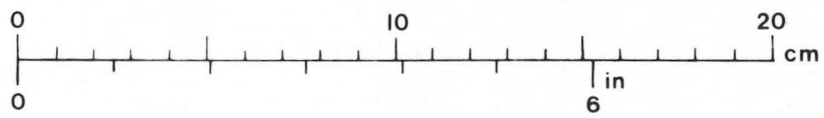
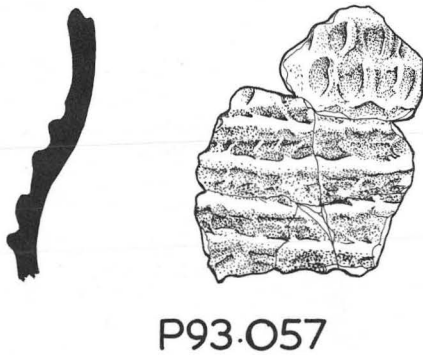
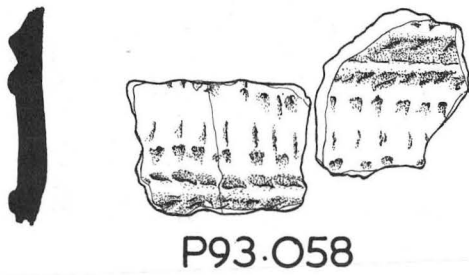
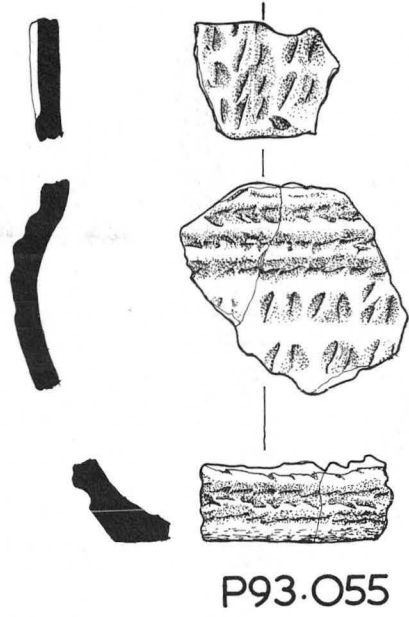
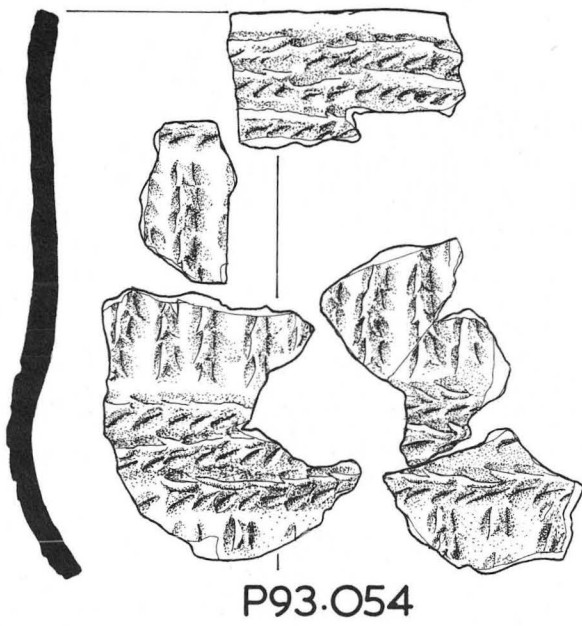
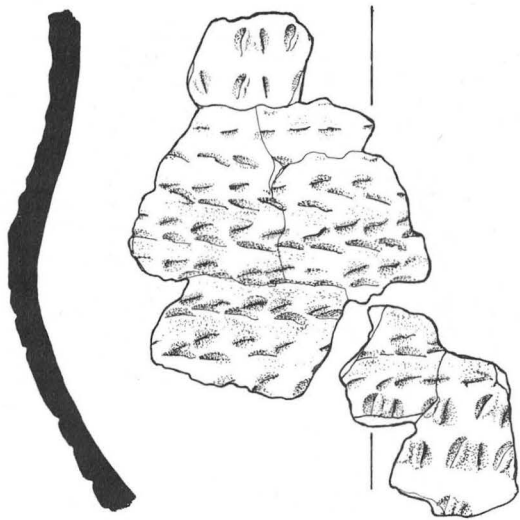
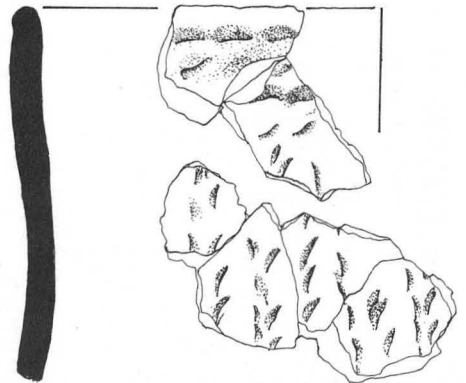


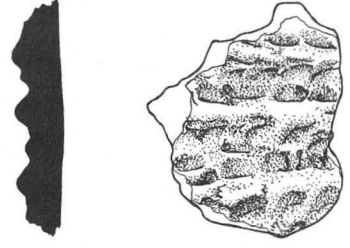
Fig. 10. Hockwold Site 93: Beaker pottery - rusticated ware.
Scale 1:2.



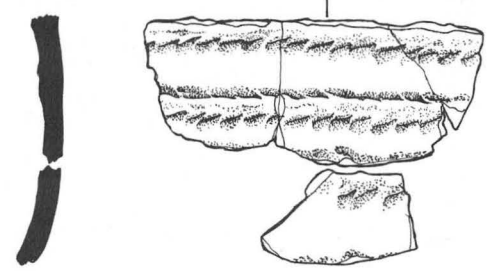
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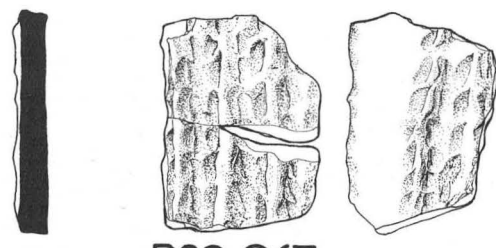
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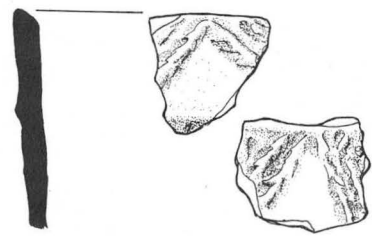
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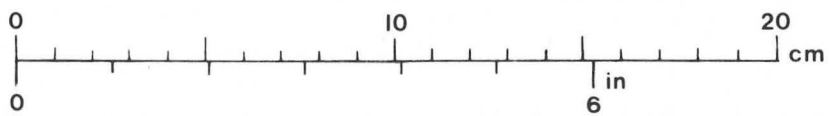


Fig. 11. Hockwold Site 93: Beaker pottery - rusticated ware.
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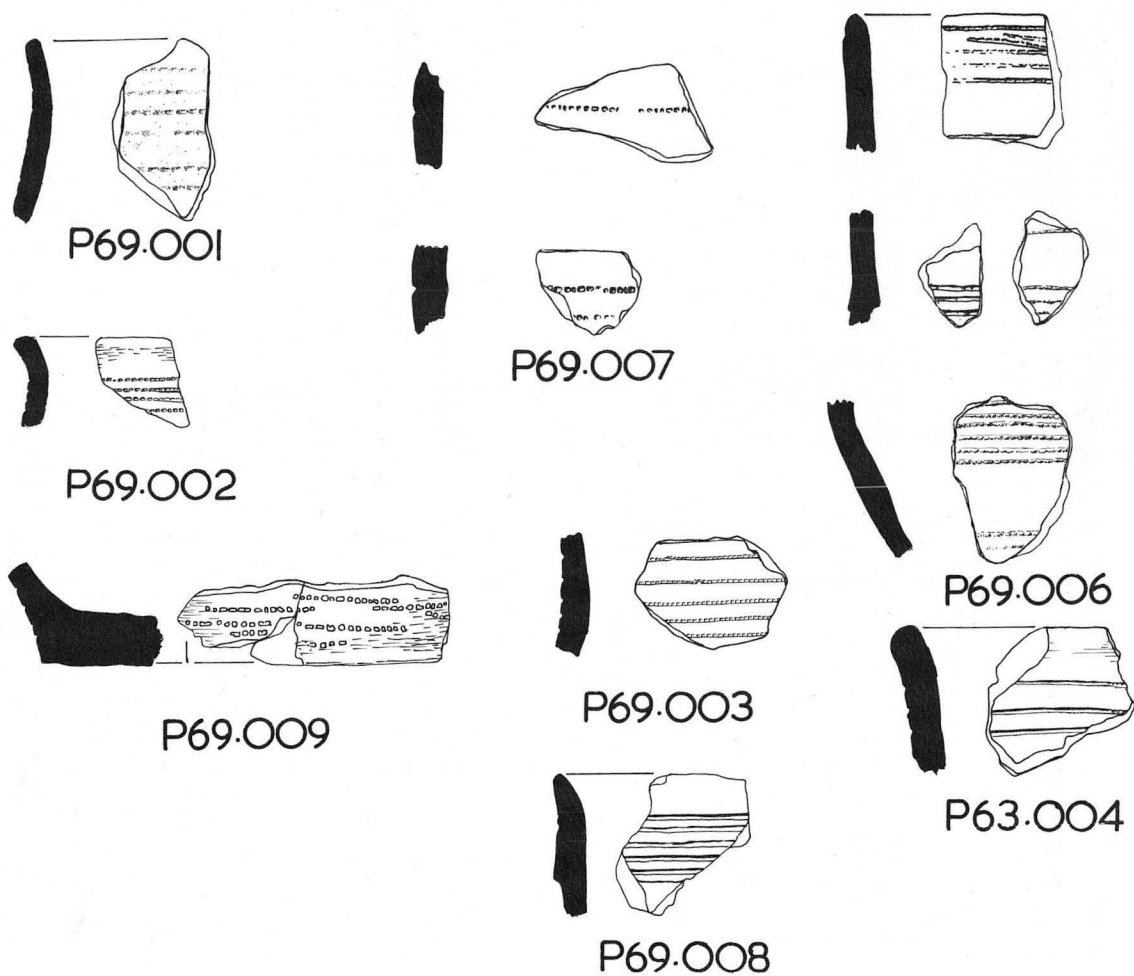


Fig.12. Hockwold 'The Oaks': Beaker pottery - comb-impressed and incised ware. Scale 1:2.

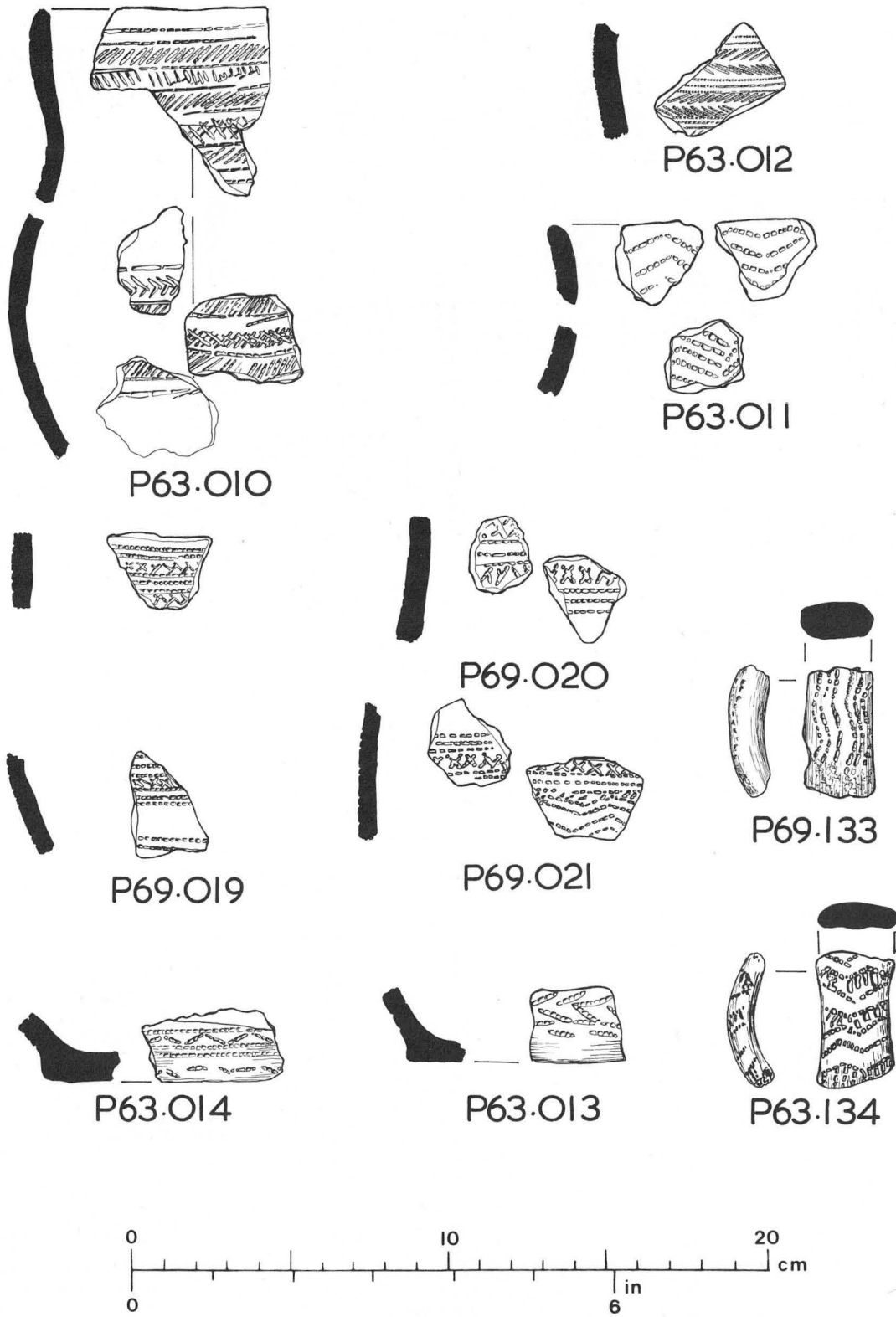


Fig. 13. Hockwold 'The Oaks': Beaker pottery - comb-impressed and incised ware. Scale 1:2.

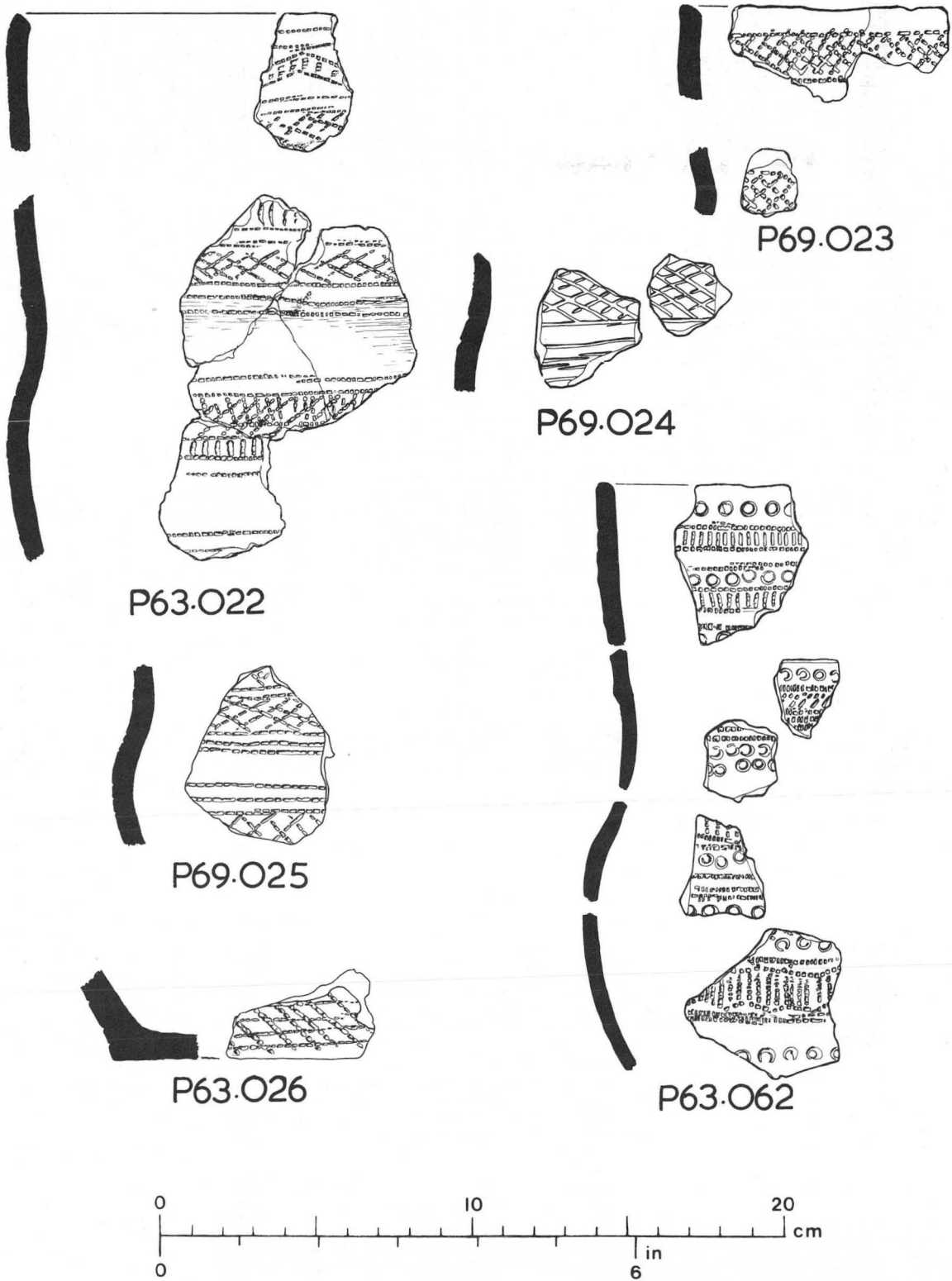


Fig. 14. Hockwold 'The Oaks': Beaker pottery - comb-impressed and incised ware. Scale 1:2.

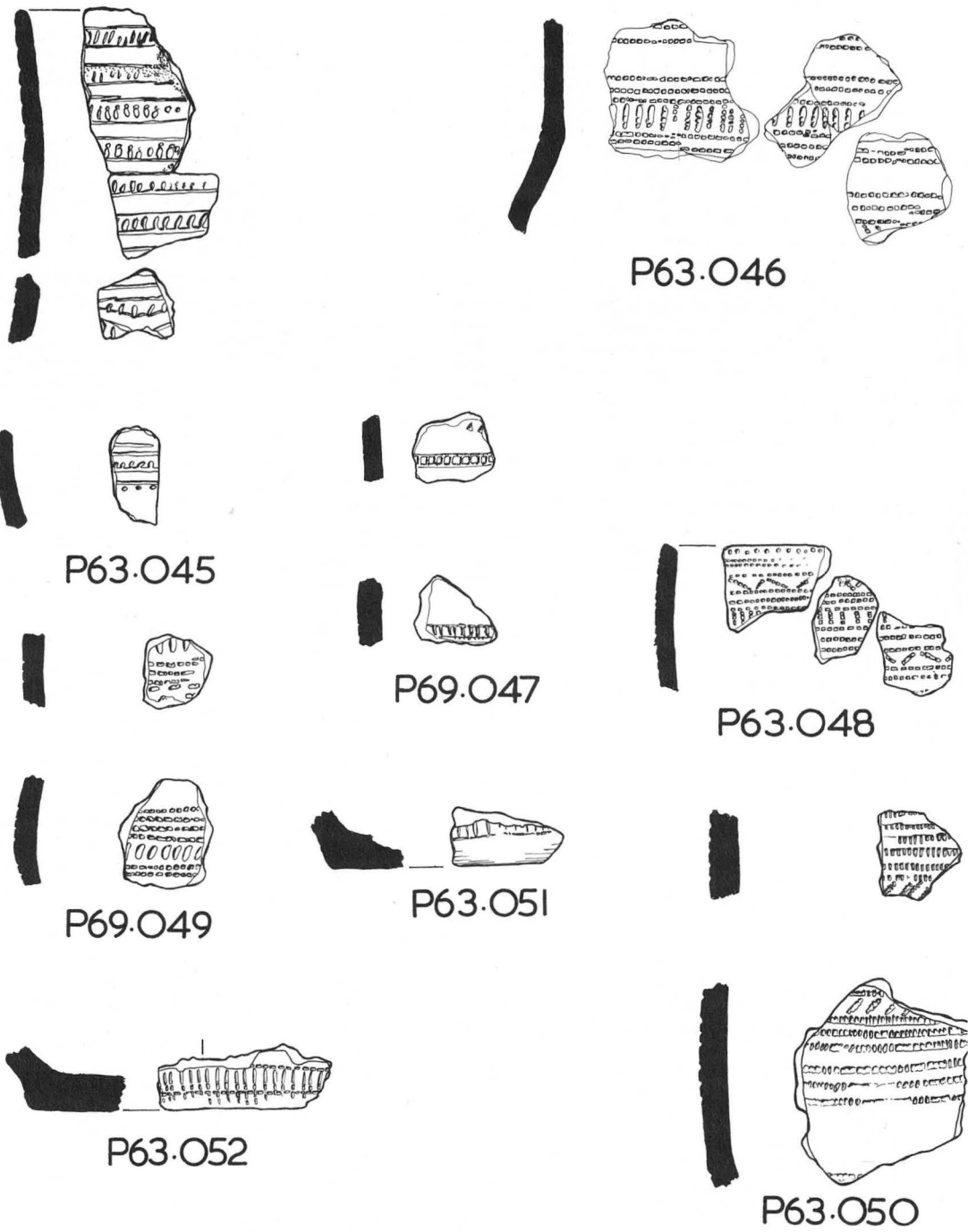


Fig. 15. Hockwold 'The Oaks': Beaker pottery - comb-impressed and incised ware. Scale 1:2.

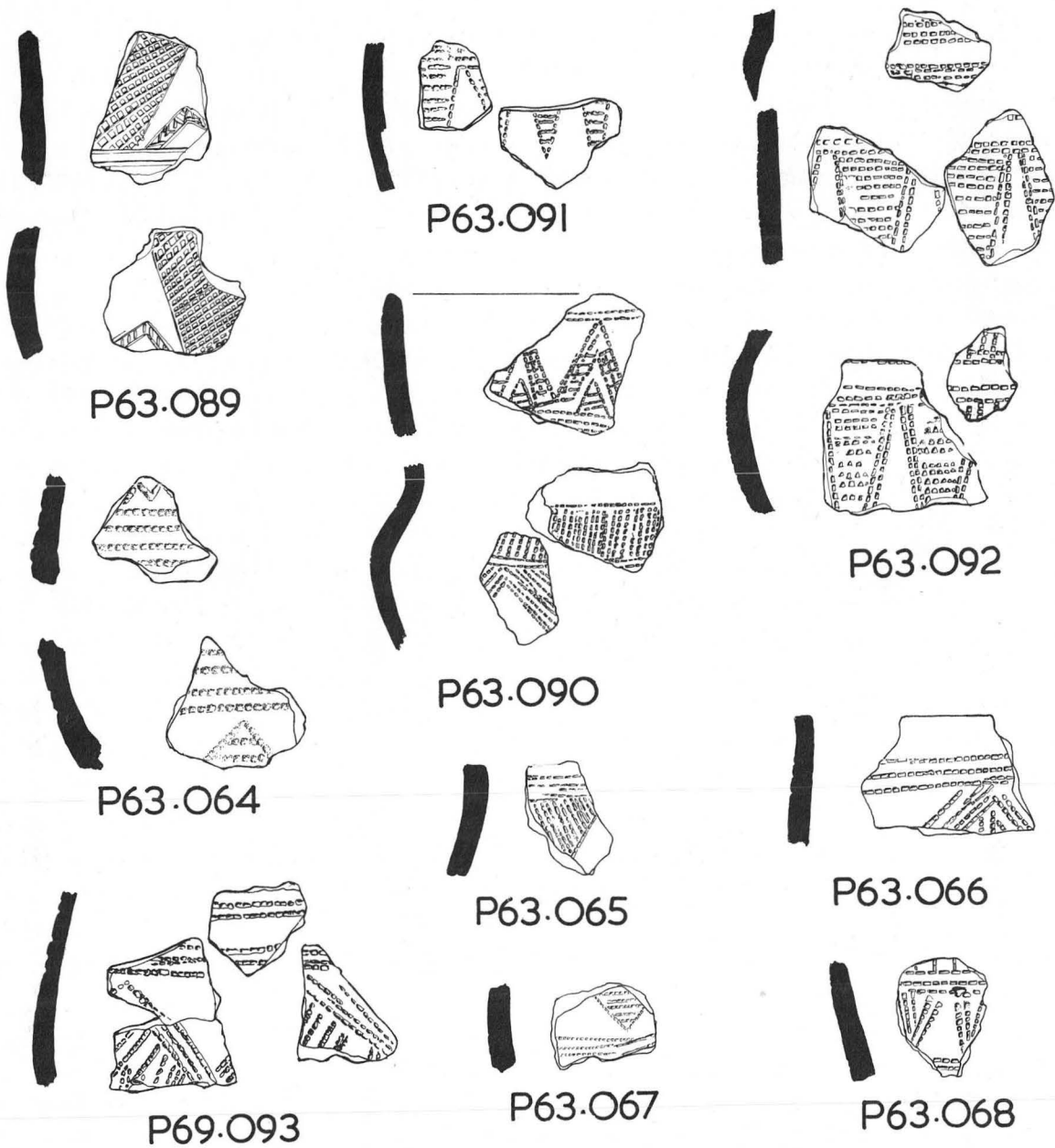


Fig. 16. Hockwold 'The Oaks': Beaker pottery - comb-impressed and incised ware. Scale 1:2.

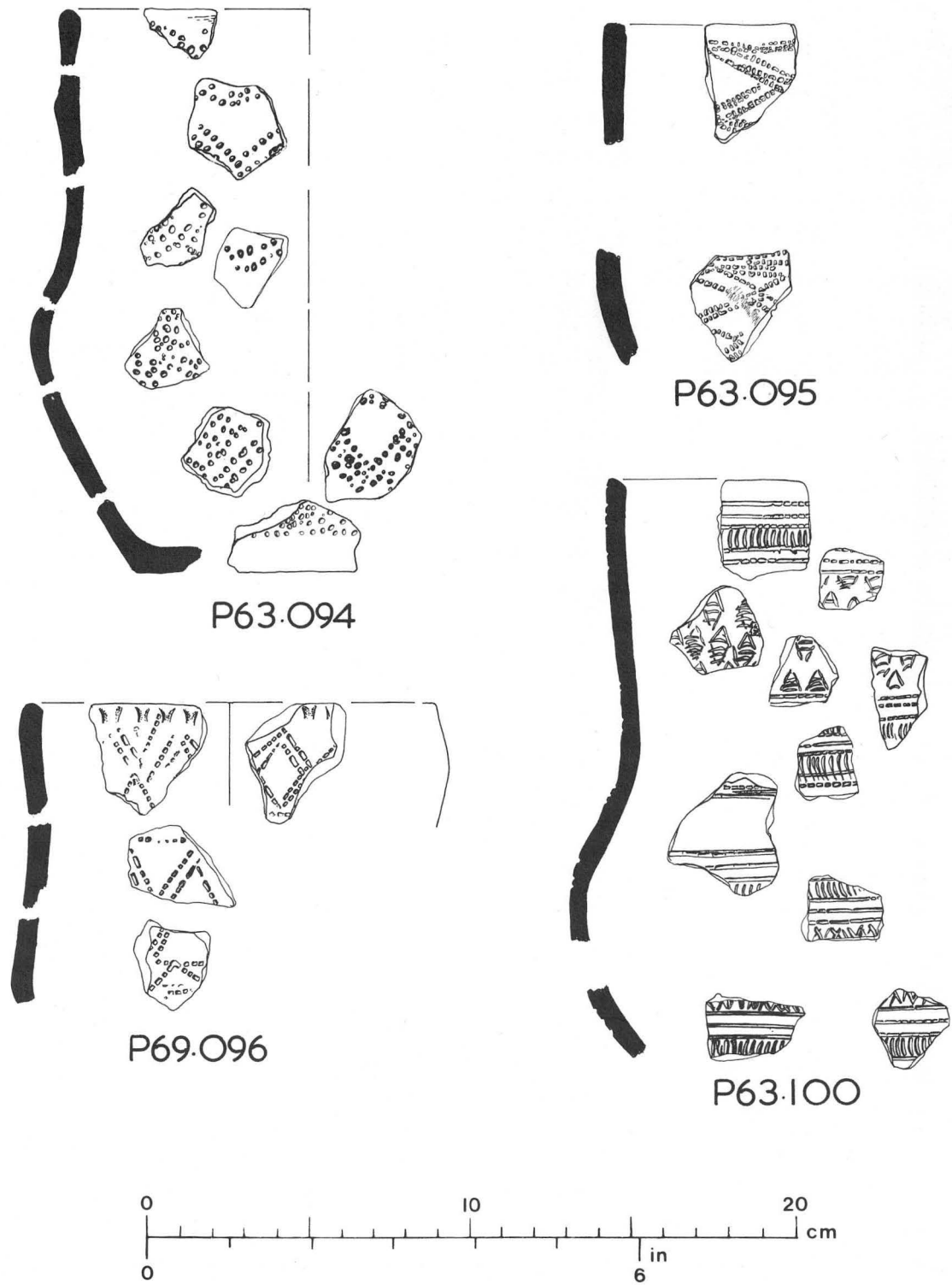


Fig.17. Hockwold 'The Oaks': Beaker pottery - comb-impressed and incised ware. Scale 1:2.

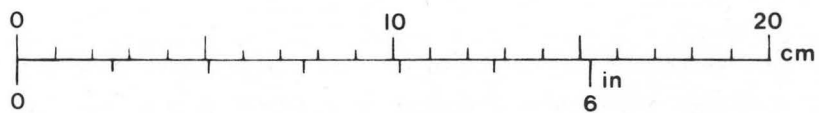
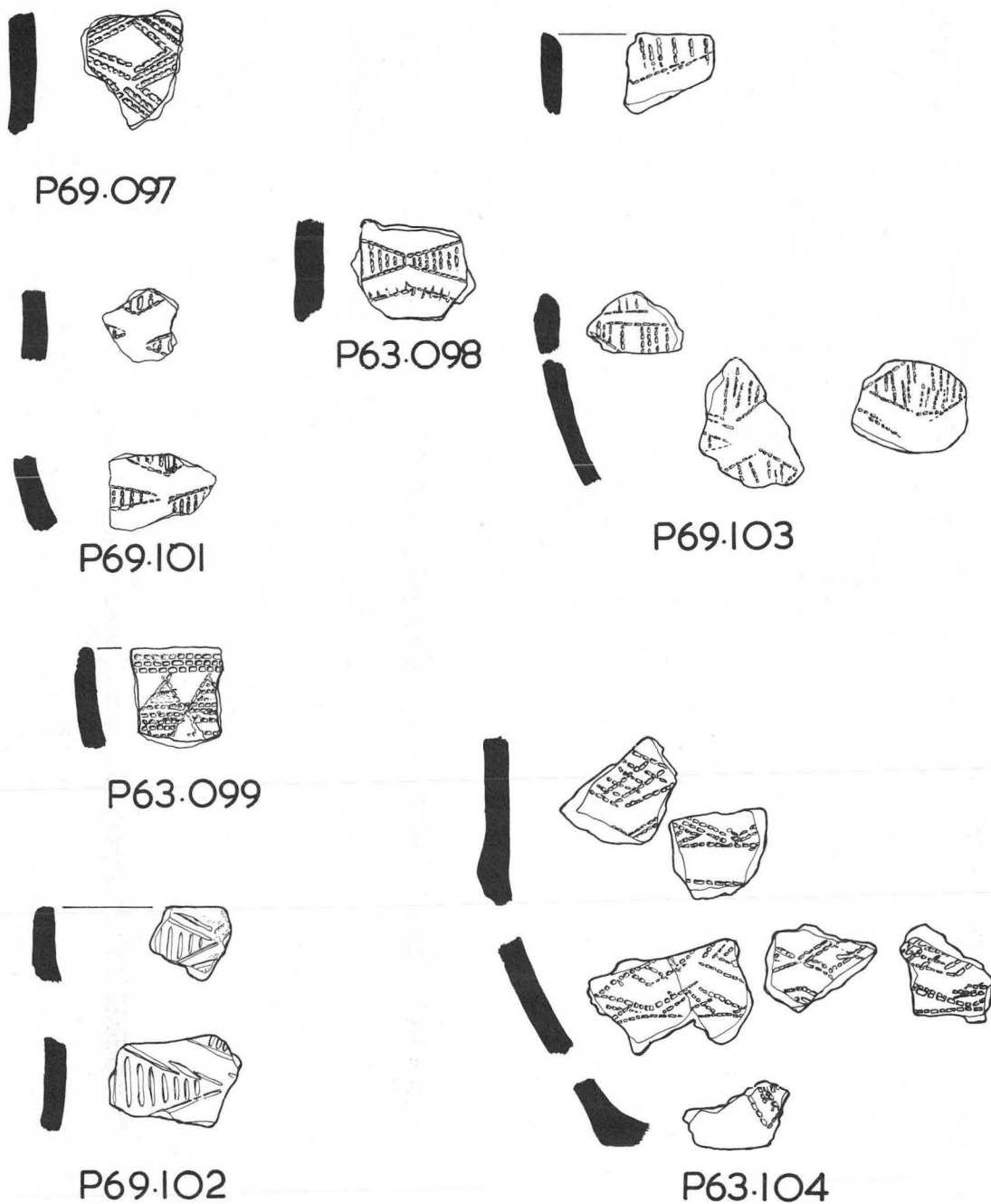
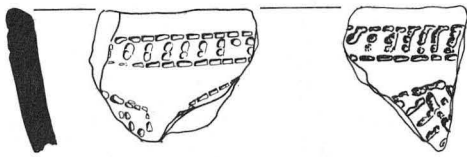
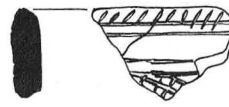


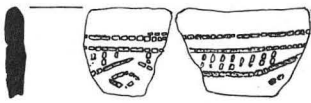
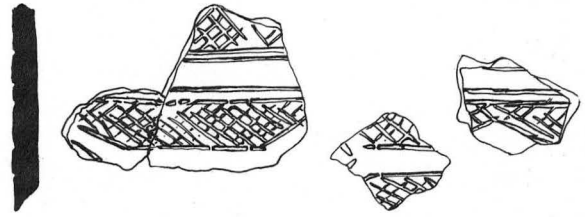
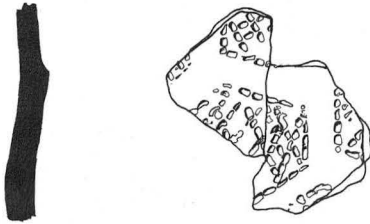
Fig. 18. Hockwold 'The Oaks': Beaker pottery - comb-impressed and incised ware. Scale 1:2.



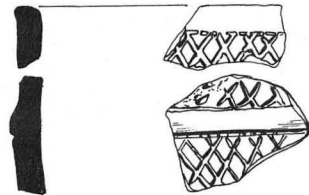
P63.108



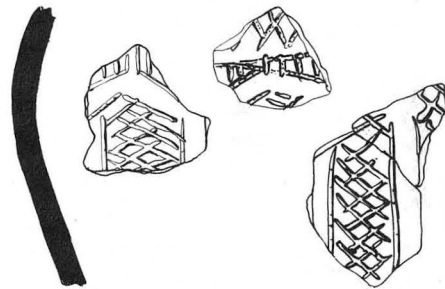
P69.106



P69.107



P63.109



P63.110

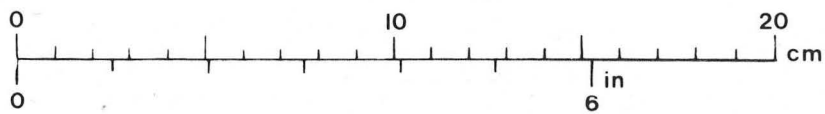


Fig.19. Hockwold 'The Oaks': Beaker pottery - comb-impressed and incised ware. Scale 1:2.

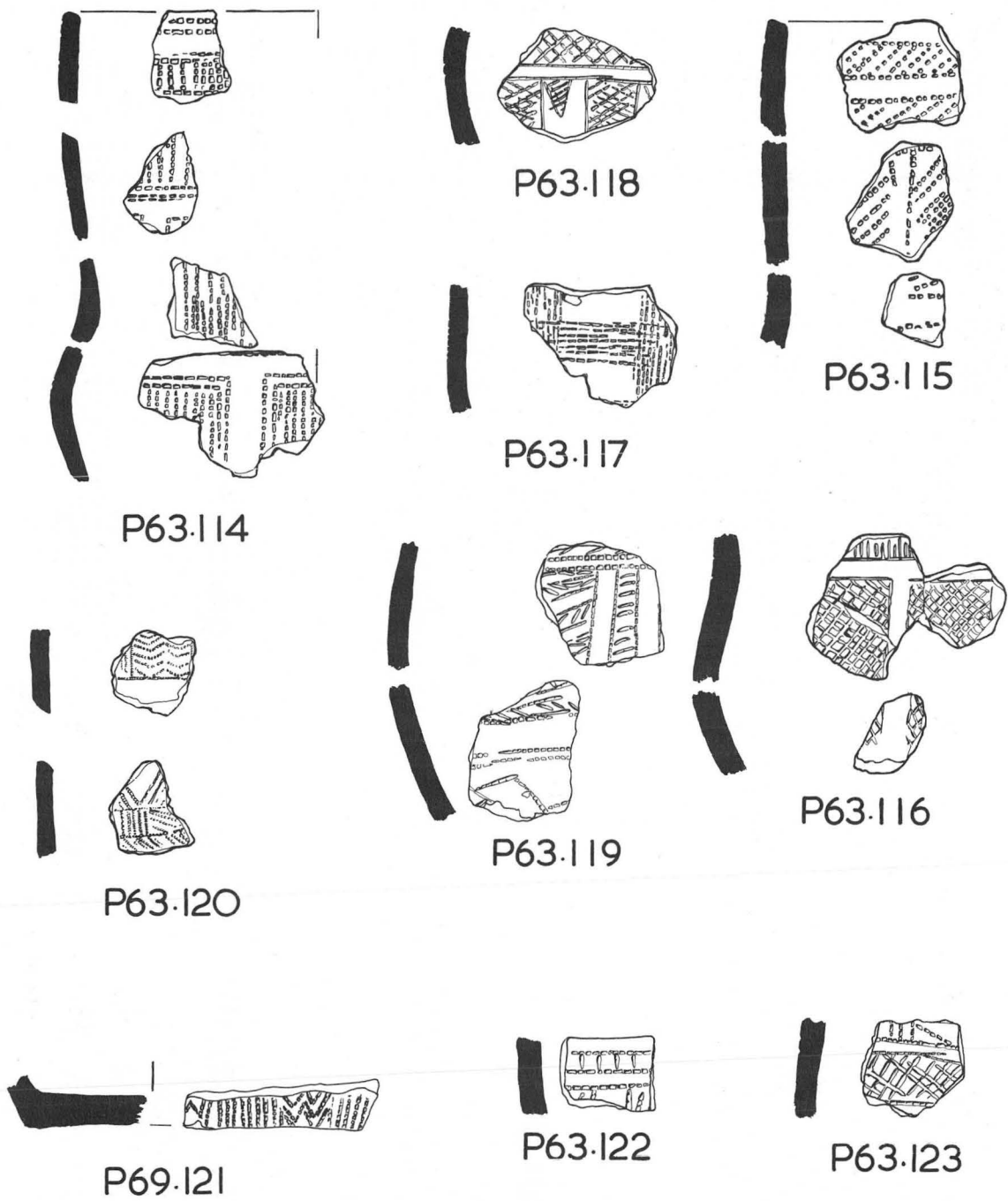


Fig.20. Hockwold 'The Oaks': Beaker pottery - comb-impressed and incised ware. Scale 1:2.

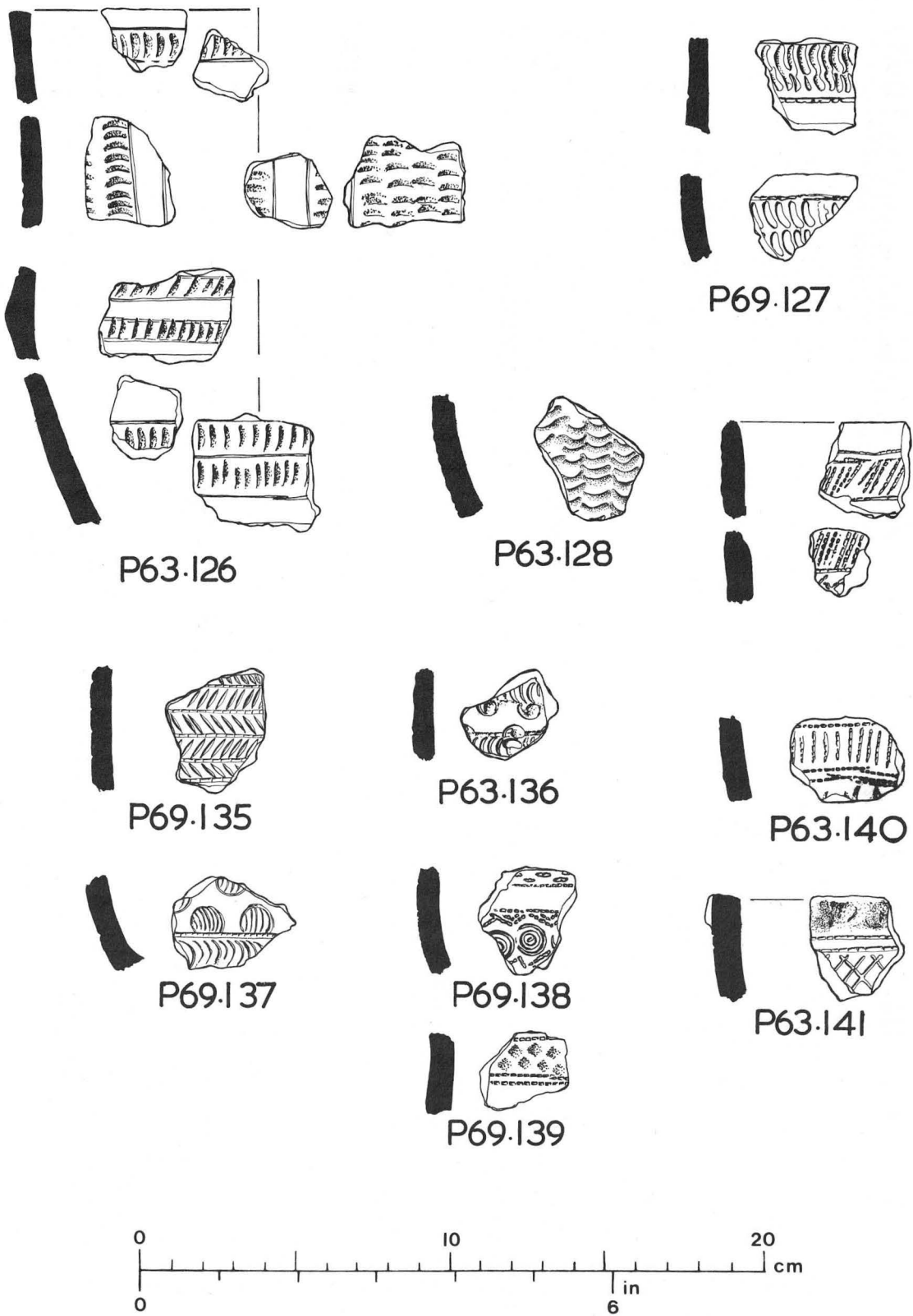


Fig. 21. Hockwold 'The Oaks': Beaker pottery - comb-impressed, incised and stamped ware. Scale 1:2.

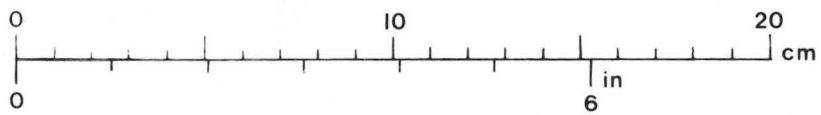
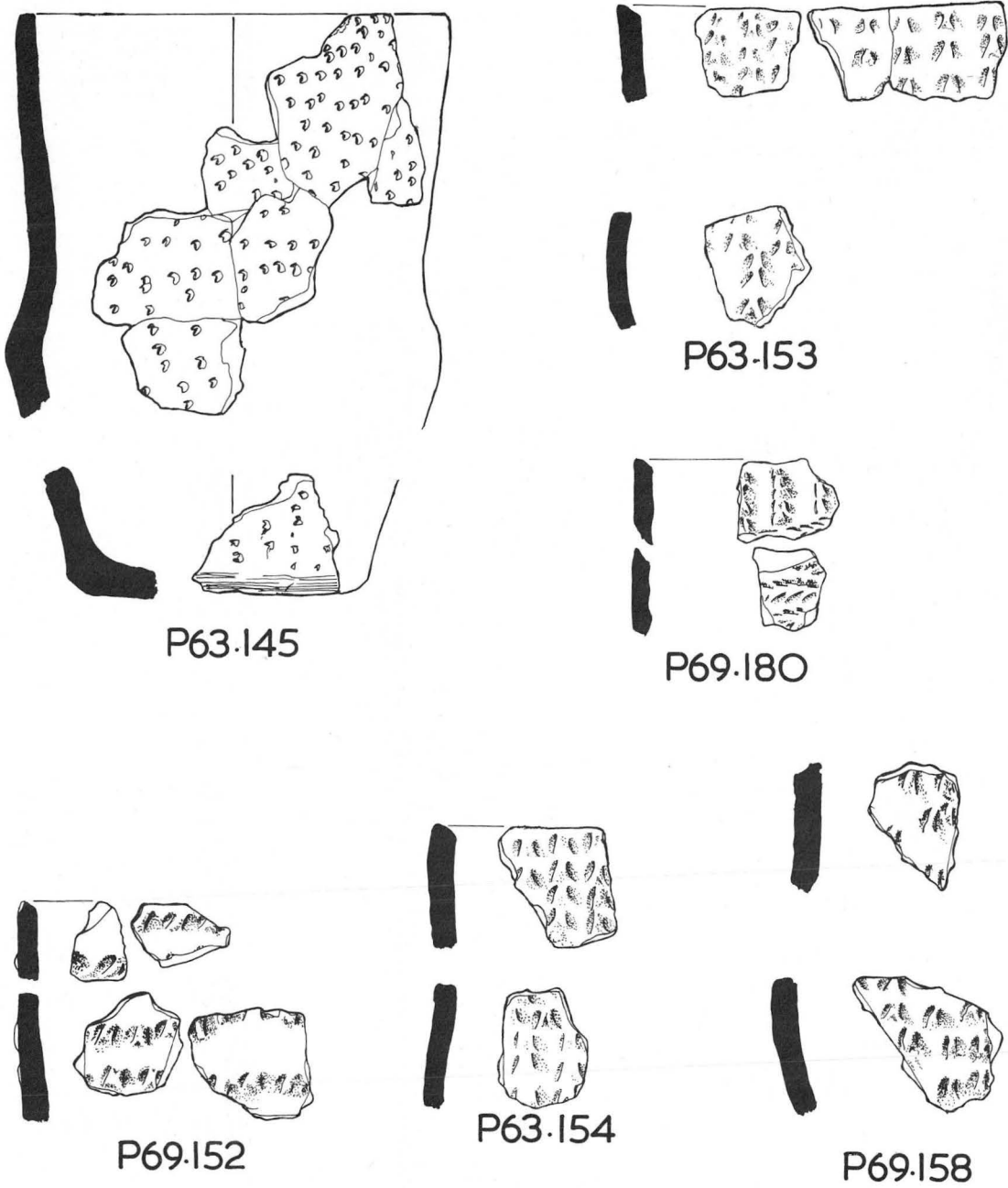


Fig.22. Hockwold 'The Oaks': Beaker pottery - rusticated ware.
Scale 1:2.

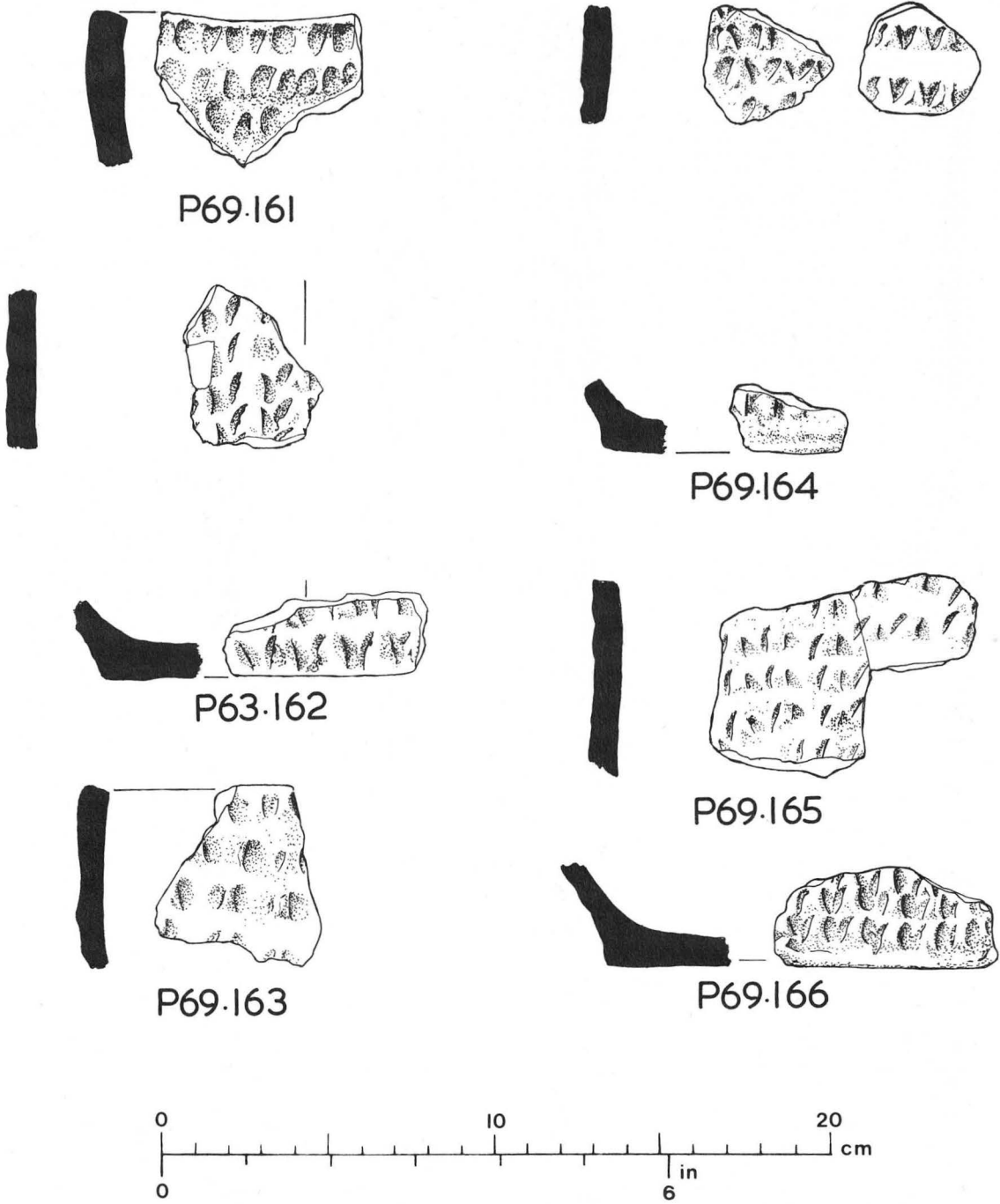


Fig.23. Hockwold 'The Oaks': Beaker pottery - rusticated ware.
Scale 1:2.

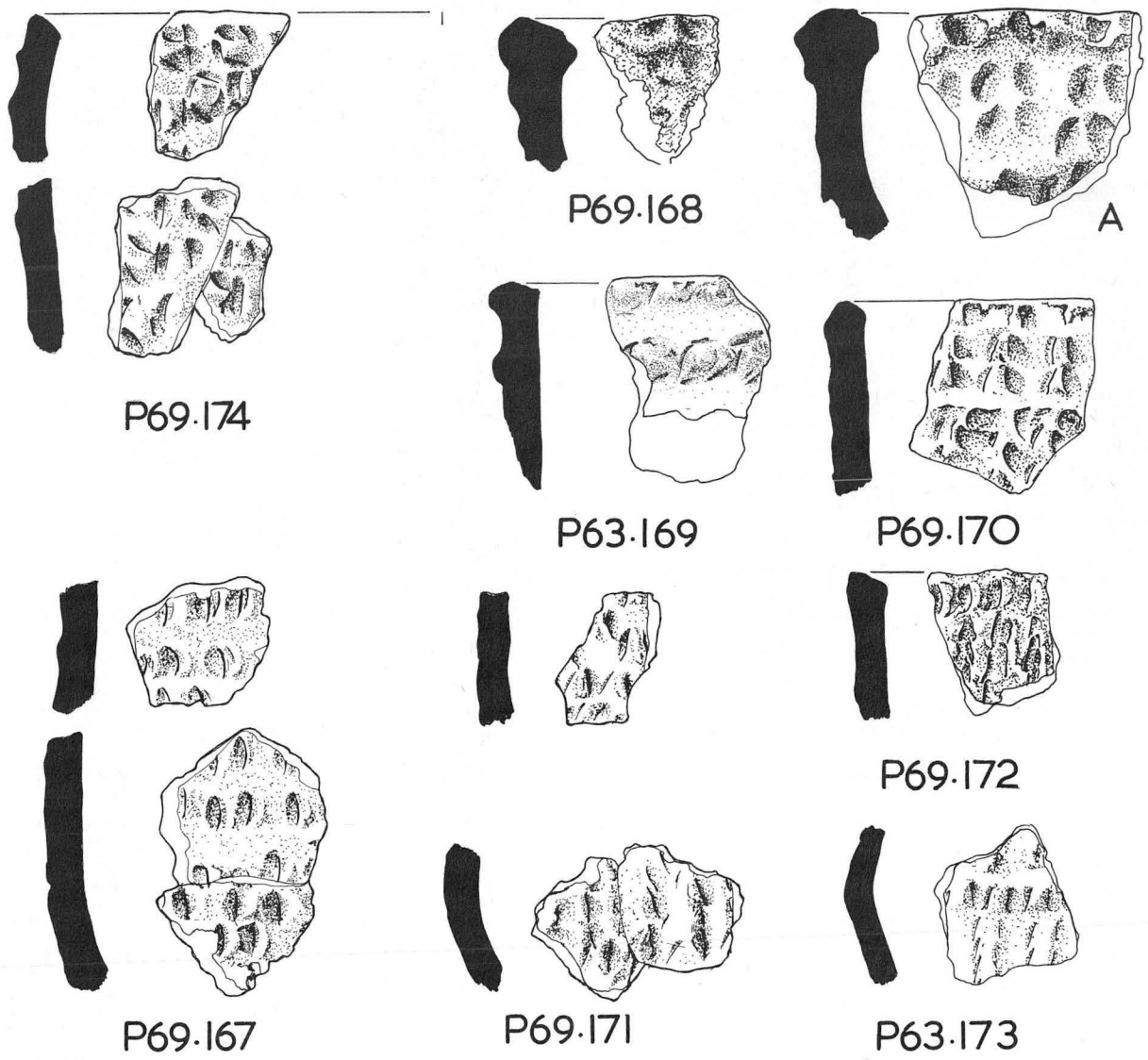


Fig.24. Hockwold 'The Oaks': Beaker pottery - rusticated ware.
Scale 1:2.

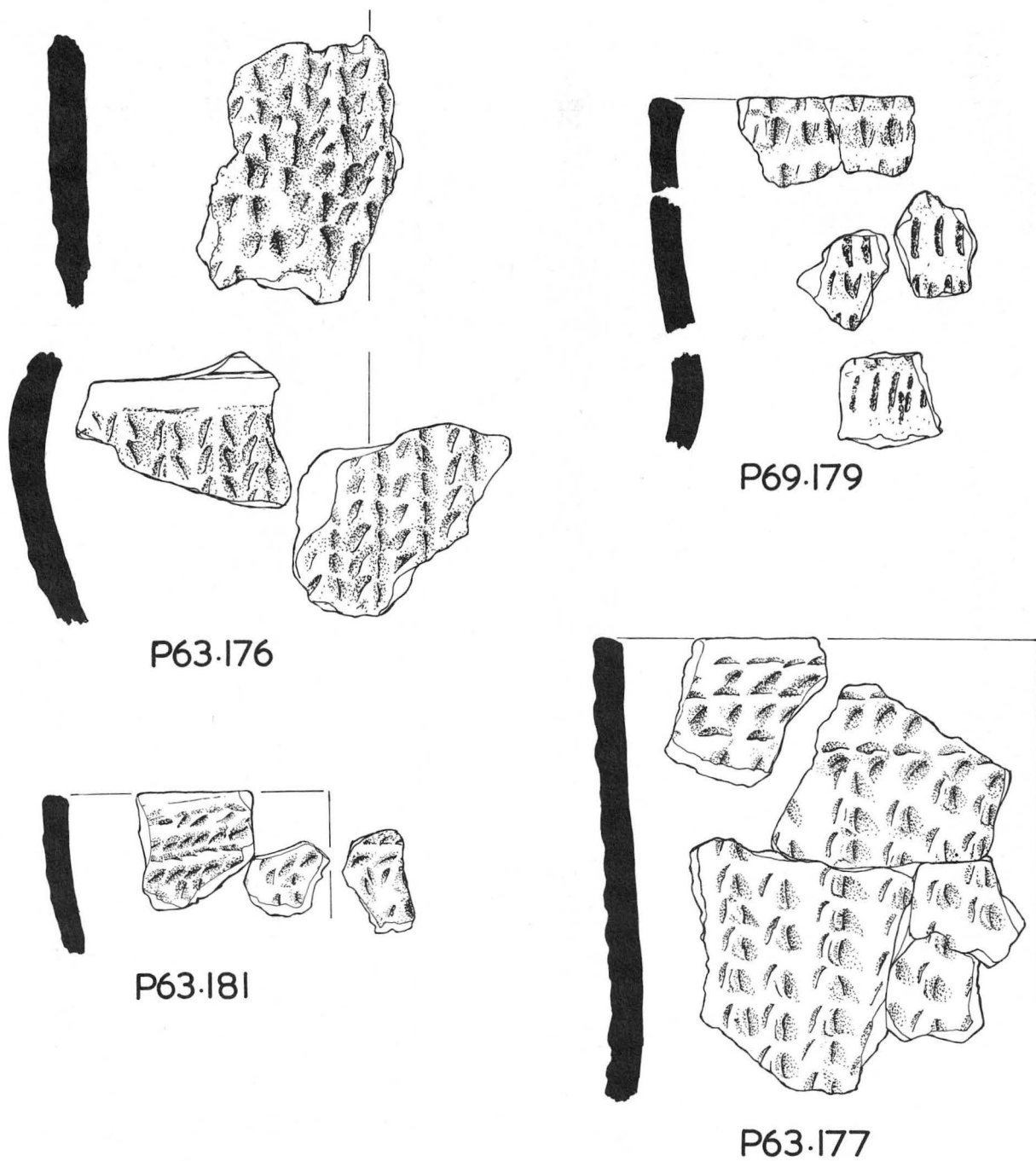


Fig. 25. Hockwold 'The Oaks': Beaker pottery - rusticated ware.
Scale 1:2.

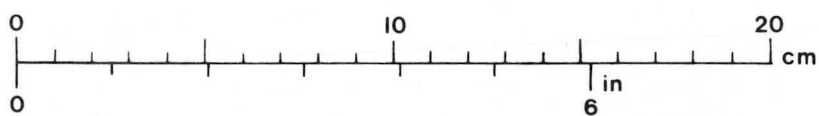
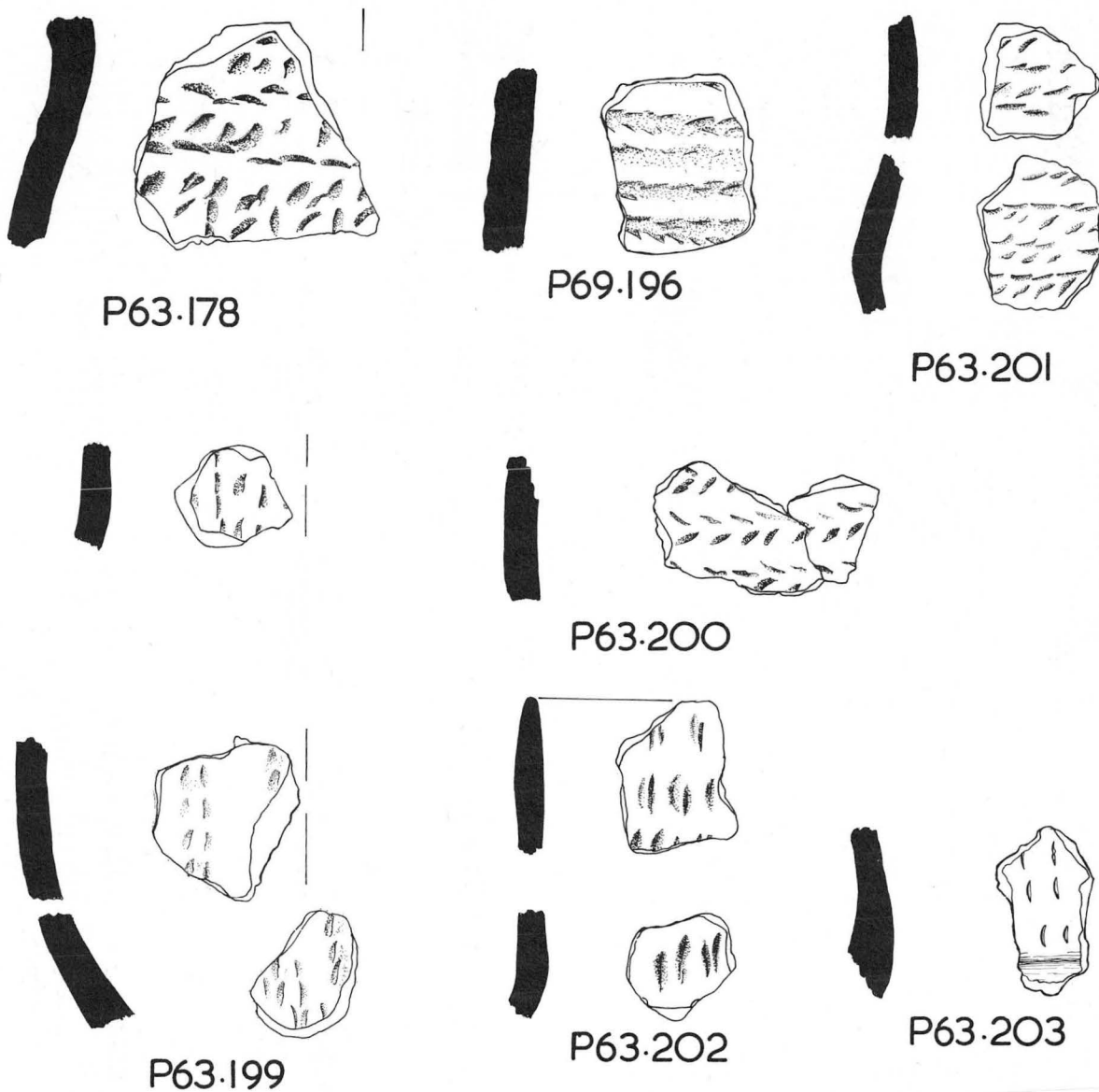


Fig. 26. Hockwold 'The Oaks': Beaker pottery - rusticated ware.
 Scale 1:2.

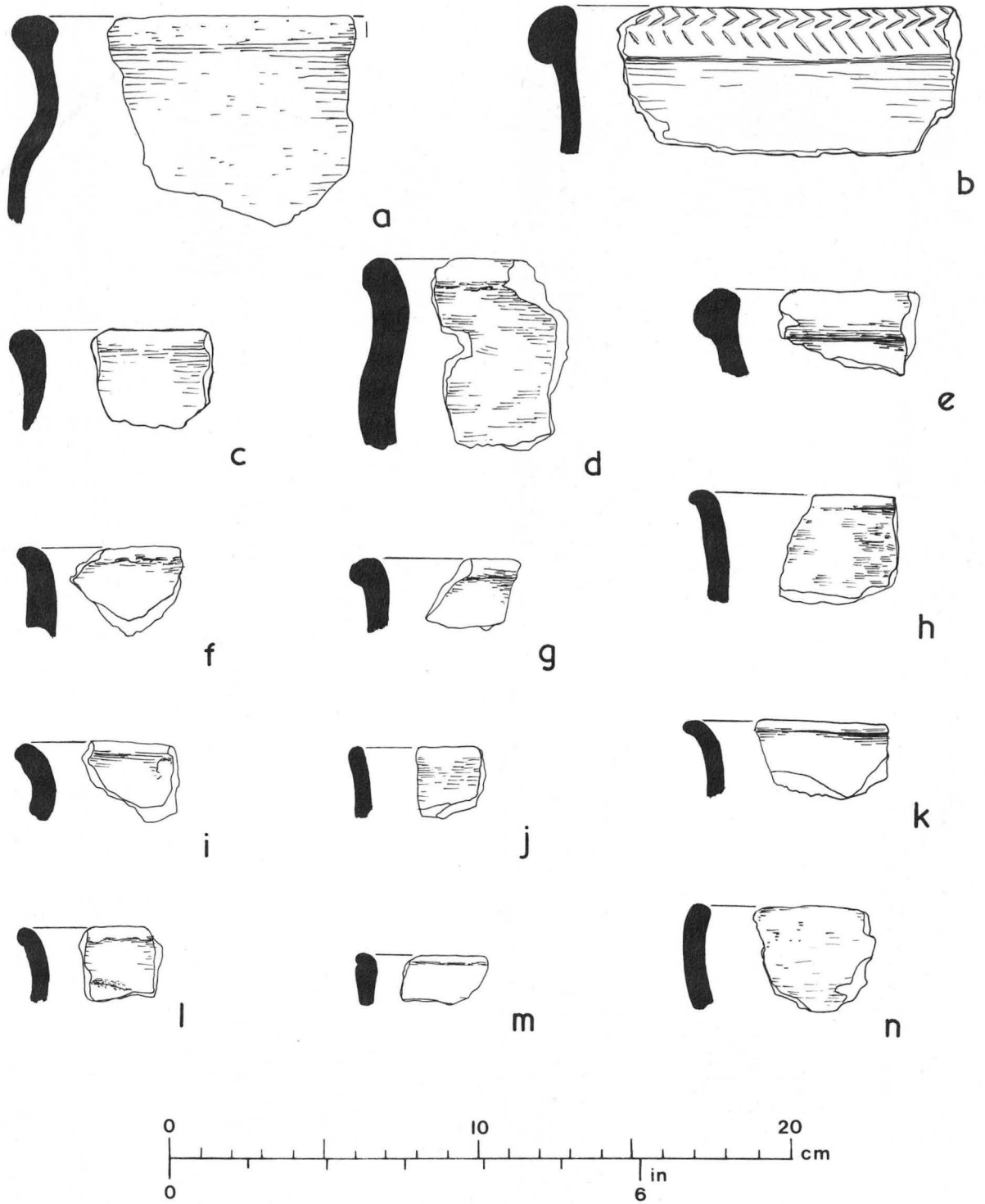


Fig.27. Hockwold 'The Oaks': earlier neolithic pottery.
Scale 1:2.

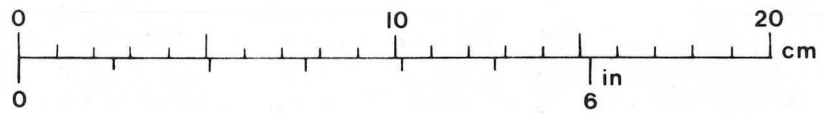
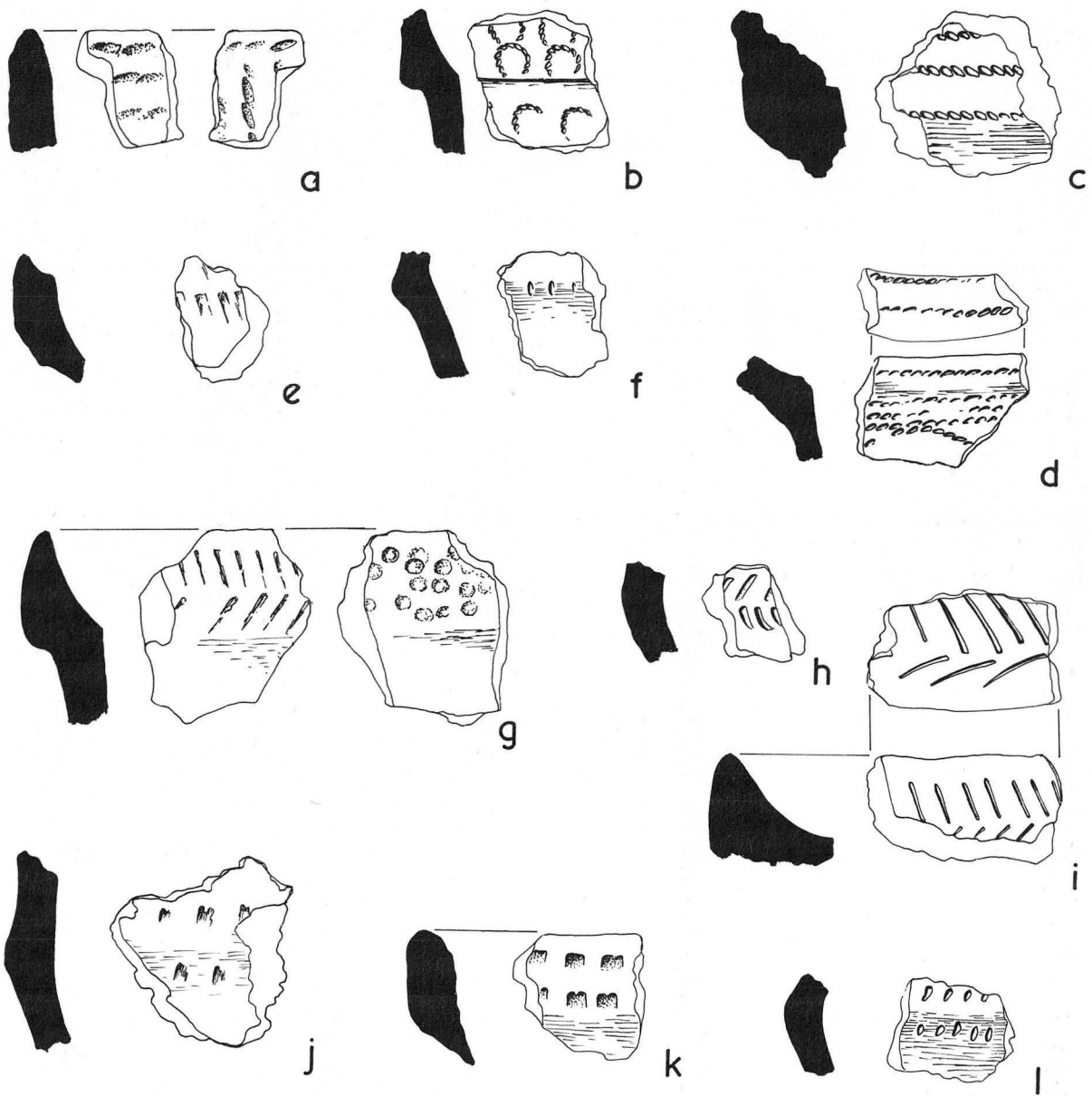


Fig. 28. Hockwold 'The Oaks': Food Vessel type pottery.
Scale 1:2.

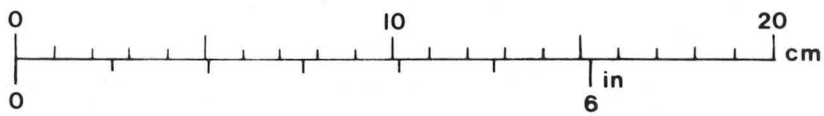
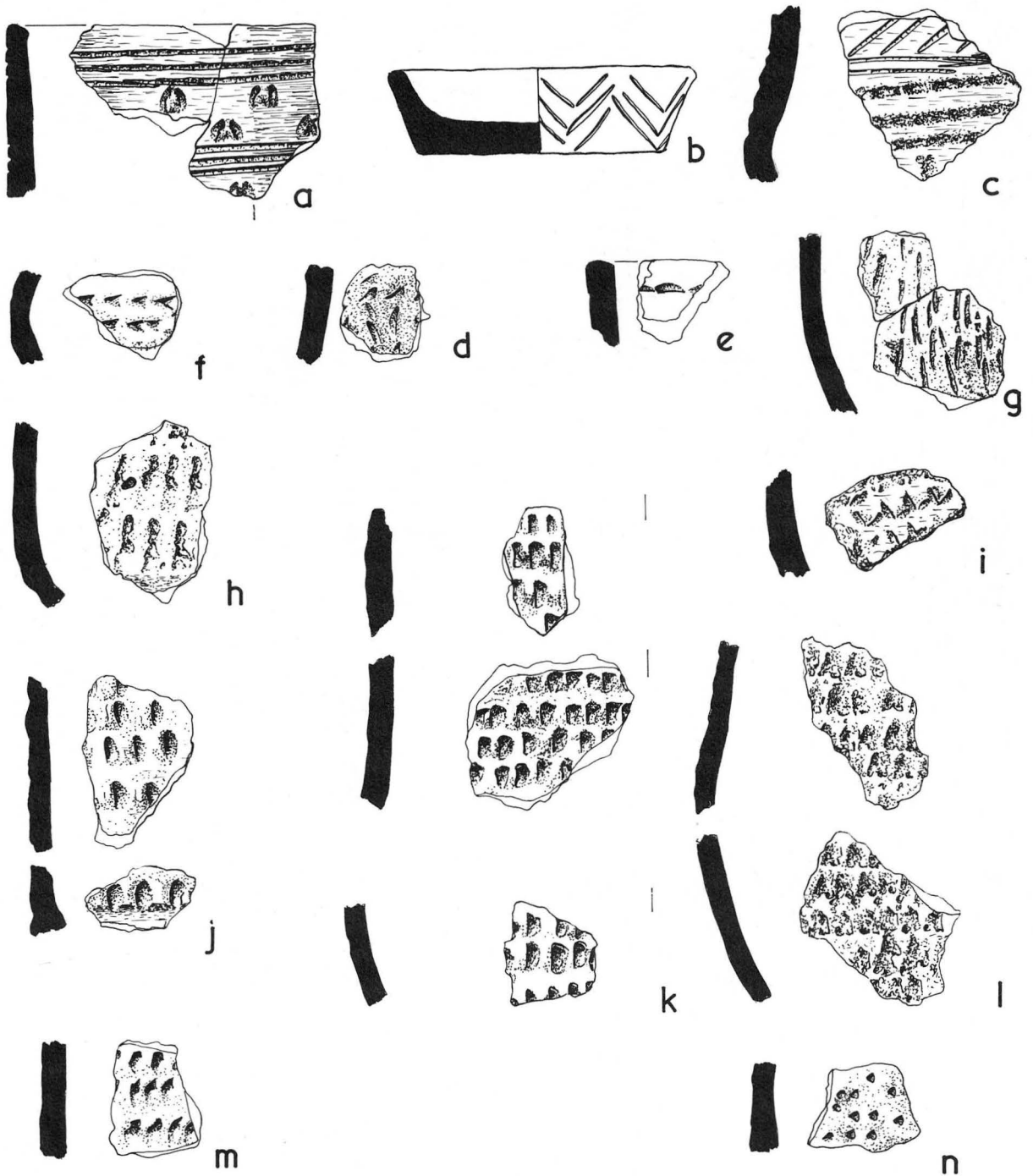


Fig. 29. Hockwold, probably Sites 93 and 61/68: Miscellaneous Beaker sherds. Scale 1:2.

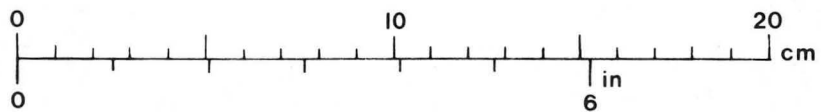
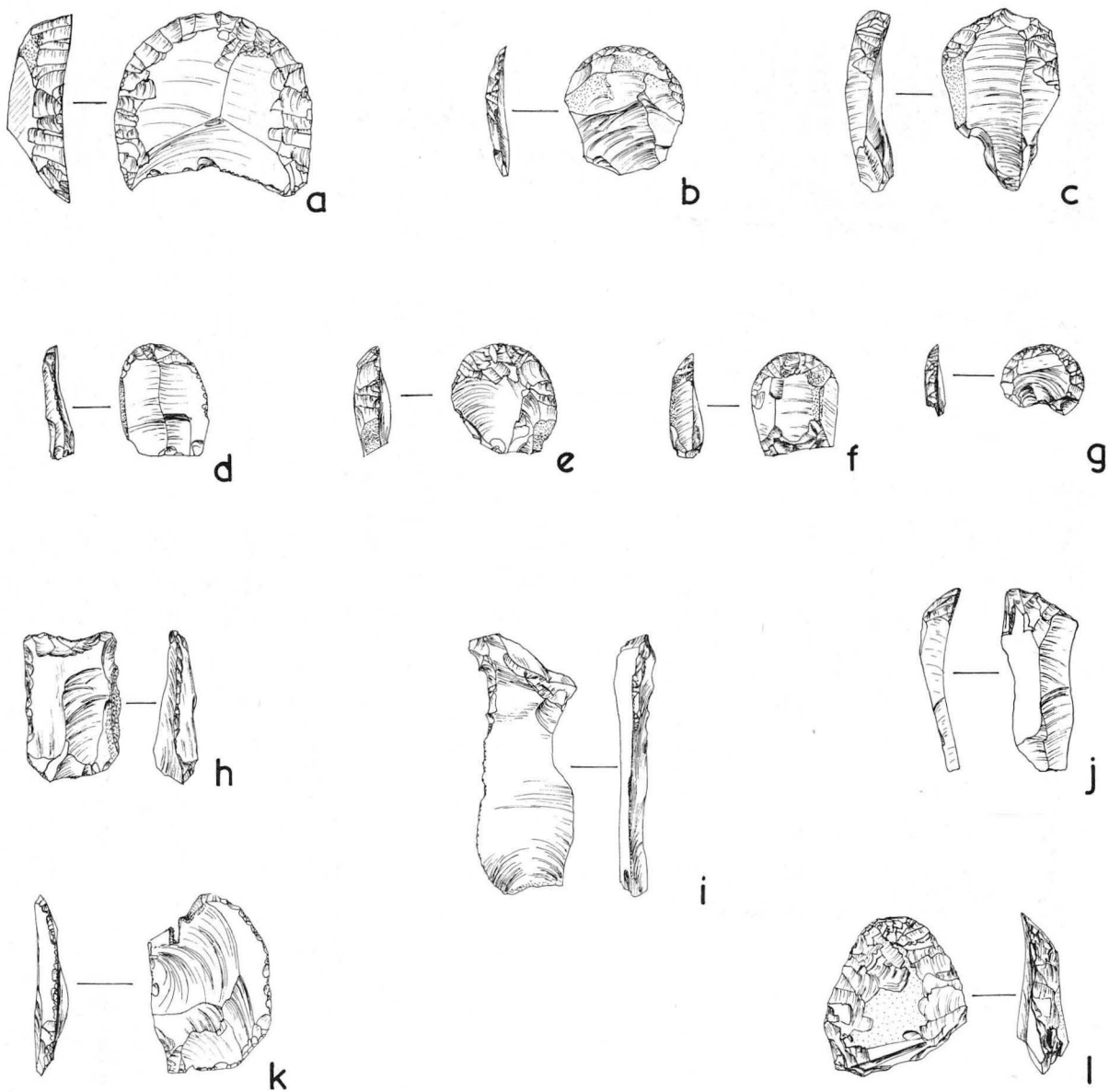


Fig.30. Hockwold Site 93: worked flints.
Scale 1:2.

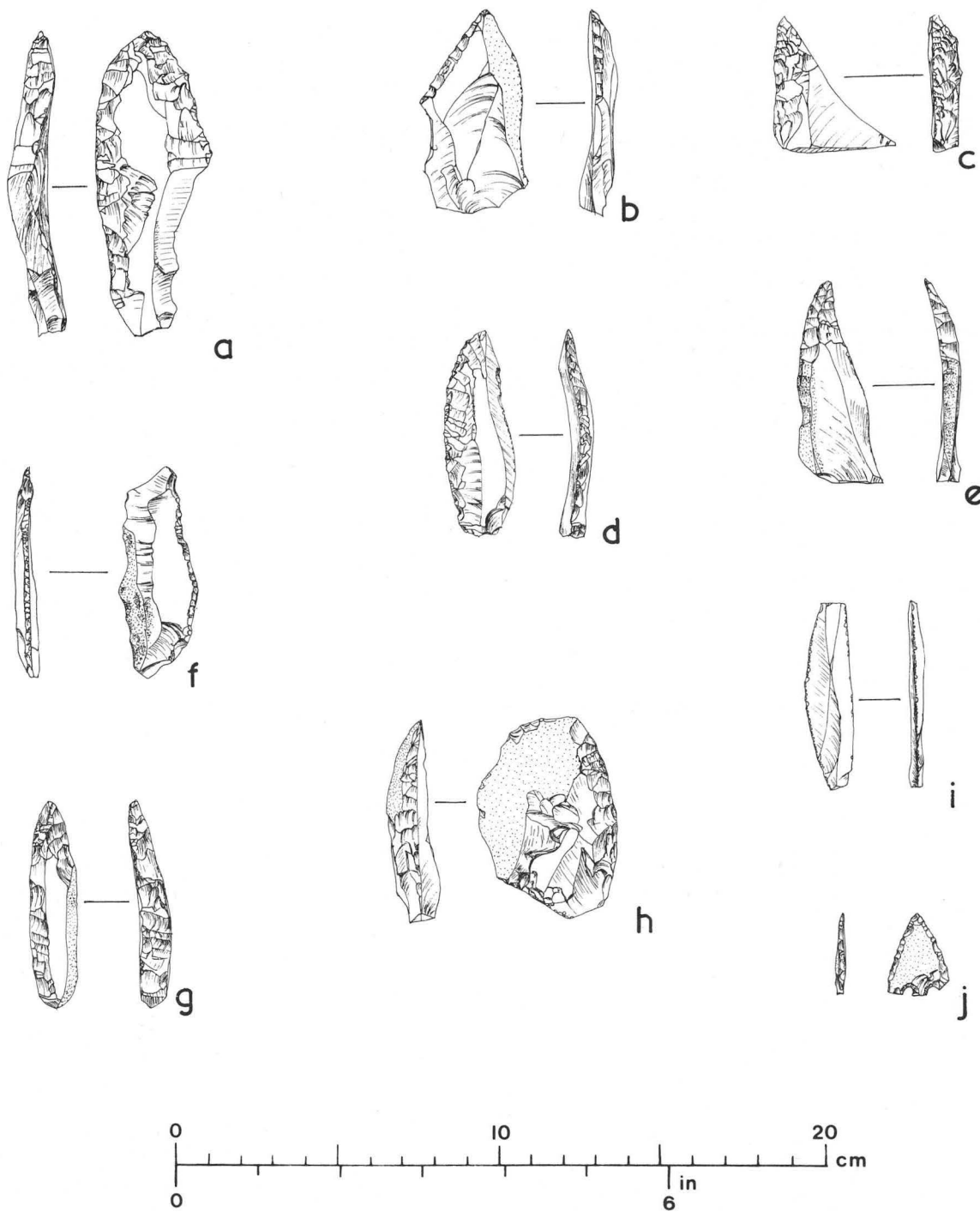


Fig.31. Hockwold Site 93: worked flints.
Scale 1:2.

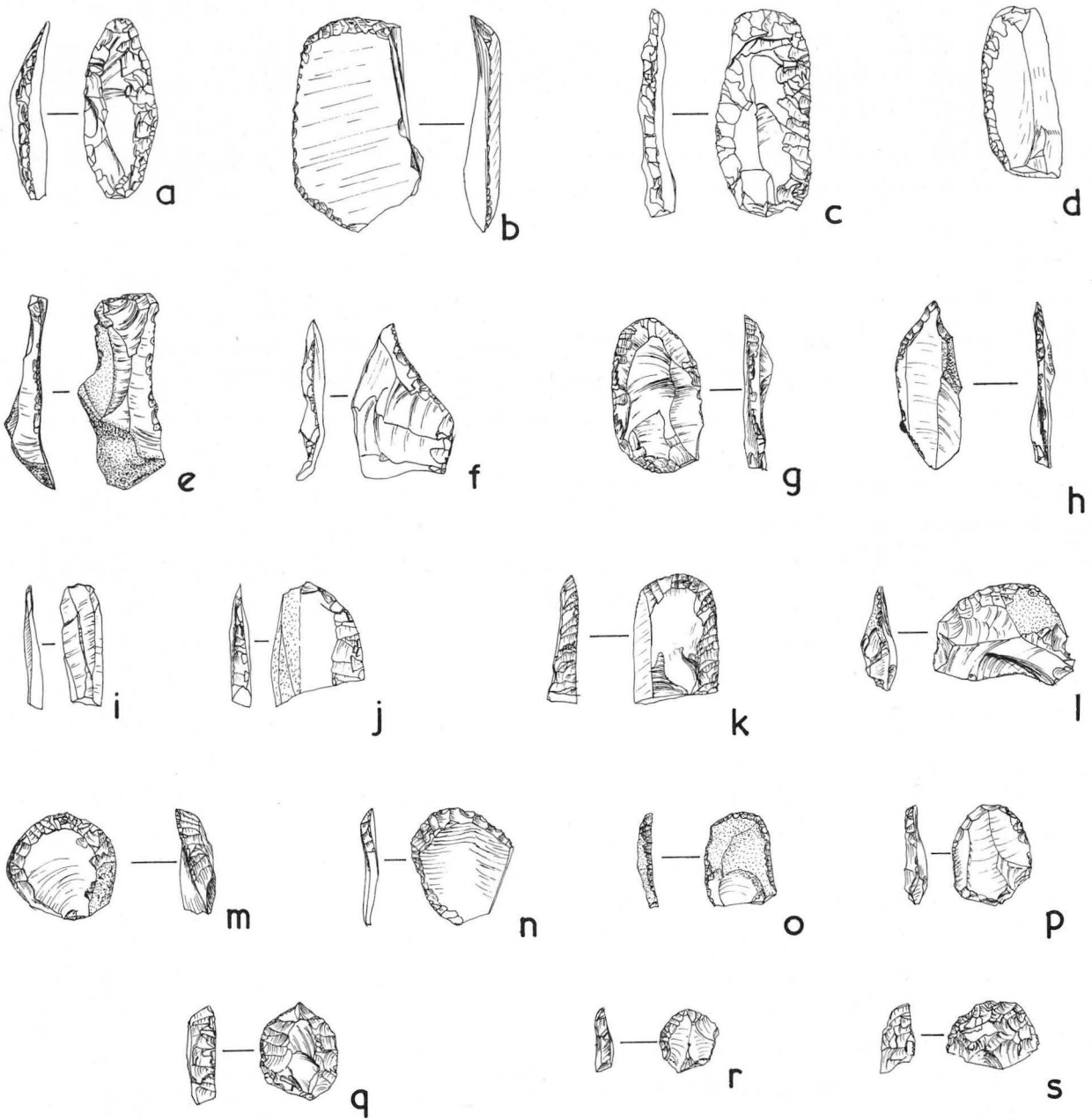


Fig.32. Hockwold 'The Oaks': worked flints.
Scale 1:2.

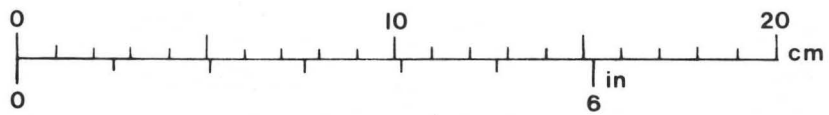
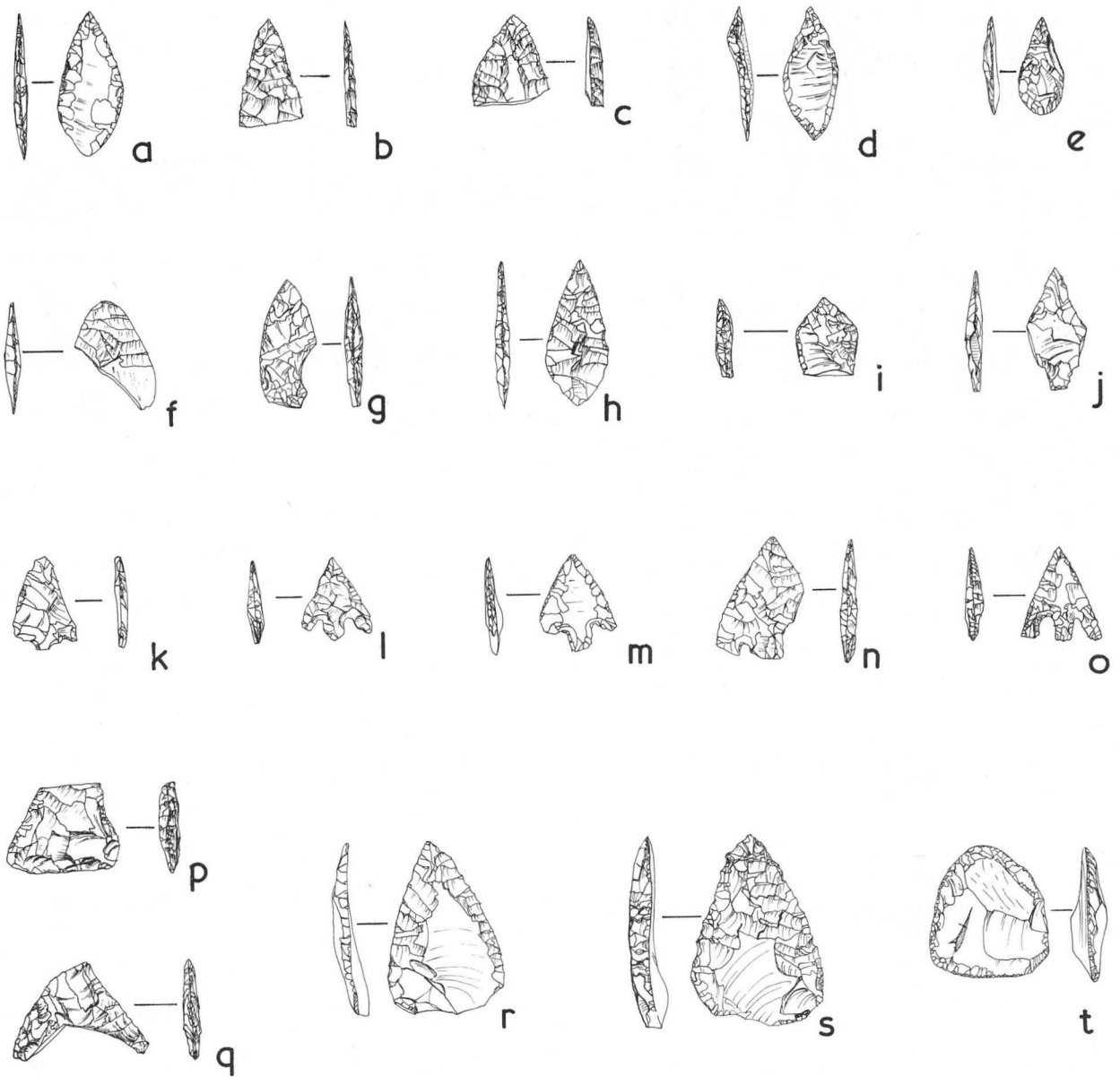


Fig.33. Hockwold 'The Oaks': worked flints.
Scale 1:2.

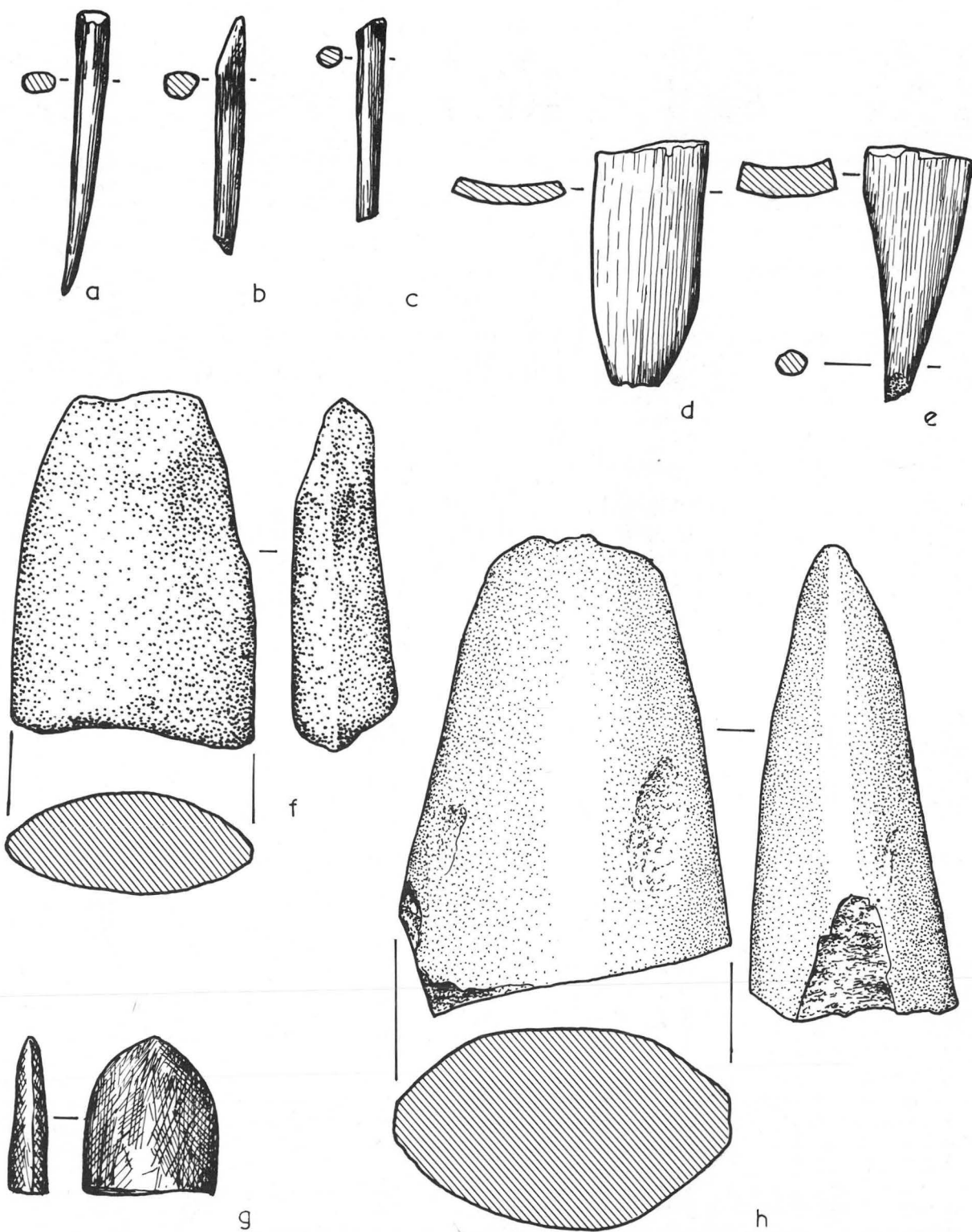


Fig. 34. Hockwold Site 93 and 'The Oaks': worked bone and stone: a-f Site 93; g Site 69; h Site 61. Scale 1:1.

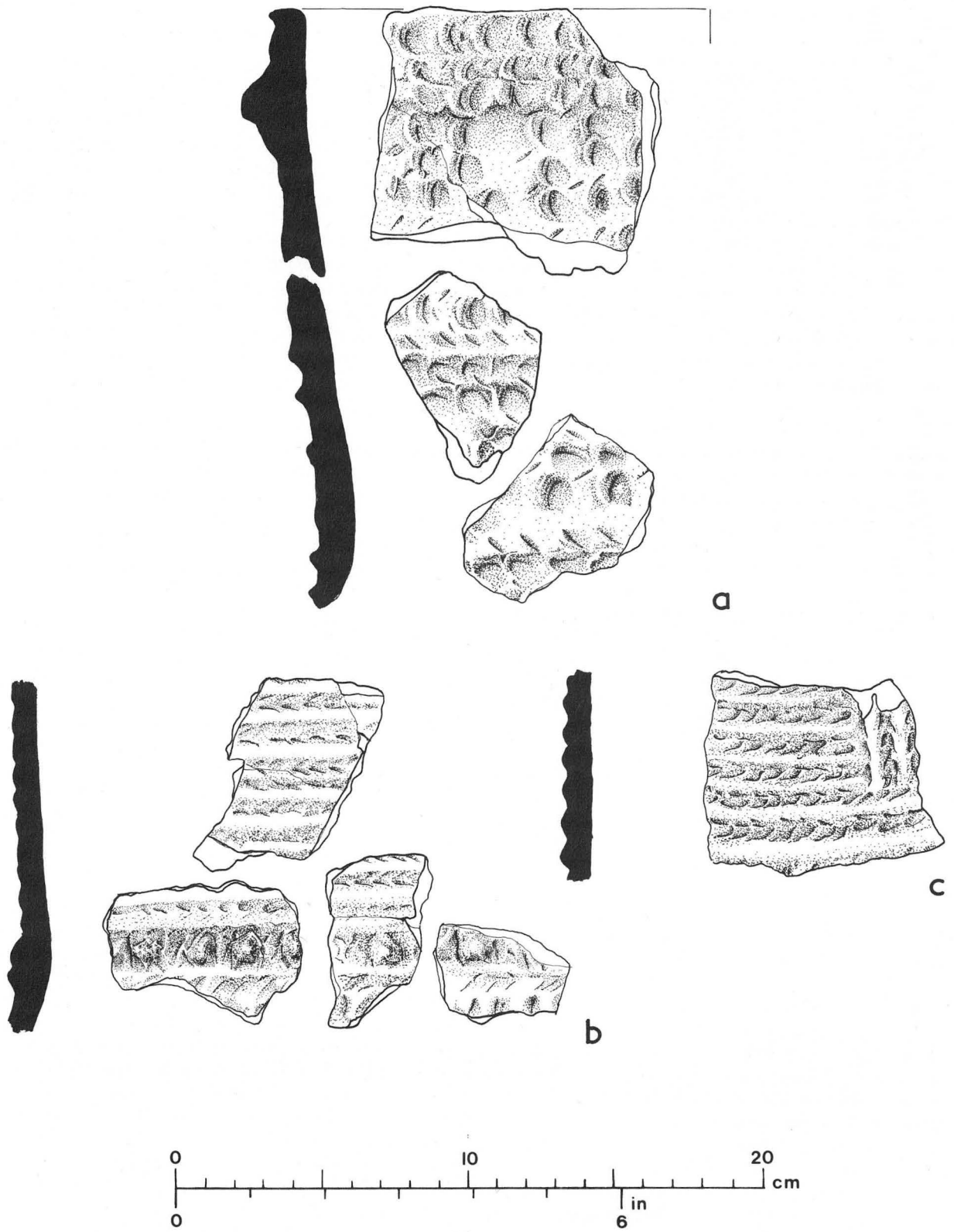


Fig.35. Chippenham Barrow V (Cambs.): Beaker rusticated pottery.
Scale 1:2.

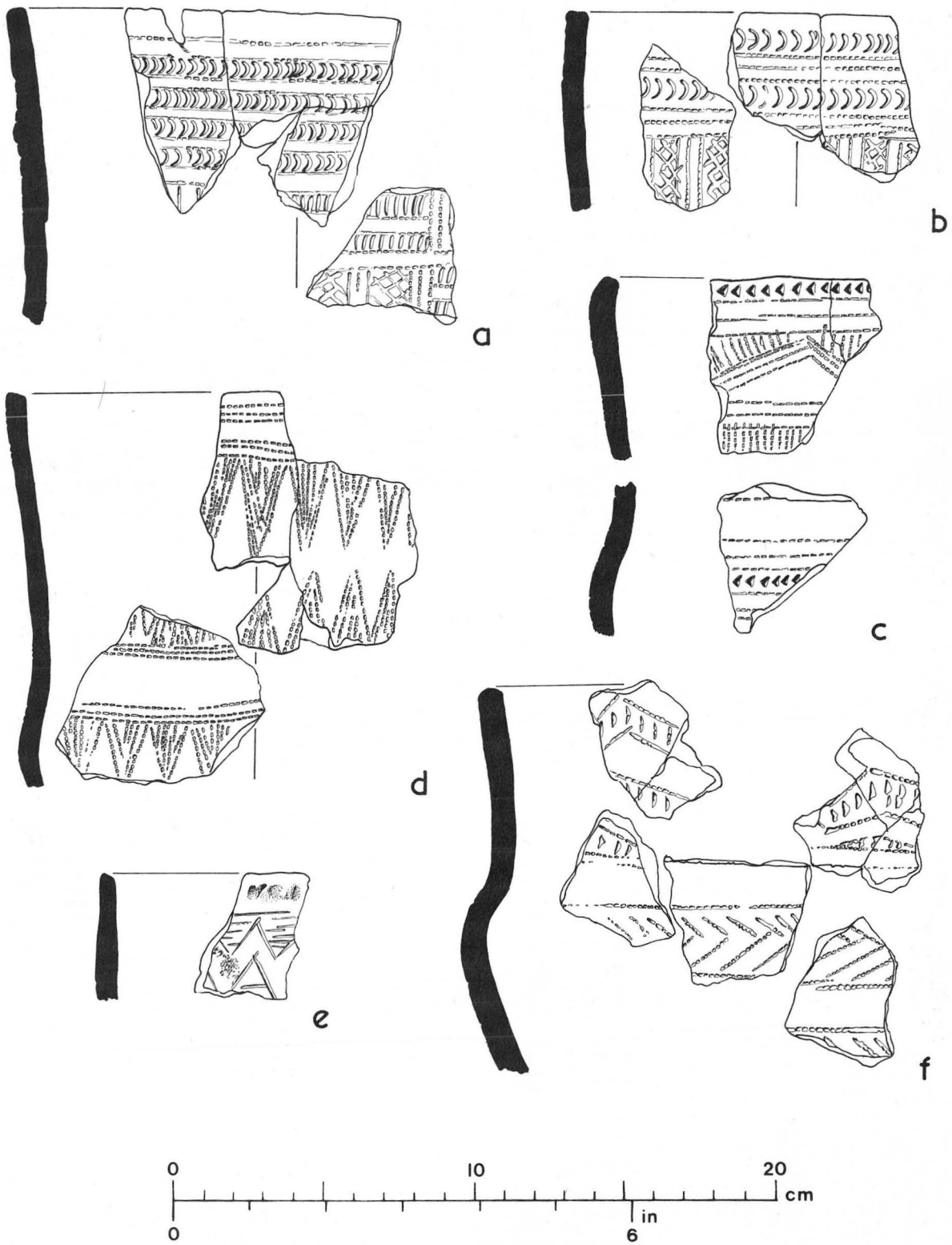


Fig.36. Fengate (?) (Cambs.): Beaker pottery - comb-impressed and incised ware. Scale 1:2.

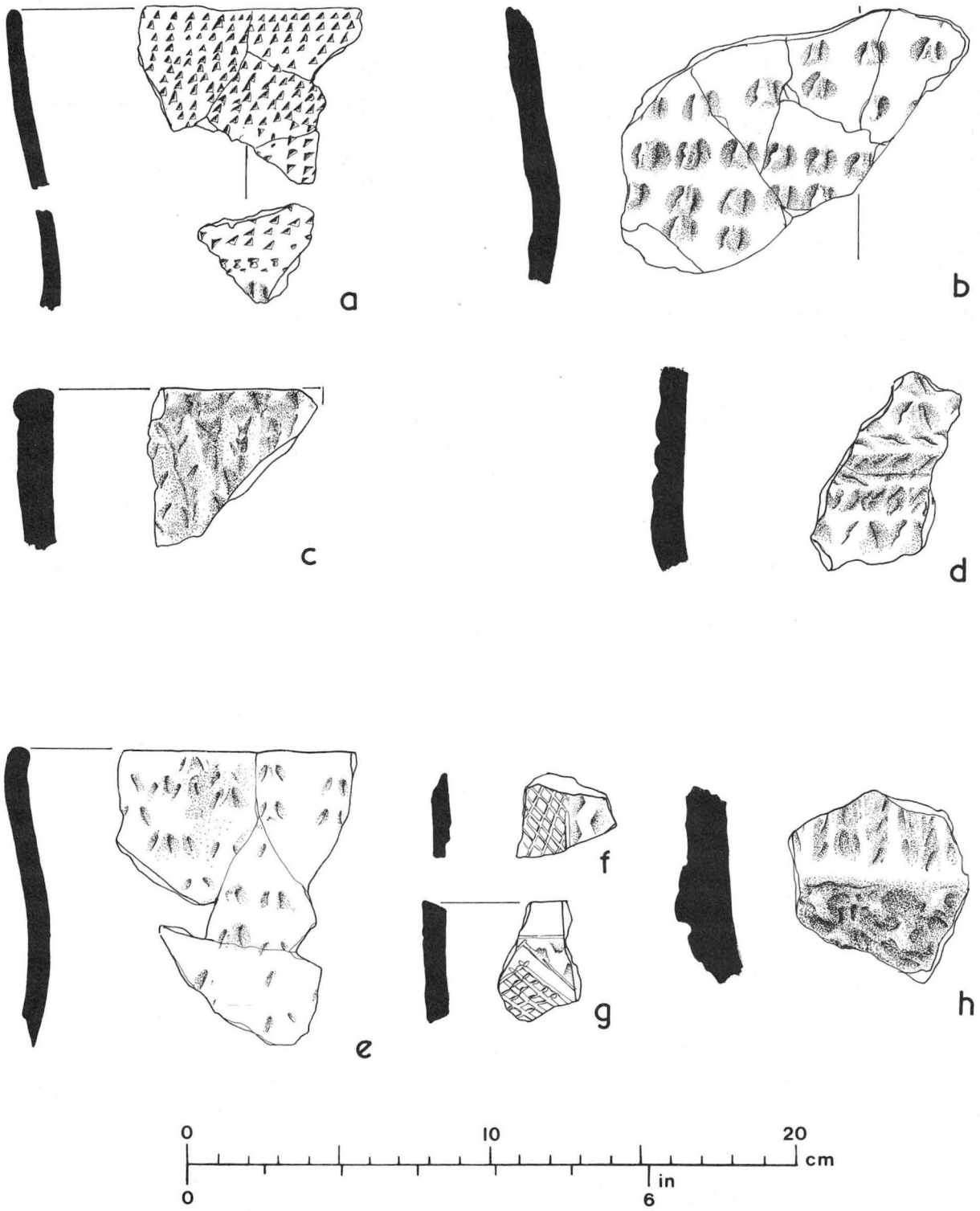


Fig.37. a-d Fengate (?) (Cams.); e-g Fifty Farm, Mildenhall, h 'Sahara', Lakenheath (Suffolk): Beaker pottery.
Scale 1:2.

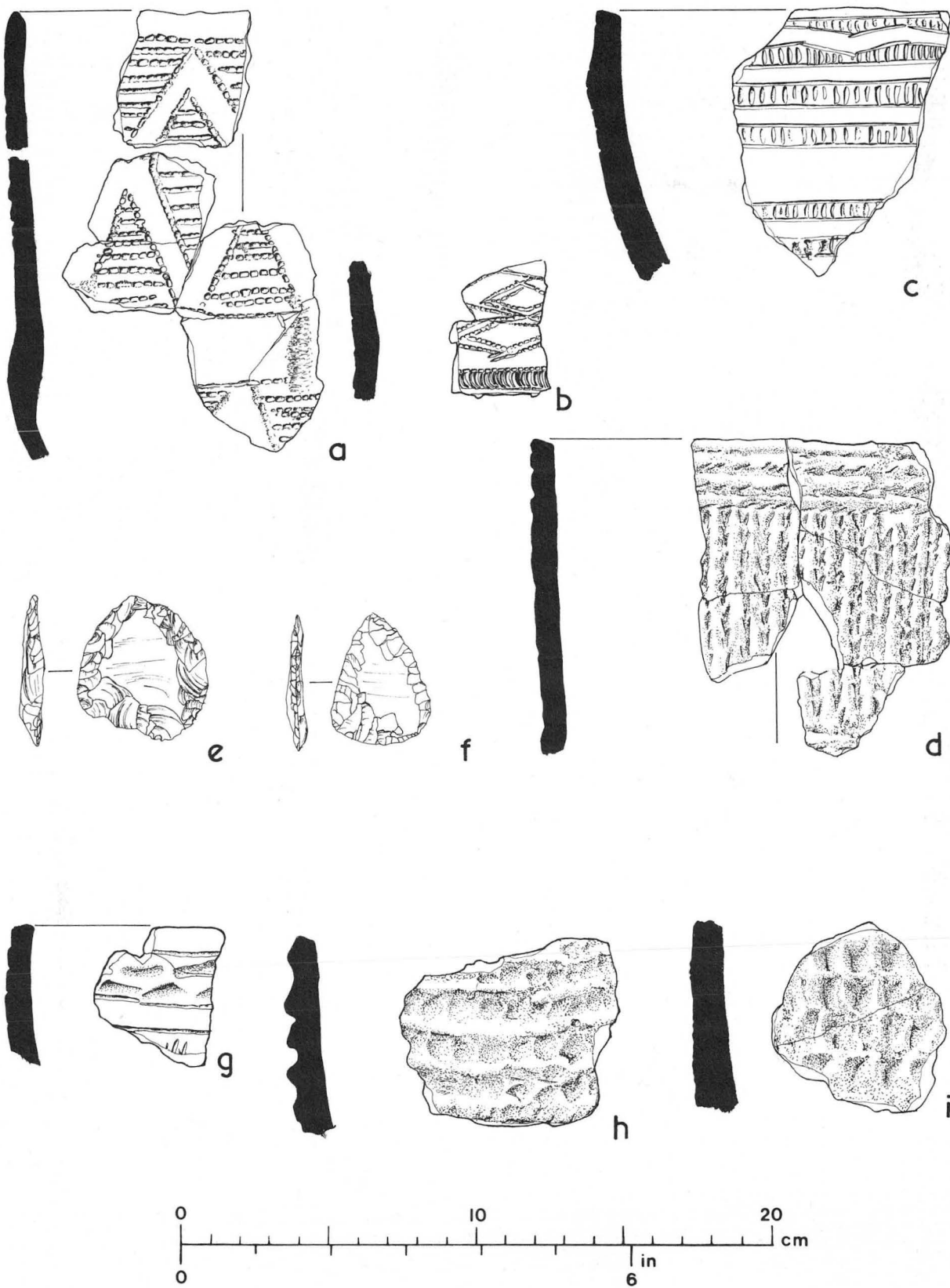


Fig.38. Edingtonthorpe (Norfolk): Beaker pottery and worked flints.
 a-d Field 64, Site 9; g-i Field 63, Site 11B.
 Scale 1:2.

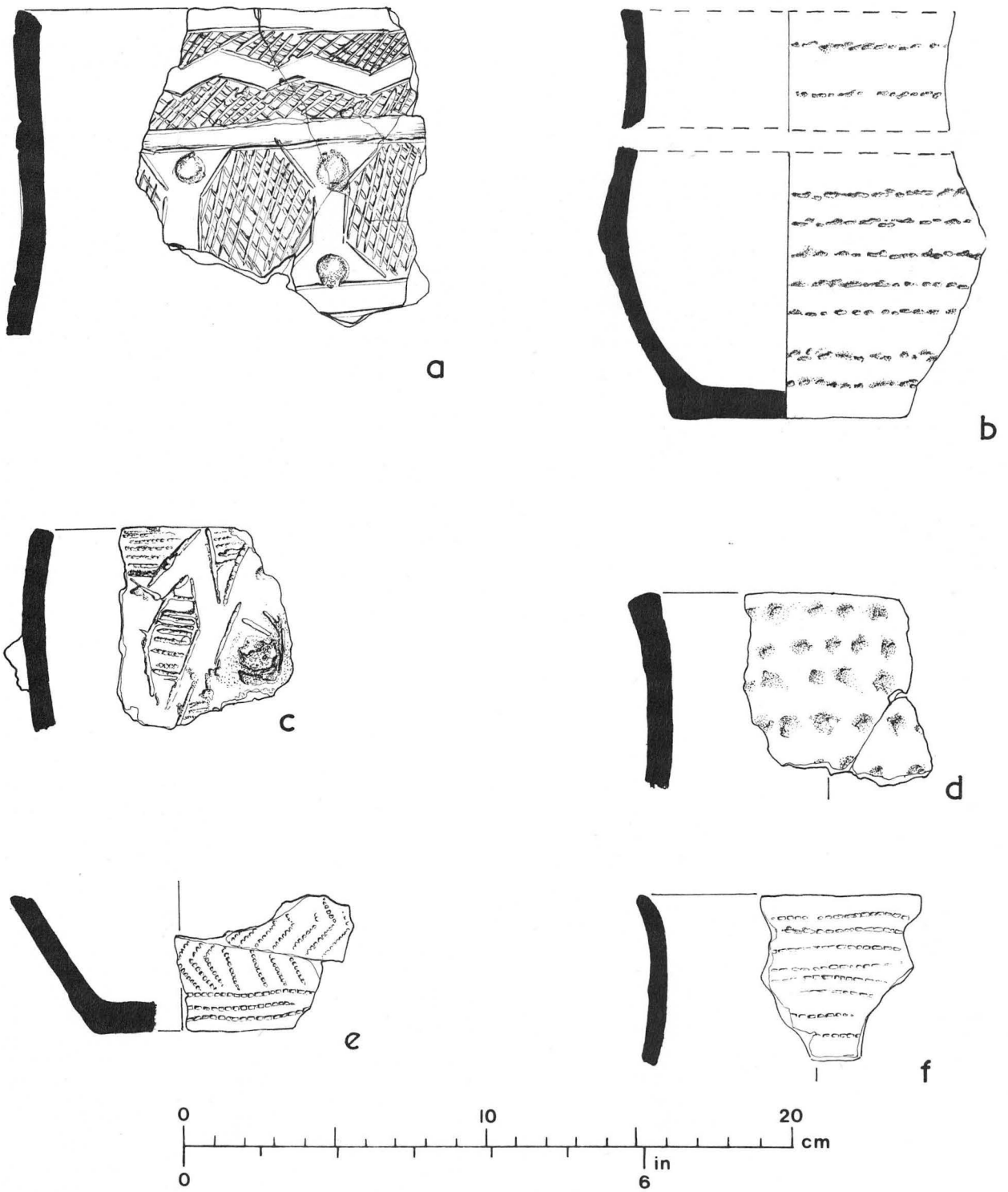


Fig. 39. Edingtonthorpe (Norfolk): Beaker pottery. a-b Field 64, Site 7; c Field 64, Site 5; d-f Field 64, Site 8. Scale 1:2.

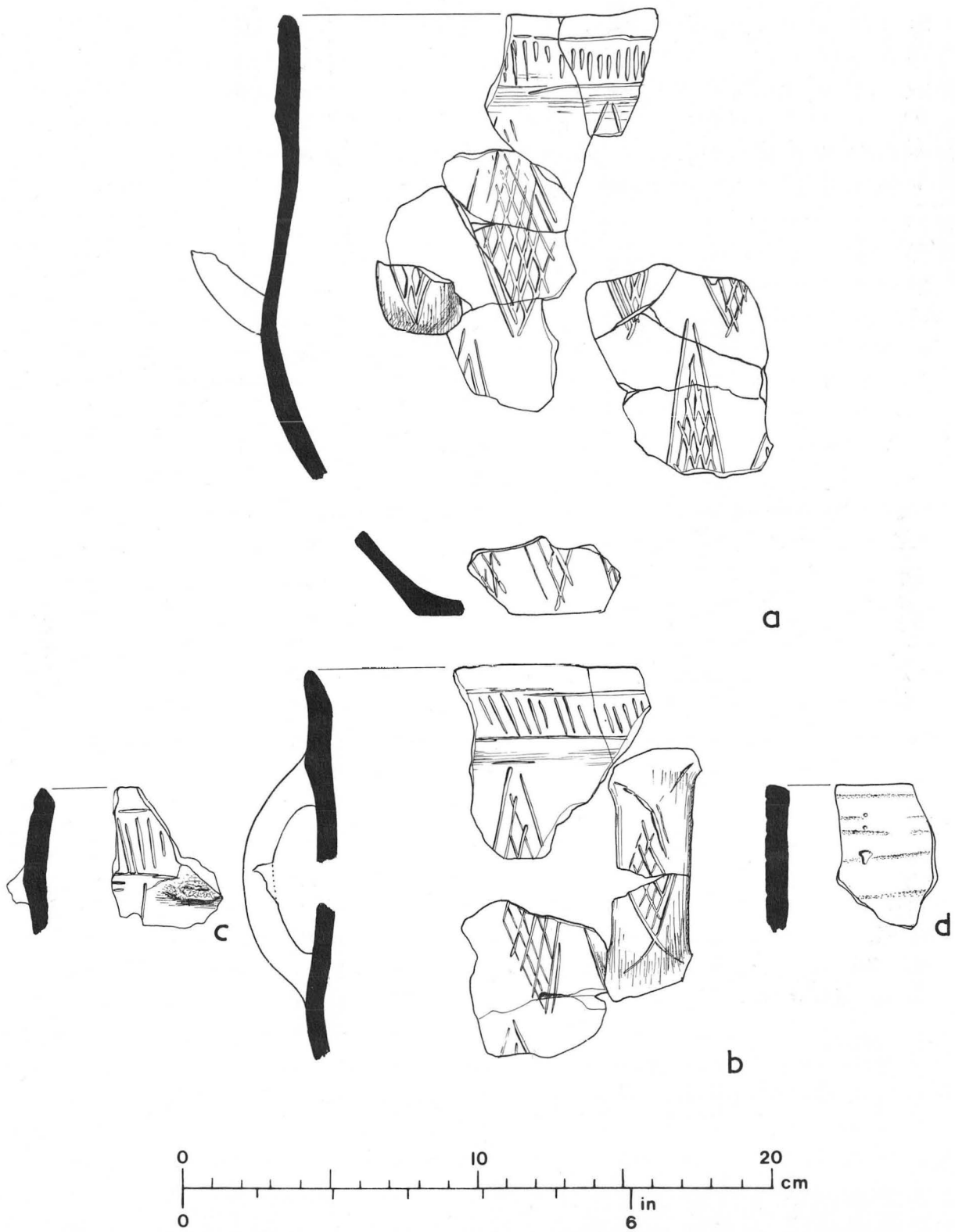


Fig. 40. Cottage Field, Wattisfield (Suffolk): Beaker pottery - incised ware. Scale 1:2.

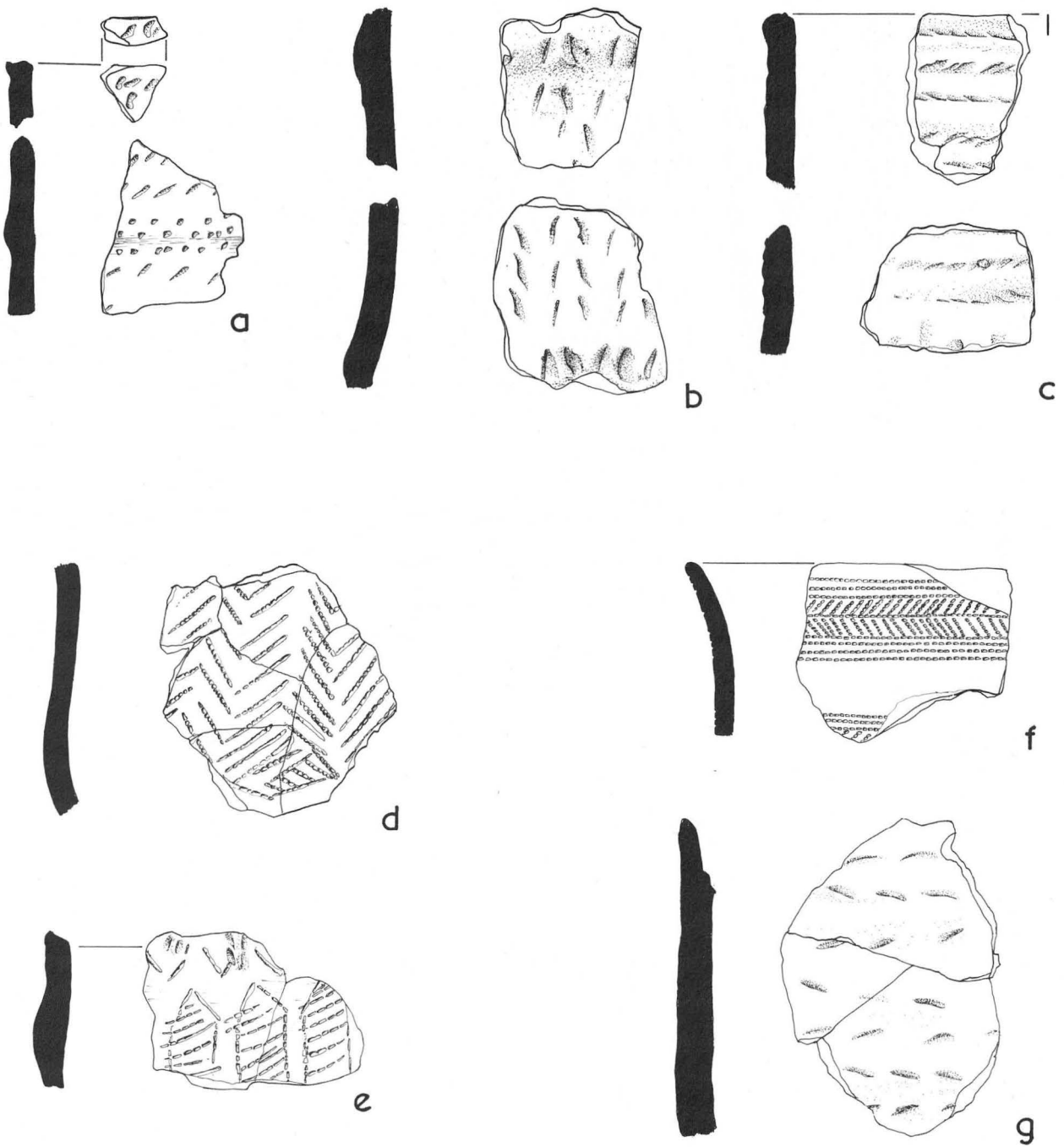


Fig.41. a-c Cottage Field, Wattisfield; d-e Neutral Farm, Butley; f-g Fakenham (Suffolk): Beaker pottery. Scale 1:2.

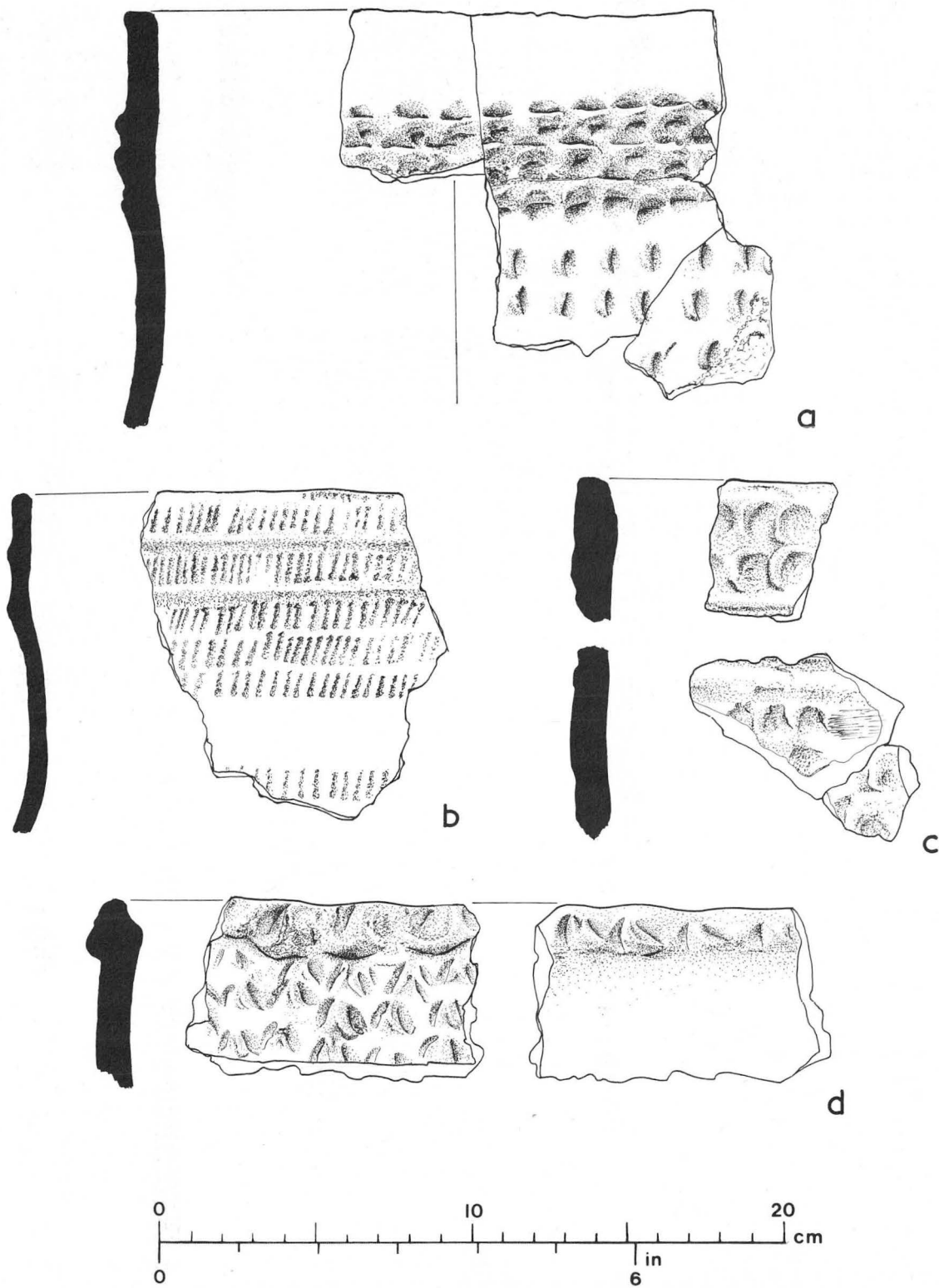


Fig. 42. a-b Martlesham Plantation; c-d Woolverstone Park (Suffolk):
Beaker pottery. Scale 1:2.

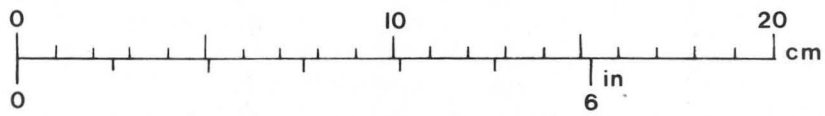
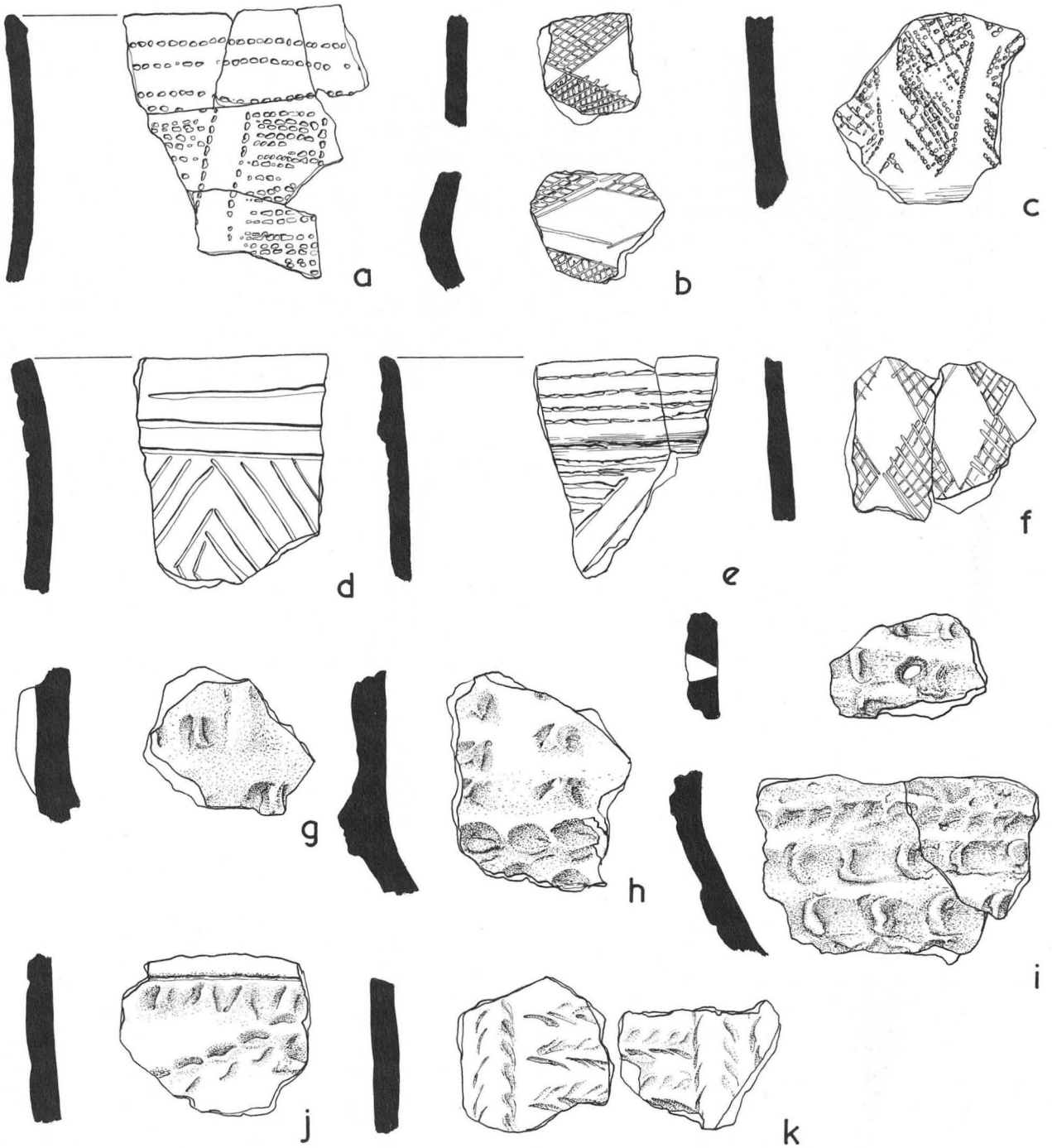
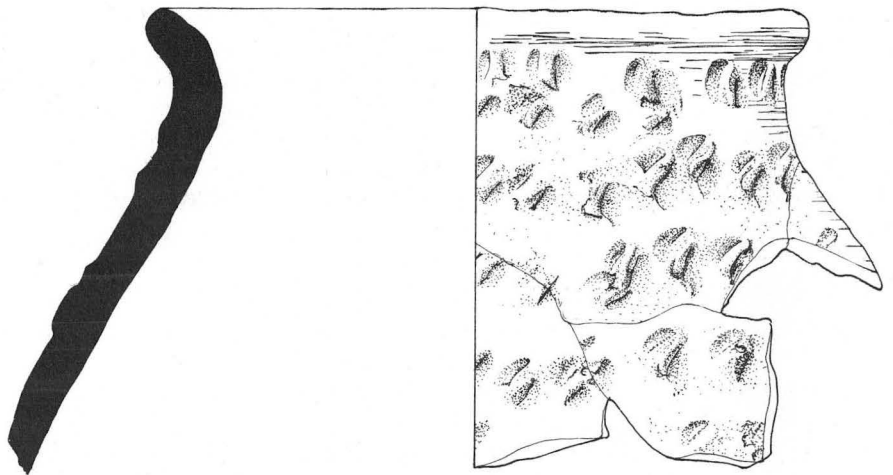


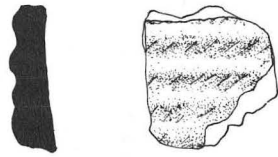
Fig.43. Reffley Wood (Norfolk): Beaker pottery. Scale 1:2.



a



b



c

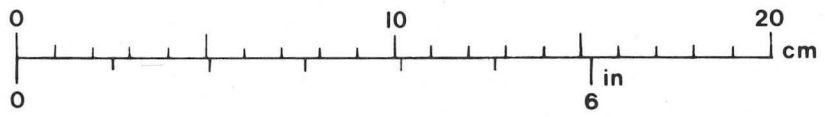


Fig.44. Witton (Norfolk): Beaker pottery. Scale 1:2.

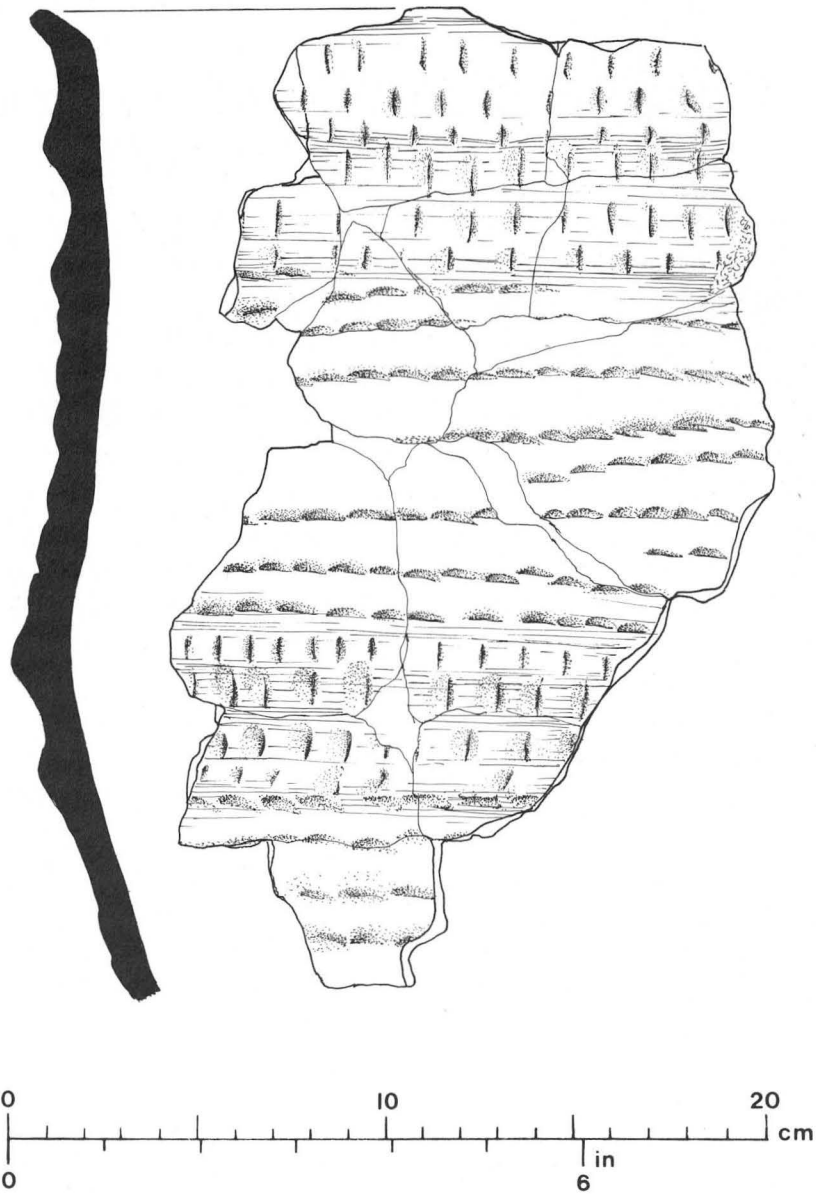


Fig.45. Hallsford (Essex): Rusticated beaker.
Scale 1:2.

Catalogue of Beaker Pottery from Hockwold Sites 93 and 63/69

The following is a purely descriptive catalogue, since classification of the majority of individual sherds into the sub-groups of Clarke's system is impractical. The sherds are, therefore, listed under types of decoration and motif. The method followed in sorting is described in the introduction to Part II:1. The lists for each site, especially that for 'The Oaks', where the pottery was more fragmentary, represent a maximum number of pots. Fabrics have not been analysed in detail, but are described briefly where they differ from the norm for the group.

Editor's note: Only a sample page of this Appendix is reproduced here in print; the complete text is on microfiche which accompanies this volume.

SITE 93

Beakers decorated with horizontal lines

P93.001 Rim/neck and shoulder sherds. Straight neck profile and pronounced shoulder. Neck and shoulder appear to be decorated entirely with horizontal lines impressed with a fine-toothed stamp, with a break in the decoration on the shoulder. $1/5$ in to $1/2$ in thick. Fig.1

P93.002 Part of rim; diam. 7 in. Straight neck profile with a raised cordon $1/2$ in below the rim. Decoration of horizontal lines above and below the cordon, rather carelessly impressed with a comb stamp. $1/5$ in thick, $3/8$ in thick at cordon. Fig.1

P93.003 Rim sherds; diam. approx. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Similar to P93.002, with raised cordon below the rim and decoration of horizontal impressed lines.

Beakers decorated with herring-bone design

Sherds of three beakers decorated with horizontal bands of herringbone decoration, comb impressed.

Sherds of four beakers decorated with horizontal bands of herringbone decoration, incised.

None of these sherds large enough for overall form and design to be determined.

Beakers decorated with 'ladder-pattern' design

P93.004 Sherds of Southern-type beaker. Neck with slightly convex curved profile. Shoulder rounded. Rim diam. approx. 6 in, shoulder approx. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Decoration in two bands, apparently identical, on neck and body, consisting of a zone of 'ladder-pattern' bordered by groups of horizontal lines above a fairly broad cross hatched zone. Comb impressed, the stamp evidently having been dragged in places. $1/5$ in to $1/4$ in thick. Fig.1

P93.005 Rim and neck sherds of Southern-type beaker. Diam. approx. 8 in. Zone of 'ladder-pattern' below rim and at base of neck. Decoration of the area in between is uncertain, but seems to include narrow undecorated zone. Comb impressed, the stamp having been dragged. $1/5$ in to $1/4$ in thick. Fig.1

Also sherds from up to eighteen vessels decorated with comb-stamped ladder pattern, and from up to twenty vessels with incised ladder pattern.

Beakers decorated with crescent-stamp impressions

P93.006 Rim sherds with slightly convex curved profile. Diam. $6\frac{1}{2}$ -7 in. Decor-

APPENDIX II:

Hockwold, Blackdyke Farm Area: Neolithic, Beaker and Related Sites and Finds

This list is based on records in Norwich Castle Museum up to 1967, with minor corrections. The site numbers are those used on the original record maps in the Castle Museum; the numbers which do not occur in the list have been used for sites of other periods. The underlined numbers are the county numbers of the Sites and Monuments Record.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>7. TL 69128775 <u>5308</u>
Surface find; sherds, including Beaker.
Curtis 1958</p> <p>9. TL 68438846 <u>5423</u>
Beaker sherds, including handled beaker and rusticated ware. Animal bone.
Norwich 95,960 Curtis 1960</p> <p>10. TL 68368860 <u>5423</u>
Beaker sherds, some rusticated.
Norwich 95,960 Curtis 1960/62</p> <p>11. TL 697873 <u>5378</u>
Copper or copper alloy knife with tongue-shaped blade and broad tang with single rivet hole.
Norfolk Archaeol. XXXI (1957), 397
Curtis</p> <p>13. TL 679880 <u>5337</u>
Southern Beaker and rusticated sherds. Fired clay lumps. Worked flints.
Norwich 229,960 Curtis 1960</p> <p>14. TL 67908762 <u>5318</u>
Sherds from single rusticated Beaker pot, nearly complete.
Norwich Curtis 1960</p> <p>15. TL 68008717 <u>5424</u>
Many Beaker sherds, some rusticated.
Curtis 1960</p> <p>16. TL 682879 <u>5337</u>
Surface scatter of bronze age (?) and Beaker rusticated sherds. Unfinished petit tranchet derivative.
Norwich 231,960 Curtis 1960</p> <p>17. TL 68478803 <u>5425</u>
Amber bead.
Bury St Edmunds Curtis</p> <p>18. TL 68628773 <u>5368</u>
Beaker sherds. Curtis</p> <p>19. TL 689874 <u>5374</u>
Bronze age sherds and hearth excavated.
Norwich 212,961 Curtis 1961</p> | <p>20. TL 68878715 <u>5365</u>
Bronze age sherds.
Norwich Curtis</p> <p>21. <u>5426</u>
Flint blade. Beaker (?) sherds.
Curtis</p> <p>22. TL 69308759 <u>5373</u>
Southern Beaker, including sherds of handled beaker and rusticated ware. Bone point. Worked flints. Animal bone.
Norwich 673,964 Curtis 1961/62</p> <p>23. TL 68668823 <u>5317/c.1</u>
Two hearths with Beaker sherds, including handled beaker. Worked flints, including two barbed-and-tanged arrowheads and a polished axe. Excavated.
Curtis 1962</p> <p>24. TL 68478823 <u>5317/c.1</u>
Beaker sherds, including handled beaker. Worked flints. Animal bone.
Curtis 1962</p> <p>25. TL 685883 <u>5317/c.2</u>
'Hut site'. Beaker sherds. Worked flints. Animal bone. Excavated.
Curtis 1962</p> <p>26. TL 68858703 <u>5427</u>
Polished flint axe or adze.
Banham 1963</p> <p>27. TL 69248734 <u>5428</u>
'End scraper' (?) of slate.
Curtis 1960</p> <p>28. TL 68698753 <u>5368</u>
Beaker sherds. Curtis 1960</p> <p>34. TL 68748836 <u>5433</u>
Broken leaf-shaped arrowhead.
Orange 1963</p> <p>37. TL 695899 <u>5219</u>
Surface scatter of pottery, including Beaker and bronze age sherds.</p> |
|---|--|

Appendix II

- Norwich Curtis 1963
41. TL 49408782 5437
Beaker sherds. Curtis
43. TL 69488765 5336
(103) Hornstone wrist guard, single hole at either end. Petrology No. N148.
Norwich L.1968.1 Curtis
104. TL 69608768 5335
Hornstone wrist guard, broken; three holes in surviving end. Petrology No. N149.
44. TL 69438762 5439
Sherds of single beaker (S4) with finger-pinned decoration round the base.
Flint axe. Animal bone.
Norwich Curtis
45. TL 69418753 5440
Beaker sherds. Flints, including axe and arrowheads. Curtis
46. Beaker rusticated sherds.
Curtis
48. TL 69468753 5309
Beaker sherds (S2 and S3). Animal bone, including beaver.
Norwich 122,960 Curtis
49. TL 69508752 5310
Sherds of Southern Beaker, some rusticated. Food Vessel and bronze age sherds. Flints. Animal bone.
Norwich 121,960; 670,974
Curtis
50. TL 69538755 5312
Sherds, including Beaker rusticated and bronze age pottery. Flints, including arrowheads.
Norwich 660,965 Curtis
51. TL 69638766 5311
Beaker and bronze age sherds. Flints.
Norwich 660,965 Curtis
52. TL 69628757 5441
Neolithic and rusticated Beaker sherds.
Curtis
53. TL 69628752 5442
Undecorated prehistoric sherds.
Curtis
54. TL 69338778 5443
Bone point. Curtis
55. TL 687881 5444
Neolithic and early bronze age sherds - possibly including Beaker.
Curtis
59. TL 69318778 5308
Beaker sherds. Flint arrowhead.
Human skull fragment. Animal bone.
Norwich 155,964 Curtis
60. TL 68638817 5317
A few Beaker sherds. Flints, including a petit tranchet derivative.
Animal bone.
- Norwich 672,964 Curtis
61. TL 69328776 5308/c.4
Southern Beaker sherds, including rusticated ware. Food Vessel sherds. Fired clay lumps. Worked flints. Two polished stone axes (Group VI) - Petrology Nos. N72, N79. Animal bone. Excavated.
Norwich 511,964 Curtis 1964
62. TL 69278779 5308/c.2
Hearth with single Southern Beaker sherd and barbed-and-tanged arrow-head. Excavated.
Norwich 670,964 Curtis 1964
63. TL 69258778 5308/c.1
Hearth with Southern Beaker sherds. Worked flints. Animal bone. Excavated.
Norwich 671,964 Curtis 1964
64. TL 69218801 5416
Two flint saddle querns.
Curtis
66. TL 69338775 5332
Two chalk-built hearths with sherds of bronze age pottery and one Beaker sherd. Worked flints. Bone points. Animal bone. Excavated.
Norwich 116,965 Curtis 1965
68. TL 69328775 5308/c.4
Continuation of site 61.
Norwich 205,965
69. TL 69268776 5308/c.3
Sherds of neolithic bowls, Southern Beaker and Food Vessel pottery. Fired clay lumps. Worked flints. Animal bone. Excavated.
Norwich 277,965 Curtis 1965
70. TL 682878 5320
Sherds of plain neolithic bowls. Flints, including broken leaf-shaped arrowhead.
Norwich 276,965 Curtis
71. TL 68578775 5321
Surface scatter of Beaker and bronze age sherds.
Norwich 428,965 Curtis
72. TL 68518762 5322
Surface scatter of neolithic (?), Beaker and bronze age sherds. Worked flints.
Norwich 429,965 Curtis
73. TL 68578774 5323
Flint dagger with polished edge.
75. TL 69408771 5364
Single sherd of Food Vessel.
Norwich 431,965 Curtis
77. TL 68578877 5319
Beaker sherds including rusticated ware.
Norwich 572,965 Curtis
78. TL 68698823 5317

- Barbed-and-tanged flint arrowhead.
Fletcher
79. TL 68428841 5326
Flint knife on flake of greater age.
Fletcher
80. TL 67378768 5329
Leaf-shaped flint arrowhead.
Fletcher
81. TL 69398781 5330
Barbed-and-tanged flint arrowhead.
Fletcher
82. TL 68518874 5331
Barbed-and-tanged flint arrowhead and
plano-convex knife. Fletcher
83. TL 69568790 5328
Flint knife. Fletcher
84. TL 69028985 5161
Two barbed-and-tanged flint arrow-
heads. Fletcher
85. TL 69108970 5174
Barbed-and-tanged flint arrowhead.
Fletcher
86. TL 68728908 5325
Flint 'fabricator'. Fletcher
87. TL 68718925 5327
Plano-convex knife. Fletcher
88. TL 69028938 5366
Tanged flint arrowhead. Fletcher
89. TL 68968954 5160
Leaf-shaped flint arrowhead.
Fletcher
90. TL 68958958 5160
Flint 'fabricator'. Fletcher
91. TL 68908950 5160
Plano-convex knife. Fletcher
92. TL 68928955 5160
Flint knife and two triangular arrow-
heads. Fletcher
93. TL 69418758 5324
'Floor' with Southern Beaker sherds.
Worked flints. Polished stone axe
(broken) - Petrology No. N117. Bone
points and 'spatula'. Animal bone.
Excavated.
Norwich 571,965 Curtis 1965
95. TL 69358771 5333
'Floor' with Southern Beaker sherds.
Worked flints. Animal bone. Excavat-
ed.
Norwich 334,967 Curtis
96. TL 69288767 5308/c.5
Southern Beaker sherds. Sherd of neo-
lithic bowl. Fired clay lumps. Worked
flints including polished axe. Excavat-
ed.
Norwich 209,967 Curtis
97. TL 69348770 5333
Southern Beaker sherds (some S4).
Fired clay lumps. Worked flints, in-
cluding leaf-shaped arrowhead.
Animal bone. Excavated.
Norwich 334,967 Curtis

Beaker Domestic Sites and Assemblages in Britain

This schedule lists Beaker domestic sites and assemblages of domestic type known in East Anglia, and those from elsewhere in Britain published up to 1969.

The number prefacing each entry may be used for cross reference with the distribution maps (Figs.8-10). Entries for Norfolk also give the Sites and Monuments Record county number.

References, including the Clarke corpus number and the present location of the material where known, are given at the end of each entry.

Avon

1. Burrington, Bos Swallet ST 47 59
Southern Beaker pottery (S2-S3) including handled vessels; a few sherds with pinched rustication.
Cave site. Finds associated with black soil containing charcoal - a disturbed deposit.
Taylor 1964; Clarke No.785-788;
Bristol U. Spelaeol. Soc.

Buckinghamshire

2. Saunderton, Lodge Hill SP 788004
A few European Beaker sherds; sherds with non-plastic rustication, chiefly 'crow's-foot' type. Flints.
In mound of round barrow. Sherd of Grooved Ware also found.
Head 1955, 51; Clarke No.45, 46;
Aylesbury.

Cambridgeshire

3. Chippenham Barrow I TL 685668
Southern Beaker pottery (S2?) including pinched and impressed sherds. Flints, chiefly scrapers - some burnt. Animal bone.
On old ground surface below barrow. Charcoal but no hearth recorded.
Leaf 1936; Clarke No.58, 59; Cambridge.
4. Chippenham Barrow V TL 679670
Southern Beaker pottery (S2) including handled vessels; rusticated sherds including some from large vessels with zoned plastic rustication. Flints, chief-

ly flakes and scrapers; a few micro-lithic points. Animal bone. Grain impression (Hulled barley).
Plentiful finds on old ground surface below barrow. Nine closely-spaced hearths - finds from each not exclusive. Date 1850 ± 150 bc (BM152).
Leaf 1940; Clarke No.62-65; Cambridge.

5. Peterborough, ?Fengate.
Southern Beaker pottery (S2-S3) including sherds with jabbed, pinched and zoned plastic rustication. A few flints. Bone pin. Animal bone. Numerous sherds.
Clarke No.636, 637 (Ascribed to America Farm, Newark); Peterborough (Wyman Abbott coll. Labelled 'Fengate').
6. Peterborough, Fengate.
Southern Beaker pottery (S2-S3) including sherds with impressed and pinched rustication. Lumps of fired clay. Flints - numerous flakes and cores. Bone point. Animal bone. Also later neolithic pottery.
Site on gravel promontary in fen. Series of pits, some filled with ash. Beaker material chiefly from one pit. Abbott 1910; Leeds 1922; Clarke No. 643-646; Institute of Archaeology, London.
7. Shippea Hill, Plantation Farm
TL 639849

Mostly Southern Beaker pottery (S2 and ?S4); a few European and Barbed-Wire Beaker sherds; sherds with finger-tip and finger-nail impressed decoration. Flints, chiefly scrapers. Animal bone. On surface of sandhill in fen and in surrounding peat. Two small hearths. Stratified above neolithic Mildenhall ware in peat.
Clark 1933; Clarke No.81-85; Cambridge.

Cumbria

8. Walney Island SO 18 74
All-Over-Corded Beaker pottery; sherds of several vessels, including 'crow's-foot' rusticated and undecorated ware. Flints. Animal bone. From shell midden on 25 ft beach. Extensive scatter of flints of later neolithic/Beaker type on old land surface, but little pottery.
Cross 1938, 1939, 1942; Clarke No. 415-417; Barrow-in-Furness.

Derbyshire

9. Stenson SK 32 30
Southern Beaker pottery (S3) including sherds with jabbed, impressed and 'crow's-foot' decoration. Fragments of burnt flint and bone. Hearth on ridge of old river gravel (Trent gravels). Exposed in gravel working.
Fowler 1953.
10. Swarkeston SK 365293
Southern Beaker pottery (S2?) including sherds with impressed and pinched rustication. Flints - chiefly scrapers. Also earlier neolithic sherds. On old ground surface below barrow. Series of pits, all less than 6 ft diam. Hearth. Post and stake holes including two adjoining rectilinear settings.
Greenfield 1960; Clarke No.150, 151; Derby.

Dorset

11. Christchurch, Latch Farm, Lower Close
Southern Beaker pottery (S2) including sherds with zoned plastic rustication. European Beaker (?) sherds. Two small groups of finds from gravel workings - probably domestic.
Calkin 1951, 45; Clarke No.313-319; Christchurch; Brit.Mus.
12. Holdenhurst SZ 13 95
Southern Beaker pottery (S2) including sherds with pinched rustication. Flints. From ditch of long barrow, stratified above earlier neolithic sherds.
Piggott S.1937; Clarke No.325-327; Christchurch.

13. Southbourne, Rowbury SZ 16 91
European Beaker pottery including sherds with 'crow's-foot' and jabbed rustication. Found during laying of water main. Probably a domestic group.
Calkin 1951, 62, Pl.1:c1 2, 5, 6; Clarke No.346, 347; Christchurch.
14. Tarrant Launceston, Crichel Down Barrow 11 ST 95 09
All-Over-Corded and European Beaker pottery including sherds with finger-tip and 'false-cord' rustication. From mound of round barrow and from small circular pit cut by barrow ditch.
Piggott S. & C.M. 1944, 54ff; Clarke No.198-200; Dorchester.
15. Winterbourne Monkton, Maiden Castle SY 669884
All-Over-Corded, European and Southern Beaker pottery (S2 or S3) including a few sherds with 'crow's-foot' rustication. Flints. Chiefly from upper fill of ditch of causewayed camp by eastern entrance. Stratified above earlier neolithic pottery.
Wheeler 1943; Clarke No.208-212; Dorchester.

Essex

16. Clacton, Lion Point (Jaywick Sands) TM 15 13
Barbed-Wire Beaker pottery including sherds with finger-tip impressed and 'crow's-foot' decoration, and at least one vessel with pinched ribs. Lumps of burnt clay. Flints. Animal bone. Submerged surface. Finds from pit 3 ft diam. x 1 ft deep. Earlier neolithic and Grooved Ware finds from same area.
Warren 1912; Warren et al.1936; Smith 1955; Clarke No.244-248; Brit. Mus.
17. Dovercourt TM 24 30
East Anglian Beaker pottery including sherds with non-plastic rustication. Lumps of fired clay. Flints - mostly waste and small cores, some burnt. Submerged surface. Occupation deposit approx. 30 ft diam. Earlier neolithic site nearby.
Warren 1912; Warren et al.1936; Clarke No.230, 231; Brit.Mus.
18. Shoebury TQ 95 85
East Anglian and Barbed-Wire Beaker pottery including sherds with non-plastic rustication and undecorated sherds.

- From gravel quarry; probably a domestic group.
Clark 1936, 20; Robertson-Mackay 1961; Clarke No.256-261; Colchester.
19. Southminster TO 95 99
Southern Beaker (?) sherds with zoned plastic rustication. Found during digging of railway cutting; probably a domestic group.
Clarke No.270, 271; Colchester.
20. Walton-on-the-Naze, Stone Point TM 25 21
East Anglian Beaker pottery including sherds with non-plastic rustication. Lumps of burnt clay. Large quantities of worked flint, mostly waste and small cores, some burnt.
Warren 1912; Warren *et al.* 1936; Clarke No.274; *Brit.Mus.*
- Gloucestershire
21. Barnwood SO 85 18
Northern British Middle Rhine (?) Beaker pottery including sherds with jabbed and pinched (ribbed?) rustication. A few flints including a triangular point with flat retouch.
Found during gravel digging, in a trench below topsoil, together with slag and burnt soil. Disturbed domestic deposit? Clifford 1964; Clarke No.277; Cheltenham.
- Humberside
22. Crosby Warren SE 87 12
All-Over-Corded Beaker sherds. Flints. Surface collection.
Riley 1957, 46, 51, Fig.6; Clarke No. 441-444; *Brit.Mus.*; Scunthorpe.
23. Flamborough Head, Beacon Hill TA 22 70
All-Over-Corded and European Beaker sherds. Flints - chiefly scrapers and flakes.
Site in hollow on sand and gravel hill. Finds associated with hearth and oval setting of posts. Stratified above Heselton and Ebbsfleet ware.
Moore 1966; Clarke No.1276-1278; Scarborough.
24. Garrowby Wold Barrow 32
Southern Beaker pottery (S2) including sherds with pinched rustication - total of seven vessels. A few flints. Animal bone.
On old ground surface below barrow. Mortimer 1905, 145f; Clarke No.1287, 1288; Hull.
25. Garrowby Wold Barrow 43
Southern Beaker pottery (S2) - about seven vessels - and small rectangular cup 2 in high, decorated with finger-tip rustication. Flints. Animal bone. Some Food Vessel sherds also.
On old ground surface below barrow; traces of hearth recorded.
Mortimer 1905, 148; Clarke No.1294, 1295; Hull.
26. Kirkburn, Garton Slack, Craike Hill SE 98 55
A few sherds All-Over-Corded and European Beaker pottery. Flints. Site on sand and gravel hill. Finds associated with pit dug through occupation layer containing Grimston and Mortlake ware.
Manby 1958; Clarke No.1307.
27. Manton Warren SE 93 03
All-Over-Corded Beaker pottery including sherds with finger-nail impressed decoration. Some sherds Southern Beaker pottery (S3?) also. Flints. Surface collection from small area. Similarly localised finds of Grooved Ware sherds from site 50 yds away. Riley 1957, 46, 49, fig.5; Clarke No. 454-458; *Brit.Mus.*; Scunthorpe; Lincoln.
28. Normanby Park SE 89 16
A few All-Over-Corded and undecorated Beaker sherds. Flints. Found with Ebbsfleet ware.
From sandpit. Finds associated with layer of dark coloured sand.
Riley 1957, 44, 53, fig.8; Clarke No. 459, 460; Scunthorpe.
29. Risby Warren SE 92 14
Mixed group of Beaker sherds, mostly Southern Beaker type (S3/4) including handled vessels and sherds with pinched and ribbed rustication; some All-Over-Corded, North British/North Rhine and Northern (N2) Beaker sherds. Burnt clay and 'daub'. Flints - chiefly flakes.
From a group of hearths and small pits, a mound (midden?) and an area of blackened sand.
Dudley 1949; Riley 1957; Clarke No. 464-475; *Brit.Mus.*; Scunthorpe; Cambridge.
- Lincolnshire
30. Ashby Puerorum TF 33 72
Southern Beaker pottery (S4) including sherds with plastic and ribbed rustication.
From group of small pits filled with blackened sand.
Riley 1957, 44; Clarke No.430-432; Lincoln.

31. Skendleby, Giant's Hills TF 43 69
Southern Beaker pottery (S2?). A few
flints. Bone 'spatula'. Small bronze
awl. Animal bone.
From ditch of neolithic long barrow, at
varying depths in secondary infill.
Some finds associated with hearth.
Traces of other hearths.
Phillips 1936; Clarke No.481, 482;
Brit.Mus.
- Norfolk
32. Edingthorpe 6899 TG 303307
Southern Beaker pottery (S4) including
sherds with rustication of all types.
Some European and East Anglian Beak-
er sherds also. Flints - chiefly
scrapers and a flaked discoidal knife.
Surface and excavated finds, associated
with extensive group of hearths, large
and small pits, and heaps of fire-
cracked flints ('pot boilers'),
Norfolk Archaeol.XXX (1952) 156;
Norfolk Archaeol.XXXI (1957) 34;
Piggott S.1954; Larwood G. and Turner
J.E. Ms. in Norwich Castle Mus;
Clarke No.526-531; Norwich.
33. Hockwold-cum-Wilton (see Appendix II)
TL 693877
Southern Beaker pottery (S2-S4) includ-
ing handled vessels and rusticated
beakers of all types. A few European,
East Anglian (?) and Northern Beaker
sherds also. Flints. Stone axe frag-
ments. Bone 'spatula' and pins.
'Sponge finger' stone. Animal bone.
Extensive group of occupation deposits
including hearths. Stake-hole settings
on at least two sites. Sherds of earlier
neolithic bowls, Food Vessel and bronze
age pottery also found.
Clarke No.553-558; Norwich.
34. Hoe 2786 RF 984171
Sherds of East Anglian Beaker pottery
(up to six vessels). Lumps of burnt
clay. Flints.
Deposit of flint 'pot boilers' up to 6 in
deep; one of a series on either side of
a tributary of the river Wensum.
Apling 1931; Clarke No.551, 552;
Norwich.
35. Kings Lynn, Reffley Wood 5489
TF 659219
Southern Beaker pottery (S4) including
handled vessels and all types of rusti-
cated beakers. Flints including cores
and a large number of flakes. Grain
impression (naked barley).
Large assemblage of domestic material,
partly sealed below a barrow. Deposit
- much disturbed. Several hearths, some
probably domestic, others apparently
associated with cremations. One pit.
Clarke No.578-582; Brit.Mus.
36. Kings Lynn, South Wootton Lane 5497
TF 641221
Southern Beaker pottery (S3 or S4). A
few sherds, including some with zoned
plastic rustication.
Found during cutting of sewer trench,
associated with a layer of blackened
soil.
Clarke No.561, 562; Kings Lynn.
37. Methwold 2532 TL 697957
Southern Beaker pottery (S3), including
sherds with pinched and impressed
decoration. A few All-Over-Corded
and European Beaker sherds also.
Lumps of burnt clay. Flints, some
burnt.
Large surface scatters, associated with
patches of sand above chalk outcrops in
fen peat.
Kings Lynn.
38. Quidenham, Overa Heath 6004-5
TL 992883
A few East Anglian and Barbed-Wire
Beaker sherds including some with jab-
bed decoration. Flints - chiefly scrap-
ers, flakes and cores. From a layer
of 'pot boilers' 6 in deep, one of a
series of deposits associated with
water-filled pits, some of which were
apparently deepened artificially.
Apling 1931; Clarke No.573-576;
Norwich.
39. Runcton Holme 2397 TF 617091
Southern Beaker pottery (S2 or 3) in-
cluding sherds with finger-tip impres-
sed decoration. A few East Anglian
Beaker sherds also.
Found during gravel digging on a low
gravel promontary above the fen.
Possible domestic group.
Clarke No.1934; Cambridge.
40. Stoke Ferry, River Wissey 2523
TL 688972
Southern Beaker pottery (S2-S4) includ-
ing sherds of handled vessels and
sherds with pinched rustication. Some
Northern Beaker (N2) sherds also, and
sherds of Food Vessel. Part of flint
sickle or dagger. Fragments of burnt
flint.
Assemblage dredged from river bed.
Presumably from domestic site.
Antiquity II (1928) 231; Clarke No.
585-594; Cambridge.
41. Stowbridge, Runcton Holme, Ludding-

- ton's gravel pit 2405 TF 60 06
Southern Beaker pottery (S3) - about forty sherds including a large vessel with zoned rustication. Northern Beaker sherds found separately. Flints. From gravel pit. Mostly found in excavation following removal of a tree stump.
Brit.Mus.Quarterly XI (1937) 192; Clarke No.611, 612; Brit.Mus; Norwich.
42. Thetford 5747 TL 875828
A few Southern Beaker sherds. Flint flakes and a barbed-and-tanged arrow-head.
Found during excavation of interior of iron age earthwork.
Clarke No.619; Norwich.
43. Thornham 1308 TF 726425
A few sherds of comb- and finger-tip impressed Beaker pottery. Flint scrapers. Sealed below rampart of earthwork of AD first century.
Norwich.
44. Weasenham All Saints, Weasenham Lyngs North Barrow 3660
TF 85421970
Developed European Beaker pottery including sherds with finger-nail impressed decoration. Approx. 700 fired clay lumps, many with cylindrical rod impressions. Flints, some burnt. From barrow mound and three well defined deposits on surface below the barrow.
Petersen 1974.
45. Witton, Park Farm 1009, 6938, 6949, 6950, 6969, 6972, 7028, 12548
TG 330320
East Anglian Beaker pottery including sherds with pinched and ribbed rustication. European and Southern Beaker pottery also.
Surface finds on ploughsoil. Pits.
Norwich.
- Northumberland
46. Ross Links NU 14 37
All-Over-Corded and European Beaker pottery including sherds with 'crow's-foot' rustication. Flints.
Numerous surface finds from old ground surface among coastal dunes.
Brewis and Buckley 1928; Clarke No. 699-702; Newcastle.
- Oxfordshire
47. Cassington SP 45 10
Southern Beaker pottery (S4 ?) including sherds with non-plastic rustication and one with ribbed rustication. A few flints.
- From two small pits, approx. 400 yds from Beaker cemetery.
Peterborough-ware sherds found nearby.
Leeds 1938, 15; Case et al. 1965, 59ff; Clarke No.724-726; Ashmolean.
- Somerset
48. Brean Down ST 29 55
All-Over-Corded and European Beaker pottery stratified below Southern Beaker pottery, including sherd with pinched rustication. Flints. Animal bone. Stratified in talus against cliff. Both deposits contained charcoal.
ApSimon et al. 1961; Clarke No.782, 783.
49. Charterhouse, Gorsey Bigbury ST 49 55
Southern Beaker pottery (S2-S3) including sherds of handled beaker and sherds with impressed, pinched and zoned rustication. Large number of flints, including many scrapers; also several microlithic points. Bone pins and needles. Animal bone. Grain impression (naked barley).
Circular 'henge'-type earthwork, with rock-cut ditch inside rampart and single causeway entrance. Finds chiefly from ditch, associated with tips of discoloured soils and charcoal at all levels in ditch infill.
Jones and Grimes 1938; ApSimon 1951; Clarke No.800-809; Bristol U.Speleol.Soc.
50. Nettlebridge, Cockleswood Cave SO 646 486
Southern Beaker pottery (S3) including sherds with pinched-rib rustication. A few flints. Animal bone, some of it broken or cut. Grooved-Ware sherds also.
Two caves, one above the other. The upper cave contained two human skeletons and Beaker rusticated sherds. The lower contained small amounts of domestic material and charcoal (hearth?).
Hickling and Seaby 1951; Clarke No. 813,814; Taunton.
51. Rowberrow ST 45 58
Southern Beaker pottery (S3). Also sherds of Peterborough ware.
Cave site. Small amounts of pottery found together in disturbed deposit.
Taylor 1925.
- Suffolk
52. Bury St Edmunds, Gainsborough Road
Southern Beaker pottery (S3 ?) including sherds with jabbed and pinched zoned

- rustication. Flint flakes including one scraper.
Small assemblage from a pit 3 ft diam. x 2 ft 6 in deep, filled with black soil and charcoal and dug in boulder clay. Edwardson 1958; Clarke No.863-865; Bury St Edmunds.
53. Great Bealings, 'The Rookery'
TM 23 48
East Anglian and Barbed-Wire Beaker pottery including undecorated vessels and sherds with 'crow's-foot' and 'false-cord' decoration. Lumps of burnt clay, one with grain impressions. Flints. Sherds of earlier neolithic bowls and Grooved Ware also. From mound excavated by Major E.C. Moor. No record of any stratigraphy or of any features. Clarke No.896; Ipswich.
54. Butley, Neutral Farm TM 37 51
Southern Beaker pottery (S3-S4) including sherds with finger-nail impressed, pinched and ribbed rustication. Flints. Series of hearths found after deep ploughing - pottery from each not exclusive. Site in field overlooking a creek. Maynard 1950; Clarke No.867-869; Ipswich.
55. Eriswell, Foxhole Heath, Blacksmith Land Pit TL 739775
A few East Anglian Beaker sherds. Many flints and 'pot boilers' found nearby. Finds associated with patch of black soil in plough. Clarke No.880; Mildenhall.
56. Lakenheath, Joist Fen TL 693855
Southern Beaker pottery (S1 or S2) including sherds with finger-tip impressed, pinched and zoned rustication. East Anglian Beaker pottery also. Small, cylindrical piece of fired clay with longitudinal hole. Flints, including part of a rectangular polished knife. Sherds Grooved ware and Food Vessel also. Surface finds from above four sandhills in the peat. Briscoe 1964; Clarke No.925-928; Mildenhall.
57. Lakenheath, Maids Cross Hill ('Sahara') TL 727826
Southern Beaker pottery (S2-S3) including handled beaker sherds and sherds with pinched and zoned plastic rustication. Northern Beaker (N2) sherds also. Flints including barbed-and-tanged arrowheads. Site on sandy waste. Series of pits and hearths excavated, mostly of iron age or Roman date. Beaker material was associated with two hearths. Briscoe 1949; Clarke No.931-933; Mildenhall.
58. Lakenheath, New Fen TL 706852
Southern Beaker pottery (S2) including sherd with ribbed decoration. Flints, including a few microliths; burnt flint. Animal bone. Small assemblage; surface finds on sandhill in fen. Briscoe 1964; Clarke No.923; Mildenhall.
59. Lakenheath, Rabbit Hill TL 718840
Southern Beaker pottery (S2-S3) including sherds possibly from a bowl form, sherds with impressed rustication and some from a large beaker with zoned plastic rustication. Flints. Fragments of animal teeth. Shells. From conical pit 4 ft x 4½ ft x 2½ ft with intensely black fill containing some charcoal, dug in sand. Briscoe 1960; Clarke No.929, 930; Mildenhall.
60. Lakenheath, Right Up Drove TL 715861
Southern (?) Beaker pottery including sherds with finger-tip impressed, pinched and zoned plastic rustication. Flints. Surface finds in ploughsoil above sandhill in fen peat. Briscoe 1964; Clarke No.924; Mildenhall.
61. Martlesham Plantation TM 23954625
Southern Beaker pottery (S4) including sherds with finger-nail impressed, pinched and zoned plastic rustication. A few flints. From four hearths excavated in shallow depression in sand subsoil. Maynard and Spencer 1948; Clarke No. 935, 936; Ipswich.
62. Martlesham Heath Barrow I TM 25514530
Barbed-Wire Beaker including undecorated sherds and sherds with finger-nail impressed decoration. Flints. From old ground surface below barrow. 40% of sherds from small pit. Martin 1975.
Barrow II TM 25514530
Barbed-Wire and some East Anglian Beaker pottery including sherds with finger-nail impressed decoration and

- undecorated sherds. Fired clay lumps. Flints.
From old ground surface below barrow. One possible post hole.
Martin 1976.
Barrow III TM 25494529
Barbed-Wire Beaker pottery including sherds with finger-nail impressed and finger-pinched rustication and undecorated sherds. Fired clay lumps. Flints. From old ground surface below barrow. Three shallow features within area enclosed by ring-ditch; two groups of three post holes beyond ditch.
Ibid.
63. Mildenhall, Fifty Farm TL 65 76
Southern Beaker pottery (S3-S4) including handled beaker and sherds of rusticated beakers of all types. Lumps of fired clay and 'daub'. Flints, some burnt, including barbed-and-tanged arrowheads and petit tranchet derivatives. Animal bone. Sherds of Food Vessel also.
Numerous finds from greyish layer, 26 ft diam. and 6 in thick. Site on sandhill overlying chalk in fen peat. Some Beaker sherds from a pit on another sandhill at Hayland House, $\frac{1}{4}$ mile to north-west. Date 1850 \pm 150 bc (BM 133).
Leaf 1935; Clarke No.911-914; Brit. Mus; Cambridge.
64. Wattisfield, Cottage Field TM 022746
Southern Beaker pottery (S4) including handled beaker and sherds with rustication - mostly non-plastic. Flints. Numerous finds, chiefly from black layer above and partly subsided into a deep natural (?) shaft in the chalk. A pit containing clean, plastic clay seen in section. Site on heavy boulder clay soil. Date 1560 \pm 150 bc (BM 77).
Proc.Suffolk Inst.Archaeol.XXVII (1961) 117; Robertson-Mackay 1961; Clarke No.955-957; Ipswich.
65. Woolverstone Park TM 19 38
Southern Beaker pottery (S4?) including sherds with zoned plastic rustication. Circumstances of find not recorded. Described as habitation site.
Clark 1931b, 369, figs. 22, 23; Clarke No.962-965; Ipswich.
- Sussex
66. Beddingham, Itford Hill TO 447053
Southern Beaker pottery (?) including sherds with pinched rustication, some possibly zoned. Quern fragments.
Animal and human bone.
Small pit partly cut by features of later settlement. A few finds only.
Burstow and Holleyman 1957, 175.
67. Birling Gap, Belle Tout TV 557956
East Anglian Beaker pottery including sherds with 'crow's-foot' and 'false-cord' decoration. Flints.
Two intersecting rectangular earthworks. The larger (area c.1 acre) enclosed remains of at least five structures.
Bradley 1970; Toms 1912; Clarke No. 984; Lewes.
68. Brighton, Whitehawk TQ 331048
European Beaker pottery including sherds with jabbed and 'crow's-foot' decoration. A few flints. Animal bone. Neolithic causewayed camp. Beaker finds from pit and adjacent hearth and stratified above earlier neolithic pottery in ditch nearby.
Curwen 1934; Clarke No.1009-1011; Brighton.
- Wiltshire
69. Alton Priors, Knap Hill SU 122636
Southern Beaker pottery (S4?) - sherds from seven or eight vessels.
Neolithic causewayed camp. Beaker finds from upper infill of ditch, stratified above earlier neolithic pottery.
Connah 1965; Clarke No.1028, 1029; Devizes.
70. Avebury G.55
Southern Beaker pottery including sherds with pinched rustication: All-Over-Corded and European Beaker sherds also. Flints. Animal bone. Larger quantity of Ebbsfleet, Fengate and Grooved Ware, and some earlier neolithic pottery.
On old ground surface below barrow. A cluster of pits, of which seven can be attributed to Beaker occupation. Finds also plentiful in ploughsoil around barrow.
Smith 1965b.
71. Bulford Down
Southern Beaker pottery (two sherds) and a bone point.
From small pit.
Wiltshire Archaeol.Natur.Hist.Mag. XLIII (1927) 350. Devizes.
72. Collingbourne Kingston, Snail Down SU 218522
Southern Beaker pottery (S2?) including sherds with pinched rustication. One sherd of Grooved Ware also.
Old ground surface below Barrows 9-13.

- ?Some stake holes associated.
Thomas and Thomas 1956.
73. Downton ST 180211
All-Over-Corded and European (?)
Beaker pottery including sherds with
jabbed and finger-nail impressed dec-
oration. A few flints. Animal bone.
Site in hollow on sand and gravel ter-
race. Beaker finds associated with
hearth, pits and post holes. Alongside
site producing 'Peterborough' ware.
Rahtz 1962; Clarke No.1096-1098;
Salisbury.
74. Martin Down
Southern Beaker pottery (S3?) including
sherds with finger-tip impressed rusti-
cation. Flints. Animal bone.
Occupation on site of and predating
bronze age enclosure. Beaker finds
from lower fill of enclosure ditch, from
below rampart and from two small pits
within enclosure.
Pitt-Rivers 1898 Vol.IV, 185-204;
Clarke No.1123, 1124; Farnham.
75. Winterbourne Monkton, Windmill Hill
SU 087714
Southern Beaker pottery (S2-S4) includ-
ing handled beaker and sherds with
pinched and zoned plastic rustication.
A few All-Over-Corded and European
Beaker sherds also. Lumps of burnt
clay. Flints.
Neolithic causewayed camp. Beaker
finds from upper fill of ditches, strati-
fied above earlier neolithic pottery, and
from pits near the ditches.
Smith 1965a; Clarke No.1055-1060;
Devizes.
76. Winterslow, Easton Down SU 23 35
Southern Beaker pottery (S2) including
sherds with pinched rustication. Euro-
pean and Wessex/Middle Rhine Beaker
pottery also.
Extensive site near flint mines. Two
areas excavated, each consisting of
large pits, often surrounded by stake
holes, smaller pits and hearths.
Southern Beaker pottery predominated
in Area A, European Beaker pottery
in Area B.
Stone 1931, 1933, 1935; Clarke No.
1198-1120; Brit.Mus; Salisbury.
- Yorkshire
77. Barby Howe 11 NZ 82 13
A few Beaker sherds including All-
Over-Corded pottery and several with
'crow's-foot' rustication.
Associated with cluster of shallow pits
below ploughed-out round barrow.
- Ashbee and ApSimon 1958; Clarke No.
1235, 1236; Whitby.
78. Helmsley, Antofts Windypit
All-Over-Corded Beaker and undecora-
ted sherds. A few flints. Animal bone.
Fissure cave. Finds associated with
hearth.
C14 determination 1800 \pm 150 bc
(BM 62).
Hayes and Rutter 1965; Clarke No.
1222-1227; Scarborough.
79. Helmsley, Ashberry Windypit
Sherds of at least six All-Over-Corded
and European Beaker vessels, one
decorated with circle-stamped impres-
sions. A few flints. Animal bone.
Fissure cave. Most of finds associated
with a thin layer of charcoal and burnt
stone in fill.
Ibid; Clarke No.1228-1233.
80. Helmsley, Bucklands Windypit
A few All-Over-Corded Beaker sherds.
Several flints. Much animal bone.
Fissure cave. Beaker pottery associa-
ted with two of a series of hearths and
piles of animal bone in several inter-
connecting fissures.
Ibid; Clarke No.1251.
- Wales
- Anglesey
81. Newborough Warren SH 396645
All-Over-Corded Beaker pottery in-
cluding sherds with cardium impressed
and 'crow's-foot' decoration; numerous
undecorated sherds, and two Southern
Beaker sherds. Flints, including
cores, flakes and 'pot boilers'.
From shell mounds and dunes.
Griffiths 1956, 1957; Clarke No.1823-
1826; Bangor.
- Glamorgan
82. Llanmadoc, Sprintsail Tor SS 43 93
Sherds of a single Southern Beaker (S3),
and a smoothed shale pebble.
From a hearth in one of a series of
shell mounds against cliffs.
Penniman 1932; Griffiths 1957; Clarke
No.1859; Cardiff.
- Scotland
- Dumfries and Galloway
83. Lockerbie, Kirkburn NY 13 81
All-Over-Corded Beaker pottery in-
cluding sherds with 'crow's-foot' rusti-
cation. Flints, chiefly waste, many
burnt.
Finds associated with six small pits
and ? with scattered stake holes. Other
features on site associated with ear-
lier neolithic pottery, and there was a

- later flat cemetery.
Cormack 1963; Clarke No.1615, 1616.
84. Luce Sands - Burnt Dune, Stone Kirk, Pin Dune and Torrs Warren
All-Over-Corded and European Beaker pottery including sherds with cardium-impressed, finger-nail impressed and pinched rustication; undecorated sherds also. Flints. Many other types of prehistoric pottery also.
Unstratified finds from several sites among the dunes.
Callander 1929, 66; Scott 1951, 73; McInnes 1964; Clarke No.1805-1821; Edinburgh NMA; Hunterian; Kelvingrove; Dumfries; Cambridge.
- Fife
85. Leuchars, Brackmont NO 45 21
All-Over-Corded and European Beaker pottery, including undecorated sherds and one with cardium-impressed decoration.
Surface finds from fields.
Longworth et al.1967; Clarke No.1958; St Andrews
86. Leuchars, Tentsmuir NO 47 24
All-Over-Corded Beaker pottery including a few sherds with finger-nail impressed decoration.
Chiefly surface finds from sand bunkers; sites fairly closely grouped.
Ibid; Ritchie 1929; Clarke No.1661; St Andrews; Aberley Hist.Soc.
- Highland
87. Ardnamurchan, Sanna Bay
NM 44 68
A few All-Over-Corded Beaker sherds. Flint and basalt flakes and implements. Finds from lower of two 'occupation' layers in shell midden.
Lethbridge 1927; Mitchell 1934, 146; Clarke No.1527, 1528; Cambridge.
88. Freswick Sands NO 36 67
European Beaker pottery including coarse sherds. Some Grooved Ware also.
From coastal dune.
Scott 1951, 73; Clarke No.1607, 1608; Edinburgh.
89. Skye, Rudh 'an Dunain Cave
A few Northern Beaker sherds. Stone working debris.
From floor of small cave at 100 ft beach level.
Scott 1934; Clarke No.1675, 1676; Edinburgh.
- Lothian
90. Gullane, Archerfield Estate
NT 50 85
All-Over-Corded and European Beaker pottery; also Northern (N3) and Southern (S2) Beaker sherds and one sherd with 'crow's-foot' decoration. Flints. Bone 'spatula' and pin. Animal bone. Grain impression (naked barley). Two small patches of blackened sand, approx. 12 ft x 9 ft, close together on shell mound above raised beach; a third site produced most of the Northern Beaker sherds.
Curle 1908; Clarke No.1617-1622; Edinburgh.
91. Dunbar, Hedderwick NT 64 80
All-Over-Corded Beaker including sherds with finger-nail impressed and 'crow's-foot' decoration. Sherds of late neolithic pottery also. Flints. Wind-eroded site on south bank of Tyne estuary. 250 yds x 30 yds in area.
Callander 1929, 35; Clarke No.1627-1629; Edinburgh; Brit.Mus.
92. North Berwick, 'Tusculum'
All-Over-Corded and European Beaker pottery including undecorated sherds and one with finger-nail impressed decoration. Flint and stone implements and flakes. Bone point and 'spatulae'. Animal bone. Grain impression (naked barley).
Quantity of finds from two large, thick shell middens 30 yds apart. One contained a well-defined hearth. Very similar material from both.
Cree 1908; Clarke No.1639-1644; Edinburgh.
- Strathclyde
93. Coll
All-Over-Corded Beaker pottery. Coastal site on west shore of island.
Mitchell 1934, 46; Clarke No.1535-1540; Kelvingrove.
94. Irwine Bay, Shewalton Sands
All-Over-Corded Beaker pottery. Coastal site.
Proc.Soc.Ant.Scot. LXVIII (1933) 179; Scott 1951, 73; Clarke No.1568, 1569; Edinburgh.
95. Tiree
All-Over-Corded Beaker pottery and sherds with circle-stamp decoration. Site on western shore of island.
Beveridge 1903; Mitchell 1934, 146; Clarke No.1554; Kelvingrove.
- Western Isles
96. South Harris, Northton NF 9769 13
Northern Beaker pottery (N2, N3) including large undecorated vessel and a few sherds with finger-nail impressed

and 'crow's-foot' decoration. A few flints. Many bone and antler points, several bone 'spatulae' and comb stamps.

Coastal site amongst dunes. Two separate stratified deposits in shell midden, above earlier neolithic occupation level. Earlier Beaker deposits associated with stone-built enclosure and light timber structure.

Simpson 1966, 1976.

Ireland

Co. Dublin

97. Dalkey Island Site V

All-Over-Corded, European and Southern Beaker pottery (S3, S4 - tending to distinctive Irish variant) including sherds of two vessels with pinched rustication, one possibly zoned.

Lumps of burnt 'daub'. Flints, including numerous cores.

Widespread and plentiful Beaker and earlier finds from distinct black layer. Beaker finds associated in particular with shell midden which contained hearths, stratified above earlier neolithic deposit.

Southern Beaker pottery stratified above All-Over-Corded and European Beaker material.

De Paor 1961; Liversage 1968; Clarke No. 1892-1895.

Co. Limerick

98. Knockadoon, Lough Gur

European (?) Beaker pottery including undecorated sherds and a few with finger-nail impressed and 'crow's-foot' decoration. Flints. Bone 'spatulae'. Multi-phase settlement. Beaker material cannot be related to any structure, but is roughly stratified in relation to neolithic and bronze age features.

O'Riordain 1954; Clarke No. 1905-1917.

99. Rockbarton Bog

European (?) Beaker pottery including undecorated sherds and two sherds with finger-nail impressed decoration and part of a large vessel with impressed decoration. A few fragments of flint, some burnt.

Three small deposits, of which two at least are hearths, one built up with stones. Site in peat.

Mitchell and O'Riordain 1943; Clarke No. 1920-1923.

SCHEDULE OF POSSIBLE BEAKER DOMESTIC SITES AND ASSEMBLAGES IN BRITAIN

In this section are listed domestic sites

where the pottery was too small in quantity and too fragmentary for the type to be identified with certainty, sites which have been published in note form only and of which the writer has no first-hand information, and finds whose domestic character is in doubt.

Bedfordshire

100. Dunstable Downs TL 00 19

Beaker and rusticated sherds.

From cave.

Thomas N. 1964, 27; Bedford.

Buckinghamshire

101. Hitcham

Beaker sherds and some later pottery.

?Associated with pits 3 ft - 7 ft deep, 14 ft - 20 ft diam., surrounded by settings of inward-leaning stakes. Date uncertain.

Copley 1958, 63.

Cambridgeshire

102. Shippea Hill, Burnt Fen

Sherds with finger-nail impressed and jabbed rustication. Two antler butts, perforated as sockets.

From pit.

Edwardson 1966.

Cornwall

103. Gwithian SW 59 1423

A few sherds of European (?) Beaker pottery including undecorated sherds. Most of the pottery is of later neolithic/early bronze age type, probably with Beaker affinities.

Site in sand dunes. Circular hut defined by post holes.

Megaw 1961, 1976; Clarke No. 99.

Derbyshire

104. Earl Sterndale, High Wheeldon Cave

SK 10 66

A few sherds Beaker pottery, including some with finger-nail and circle-stamp impressions.

Domestic occupation layer at cave entrance. Predominantly later neolithic, not Beaker.

Jackson 1951.

Dorset

105. Handley Hill

Beaker (Wessex/Middle Rhine?) sherds including some with finger-tip impressed and 'false-cord' decoration. Flints. Burnt sandstone. Animal and human bone.

Mostly from four shallow pits of varying size around Roman earthwork.

Pitt-Rivers 1898 Vol. IV, 49f, Pl. 247.

Essex

106. Pledgdon Sand Pit TL 56 26

- Sherds with finger-nail impressions.
From pit. Discovered in sand digging.
Warren 1945, 154f; Clarke No.253;
Brit.Mus.
- Isle of Wight
107.Arreton Down SZ 54 86
A few Beaker sherds, some with finger-nail rustication. Mortlake ware.
Occupation surface sealed below a barrow. Finds chiefly non-Beaker.
Alexander *et al.* 1960; Clarke No.376, 377; Carisbrooke.
- Greater London
108.Mortlake TQ 20 75
Beaker sherds including some All-Over-Corded (?) type. Mortlake ware. Flints. Human bone.
All from same layer, sealed below calcareous deposit in bed of River Thames.
Smith R. in Abbott 1910, 340.
- Norfolk
109.Bircham Tofts 3521 TF 77 31
Beaker sherds, comb-impressed and with 'crow's-foot' rustication. Flint flakes and burnt flint.
From round barrow.
Norwich.
- 110.Grimston Heath 2333 TF 75 22
A few Beaker sherds, comb impressed and with pinched rustication. Burnt flint, and one flint flake.
Surface find.
- 111.Heacham 1416 TF 674367
Beaker sherds, some with pinched rustication and some undecorated. Flint flakes.
Extensive scatter excavated.
Norfolk Archaeol. XXXI (1957); Clarke No.547, 548; Norwich; Kings Lynn.
- 112.Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Grange Farm 5316 TL 70 88
Beaker and ? Iron Age sherds. Flints, including a barbed-and-tanged arrowhead. Animal bone.
Cluster of small pits in chalk. One contained several stakes lying in fill.
Site approx. one mile from Blackdyke Farm sites.
Salway 1967 Figs.4, 5, 12; Clarke No. 559.
- 113.Stanford, Buckenham Tofts 5087 TL 83 95
Flints: later neolithic/early bronze age-type assemblage. Possibly Beaker. Series of 'pot-boiler' deposits.
Layard 1922.
- 114.Weeting, Grimes Graves 5640 TL 817897
A few sherds of finger-pinched and undecorated pottery.
From flint mine area: floor 16, below hearth.
Peake 1917; Piggott S.1954, 43f; Clarke No.625; Norwich.
- Oxfordshire
115.Hanborough, City Farm SP 43 11
Beaker sherds, including some with 'crow's-foot' and jabbed rustication. A few flints.
From ditch of Class I 'Henge', dated 1510 \pm 65 bc (GRN 1685).
Case *et al.* 1965; Clarke No.752.
- Staffordshire
116.Ilam, Castern SK 125528
Sherds, including some of at least one beaker. Sandstone quern. Many flints. Round piece of 'red pigment'. Animal bone.
Bateman 1861, 169; Clarke No.835?
- 117.Wetton, Three Lowes
Numerous sherds of Beaker (?) pottery. Flints, including dagger and barbed-and-tanged arrowhead. Antler.
From barrow mound. Some at least is probably residual domestic.
Ibid. 167; Clarke No.838-840?
- Somerset
118.Cheddar, Sun Hole ST 46 53
Approx. 100 sherds of Southern (?) Beaker and late neolithic pottery, including some with finger-tip impressed decoration. Flints. Bone point.
Tratman and Henderson 1928; Clarke No.795; Bristol U.Spelaeol.Soc.
- Suffolk
119.Barton Mills, Beacon Hill Barrow TL 71 73
Beaker and Food Vessel sherds. Flints. Evenly scattered through mound of barrow. Residual domestic?
Cawdor and Fox 1925; Clarke No.846; Cambridge.
- 120.Brightwell Heath TM 23 44
Beaker sherds and flints.
Found beneath barrow.
Moir 1927, 152f; Clarke No.861; Ipswich.
- 121.Creeting St Mary TM 09 56
Beaker sherds. Grooved Ware. Flints. From hearths and pits. Site chiefly non-Beaker.
Maynard 1950, 209; Clarke No.871-873; Ipswich.
- 122.Felixstowe Golf Course TM 32 36
Barbed-Wire and finger-nail impressed Beaker sherds.
Surface finds.
Clark 1931b, 358; Clarke No.887,

- 888; Ipswich.
123. Sproughton TM 129446
Beaker sherds and numerous flints.
From six pits.
Proc. Prehist. Soc. XXV (1959) 275;
Clarke No. 949; Ipswich.
124. West Stowe TL 808745
A few Southern (?) Beaker sherds, including 'crow's-foot' rusticated sherds. Many flints.
From two hearths sealed below a barrow. Domestic?
Edwardson 1964; Clarke No. 958, 959; Bury St Edmunds.
- Sussex
125. Findon, Church Hill TQ 12 08
Beaker sherds, mostly undecorated, some cordoned.
From two floors at site of flint mines. Evidence of non-Beaker occupation also. Clarke No. 993, 994; Worthing.
- Wiltshire
126. Avebury, West Kennet Avenue SU 107696
Mixed neolithic pottery, including a few Southern Beaker sherds. Flints.
Animal bone.
Plentiful scatter, mainly non-Beaker, around two pits and ten smaller holes. Site may not be purely domestic.
Smith 1965a, 210-213.
127. Boscome Down East
Twenty-seven Southern (?) Beaker sherds including some with finger-nail rustication.
From a shallow pit 10 ft x 4-5 ft with possible post holes round it. On site of middle bronze age enclosure.
Stone 1936; Clarke No. 1079, 1080; Salisbury.
128. Durrington Walls SU 150437
Sherds of two Southern (?) beakers, one with plastic finger-tip rustication. Animal bone. 'Pot boilers'.
From hearth in secondary silt in north sector of ditch of 'henge'.
Wainwright 1967, fig. 3.
- Yorkshire
129. Settle, Sewell's Cave
Two sherds Beaker pottery, comb impressed and cord impressed. A few flints.
Found with sherds of Mortlake-(?) ware sherds in occupation deposit in cave.
Proc. Univ. Durham Phil. Soc. IX (1936) 201, Fig. 5; Clarke No. 1383; Settle.
- Wales
- Dyfed
130. Caldy Island, Potters Cave SS 14 96
Later neolithic and Beaker pottery including sherds with cardium shell and finger-nail impressed decoration.
Occupation deposit in cave.
Archaeol. Cambrensis CX (1961), 40, Fig. 6; Clarke No. 1878, 1879; Cardiff.

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