

Later Prehistoric and Roman Europe

Joshua Pollard and Dan Hicks

11.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the collections of European later prehistoric and Romano-British material held by the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM). The term 'later prehistoric' is used here to refer to the Mesolithic, Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age: *c.* 10,000 BCE–*c.* 500 CE. The term 'Roman' is used to refer to those areas of Europe which fell within the Roman Empire between the 1st century BCE and the 5th century CE – i.e. from 43 CE for Romano-British period – while the 'Iron Age' is understood to have continued into the 5th century CE beyond the limits of the Roman Empire, for example in Scotland, Wales and Ireland.

Within these chronological and geographic limits, a few areas and periods of European prehistory are omitted from this chapter, and are discussed later in this volume. The small but significant assemblages from Neolithic and Bronze Age Malta and Italy in Chapter 14, from prehistoric Greece, Cyprus and Turkey are considered in Chapter 15, and from Iron Age Italy in Chapter 16. Post-Roman Europe is discussed in Chapter 12 below, while the collections from Oxfordshire (including some prehistoric and Romano-British material) are considered in Chapter 13.

The prehistoric and Roman European collections seem to occupy a curious and awkward space. While very extensive indeed – comprising *c.* 24,150 items, representing *c.* 17.6% of the Museum's archaeological collections as a whole – for the most part they lack the exoticism, aesthetic or technological appeal that is seen to reside in the holdings of ethnographic, 'folk', and non-European material culture. In terms of geographic provenance, coverage is highly variable, although the vast majority of the European prehistoric and Romano-British material (*c.* 19,535 objects, i.e. 81%) is from the UK and the Channel Islands. Further large elements of the later prehistoric European collections include collections from France (*c.* 2,397 objects), Denmark (*c.* 767 objects), Switzerland (*c.* 689 objects), Ireland (*c.* 184 objects), Belgium (*c.* 119 objects), Germany (*c.* 110 objects) and Sweden (*c.* 102 objects). Further smaller collections (<50 objects) are present from Austria, the Czech Republic, Finland, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania and Ukraine. There are also a number of unquantified and uncatalogued collections, the character of which can only be sketched: such as an assemblage of later prehistoric ceramics from Croatia (1884.140.584), which formed part of the PRM founding collection, and appears to have been collected by the explorer Richard Burton, during fieldwork

which was described in a paper on the 'Prehistoric Ruins of the Istrian Peninsula' in the mid 1870s (Burton 1875).

The majority of the collections from the UK are from England (*c.* 15,588 objects), although significant bodies of material are present from Northern Ireland (*c.* 1,673 objects), Scotland (*c.* 499 objects) and Wales (*c.* 437 objects). Some 98 objects are from the Channel Islands. As Alison Roberts notes (Chapter 9 above), significant amounts of later prehistoric material may be currently defined on the Museum database as Palaeolithic. When considered alongside the fact that many records for prehistoric material refer to unsorted groups of objects, rather than individual stone tools for example, it is clear that all these figures must be considered provisional, and underestimates of the total quantities of later prehistoric European archaeological material held by the PRM.

This is not a collection assembled for the purpose of representing the 'cultures' of prehistoric Europe in any sense; nor does it include recent, systematically-excavated assemblages of material that might be considered of core academic value within contemporary archaeological practice.¹ In many respects, the PRM's British and European holdings are those that might be expected of an institution with late Victorian beginnings, and an active policy for the first sixty or so years of acquiring immediately available material from as diverse a geographical range as possible, but one tempered by later change in collection strategy (cf. Chapter 1).

It developed during a phase of disciplinary coming of age, in which individual objects could hold independent value as evidence of early human presence, cultural affiliation, and technological and cognitive development. 'Type specimens' were sought: hence, in common with many museums, the acquisition up to *c.* 1920 – much from the PRM founding collection – of a considerable body of Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age material from the investigation of the Swiss 'Lake Villages', and of representative samples of pottery, stone tools and worked bone/antler samples from early 20th-century excavations at key sites such as Avebury and All Cannings Cross in Wiltshire, Glastonbury in Somerset, Maiden Castle in Dorset, and Graig Llwyd in north Wales. Direct comparison can be drawn with the equivalent early collections of prehistoric material held in institutions such as the British Museum, the National Museums of Scotland and Wales, and at a provincial level organisations such as the Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution. The large amount of material originally acquired by Pitt-Rivers himself does, however, have the capacity to provide unique insight in the development of archaeological practice; while there are also certain collections, such as those from James Medhurst, as well as individual items from sites such as Avebury, that have clear potential to yield new archaeological information.

This Chapter presents an overview of the prehistoric European and Romano-British collections (11.2), and a brief consideration of the overall research value of the collection (11.3), before offering considerations of the potential of the material to be studied as an archaeological record (11.4), and as a resource for the study of early archaeological practice (11.5). Brief concluding comments are presented in section 11.6.

11.2 Collection Overview

The rapid assessment of the collections undertaken for this chapter was inevitably an exercise in sampling: partly random, partly focused on objects from sites/regions likely to prove productive, though also assisted by choices made by the project team, and inevitably coloured by personal research interest. Material from the City of London

¹ At a county level, the Ashmolean Museum became the principal repository for archaeological finds in the decades before and after the Second World War, housing important assemblages of excavated prehistoric and later material recovered from Oxfordshire, and especially from gravel quarries.

and the English counties of Bedfordshire, Derbyshire, Suffolk, Sussex, Wiltshire and Yorkshire was examined, along with smaller samples from north and south Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, the Channel Islands, Denmark, France and Switzerland. Things from more exotic locations were unintentionally encountered during the process, such as a Polynesian greenstone adze (1928.61.1) marked with a surprising label:

‘Adze found by A. Lacey at STONEHENGE [sic], but doubtless originating from NEW ZEALAND. Pur. 10 Nov., 1928 (Lacey)’

This object, purchased by the Museum for five shillings from Albert Lacey, a building contractor, may be the only tangible Maori connection with the monument. In terms of collection history, the objects viewed ranged from elements of the PRM founding collection to material acquired during the 1990s; though the bulk had entered the PRM during an active period of collecting prior to the Second World War.

As outlined in 11.1 above, outside of the UK objects from Denmark, France and Switzerland dominate, yet there is relatively little from countries such as Germany, Hungary, or Portugal. This geographical distribution reflects patterns of ready availability to late 19th-century collectors of stone tools from these regions, but also the fact that large portions of these assemblages are from Pitt-Rivers’ own collecting activities.² Stone tools dominate the French (70%) and Danish (83%) material, although the latter also includes samples from a kitchen midden at Solager, near Korsør (see 11.4 below).

In contrast to the limited material profile of the French and Danish collections, the Swiss collection is far more eclectic. Amongst the c. 500 artefacts from Swiss ‘Lake village’ sites such as Neuchâtel, Möriegen and Robenhausen are bronze tools, weapons and ornaments, stone moulds, spindle whorls, bone, antler and wooden tools, cordage and stringwork, serpentine axes, chisels and pendants (see Munro 1890). The widespread appeal of collecting such remains was due largely to the publication of Ferdinand Keller’s (1854) *Die Keltischen Pfahlbauten in den Schweizerseen*, which described the remains of ancient settlements that had been preserved in waterlogged environments revealed at Obermeilen during the winter drought of 1853. The rapid spread of interest in acquiring material from such contexts coincided with the onset of Pitt-Rivers’ collecting activities (Chapman 1981: 34–5) and it is therefore unsurprising that half of material from Swiss lake dwellings held in the PRM – some 300 objects – was obtained by him sometime prior to 1880. Undoubtedly items such as deer antler hafts would have been of particular interest to Pitt-Rivers as verification of the reconstruction of stone tool technologies.

Within the UK, the relative abundance of artefacts from Sussex, Wiltshire and Oxfordshire (cf. Chapter 13) is largely a product of early archaeological focus, notably by Pitt-Rivers himself. Largely acquired prior to the Second World War, the bulk of the prehistoric material from the UK comprises stone tools (almost 13,000 in total), often casually collected and with variable contextual information. Within the UK, after the English accessions,³ those from Northern Ireland are the most numerous. The PRM founding collection also contains more than 150 objects from Ireland, especially from County Cork, County Limerick and Dublin (e.g. *Figures 11.1 and 11.2*).

² Of the 767 possible Danish objects of Mesolithic to Roman Period date, 364 (47%) are from Pitt-Rivers; of the 2397 possible French objects of the same period, 619 (26%) are from Pitt-Rivers; and of the 689 possible objects from Switzerland, 344 (50%) are from the PRM founding collection.

³ The English archaeological collections have been considered in a separate PRM project entitled ‘The Other Within: analysing the English collections of the Pitt Rivers museum’. See <http://england.prm.ox.ac.uk/>. This includes interactive maps that detail collections by time period, see <http://england.prm.ox.ac.uk/prmap/mapanalysis.html>.

World Archaeology at the Pitt Rivers Museum: A Characterization
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Figure 11.1 Fragment of bronze end-blast trumpet, with six conical spikes and four rivet holes around the end. Late Bronze Age in date, this object is from the Pitt Rivers Museum founding collection, and is recorded as recovered during 'digging in a drain at Kanturk, County Cork' (PRM Accession Number 1884.112.2; MacWhite 1945: 105).



Figure 11.2 Late Bronze Age leaf-shaped socketed bronze spearhead with gold inlay on the socket. From the Pitt Rivers Museum founding collection, this object was found in a peat bog on the estate of Lord Guillamore near Loch Gur [Lough Gur], County Limerick, Ireland, was purchased by one Reverend Dr Melligan [Neligan] from Lord Guillamore in May 1868, sold at Sotheby's in December 1868, purchased by General Pitt-Rivers, and published by him (Lane Fox 1869). An oak haft, recorded as intact, was 'afterwards found to have been fraudulently added through Mr Balfour's investigations' (PRM Accession Number 1884.119.348).



About half of the Northern Irish material was acquired by Pitt-Rivers,⁴ possibly when he was Assistant Quartermaster General in Cork from 1862–1866, during which time he undertook some of his earliest fieldwork (Bowden 1991: 60), including in the north of Ireland.⁵ Pitt-Rivers also conducted excavations in Wales (Lane Fox 1870b; see below), although most of the Welsh later prehistoric collections, some 200 objects, was acquired from Eustace Fulcrand Bosanquet in the 1930s.⁶ Most of the later prehistoric material from Scotland are stone tools that were purchased from auction houses,⁷ such as 218 pieces from the sale of surgeon and explorer John Rae's collection (Rae 1892; see also Bunyan *et al.* 1993), which along with stone implements includes spindle whorls and 2 carved stone balls (Marshall 1977). One of these stone balls is a plain undecorated example noted to be from Kemnay (1892.60.12; *Figure 11.3*), while the other (1892.60.13) is an unprovenanced example with 26 knobs and, unusually, a metal protuberance perhaps related to another function later in its life-history. Two further unpublished examples of this enigmatic category of late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age object entered the PRM in 1917 from Edward Tylor's

⁴ The PRM's prehistoric collections from Northern Ireland also includes material recorded as collected by William James Knowles, William Arthurs, Albert Tenyson Morley Hewitt, John Evans, Claude Blake, George Coffey, James Percy, Nina Frances, William James, Robert Elliott, Hodder Michael Westrop, and S. Archer.

⁵ For instance, stone tool 1884.123.607 is labeled 'Found on the banks of the Bann River in October 1864 by Pitt Rivers', so he was certainly in County Antrim at this time. See *Table 1.4* above, and discussion in Chapter 1.

⁶ The PRM's prehistoric collections from Wales also includes material recorded as collected by Samuel Hazzledene, James Park, John Evans, Henry Hicks, Edward Bouverie Luxmoore, Eric Balliol Moullin, John Wynne Jones, and William John Evans.

⁷ The PRM's prehistoric collections from Scotland also includes material recorded as collected by Alexander James Montgomerie Bell, William A. Donnelly, John Bruce, P.G. Pye, Albert Tenyson Morley Hewitt, James Rose, Joseph Anderson, Charles Cotterill, Donald Ferlyls, Eleanor Hope, Ian Archibald, George Petrie, James Hunt, Robert Gibb, Thomas Nevill, and Walter Gregor.



Figure 11.3 Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age carved stone ball from Kemnay, Aberdeenshire, Scotland (PRM Accession Number 1892.60.12). Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum at the sale of John Rae's collection at Dowell's Auction Rooms, Edinburgh in 1892.



Figure 11.4 Early Neolithic jadeite axe found in Aberdeenshire, Scotland. Spectroradiometric analysis has shown that this jadeite originally came from Mont Viso, Italy (PRM Accession Number 1929.51.2).



Figure 11.5 Bronze Age gold funicular torc (PRM Accession Number 1884.78.25) from a board discovered in 1857 on Law Farm in Moray, Scotland. The board has been described as 'the richest gold find known from Bronze Age Scotland' (Coles 1968: 173). From the Pitt Rivers Museum founding collection.

collection (1917.53.85–86) and these are of the more common variety with four and eight knobs respectively.

There are substantial holdings of selectively acquired Neolithic and Bronze Age flintwork, and at least 400 later prehistoric stone axes in the collection. The latter represent a fairly typical range of types in varied lithologies, jadeite included (e.g. 1929.51.2, *Figure 11.4*). Ceramics, metalwork and organic artefacts are present, although they form a minority component of the UK prehistoric and Romano-British archaeological collections. Some 81% of the c. 3,336 Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age European (and Romano-British) ceramics in the PRM derive from Pitt-Rivers' fieldwork, but this material has been otherwise little studied since. In contrast, some of the PRM's c.1,100 pieces of prehistoric metalwork have been incorporated into several studies: at least 99 artefacts formed part of the very influential series of PRM volumes published as the *Occasional Papers on Technology* written by the first Chair of the Early (later to be Ancient) Mining and Metallurgy Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Henry Coghlan, and his colleagues (Allen *et al.* 1970; Coghlan 1951; 1956); at least 18 UK pieces were included in Mike Rowlands' study of *The Production and Distribution of Metalwork in the Middle Bronze Age in southern Britain* (1976); nine were listed in the *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* series (Burgess and Gerloff 1981; Colquhoun and Burgess 1988), and Harbison (1969) published most of the PRM's metal axes from Ireland. In keeping with Pitt-Rivers' own interests, just over half of all these metal items are classified as weaponry, including 2 bronze swords which Pitt-Rivers acquired after they had been dredged from the River Thames (1884.119.309 and 1884.119.315). While the PRM holds very little archaeological material from mainland Spain (229 of the 302 objects from Spain are from the Canary Islands, and are discussed in Chapter 8), the PRM founding collection included 4 items apparently from a tomb deposit in Córdoba: an early Iron Age sword (1884.24.124), and 2 daggers (1884.121.22, 1884.121.23) and an iron spear head (1884.120.35) probably of Roman date. Decorative arts are far less visible, but there are, however, some notable individual pieces in the PRM founding collection including two Bronze Age gold torcs (1884.78.25–26; *Figure 11.5*) ploughed up on Law Farm, Morayshire, in 1857, which form part of a hoard that has been described as 'the richest gold find known from Bronze Age Scotland' (Coles 1968: 173).

11.3 Research Value

Few components of the collections can be defined as assemblages in a modern archaeological sense – that is as groups of systematically-retrieved material united by contextual integrity. As is most apparent with the collections of prehistoric worked stone – which are dominated by more finely-worked and diagnostic tools such as axes, arrow-heads, scrapers and knives – a high degree of selective recovery has been in operation. In the case of the remarkable range of objects from the Swiss 'Lake Villages' a further selective process was in operation. Much of this material had been acquired from antiquities dealers and auction houses during the later 19th and early 20th centuries. As items that had been recontextualised as tradable commodities, it is not surprising that a number are fakes (e.g. 1919.33.86).

What, then, is the research potential of this material today? This is obviously highly variable, and radical changes in how research value is understood have taken place since much of it was collected. As a record of technological progress that was intimately linked to evolutionary schema and notions of stadial social/cognitive development (Gosden and Larson 2007: 96–102), individual stone tools and pottery vessels within the collection originally held academic weight, even without adequate context. Now it might be said that context is everything, with networks of association

even being preferentially valued above the thing(s) itself. The physical disposal in the last decade of large collections of unprovenanced stone tools and Romano-British sherds from certain national museums in the UK is telling of such shifts.

Value might be defined in two ways: first, that which is conventionally applied to archaeological material, as evidence of past human activity and material processes; second, as a record of disciplinary history – as testimony to earlier collecting and archaeological practice, and the process of knowledge production (an approach that has resonance with the earlier PRM *Relational Museum* project: Gosden and Larson 2007). The collections have much potential to aid understanding of the early history of archaeology in Britain and Europe and its changing research foci; and, particularly through the PRM founding collection, the work of individuals such as Pitt-Rivers (Bowden 1991).

11.4 The Collections as Archaeological Record

Within the collections are certain assemblages of material that retain a key value as archaeological evidence for prehistoric and Romano-British activity at particular sites and regions. What follows is a series of observations on a sample: necessarily incomplete, but hopefully illustrative of research potential.

Our miscellany can begin with some of the latest material first. Note can be made of the extensive assemblage in the PRM founding collection of pottery vessels (including one containing human bones 1884.37.69), beads, bone and antler tools, metal and bone ornaments – some 89 artefacts in total – from James Medhurst's 1842–1846 excavations at the late Iron Age-early Roman cemetery and temple site of Jordan Hill, Weymouth, which is still to receive proper analysis and publication (the only synthesis remains a 1989 Cardiff University undergraduate dissertation by Michael Hamilton).⁸ Also a product of Medhurst's investigations is an unusual collection of around 158 objects of Bronze Age to Romano-British date from the temple site at Lancing Down, Sussex, which have received only partial publication (Frere 1940). Collected in 1828, these were part of the PRM founding collection. There are 8 complete pottery vessels and one fragmented vessel (1884.35.46–47, 1884.37.68–73; *Figures 11.6 and 11.7*). Three are wheel-thrown bead-rim bowls and 2 are small bead-rim jars, all of 1st-century BCE/1st-century CE date. The remaining 3 vessels include a slack shouldered jar and 2 miniature vessels, one with an everted rim and slight omphalous base (probably early Iron Age), the other undecorated and resembling an early Bronze Age accessory vessel (1884.35.47). The first 5 vessels look to be a coherent grave group. They are recorded as containing human bones,⁹ including a large number of teeth, 132 of which are in the PRM (1884.37.74 .1–132). Accompanying the collection of ceramics are 3 Iron Age bone combs (1884.46.11–13) and 3 flint axes (1884.123.36–37; 1884.132.56); the latter probably items curated during the Romano-British period (Adkins and Adkins 1985).

Although the extensive collections of stone tools that make up the bulk of the material under consideration here were acquired, like the Medhurst finds, early in the PRM's history, there are more recent and more systematically-retrieved assemblages. Two of these came into the PRM in the early 1990s, having been recovered by local avocational archaeologist John Tucker through fieldwalking around Crofton, Wiltshire. From 'Site 2', at Free Warren Farm (SU 259 617), is an impressive early Mesolithic assemblage (1991.32.1–2000),¹⁰ numbering close to 2000 pieces, comprising blades/

⁸ Further artefacts from the Medhurst excavations at Jordan Hill are held in the British Museum and Dorset County Museum.

⁹ Pottery vessel 1884.37.69 has vertebrae associated with it, now also housed in the Museum.

¹⁰ Currently a bulk accession, but objects were individually numbered by John Tucker himself.

World Archaeology at the Pitt Rivers Museum: A Characterization
 edited by Dan Hicks and Alice Stevenson, Archaeopress 2013, page 240-261

Figure 11.6 Undecorated pottery vessel, resembling an early Bronze Age accessory vessel, excavated by James Medhurst at the Romano-British temple site at Lancing Down, West Sussex (PRM Accession Number 1884.35.47).



Figure 11.7 Late Iron Age bead-rimmed ceramic jar of late 1st-century BCE/1st-century CE date, excavated by James Medhurst at Lancing Down, West Sussex (PRM Accession Number 1884.37.72).

bladelets, some with marginal retouch, obliquely-blunted points, scrapers and tranchet axes. The material from 'Site 1', at Wolf Hall (SU 252 620), is evidently multi-period (1991.9.1–245). There is some early Mesolithic material, including bruised blades. Other, irregular, hard-hammer struck flakes, and pieces with irregular and expedient retouch, are likely to belong to the 2nd millennium BCE. Much of the material is in relatively fresh condition, implying recovery from sub-soil scatters that were being actively eroded by ploughing. A degree of selective recovery has taken place (*débitage* is not as well represented), and it is unfortunate that gridded collection was not undertaken. Both have been subject to limited study and reporting within grey literature (Brown 1997; Tucker 1993), yet further analysis and publication is merited. There is a likely relationship with the Kennet valley Mesolithic sites downstream at Wawcott and Thatcham, Berkshire (Froom 1976; Healy *et al.* 1992). Additional study could enhance understanding of early Holocene activity along this important corridor route.

Other elements of the lithic collections retain a similar regional significance, providing evidence of histories of occupation and activity in certain locations during Holocene prehistory. Even older, more selective and 'casually' acquired assemblages can have research value, especially when they are from areas outside the archaeologically 'super-charged' zones of lowland England and Scotland where knowledge of prehistoric settlement and other practices remains in a formative state. Among the PRM founding collection are pieces of Mesolithic and later flintwork, alongside stone axes and pounders from the Channel Islands of Jersey (e.g. Figure 11.8), Guernsey and Herm; where serious interest in mapping and characterising early settlement is only just beginning. The same 'value of record' attaches itself to quite extensive collections of later Mesolithic, Neolithic and early Bronze Age flintwork from south and south-west Wales. From a 1934 Bosanquet donation are 143 worked flints (1934.80.34–115) from Pembrokeshire sites such as St David's, Freshwater East, Stackpole Warren, Brownslade Burrows, Brownhill Burrows, Linney Burrows and Manorbier. There is also an extensive collection of similar chronological range from sand dune between Porthcawl and Ogmore in the Vale of Glamorgan, donated in 1899 and 1907 by one W.J. Evans (1899.54.1–17, 1807.37.1–10). Among the 36 pieces that make up the latter are numerous leaf-shaped and barbed-and-tanged arrow-heads, invasively flaked knives and fragments of greenstone axe. They attest to intense and repeated activity at the mouth of the Ogmore river – a 'persistence of place' – close to one of the few known early Neolithic enclosures in Wales, at Norton (Oswald *et al.* 2001). Analysis of this material could profitably be incorporated into the results of recent fieldwork at Ogmore-by-Sea and Corntown (Hamilton and Aldhouse-Green 1998; Burrow *et al.* 2001).



Figure 11.8 Neolithic stone axe from St Martin's, Jersey, collected in June 1870, possibly by Pitt-Rivers himself. From the Pitt Rivers Museum founding collection (PRM Accession Number 1884.123.584).

One of the merits of being able to examine material from numerous locations, especially in juxtaposition, is that it highlights the considerable diversity that is present in the quality of regional lithic traditions. This has been noted before, especially in relation to the preferential occurrence of 'prestige' or 'exotic' flintwork in the late Neolithic of areas such as east Yorkshire and Orkney (Edmonds 1995: chapter 4); but it is only through examination of large collections such as that in the PRM that an appreciation of different working traditions, raw material acquisition strategies, stylistic frequencies, and so forth, can be properly appreciated. At one end of the 'quality scale', the lithics from sites in south Wales and the Channel Islands, noted above, are dominated by implements on relatively poor quality flint from beach and gravel sources, a raw material choice that resulted in implements of small size and the employment of reduction techniques such as bi-polar working. In contrast a range of 7 Neolithic tools from Arbor Low, Derbyshire, acquired in the early 20th century (1915.37.184, 1923.73.2-7) support, through their exceptional quality, observations regarding the concentration of elaborate artefacts around this henge (Bradley and Hart 1983). The same quality is evident amongst material from the western fen-edge of East Anglia, especially that of the Neolithic and early Bronze Age from locations near Lakenheath and Mildenhall in Suffolk.¹¹ From surface scatters that are

¹¹ A thorough search for Upper Palaeolithic material within these collections is merited. Several possible Upper Palaeolithic points were noted during cursory examination, and in one instance a group of refitting

now largely 'picked-out' as a result of over a century of 'flinting', there are some of the finest leaf-shaped and barbed-and-tanged arrow-heads in the country (some in distinctive and probably non-local orange and reddish flint), polished-edge axes and knives, laurel leaves, plano-convex knives, maceheads, and so forth. It is a striking embarrassment of riches, whose presence raises the issue of quite how you quantify, compare and comprehend quality. Are concentrations of high quality flintwork to be linked to situations of aggregation involving participants from diverse origins – a context where identity display might be heightened? Or is this a product of internal 'signalling', in which demonstration of craft skill became important as a social marker?

Here, the material itself is almost demanding to be taken notice of. This is true also of the diverse artefact assemblages from the Swiss Lake Village sites mentioned above. The quantity of material from locations such as Neuchâtel and Robenhausen, and especially of still 'serviceable' serpentine chisels and axes, is remarkable, and begs the question of how much of this material was intentionally deposited and whether these were items with finite lives prescribed from the outset. Even without good context, assessing the extent of use and maintenance (e.g. reworking) of these objects would provide some insight into their 'lives' and points of deposition/discard.

So far, the individual analytic value of objects in the collection has not been considered, but with an increasing disciplinary interest in establishing refined radiocarbon chronologies (cf. Bayliss and Whittle 2007), and awareness of the information potential that could be unlocked through biochemical and geochemical analyses (notably lipid and isotope analyses to determine palaeodiet and lifetime movement respectively: cf. Copley *et al.* 2005; Evans *et al.* 2006), elements of the collection take on an enhanced significance. Where they possess good contextual information, objects of bone and antler have future potential as sources of samples for radiocarbon dating; while ceramics could be subjected to lipid analysis. Targeted work of this kind could be applied to some of the material recovered during Pitt-Rivers' early Sussex excavations, at Cissbury, Ranscombe Camp and Mount Caburn, for example (Bowden 1991: 67–71). From Harold St George Gray's 1908–1922 excavations at the Avebury henge (Gray 1934; *Figure 11.9*) are 4 red deer antler picks (1926.50.2, 4–6) and a cattle scapula shovel (1926.50.3) from the primary fills of the ditch. Considered as of little interest for much of the 20th century – the majority of antler picks from Gray's work were discarded from museum collections – they are now invaluable as radiocarbon samples. An additional value may lie in strontium and oxygen isotopic analysis of these in order to provide information on the networks of antler and bone tool acquisition required for the construction of the Avebury monument, providing such techniques can be successfully applied in the future to antler.¹² Similarly, in the PRM founding collection are 4 antler picks (1884.118.268–271) from the Neolithic flint mines of Grimes Graves, Norfolk, excavated by Canon William Greenwell, from whom Pitt-Rivers received his 'very first lessons as an excavator' (Pitt-Rivers 1887: xix). Further antler picks from the site came to the Museum from the collections of John Evans (1928.68.462), and George Rolleston (1935.46.1–7), alongside a large unquantified assemblage of flintwork from a very wide range of donors.

Beyond the UK, and while to some extent superseded in analytic value by more recently recovered assemblages (cf. papers in Besse 2007), individual artefacts and artefact categories that would merit further study can be found among the

large blades, core table and flakes from Lakenheath (discovered by GF Lawrence in 1897), erroneously marked as 'Neolithic' (1897.11.43–85).

¹² The considerable wear visible on the Avebury picks may hint at the difficulties encountered in acquiring sufficient red deer antler for the construction process, these tools being curated and worked to near obsolescence.



Figure 11.9 Photograph of excavations at the Stone Circle at Avebury, Wiltshire, conducted by Harold St George Gray, April 1922 (PRM Photograph Collections 1998.262.16 .4).

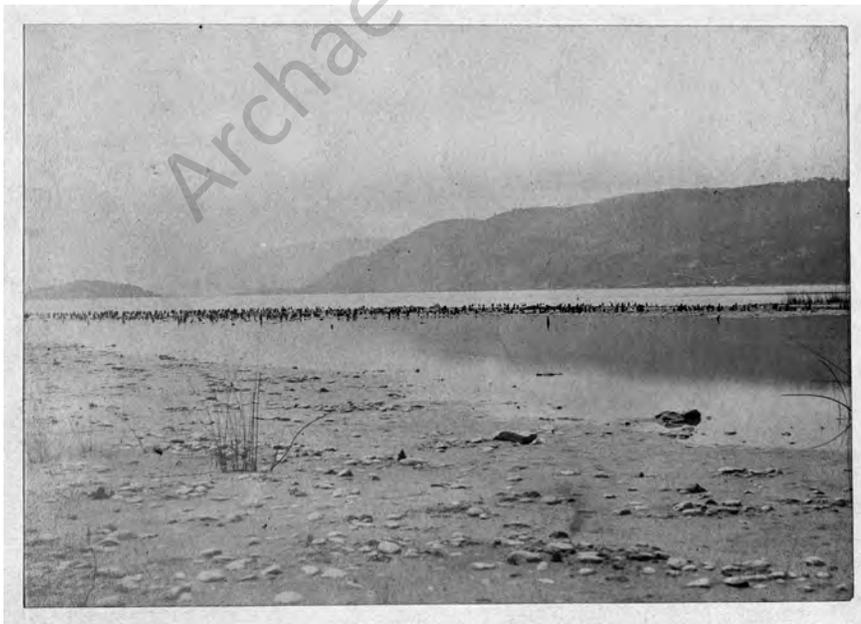


Figure 11.10 'View of exposed wooden uprights in the shallows of Lake Biel at Lattrigen, remains of prehistoric lake dwellings, 1874'. Photograph from the founding collection of the PRM (PRM Photograph Collections 1884.123.910).

Figure 11.11 *Chape-shaped decorated stone object from Onnens, Lake Neuchâtel, Switzerland (PRM Accession Number 1913.80.63). Part of an assemblage purchased from Ernest Roulin in December 1913. The band-written list accompanying the objects (written in French) describes the object as follows: 'Un objet en pierre (fingres) orne de dessins entr'autres d'un croissant et d'un groupe de petits points en creux, disposés en forme d'une étoile, qui sont garnis d'ocre jaune. Cette pièce fort remarquable et très rare étant probablement destinée à un usage cultuel et vraisemblablement dédiée aux astres de la nuit'. [A stone object (fingres) decorated with designs, among other things, of a crescent and a group of little sunken points, arranged like stars, which are filled with yellow ochre. This most remarkable and very rare object was probably intended for a religious use, and very probably consecrated to the stars of the night].*



potential sources of information on prehistoric technological practices, at least. There are some remarkable individual objects among this material, including a 'chape-shaped' stone object from Onnens, Lake Neuchâtel (Switzerland), acquired in 1913 (1913.80.63, *Figure 11.11*). Donated by one Ernest Roulin, it is made from a fine-grained sandstone, it is finely worked with vertical grooves on the back, a flat base, and on the front face an incised crescent and dot cluster in-filled with traces of yellowish pigment. The motifs and decorative arrangement bear resemblance to the Bronze Age Nebra 'sky disc' (Meller 2004), and that in itself must invite further study and evaluation of its authenticity. The object came as part of a larger assemblage of around 30 objects from the Swiss site donated to the Museum (via Henry Balfour). The Onnens collection also includes 2 bronze pendants (1913.80.72), one of which is in the form of a 'pendant crescent' (1913.80.64), 2 bronze rings (1913.80.73–74), a bronze knife with deer horn handle (1913.80.65), a deer horn engraved and perforated plaque ([1913.80.66]), 5 beads (1913.80.67–71), a bronze pin (1913.80.75), a bronze chisel (1913.80.76), 2 bronze awls (1913.80.77–78), 4 bronze needle with round/oval eyes (1913.80.79–82), ceramics (1913.80.83–86), and a piece of charcoal (1913.80.87).

The later prehistoric collections from France are largely unquantified and often unsorted, but are dominated by material that appears to derive from Pitt-Rivers' fieldwork on the northern coastal regions of France, at sites in Brittany, Normandy and Nord Pas de Calais (see 11.5.2 below). The collections comprise a range of stone tools and metalwork, including an undated assemblage of bronze beads (1884.76.108),

extensive Swiss lake village material. This includes textiles (1927.50.1–4) and stringwork fragments (e.g. 1884.123.909, 1892.67.27–29) from Robenhausen, 5 human skull roundels (1913.80.54–55, 1913.80.88–90) and animal bone (1913.80.58–62) from Neolithic deposits at Concise, Lake Neuchâtel (Switzerland), antler-hafted stone tools with traces of original adhesive (e.g. 1913.40.1), and much further, currently unquantified material.¹³ The PRM founding collection also contained at least one photograph from the lake villages, showing exposed wooden remains at Lake Biel (*Figure 11.10*). All are

¹³ At least 70 further archaeological objects from the PRM founding collection from are recorded on the Museum database as unaccessioned and unlocated.

but expanded very little after the founding of the Museum: whereas the Palaeolithic collections expanded significantly. It is very probable that some later prehistoric flintwork is currently incorrectly identified as of Palaeolithic date on the database. Despite the relatively large quantities within the PRM founding collection, only *c.* 13 bronze archaeological objects identified as from France entered the Museum after 1884, and all but 3 of these (1910.72.97, 1919.33.54–55) were transfers from the OUMNH. The General's interests in Iron Age and Roman France, and especially the Gallic invasions of Britain, were not kept up by Balfour or subsequent PRM curators. There is a broadly similar picture for Belgium, although a relatively large assemblage of later prehistoric stone tools and ceramics came to the Museum, deriving from fieldwork undertaken in 1909 and 1911 by Alexander James Montgomerie Bell at sites at Camp-à-Cayaux and Momalle (1921.91.354–384). Nevertheless, a piecemeal development of later prehistoric stone tools and metalwork did take place for some European countries, as can be exemplified by an account of the material from Denmark.

The *c.* 767 later prehistoric objects from Denmark come from a range of sources. Some of this, from the PRM founding collection, represents material collected by Pitt-Rivers on a visit to Denmark with George Rolleston in 1879 (Morton 2011). This includes an unquantified assemblage of later prehistoric flintwork and amber beads from Korsør. Some of the stone tools are marked 'ALF 31.8.79', and some are marked '220g/ 12099 Kitchen midden KORSOR S. Aug. 31 1879'. An assemblage from a kitchen midden at Solager, near Korsør, excavated by Alfred Heneage Cocks at exactly the same time that Lane Fox was in Denmark, includes oyster, cockle and mussel shells, and bones of animals and birds (1891.56.9). A third unquantified assemblage of stone tools 'from a midden at Korsør' was transferred to the PRM from the OUMNH in 1935, as part of the collections of George Rolleston (1935.46.29), and it is possible that organic remains from this source remained in the OUMNH. Taken together, it is possible that the assemblages from Pitt-Rivers, Cocks and Rolleston may derive from the excavation of a single midden site, in which Pitt-Rivers and Rolleston participated. Also from the Danish PRM founding collection material, and possibly from Pitt-Rivers' 1879 trip, is a body of later prehistoric stone tools and metalwork marked 'P.R. Copenhagen' (1884.30.56, 1884.50.6, 1884.50.8, 1884.120.10, 1884.120.49–51, 1884.120.53–54, 1884.125.343, 1884.125.408), and a further currently unquantified body of unprovenanced and undated material from Denmark (more than 320 records), including a significant number of bone tools. The PRM founding collection also includes Neolithic ceramic sherds and 2 worked flints from a midden site at Gundsomagle, apparently from John Evans' collection (1884.125.136, 1884.125.142, 1884.132.42). Danish transfers from the OUMNH to the PRM in 1892 included spindle whorls (1892.67.40–44) and stone tools (within 1892.67.637–878) from the collection of John Wickham Flower. Danish archaeological material later donated to the Museum includes an unquantified assemblage of stone, shells, and burnt wood from a midden at Bilidt, near Frederikssund, collected by Jamieson Boyd Hurry (1918.4.1–4), and stone tools from the collection of John Abercromby (1901.38.35–36). Objects presented by Henry Balfour include a bone skate (1926.12.36), as well as a wide range of metalwork and worked stone (1908.36.26–37, 1915.37.281–297). The collections were further expanded by stone tools purchased from George Fabian Lawrence (1905.69.6–8), Raymond Wilson (1910.72.98–99) and S.G. Hewlett (1924.67.3-5, 1924.67.10) and metalwork purchased through Stevens Auction Rooms (1922.61.1). Further Danish stone tools, often with little provenance, were donated by Walter Leo Hildburgh (1944.12.104–122), James Beck (1897.77.9–12), Oscar Charles Raphael (1919.33.9–11), Vigo Auguste Demant (1919.51.1–6), Edwin Alfred Barton (1923.44.1), Walter Leo Hildburgh (1944.12.104–122), and the

daughter of Frederick Metcalfe (1937.12.1–23). A small assemblage of Mesolithic flintwork from an Ertebølle-period midden site at Havknude, East Jutland was presented to the Museum from the collection of anthropologist E.B. Tylor in 1917 (1917.53.72–79), and a similar collection of unprovenanced flintwork, possibly from Denmark, was donated from the collection of C.S. Seligman and B.Z. Seligman in 1940 (1940.12.650–651). An assemblage of non-ferrous metalwork from the collection of John Lubbock (Lord Avebury) came to the PRM through the British Museum in 1917 (1917.36.46–70). A small body of undated flintwork from a shell midden at Nedersdt donated by PRM Assistant Curator Beatrice Blackwood (1941.8.312), and a body of Bronze Age metalwork and ceramics came by exchange with the Danish National Museum in Copenhagen (1947.1.14–29). A further *c.* 69 archaeological objects from Denmark – mainly later prehistoric non-ferrous metalwork – are listed on the Museum database as currently unaccessioned and unlocated.

11.5 The Collections as Insight into Early Archaeological Practice

11.5.1 Overview

There is no doubting the historic value of the collections. In total, they provide insight into 19th- and early 20th-century collecting practices, shifting disciplinary concerns, and the didactic process of presenting the remote past to the public since the 1880s. They form a unique material record of the formative stages of prehistoric and later archaeology in Britain, one which has the potential to provide a different disciplinary history to that conventionally offered through study of textual sources alone (e.g. Trigger 2006). This is especially true of the PRM founding collection, given its intimate association with Pitt-Rivers, and both his extensive academic networks and pivotal relationship in the development of archaeological method and theory (Bowden 1991; Gosden and Larson 2007: 43–52).

11.5.2 The Fieldwork of Lt-Gen. A.H.L.F. Pitt-Rivers

There are perhaps 4,000 later prehistoric and Roman artefacts in the PRM relating to the early archaeological fieldwork of Pitt-Rivers, as well as medieval and post-medieval material (see Chapter 12). These belong to a phase of his intellectual development that has received less critical attention than his later Cranborne Chase research. Some material relates to his very earliest fieldwork, while serving with the army in Northern Ireland. Mesolithic and Neolithic material is present from at least three unpublished sites in County Antrim: at Carrickfergus, Toome, Ballymena. In December 1868, two years after leaving Northern Ireland, Pitt-Rivers purchased a late Bronze Age bronze spearhead with gold inlay from Lough Gur, County Limerick, Ireland (1884.119.348), at Sothebys, and published it in 1869. It has been found in 1857, and was previously owned by one Reverend Dr Neligan, and by Lord Guillamore. (Lane Fox 1869).

A remarkably rich, unstudied collection of later prehistoric and Romano-British material derives from Pitt-Rivers' early excavations in England and Wales (as well as post-Roman material – see Chapter 12 below), and northern France. Full details of the *c.* 49 sites and findspots represented in London, Yorkshire, Sussex, Kent, Oxfordshire, north Wales, Norfolk, Wiltshire, Devon, Gloucestershire and Bedfordshire are given in Chapter 1. Arguably, it was the large and complex assemblages of material that were recovered during his excavations at key Sussex sites such as Cissbury (Lane Fox 1875), Seaford (Lane Fox 1876), Mount Caburn and Ranscombe Camp (Pitt-Rivers 1881) that began to structure his experiments in recording and reporting artefacts. As Bowden notes (1991: 86), the report on Mount Caburn (Pitt-Rivers 1881) was the first to include a 'Relic Table', providing quantitative and contextual information

on finds. It is interesting to see within the collections just how much material was retained, including categories of artefact such as pottery sherds and flint débitage that many of his contemporaries would not normally have kept. Driven by a desire to formulate better chronologies and by his interest in material and social evolution (Bowden 1991), Pitt-Rivers was experimenting with the information potential of excavated objects. However, his treatment of material was not always consistent, as shown by the different levels of contextual information attached to the finds from the Ranscombe Camp and Mount Caburn excavations, both sites being dug as apart of the same campaign in 1877–1878 (Pitt-Rivers 1881). That from Mount Caburn is much better, with metalwork and the bulk of the pottery labelled according to individual pit. Because of this, the potential for reanalysis of this material is good. There is also a remarkable collection of 63 pieces of fired daub from under the bank at Mount Caburn (1884.137.171 .9–56) that looks to come from a house or other large structure. Material from Ranscombe is given little differentiation beyond recovery from the rampart and ditch. Perhaps this reflects only limited awareness of the importance of stratigraphic control at this point in his fieldwork development (Bowden 1991: 85), and a perception that individual features comprised an appropriate primary archaeological entity rather than layers/deposits.

Worked flint and other stone objects are surprisingly well represented among the excavated and surface-collected material in the PRM founding collection. Note can be made of the substantial collection of 120 pieces of largely earlier Neolithic worked flint, including much débitage, recovered by Pitt-Rivers from Ganton Wold, Yorkshire in 1867 while working with Canon Greenwell on the Willerby Wold and Ganton Wold long barrows (Bowden 1991: 66–67). Pitt-Rivers did not publish this work (although see Greenwell and Rolleston 1877), but Bowden (1991: 66) notes that amongst the Pitt-Rivers Papers at the Salisbury and Wiltshire Museum is a manuscript describing the work. There is little evident selectivity in retention. Telling of a passion for ‘flinting’, and also of otherwise unrecorded fieldwork by Pitt-Rivers, is a collection of about 31 scrapers, flakes and cores from Maiden Bower, Bedfordshire. Only later was the Neolithic component of this site formally recognized (Curwen 1930). His interest in this material was probably heavily influenced by the research programmes of John Evans, Joseph Prestwich and others, in seeing the establishment of lithic typologies as absolutely central to the creation of prehistoric sequences.

Technological connections across different media were explored in the case of a collection of 11 stone implements in metamorphic rock (1884.123.554–570), found in an early Bronze Age cist at Moel Faben, Gwynedd, in October 1868, together with a pottery urn (1884.35.32). The material includes small bifacial implements, a possible scraper and 2 small asymmetric points. Pitt-Rivers recognized the resemblance to contemporary flint implements, sought specialist confirmation (from one Professor Ramsey) on their having been humanly-worked, and used the opportunity of their discovery to argue for the regular employment in certain regions of stone other than flint for the manufacture of tools. His conclusion ‘that in some parts of North Wales, where none but rocks of the primary geological formation occur, the inhabitants used the stone of the country for the same purposes which, in other districts, were served by flint’ (Lane Fox 1870b: 321) may seem of little consequence today, but it marks another point in the formative process of defining the character of the archaeological record and one which assisted with the later recognition of upland Neolithic axe production sites.

Numerous similar insights into Pitt-Rivers’ use of material evidence can be connected to the lithic collections. A final example relates to a small assemblage of 14 irregularly worked flints from Stonehenge (1884.132.240–253). In themselves they are unremarkable – a utilized flake, another with marginal retouch, one with a battered edge,

Figure 11.12 Unused example of General Pitt-Rivers' 'medalets', which he had specially crafted for date-stamping and placement in his excavation trenches before back-filling (PRM Accession Number 1971.30.5).



and a small number of débitage flakes. However, these objects were found in the centre of the monument, having been disturbed by burrowing rabbits, and were used by the General in an early call for systematic excavation at the site (Lane Fox 1870a: 2–3). Employing a rather innovative method for his time, Pitt-Rivers used rapid surface survey of an adjacent ploughed field to demonstrate that lithic distributions in Stonehenge and its environs were discontinuous, and therefore that the material from the interior of the

monument is likely to have had a direct association. The lithics became evidence of the date of Stonehenge and of the material rewards of the proposed excavations. Unfortunately, the then owner of the site, Edmund Antrobus, was unsympathetic to the plans of Pitt-Rivers and the British Association, and it would be another three decades before excavations finally took place (Gowland 1902).

Included in the collections are also items of field equipment used by Pitt-Rivers (1971.30.1–12): his excavation medallions (*Figure 11.12*) and his excavation caravan (no accession number). The PRM founding collection also includes a remarkable set of scale models of archaeological sites. Most of these (1884.140.85–97) depict megalithic sites in England and the Isle of Man, and were created by Alfred Lionel Lewis (cf. Lewis 1868, 1872a, 1872b) in the late 1860s–early 1870s and acquired by Pitt-Rivers soon after. They were manufactured at a scale of 1 inch to 10 feet, from cork and moss mounted on wooden blocks. However, some other makers are also represented in the collection of 16 models (6 further models are either destroyed or unlocated and unaccessioned). (*Table 11.1*). These include an undated model of a mill race or aqueduct (presumably post-medieval in date) near Bantry, County Cork, Ireland, recorded as made 'For Col. A.L. Fox' (1884.140.24), and a much earlier model, apparently made in October 1846 by one Roger Downing of a cromlech on Arda Bear Island, Norway (1884.140.74). Two of the unaccessioned models appear not to be by A.L. Lewis, but are from the collection of J.G. Wood, and depict Cissbury Rings.

In themselves, these models provide a remarkable record of the condition of these sites during the third quarter of the 19th century; a number, such as Wayland's Smithy (Hicks 2011), having since been subject to restoration, meaning that the models represent an important record of the pre-restoration state of the monuments (*Figure*

World Archaeology at the Pitt Rivers Museum: A Characterization
 edited by Dan Hicks and Alice Stevenson, Archaeopress 2013, page 240-261

Date Made	Accession Number	Site or Monument Depicted ¹	Maker
undated	1884.140.24	'Aqueduct or mill race found near Bantry', County Cork, Ireland, 'For Col A.L. Fox'	unknown
Oct. 1846	1884.140.74	Cromlech at Arda Bear Island, Norway	Roger Downing
25 April 1868 2pm	1884.140.89	Kit's Coty House, Kent, '3 miles from Aylesford Station'	A.L. Lewis
6 May 1868 3pm & 10 July 1869	1884.140.97	Wayland's Smithy, Oxfordshire	A.L. Lewis
17 August 1869 5[?] pm	1884.140.96	Chun Quoit, Cornwall	A.L. Lewis
17 August 1869 6pm	1884.140.98	Lanyon Quoit, Cornwall	A.L. Lewis
18 August 1869 3pm	1884.140.93	Trethery Quoit, Cornwall, '5 miles from Liskeard Statn'	A.L. Lewis
19 August 1869 6pm	1884.140.95	'Men-an-Tol, or Holed Stone' Cornwall	A.L. Lewis
22 August 1869 1pm	1884.140.90	Grimspound, Devon	A.L. Lewis
26 August 1869 1pm	1884.140.92	Spinster's Rock/Spinster's Sone, Devon	A.L. Lewis
Monday 19 Sept 1870 5pm	1884.140.86	Calderstones stone circle, Merseyside	A.L. Lewis
Friday 23 Sept 1870 1pm	1884.140.87	Neolithic chambered tomb at King Orry's Grave, Isle of Man	A.L. Lewis
Friday 23 Sept 1870 11/4pm'	1884.140.88	'Sepulchre opposite King Orry's Grave', Isle of Man	A.L. Lewis
Friday 23 Sept 1870 5pm	1884.140.94	Sepulchre at Ballakelly, Isle of Man	A.L. Lewis
Friday 23 Sept 1870 3pm	1884.140.91	Cloven Stones, Isle of Man	A.L. Lewis
1875	1884.140.85	'Underground structure on Langtoft Wold', Yorkshire.	A.L. Lewis
Undated	Not accessioned; currently unlocated [Delivery Catalogue II 354 & ?Green Book 16.426 - 16.441]	Nine Maidens, Penzance, Cornwall	Probably A.L. Lewis
Undated	Not accessioned; possibly destroyed. Red Ag 1848 & Delivery Catalogue II 353 & ?Green 16.426 - 16.441	Mount Murray circle, Isle of Man	Probably A.L. Lewis
Undated	Not accessioned; destroyed. [Delivery Catalogue II 353]	Dance Maen, Merry Maidens or 'Nine Maidens', Cornwall	A.L. Lewis?
Undated	Not accessioned; currently unlocated [Green Book 56.2171 - 56.2172]	'2 models of Cimbruy [?Cissbury] from Mr J.G. Wood's collection' ²	Unknown
Undated	Not accessioned; currently unlocated Green Book 194.6677 - 6678	'2 models of Cissbury shafts'	Unknown
Undated	Not accessioned; destroyed. [Delivery Catalogue II 354]	Stonehenge, Wiltshire	Unknown

Table 11.1 List of scale models of archaeological sites and monuments in the UK, Ireland and Norway from the PRM founding collection.

¹ NB the PRM contains one further scale model of an archaeological site: a ball court at Chichén Itzá, Yucatan made for Alfred Percival Maudslay (1894.37.1).

² This appears to be the Rev. John George Wood (1827-1889), a writer on natural history who published, among other things, a paper titled 'The Dullness of Museums' in 1887 (*Nineteenth Century* 21: 384-396).

11.13). Their role was principally didactic, being used as illustrations at meetings. But they can also be regarded as an effective mode of three-dimensional record made at a time when photography was a novel and little-employed technique, and when the production of illustrations for dissemination was still limited to labour-intensive methods such as steel plate and wood engraving, and lithography. As Caroline Butler noted in a paper written while working on the Characterization project (2010), these

Figure 11.13 One of the scale models of archaeological monuments made by Alfred Lionel Lewis in the late 1860s, acquired by Pitt-Rivers soon afterwards, and displayed at his exhibitions in Bethnal Green and South Kensington before being brought to Oxford. This model (PRM Accession Number 1884.140.97) shows the Neolithic chambered tomb at Wayland's Smithy, Oxfordshire. The stones, rendered in cork, are surrounded by undergrowth and small trees, depicted by moss. The model's focus is the sarsen stones of the chamber and the kerb, while the mound is suggested under the vegetation. The cork and the moss are mounted on a square wooden block covered with painted paper. A hand-written label identifies the site as 'Wayland's Cave, 3 miles from Shrivenham Station, Berkshire': a reminder of the significance of rail travel to stations such as this (opened 1840) in facilitating visits to archaeological monuments in the early Victorian period. Each edge of the block is labelled with a compass point, and the whole model is at a scale of 1 inch to 10 feet. Text written on the base indicates the date on which Lewis visited the site and possibly when he manufactured the object: "16 May 1868 3pm & 10 July 1869" (see Hicks 2011).



models may have 'played an important part in encouraging Pitt-Rivers' own use of models as illustrative and demonstrative tools'.

11.5.3 Finds from Roman London

When compared with the extensive prehistoric assemblages, there is relatively little Romano-British material within the PRM collections. The bulk of Romano-British finds were acquired early as part of the PRM founding collection, and their provenance is heavily skewed towards Dorset (about 279 objects), principally from Purbeck and Jordan Hill, and the City of London (about 533 artefacts). The latter material is of particular historical interest because of its recovery during early salvage work within the City; indeed it is the material legacy of some of the earliest episodes of 'rescue archaeology' in the UK (Norman 1906), including material ranging from the prehistoric to post-medieval periods from sites at Battersea, Broad Street, Bishopsgate, Cannon Street Steelyard, Charing Cross Station, Bucklersbury, Clement's Lane, Finsbury Circus, Holborn Bridge, Lincoln's Inn, Lombard Street/Gracechurch Street, London Wall, Mansion House, Moorfields, Old Jewry, Queenhithe Dock, Smithfield, St Mildred Poultry, Tokenhouse, Yard and Westminster Bridge – as well as further afield in Homerton, Southwark, Limehouse and Walthamstow. The most extensive collections include those from the development at London Wall during 1866, where Pitt-Rivers himself had an active connection, 'having maintained a watching brief... for at least two months' (Bowden 1991: 646). The PRM holds more than 221 multi-period objects from this work at London Wall, including significant quantities of Romano-British material, ranging from copper alloy artefacts (including pins, needles, ear scoops, tweezers) to iron objects (tools, locks, spoons, spades, scissors, strigils, styluses), animal bone artefacts (points, needles and skates), leatherwork (shoes), ceramic vessels and vessel fragments, human remains, and post-medieval clay pipes. Typical of elements within the City of London collection, there are 72 pieces of Samian and stamped mortaria sherds found by Frederick Price in July 1879 during development near Mansion House (1887.1.400). Recovery was evidently highly

selective, and directed towards Samian, stamped Roman pottery and curiosities. A collection of 88 pottery fragments made by William Mosley during the excavation for the foundations of the City Bank at the corner of Threadneedle Street around 1886 is heavily biased towards Roman forms, especially Samian and grey wares (1887.1.280–367). Only a few fragments of medieval jugs are present, along with oddities (see Chapter 12 below). The Roman focus must be intentional, and could be tied into a then current identification between the City as ‘heart of Empire’, and British and Roman imperialism (cf. Hingley 2008). It reflects an interest in recovering the plan of the Roman city, yet perhaps also the limitations faced at the time of coming to terms with deeply stratified and complex structural sequences, in which the more solid components of Roman archaeology necessarily afforded greater attention than ephemeral medieval structural remains and deposits. The assemblages within the collections offer one potentially fruitful route into the historiography of early archaeological research in London, and almost certainly represent artefacts discussed in Pitt-Rivers’ own publications on London archaeology (e.g. Lane Fox 1866).

11.6 Closing Comments

More than any other element of the collection, the later prehistoric European collections urgently require a sustained programme of cataloguing, documentation enhancement and research. A few routes into future research on this component of the collections have been offered here. They are far from exhaustive: only the very tip of the iceberg has been observed. The basic sorting, numbering, identification and description of the prehistoric and Roman material in the PRM founding collection, especially the excavated and surface-collected assemblages deriving from Pitt-Rivers’ own early fieldwork in England, represent crucial pressing tasks for the potential of this element of the PRM collections to begin to be realised. As well as site-based work, the scope of the collections means that there is considerable potential for comparative work that operates at regional, national or transnational scales, exploring patterns in technology, exchange, or deposition, or undertaking scientific analysis of particular artefact categories. While locational detail is often stronger than might be expected, the enhancement of contextual detail through linkage to field notebooks and records, published sources, and HER/NMR records is a priority for future research. Given the unique character and history of the PRM, the archaeological collections not only have a second life as evidence of human life in antiquity, but also a third life, so to speak, as unique testimonies to the early scientific development of the discipline. The potential for reimagining the archaeological collections as material resources for writing the history of archaeology is clear, and such work could make innovative contributions beyond the discipline of archaeology to broader histories of the creation of scientific knowledge in the 19th and 20th centuries.

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World Archaeology at the Pitt Rivers Museum: A Characterization
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