New Discoveries of Neolithic Pottery in Oxfordshire

By E. T. LEFDS

NDER the heading Early Man in the recently published Volume I of the Victoria History of Oxfordshire (p. 242) some attention was paid to discoveries of Neolithic pottery within the county, naturally with particular reference to similar discoveries in adjacent counties. Much of the material there reviewed, consisting of old finds, like the fine bowls from the River Thames at Mongewell, stray sherds from Asthall, spoons from Swell, Gloucestershire, sherds from Buston Farm, Astrop, Northamptonshire, and the large mass of pottery from Abingdon, Berkshire, has already been fully published elsewhere, and references to the pertinent literature were given. Some notice was also taken of more recent discoveries at Cassington and Stanton Harcourt, with an illustration of one piece from each of those places. The scope of that publication however, did not permit of more than a summary account of these later discoveries, and it has seemed desirable that they should be recorded in fuller detail, not only because the pottery in question is rare in occurrence anywhere, but also because it includes material which may have a distinct bearing on the history and development of Bronze Age ceramic in this country.

Three classes of Neolithic pottery are, as is well known, now recognised:

I. Neolithic A, or Windmill Hill, to give it its older title, a southern group, chiefly known from the Wiltshire site, near Avebury. To this belongs the material from the occupation-site at Abingdon, representing a secondary phase of its development, as recorded also from other sites, such as Hembury Fort, Devon, and Whitehawk Hill, Sussex. To an even later phase of the same A group I have felt myself compelled to assign the interesting parcel of sherds associated with a sherd of beaker-ware in an occupation-pit at Cassington, which were fully described in 'Beakers of the Upper Thames Valley' (Oxoniensia, III, 15), and since this completes the tale of Neolithic A known up to the present time in this region, it is not intended to repeat what has been said in that paper.

II. Neolithic B, or Peterborough ware, as it was originally named after Mr. G. W. Abbott's discoveries in the early years of this century at Fengate, Peterborough, a class of pottery with a fairly wide distribution, though originally

with east-coast connexions. To this class belong the Mongewell, Asthall and Astrop finds, and it is with it that the present paper is concerned.

III. Grooved Ware, a curiously primitive type of pottery, best known by remarkable discoveries on the Essex coast, but also occurring elsewhere, principally in southern England, for example at Sutton Courtenay, Berks., and at Woodhenge, near Amesbury, Wilts.

After this brief summary of British neolithic pottery we may turn at once to a consideration of the newer material, belonging to Class II, from Cassington and

Stanton Harcourt.

CASSINGTON

In 1935 I was handed a parcel of sherds (A.M. 1935.68) by the foreman of Mr. Partridge's gravel-pit, north-west of the crossing of the Oxford northern by-pass and the road from Cassington to Eynsham. The actual site of discovery is only about 100 yards west of the occupation-pit which yielded the sherds assigned to late Neolithic A (Oxoniensia, 111, 15: for the sites of these and other recent archaeological finds at Cassington see FIG. 1).1

- a. Portions of upper part of a bowl, c. $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter at the greatest width of the brim. Black, flaky paste, fired brown to light red outside. Deep, heavy, incurving rim, decorated rather irregularly with bird-bone impressions; wide groove below with deep finger-tip indents at intervals; other rows of bone impressions on the body. (PLATE I, A).
- b. Fragment of bowl, c. 8 ins. in diameter at rim. Black flaky paste, fired to a pinkish brown inside and out. Rounded, incurving rim, decorated with four horizontal lines of finger-nail incisions; below, a narrow groove with irregularly-shaped pits; on the body four rows of bird-bone imprints at intervals of $c. \frac{3}{4}$ in. (PLATE 1, C).
- c. Portion of rim of bowl. Flaky, brown paste with heavy bits of quartz-grit. Flattened rim with diagonal cord-impressions on top; on face, group of lines of arched cord-impressions (cp. Fengate, Peterborough; Antiq. Journ., II, 228 f., fig. 8). (PLATE I, D).
- d. Portions of bowl with overhanging rim. Black paste with a little shell-grit. Rim decorated with triangles hatched with cord-impressed lines; very deep hollow below, undecorated except for deep, oval pits at intervals; body with lightly impressed cord-lines diagonally disposed. (PLATE I, B).
- e. Small, thin sherds; brown flaky paste. Faint, trellised lines in cord-technique.

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¹ The original of fig. 1 was kindly drawn for me by Mr. I. B. A. Turnbull. Mr. D. Gilby did the lettering.

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FIG. 1 MAP OF CASSINGTON

showing position of the gravel-pits and of archaeological finds therein. Scale 6 ins, = 1 mile.

Based on the O.S. G-in. map with the sunction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

- f. Sherd; black paste with shell-grit; brown outside. Faint linear impressions.
- g. Sherd; black paste with a very little shell-grit. Reddish brown outside. From a large vessel with walls $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick; faintly impressed cord-lines in groups of three, crossed by vertical zig-zag band in the same technique.
- h. Sherd from the hollow of the neck of large vessel; flaky brown paste with shell-grit, fired light brown outside. Deep finger-tip indents in the hollow.
- i. Portion of base; black paste with sandy grit, fired red at surface; $\frac{5}{16}$ in. thick; the flat surface c. $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter.

All, as will be realised, are fragmentary; only in two cases has it been possible to build up larger sherds. On examination two points at once attract notice. The first is the wide range of quality and firing. Only a few pieces, d, resemble in fabric the Mongewell, Hedsor and Mortlake bowls or the sherd found in Messrs. Tuckwell's pit on the north side of Cassington village, retaining in some degree the dark, greasy fabric which was so marked a feature of the Fengate pottery, though at Cassington modified by a small admixture of shell-grit. Such pieces are mainly sun-dried; firing, if any, must have been of the slightest. By contrast the remainder of the Cassington sherds exhibit a modest degree of firing, thus marking the same technical advance that was noted in the group of sherds classed as late Neolithic A 2 from the occupation-pit nearby.

The two largest sherds, a and b, clearly come from vessels that are near descendants of the round-bottomed bowl with all-over decoration of the so-called 'maggot' pattern³ or deep incisions, and with a deep groove below the rim, indented with circular pits. They retain all these features, but have lost their boldness, partly owing to a diminution in the earlier thickness of the fabric, which was essential to provide adequate strength in a summarily-fired material, and also to receive the deeply impressed decoration which lends to the earlier pieces much of their attractiveness.

Before proceeding to a description of the finds from Stanton Harcourt I may conveniently note here pieces discovered in other parts of the Cassington pits.

2 Ibid., pl. 111 a.

¹ V.C.H. Oxon., 1, pl. 111 d.

³ Executed in some cases, as is so ably demonstrated by the late Miss Dorothy Liddell, by means of limb-bones of birds; magpie, rook, or the like (Antiquity, 111 (1929), 283 ff.) I do not feel certain that this technique was invariably used; the transverse ridges are sometimes too regular and must be due to the use of cord or other artificial material.

- 1. A small sherd of black shell-grit ware with 'maggot' decoration, closely comparable to that reproduced by Miss Liddell with the distal end of a magpie's fibula, was found in what was diagnosed as the remains of an occupation-pit situated in close proximity to the beaker-cemetery described in Antiquaries Journal, XIV, 272, the sherd itself being figured on pl. XXXIV, fig. 2, a. The pit was then doubtfully classed along with the pits containing beaker-burials, because six skeletons were found in it, but the next discovery to be recorded would suggest that it was in reality what it was even then suspected to be, namely a hut-site with the bodies of its inhabitants either buried therein or left lying where they had been killed.
- 2. Only a few yards west of the beaker-cemetery a fire-pit yielded two sherds, two flint flakes and a pig's tooth. The largest of the sherds (A.M. 1934.81: PLATE I, E) belongs to the lower part of a very thick-walled pot of grey, flaky paste with some grit, fired light-red externally and extensively decorated with haphazard and lightly impressed lines in fine cord. It must have belonged to a large vessel, the thickness of its base being in some measure explicable by the necessity of adding weight to what in any case must have been a top-heavy form. The second sherd (A.M. 1934.82: PLATE I, F) of black ware with coarse shell-grit, has a deep, faintly rounded rim, decorated with fine cord in closely set chevrons, arranged sideways and strongly impressed. The same ornamentation covers the flattened top of the rim.¹ The hollow above the body has one finger-tip indent, which has been perforated later to the inside of the vessel. Below are diagonally curving lines in the same cord-technique as on the rim.
- 3. West of the pit containing the beaker cemetery is an accommodation-lane leading southwards to fields adjoining the river, and in the fields beyond this lane Major Allen has detected from the air not only several ring-ditches but also a great part of a vast ditch which encloses an area extending almost to Cassington Mill. From the lowest silt of the ditch of ring-ditch A (FIG. 1) two small sherds were recovered from a cross-section made by the Oxford University Archaeological Society in 1939. The first (A.M. 1939.496: PLATE II, G) is of black, shell-gritted ware with maggot-pattern closely resembling that described under (1) above: the second is a fragment of a B-beaker (A.M. 1939.497: PLATE II, H).
- 4. From another fire-hole in the beaker-cemetery field, only a few yards distant from (2) the Society also recovered in 1934 three very unusual sherds belonging to two vases. All are of unbaked, grey-brown clay (PLATE II, F, J).

¹ Compare that of a vessel from Astrop, Northants., Oxfordshire Archaeological Society Report, 1912, pp. 114 ff., fig. 11, 5.

The first sherd (A.M. 1934.79), to judge from its profile, belonged to a thin-lipped vase of B-beaker shape, but the decoration is quite novel. It consists of horizontal rows of dentils alternating with plain bands, which, however, are moulded to a ridge at the middle; there is also a row of dentils around the interior of the rim. The other two (A.M. 1934.78) come from the body of a vase of much the same diameter, but of uncertain shape. On them a smocked effect has been produced by luting thin rolls of clay on to the surface. That this was the technique employed, and not a process of pinching the clay up into ridges, is proved by lines of division between the rolls where the angle of the lozenges impinge on one another. These sherds obviously cannot be classed as Neolithic A; they have been included in this record of finds, because they seem to fit into the general picture of the late Neolithic and early Bronze Age occupation of the future Cassington.

STANTON HARCOURT

No more than the first recorded discovery at Cassington was the material from Stanton Harcourt the result of scientific excavation. For its preservation all credit is due to Mr. H. Fisher, schoolmaster at Stanton Harcourt, who has frequently in the past reported on matters of archaeological interest in that locality, and who in 1935 collected these sherds (A.M. 1935.71, 72 a-w) from workmen in the gravel-pit at Linch Hill, south-east of the village. generously ceded them to the Ashmolean Museum. Under the circumstances of their discovery there is no absolute proof that all the pieces were found together, but close inspection shows that there is little reason to think they were not. The only possible exceptions are one or two of those numbered 1935.72 r-w; but even they cannot be far removed in age from the rest. Moreover, the parcel when delivered to me included no undeniably extraneous matter of any kind, which in view of the enormous number of Iron Age pits on that site might reasonably have been present. I have little doubt that all the sherds came from a single occupation-pit of the same kind as those which yielded the principal finds at Cassington. There is much among the Linch Hill pottery that is reminiscent of Cassington; there is more that is new. In the first category fall the restored bowl (No. 4 below) and some of the sherds.

1. A.M. 1935.72 h-k. Four sherds of black, poorly fired ware, probably from one or more round-bottomed bowls, but lacking finger-tip indents in the groove below the rim. In this they correspond with others from Cassington, including the sherd from Messrs. Tuckwell's pit, which latter piece would seem to rank later than the fine bowls from lower down the Thames.

- 2. A.M. 1935.72 a (PLATE II, C). Flaky grey clay, poorly fired to a faint red. On the rim a double row of finger-nail incisions; below, in a shallow groove, vertical nail-incisions; on the body the surface has been worked up into rows of ripples decreasing in size from above downwards.
- 3. A.M. 1935.72 b (PLATE II, E). Greasy, grey clay, with traces of slight firing. The decoration appears to have been executed throughout in bird-bone technique. That on the rim is not unlike that made with the proximal end of the digit of a sparrow. For the rest, having had no opportunity of robbing a gamekeeper's larder, I can offer no suggestion.
- 4. A.M. 1935.71 (PLATE III and FIG. 2). The group of sherds so numbered sufficed to permit a reconstruction of the bowl, which measured some $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter and $10\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in height, and which instead of being round-bottomed has a small, flat base. The restoration is shown in $\frac{1}{6}$ natural



FIG. 2

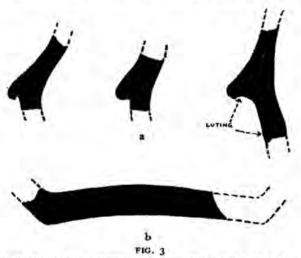
Neolithic Bowl (no. 4) from Stanton Harcourt. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$ After V. C. H. Oxon., I, pl. iii b, opp. p. 240, by permission.

size in Fig. 2. Flaky clay, heavily charged with shell-grit, fired light red outside. The walls are thick owing to the size of the bowl, for in no case do the Neolithic B potters exhibit the amazing dexterity in building up a serviceable vessel of large dimensions with the disproportionately thin walls in a half-fired clay that appears in some of the work of the Neolithic A potters, as at Abingdon. The overhanging rim is decorated with a band

¹ Antiquity, 111, 283-291, pl. VII, 11.

of 'maggot' pattern arranged chevron-wise; this is repeated on the inside of the rim (see PLATE III, top right corner). The slight reserved hollow below the rim lacks finger-tip indents. The body is decorated over all with rows of vertical 'maggot' impressions. These can hardly have been made with a bone; they are too long and the ridges are too regular. More probably something like a cord wound round a supple stick was used.

5. A.M. 1935.72 c-d (PLATE II, A). Two sherds from the upper part of a large biconoid vessel, c. 14 ins. in diameter at the mouth, evidently a precursor of the Bronze Age overhanging-rim urn. Black, charcoally paste, fired chestnut red outside. The rim has a narrow, rounded edge



a. Overhangs of Neolithic sherds (Stanton Harcourt, nos. 5 and 6, p. 8f) and of a Bronze Age sherd from Cassington to show difference in method of manufacture.

b. Section of base (Stanton Harcourt, no. 7, p. 9).

with a row of finger-tip indents along its outer side; internally it is deeply bevelled, extending to an overhanging edge. The bevel is hollowed and decorated with three lines of cord-impression. The external decoration consists of three horizontal lines of small cord-impressions as on the inside of the rim, set at a distance of $1\frac{3}{8}$ ins. apart; between them are two vertical rows of what may be impressions of cord of a heavier twist or of a thin cord looped and twisted. Below the rim the wall maintains an even thickness of c. $\frac{1}{2}$ in, down to the upper part of the overhang, and this thickness was repeated below the overhang, the formation of which is explained by this consistency of the rest of the wall. After the wall had been built up to a

level at which the overhang was to be made, the clay was moulded outwards and downwards, and then bent upwards again, the overlapping portions being kneaded together. The overhang of Bronze Age vessels was produced in a different manner. The vessel was built up to a height beyond the middle, and a wide strip of clay was luted on externally to form the rim. On a sherd of an undoubted Bronze Age urn found at Cassington this method has clearly been followed. The line of division is detectable, as is also the luting which masks the cleavage in the groove of the overhang. The differ nce of method is shown in FIG. 3, a.

- 6. A.M. 1935.72 e, f and q (PLATE II, B). Three sherds of a large vessel c. 4 ins. in diameter at mouth with deep overhang at the middle. Coarse dark brown paste with much grit, fired brown to black. Rounded rim with cord-decoration apparently executed in intermittent lengths; one horizontal row on both sides of the rim. The main decoration is a series of lozenges, each with a frame of three lines, leaving the middle plain. The overhang is formed in the same way as in No. 5. Sherd q, undecorated, must come from the lower half of the vessel, and suggests that, as in the Bronze Age parallel, it was entirely plain.
- 7. A.M. 1935.72 g. Portion of a base, flaky ware, fired light red externally, slightly concave below (FIG. 3, b). Diameter 4½ ins.
- 8. A.M. 1935.72 m. Sherd from the lower part of the upper half of a large vessel with overhanging rim, showing the overhang less pronounced than in Nos. 5 and 6. Soft, greasy, smoke-grey paste with a little shell-grit, fired light red in external half of the thickness of the wall.
- 9. A.M. 1935.72 n. Sherd of large vessel, \(\frac{3}{8}\) ins. thick, with clumsy finger-tip impressions. Smoke-grey, fired pinkish buff outside.
- 10. A.M. 1935.72 o (PLATE II, D). Sherd, probably from the rim of a large bowl or vase. Smoky black, flaky paste with a very little grit, fired dull brown outside, decorated with four lines formed of small nail-impressions.
- 11. A.M. 1935.72 p, r-w. Five small sherds of thick-walled vessels; all black ware with various degrees of external firing, ranging from brick red to buff and brown. One, s, has all the qualities of good Bronze Age ware; r, t and w of similar ware of inferior quality. In sherd u can be seen traces of coil-technique in its fabric. Sherd r may have belonged to the restored vase (No. 4).

¹ Ashmolean Museum, 1934.80.

On review the Stanton Harcourt material as a whole would seem to present a more advanced aspect than the large group from Cassington. It may not be justifiable to rely too much on typology of rim forms, on the presence or absence of finger-tip indents, or even on the prevalence of cord-impressions and the decrease of the use of bird-bone technique. On the other hand the matter of better firing does seem to mark an advance, and with that may be coupled the tendency to diminish the thickness of the walls in relation to size.

The material taken by itself is possibly too restricted to warrant very farreaching conclusions. At the same time, when it is viewed alongside the varied Bronze Age material that Cassington and in a lesser degree Eynsham has produced, it would seem to confirm deductions which I have already ventured to draw from a study of the distribution of beakers in the same region. In 1932 Mr. Piggott, working from the Windmill Hill end, maintained that Neolithic B was definitely later than Neolithic A, since the Windmill Hill camp 'was re-occupied by makers of Peterborough ware after it had been abandoned.' He added: 'The stratification shows that the ware (Neolithic B) slightly antedates the beaker on that site, but persisted as a contemporary.'2 In 1934, however, he withdrew this claim to priority, accepting my contention that the two cultures, as represented by the two classes of pottery, were 'broadly contemporary and geographically complementary.'3 It may be that as yet we have nothing in Neolithic B that can with certainty be synchronized with the earliest phase of Neolithic A at Windmill Hill, but we do know that Neolithic B can be synchronized with Neolithic A 2;4 they were found together at Abingdon.5 Definite influence of Neolithic B on Neolithic A 2 is also afforded by finds at Whitehawk Camp, Sussex.6 As already noted, I have suggested that an even later stage of Neolithic A 2 has come to light at Cassington in association with early southern beaker-ware. At Cassington we now have Neolithic B associated with B-beaker (p. 5). The evidence of the Neolithic pottery now allows an amplification of the picture which earlier? it was felt could be drawn from that supplied by the beakers. The stages were :

1. Neolithic A has advanced from the south to the Thames, apparently finding Neolithic B already in occupation of the left bank. It, like the B-beakers in the Bronze Age, was able to obtain a footing across the river, but made little

¹ Archaeological Journal, LXXXVIII, 113.

² Op. cit., p. 155.

³ Proceedings Prehistoric Society of East Anglia, VII, 373-5.

⁴ On this point, however, see *ibid.*, pp. 379-381, where A 1 and A 2 are considered to be parallel developments. Neolithic A 1 has nevertheless several earlier features.

⁵ Antiquaries Journal, VII, 460; VIII, 475.

⁶ This point has been recently discussed by Mr. Piggott (Antiquaries Journal, xix, 409 ff.)

Oxoniensia, III, 14 ff.

further progress northwards. Neolithic A on the Cotswolds and along the Warwickshire edge is probably a separate movement from the south-west.

- 2. The B-beaker arrives and finds both Neolithic A and B in possession, though by this time Neolithic B is distinctly dominant, having possibly been reinforced by other Neolithic B people retreating in the face of the A-beaker invasion from the direction of the Wash, and has been left undisturbed sufficiently long to effect considerable changes and developments.
- 3. The subsequent arrival of a late wave of A-beaker from the north-east consummated the gradual absorption of the local Neolithic B¹. As proved by the evidence of Windmill Hill and after-events elsewhere, the culture represented by Neolithic A wares was receding into the background, at least in the lowland zone of Britain. It is as a heritage from Neolithic B that in due course the first half of the Bronze Age obtained the more important types, like the overhanging-rim urn and the food-vessel, which distinguish its ceramic from that of its continental contemporaries.

APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS AT CASSINGTON, OXON.

Partridge's pit and Smith's pit 1 and by-pass road adjoining.

Neolithic B pits: Early Bronze Age pits:

Iron Age pits:

Romano-British ditches and pits: Romano-British graves and crema-

tion pots:

Saxon hut:

Manor farm field and road adjoining.

Iron Age pits:

Tuckwell's pit.

Neolithic B sherd:

Iron Age pits: Romano-British ditches and pits: Oxoniensia, III, 20; id., v, 2 ff.

Oxoniensia, 111, 15, 20, 30; id., v, 2 Oxoniensia, 11, 201; id., 111, 21, 164 f.;

V.C.H. Oxon., 1, 256 ff.

Oxoniensia, II, 201

Oxoniensia, 1, 201; id., 11, 201; id., 111, 165; J.R.S., XXVII, 237; V.C.H. Oxon.,

I, 334 Unpublished

A.J., xv, 34 ff.; Oxoniensia, III, 21; V.C.H. Oxon., 1, 256 ff.

A.J., xiv, 275, pl. xxxiv, 2b; V.C.H. Oxon., 1, 242, pl. iii, a.

A.J., xv, 36 ff.; V.C.H. Oxon., 1, 256 f. Oxoniensia, 11, 201; V.C.H. Oxon., 1, 334

Our knowledge of the relation between Neolithic B and the beakers as a whole will doubtless be clarified when the eagerly and patiently awaited publication of Mr. Alexander Keiller's discoveries at Windmill Hill sees the light of day.

Mr. Lay's garden, and south of Tuckwell's pit.

Saxon graves:

V.C.H. Oxon., I, 357, 370

'Tolley's (and County Council) pit and by-pass road adjoining.

Neolithic pottery and pits:

A.7., XIV, 272, pl. xxxiv, 2a; V.C.H. Oxon.,

1, 242; Oxoniensia, v, 5f.

Beaker cemetery:

A.J., xIV, 269 ff., fig. 2, pls. xxxii-iv; Oxoniensia, III, 9 ff., 21, 27 f.; V.C.H.

Oxon., 1, 242

Beakers and ring-ditch (in road):

A.J., xiv, 268 f. (not on plan, pl. xxxii);

Oxoniensia, III, 20 f.

Double ring-ditch:

A.J., XIV, 269, pl. xxxii; Oxoniensia, 1,

Penannular hut and cremations:

13 ff.; id., III, 21

Saxon huts:

A.J., xIV, 269, pl. xxxii; Oxoniensia, III, 21 A.J., xIV, pl. xxxii; Oxoniensia, III, 165;

V.C.H. Oxon., I, 357, 370

Smith's pit II.

Bronze Age ring-ditches:

Crop-marks, various: Enclosure ditch: Saxon graves:

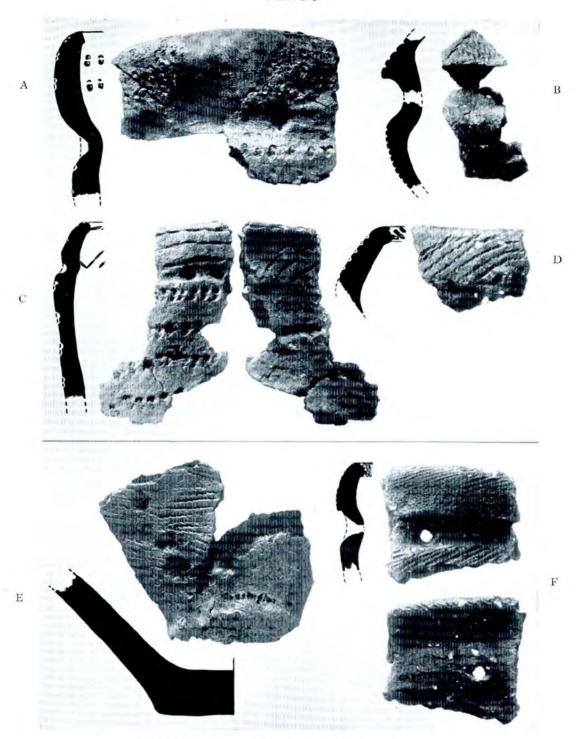
Oxoniensia, IV, 196; id., V, 5 Oxoniensia, III, 21, 164 f.

Oxoniensia, IV, 196 Oxoniensia, v, 163

Cassington Mill lane.

Romano-British(?) graves :

Oxoniensia, v, 163

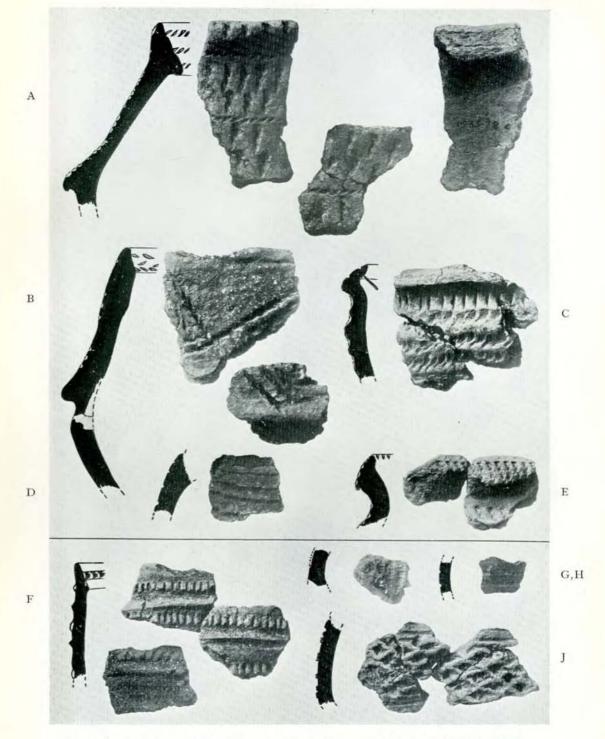


NEOLITHIC SHERDS FROM CASSINGTON, OXON.

A-D. From an occupation-hole in Partridge's Pit (nos. a-d, p. 2). E, F. From a fire-hole in Tolley's Pit (no. 2, p. 5).

Scale 1

Phh. Ashmolean Museum



NEOLITHIC AND EARLY BRONZE AGE SHERDS FROM CASSINGTON AND STANTON HARCOURT, OXON.

A-E. Neolithic sherds, probably from one occupation-hole, Linch Hill, Stanton Harcourt (nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, pp. 7ff.).

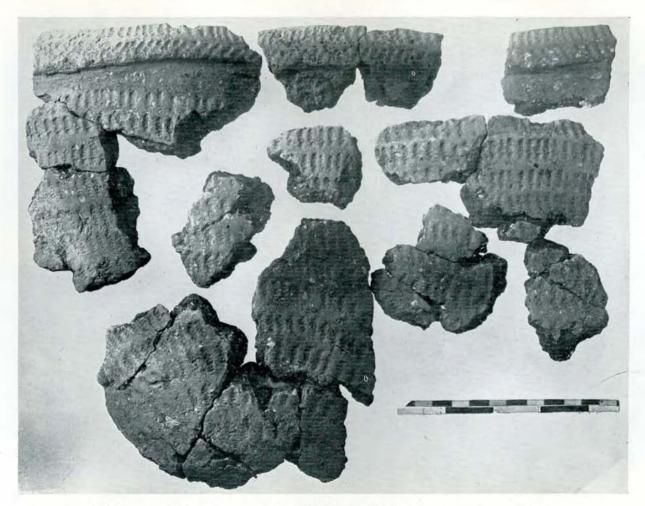
G, H. Neolithic B and B-beaker sherd from ring-ditch A, Smith's Pit II, Cassington (no. 3, p. 5).

F, J. Neolithic or Early Bronze Age sherds from a fire-hole in Tolley's Pit (no. 4, p. 5).

Scale ½

Phh. Ashmolean Museum

LEEDS, NEOLITHIC POTTERY



FRAGMENTS OF A NEOLITHIC B BOWL FROM STANTON HARCOURT, OXON. (no. 4, p. 7). Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ Ph. Ashmolean Museum