The neglect of northern England's Neolithic and Early Bronze Age structures in the archaeological literature of Britain

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Abstract

For many years, it has been noted, from my own personal observations and from literature referring to the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (N/EBA) structures in northern England, that there has been a neglect in referencing these sites. Nevertheless, there are numerous impressive monuments and landscapes in northern England. These include seventy Cumbrian stone circles, 1500 Bronze Age barrows in Yorkshire, amazing Northumbrian rock art, and henge and cursus complexes, as well as Neolithic round and long mounds in North Yorkshire.

The earliest antiquarians were fascinated by southern Britain's prehistoric structures. They have assumed that these monuments are the best and the most interesting examples or type-sites in Britain. Although northern sites have provided early dates and new archaeological material and information, many British archaeologists have not referenced these structures. In fact, even in books and articles about northern England's prehistoric structures, the author(s) often provide comparisons of structures within southern Britain, rather than presenting their data in its own right or comparing it with another site elsewhere.

While the Wessex and Orkney monuments are awe-inspiring, some of their sites have been under continual scrutiny, investigation and constant publication, with some archaeologists unable to see the magnificence beyond. Despite many references to this disparity, for example, Barclay (2001, 13) or Harding (2013, 1-2), the situation continues. In fact, this issue has been unresolved for forty years (Miket 1976, 113).

This thesis was therefore undertaken to see whether this could or could not be proven, by analysing various syntheses from a national perspective. Books written about the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, with Britain in the title, would be studied. The variety and complexity of northern England's structures within their N/EBA landscapes will be discussed ideas will be offered for future research.

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1. Introduction

In this thesis, it will be shown, whether or not northern England has been neglected in the archaeological literature of Britain, with regards to Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (N/EBA) structures. It has long been postulated, that the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age monuments of southern England and Orkney have been favoured over those in the rest of Britain (Harding 2013, 2; Barclay 2001, 13). Hence, this thesis has been undertaken to look at this argument, with particular reference to the north of England. Other regions within Britain could also have been my focus of study, for example, southern Scotland. Nevertheless, during my undergraduate degree in archaeology, 157 N/EBA ceremonial circular monuments in northern England were visited, in order to write my BA dissertation. So, this allowed me to gain a detailed knowledge of the early landscapes of Cumbria, North Yorkshire, Cleveland, Durham and Northumberland. This is a region of both densely and sparsely populated areas. It has a wide variety of impressive Neolithic and Early Bronze Age monuments, which are present as up-standing structures or as cropmarks, seen from aerial photography. For the three years of my undergraduate degree, I had also been encouraged to read a set number of national books on British prehistory, in order to widen my overall knowledge and to provide a flavour of what was important within Britain in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods. Working through this collection of books, as well as associated reading materials on the prehistory of Britain, there seemed to be a lack of tangible and comprehensive examples from the north of England. The same group of sites seemed to be referred to in every text, such as those in Wessex, whether the book's content was local or national. It appeared, therefore, as though there were not many significant sites in northern England, or often indeed in Scotland or Wales. Yet, whilst doing the BA dissertation, important N/EBA sites in northern England were studied, which could have been written about in greater detail within the archaeological literature (see below). As an older under-graduate, with a long-lasting interest in prehistory, certain N/EBA structures were frequently visited by me but rarely mentioned within the national literature that I read. These included the stone row at Boroughbridge, Swinside stone circle in Cumbria and the fantastic rock art in Northumberland. This, therefore, acted as a starting point to consider whether this viewpoint could or could not be proven, within an in-depth analysis of the subject.

The aims and objectives of this thesis are thus:

Aims

- To evaluate to what degree the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age structures of northern England are being neglected in standard archaeological accounts of prehistoric Britain
- To present the results of this research to other archaeologists, who may have also inadvertently omitted regions of Britain from their work
- To highlight regions which have been widely mentioned and others that have been neglected in the archaeological literature on British prehistory over the last eighty years

Objectives

- To study a representative sample of archaeological books on the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of Britain from the last eighty years
- To present the results of the findings in written and tabular form
- To analyse the results, within a wider archaeological perspective and to discuss the significance of these findings
- To establish whether northern England has been under-represented, and to provide guidance for how this issue could be redressed in the future

- To champion the work ongoing and already completed in northern England and hope that this will be used in a wider context
- To suggest areas for future N/EBA research in northern England, to broaden perspectives and provide future cross-comparisons of data.

Widening the scope of my reading, it became clear that other writers were struggling with the same conundrum (see below). There seemed to be an undercurrent of negativity towards the paucity of comprehensive examples about northern England, especially in studies that purported to be discussing the national perspective. Many archaeologists working in areas away from southern England felt that their newly-discovered monuments and landscapes had not been given the publicity and recognition that they deserved. Harding stated that, 'The henges' obscurity largely reflected their location, sited as they were a long way from Wessex and Orkney, areas traditionally favoured by Neolithic specialists, in an often ignored part of the British Isles' (2013, 2; Barclay 2001, 13). He was referring to the Thornborough triple-henged complex and associated landscape in North Yorkshire. This commentary made me think more deeply about this issue and I began to notice reference after reference to southern sites, although there were many fine examples in northern England. Other regions were also barely being mentioned. It was as though the structures of northern England and elsewhere, did not appear to be worthy enough examples to be mentioned in these works. This is surprising, as Gamelands and Gunnerkeld stone circles in Cumbria; Goatstones and Whinny Hill Four-Poster circles in Northumberland; Duggleby Howe and Willy Howe Neolithic round barrows on the Yorkshire Wolds; and Hutton Moor henge in the A1 corridor, North Yorkshire; are but a few examples of the variety of important monuments within the greater area of northern England. During this reading, there were some references to sites in northern England usually not mentioned. These included some Neolithic round mounds, namely Aldro 88, Aldro 94, and Cowlam 277, all in Russell's text on British Neolithic monuments (2002, 61). However, as Russell had not stated that these Neolithic mounds were in Yorkshire, it was, therefore, not clear as to their geographical position within Britain. Their relevance had not been appreciated as fine examples of timber rectangular structures, enclosing human bodies and body parts, beneath these Neolithic round mounds in the Yorkshire Wolds. It will be shown whether this lack of geographical referencing is reflected elsewhere within the literature to be studied.

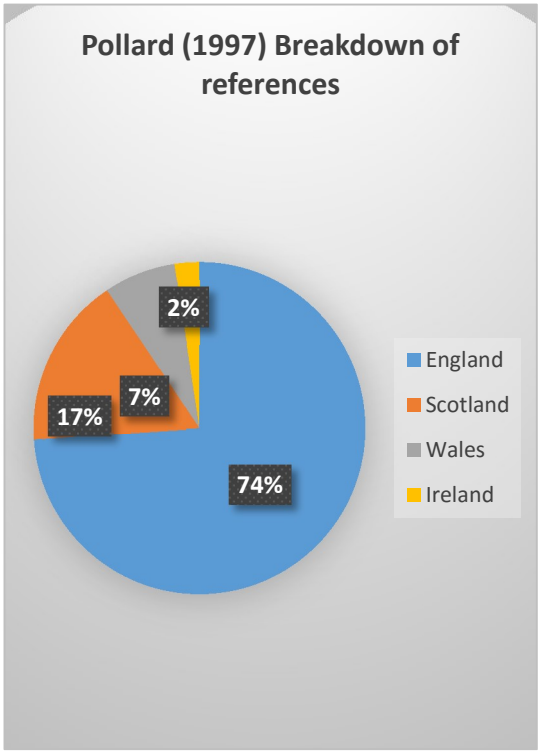
A research strategy needed to be created which would encompass all these issues, so that they could be analysed in a logical and measured way, to produce an irrefutable, open data-set, which could be studied by all, to prove or disprove this issue, once and for all. It was therefore necessary to create a study which could analyse whether the archaeological literature fairly represents the regional diversity of prehistoric sites within Britain. It would be interesting to see, from the books studied, whether archaeologists who had worked throughout Britain referenced more varied N/EBA sites rather than those who had primarily worked and lived in one particular region. Might it be shown that English, and particularly southern English sites, might act 'as a shorthand for the United Kingdom as a whole' (Davies 1999, xxvii).

This study is a search for the facts and has been designed to have a positive outcome. It is intended to try to expand the wealth of monuments discussed within the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods. This would allow archaeologists and students to widen the scope of their particular study and to make their work encompass a more national perspective. This thesis will hopefully encourage discourse regarding a greater multitude of sites within Britain, to make authors stop and think, when writing books. This is crucial to widen awareness within Britain and not to provide a partial analysis of the information available. Hopefully, this will prevent neglected, extant sites from disappearing into oblivion. If, as a result of this study, more archaeologists refer to a different range

of diverse sites, as their examples, it might change the overall view of British archaeology in northern England for the better and disseminate the splendour of these structures to the wider archaeological community, as well as to the general public. It is clear from the outset that, whilst northern England is the focus of this study, there are many areas around Britain, even within Wessex, where research is needed and where this work might change the overall perspective.

Precursor to this study

In order to see whether there were any grounds for this study, a short book, named *Neolithic Britain,* by Joshua Pollard was chosen (1997). His work, when first studied in 2009, seemed to have focussed mainly on sites in southern England. So, in October 2014, a tally of his references were made, based upon the regional groupings below (Figure 1, Figure 2). As can be seen, the majority of his references were based in England, rather than a wider representation of the Neolithic sites in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, such as can be seen from Burl's maps of the stone circles of Britain (2000, 2, 34, 37). From the second diagram, it can be seen that the most referenced counties were Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Somerset and Wiltshire, including the area of Wessex, which together make up south-western England. Half of his references referred to this region. Therefore, it was not a comprehensive view of the whole of Britain, as the title would suggest.



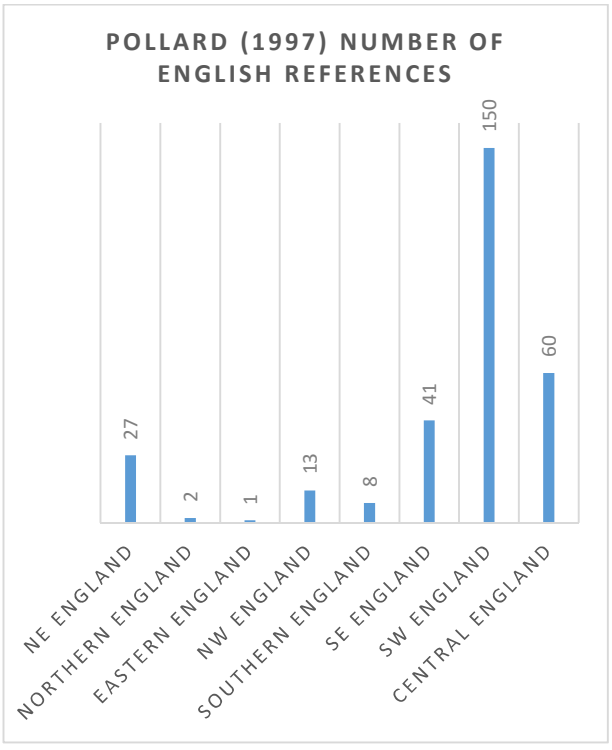


Figure 1 - Pollard (1997) Breakdown of references

Figure 2 - Pollard (1997) Number of English references

In fact, there were far more references to Wessex (Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset and Wiltshire) than for the counties of northern England (Cleveland, Cumbria, Durham, Northumberland, North Yorkshire and Tyne & Wear) (Figure 3).

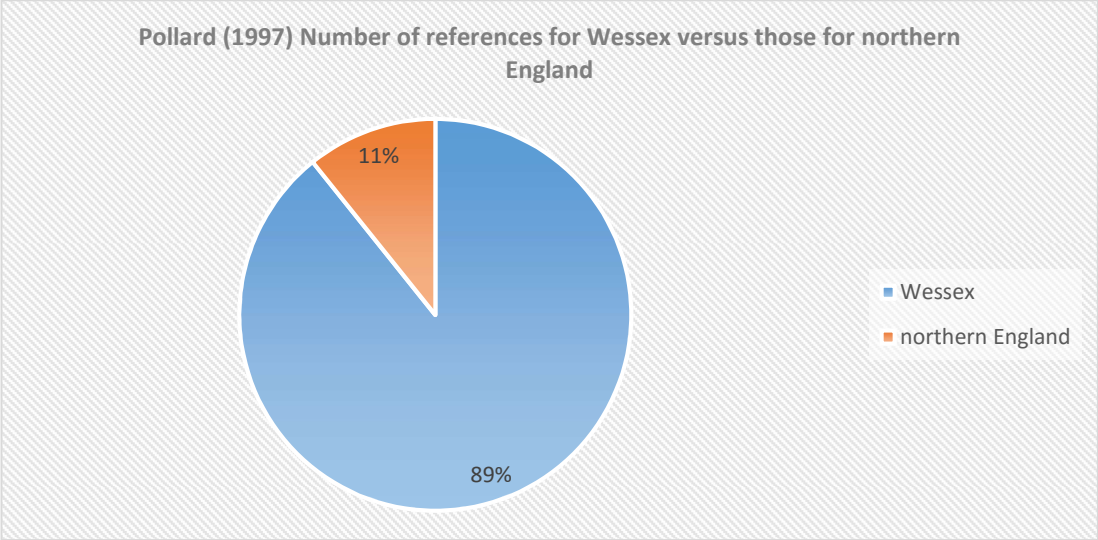


Figure 3 - Pollard (1997) Number of References for Wessex versus northern England

The meaning of the term 'northern England'

For the benefit of this study, the term 'northern England' includes fourteen counties. They are Redcar and Cleveland, including Hartlepool, Middlesbrough and Stockton; Cumbria, including both Cumberland and Westmoreland; Durham, including Darlington; Northumberland; North Yorkshire, including York; and Tyne and Wear, which now consists of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, North and South Tyneside, and Sunderland. For simplification within the text, the regions will be referred to as Cumbria, Northumberland and Yorkshire. East Yorkshire, although referred to within the text, was not initially included in the data analysis of northern England, as it is technically within eastern England.

The meaning of the term 'Britain'

As the word 'Britain' seems often to be used, to describe countries including England, it was necessary to question what the word *Britain* actually means. As Barclay suggested, people refer to the word Britain, when they actually mean England (2009, 2; 2001, 8). Yet, it would be difficult to divide each commentary on British archaeology equally into several sections, especially as monuments and sites are not evenly distributed throughout Britain. Parker Pearson stated, in the Introduction to his book, 'To write about prehistoric England would make little sense since such a concept did not exist' (1993, 12). This is a pertinent point and the current-day geographical boundaries must be considered as they, too, did not exist in the Neolithic or Bronze Ages. Yet, a definition must be made for the parameters of this study. The dictionary definition states that Britain consists of England, Scotland, and Wales. The United Kingdom includes England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, whilst the British Isles refers to Britain, Ireland, and all the smaller islands around the coast http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Britain. Henceforth, the Republic of Ireland will be referred to as ROI.

Before the books were read, the intention had been to write solely about 'Britain', that is, to study references to England, Scotland and Wales. However, as Ireland (both Northern Ireland and ROI) was mentioned within references to Britain, references to Ireland and its sites and regions needed to be included within the results. Nevertheless, this confusion created some initial issues in the data-gathering process. Richard Bradley was also aware of this issue. Regarding Britain and Ireland, he stated that, 'scholars have been careless in writing about the two islands' (Bradley 2007, 11). 'They have sometimes treated Ireland as a dependency of its neighbour, even in periods when this

was not the case. They can also use the name England as a synonym for the island of Britain. Quite often this conveys the unconscious idea that certain areas were at the centre of events and that others were largely peripheral' (ibid.). It will be interesting to see if, through this study, northern England is referenced as a core or peripheral region. The analysis will also need to consider a basis for clarifying the number of monuments within any given region, so that this can be compared with the number of references made. Other issues may be identified as the study progresses, and will be resolved, in order to ensure that the analysis is comprehensive and coherent.

In order that this study can be completed within its timeframe, it is accepted that only one case study, that is, northern England, can be looked at, although all other sites or regions within the whole of Britain were included in the data collection process, so that an overall comparison of sites within Britain could be made. Nevertheless, it is accepted that this is a wider issue and the results may show that many other areas, besides northern England, are also under-represented within national syntheses.

Yet, it is clearly acknowledged that there is not one 'single, uniform Neolithic' (Scarre 2007, 128), which could be described for Britain and Ireland, but that there are many regional variations. Different types of N/EBA monuments occur in different regions throughout the UK, with some clusters of monument types, and other monuments occurring in all locations. For example, recumbent stone circles are only found in north-east Scotland, on the mainland, whereas ceremonial circles, made of stone, earth or timber, can be seen all over the British Isles (Burl 2000). Despite this, there are many regions which require much more work, in order to clarify both their regional types, as well as their radiocarbon dates and therefore place them securely within the Neolithic, and Bronze Age, sequence of events. At present, Burl has dated the Cumbrian circles from a list of early traits, late traits and finds (ibid.109), rather than from a sequence of radiocarbon dates.

Just as Andrew Meirion Jones stated, change can best be achieved 'through the analysis of performance and process'. So, this thesis intends to look carefully at how our understanding of prehistoric Britain takes for 'granted the prior and fixed, ontological status' of the situation presented to us (2012, 18). John Hunter and Ian Ralston felt, in their overview to *The Archaeology of Britain,* that 'Some parts of Britain received greater (archaeological) attention and resources than others, based on local demands at the time, not through a rational analysis of longer term need' (1999, 8). They also stated that, 'the restructuring of field archaeology to counter the increasing erosion of the archaeological record occurred differently in the constituent parts of the country' (ibid.). They added that Wales was the only country to develop an archaeologically coherent, fully-nationwide system, although funding was most generous in England (ibid.). It will be shown if this is reflected in my statistical analysis. Hopefully, these statistics will point out factors, such as geographical imbalance, within the books studied. Archaeologists, working in northern England, have noted that there seems to be less interest in sites from midland England northwards to central Scotland. Barclay has frequently commented about 'Four Nations' history (for example, 2009, 2). He noted that assumptions have previously been made, regarding the importance of southern England or Orkney's sites. An example he provided in 2004, was that once it was found that the northern henges were dated earlier than those in the south, the assumption was that they must have originated in Orkney, rather than Wessex (2004, 35), rather than considering that henges may have originated at any point inbetween. As recently as 2001, Waddington had decided to contest the notion that early Neolithic enclosures were absent in northern and western Britain, by gaining funding to do two small excavations in Northumberland, in order to demonstrate their presence (2001, 1). It will be noted how many of these books reflect these issues in the referencing of sites

throughout Britain. Nevertheless, nothing can be gained from a discussion without evidence. It will therefore be necessary to go systematically through these pieces of national literature to demonstrate whether this is the case, as well as to provide ideas of how this might be remedied in the future. In the next chapter, the chosen methodology for this thesis will be outlined.

2. Methodology

It was then necessary to produce a Methodology, in order to assess the way in which the archaeology of northern England is represented in archaeological literature. It was decided to take a quantitative, rather than an impressionistic approach. So, a selection of publications were subjected to a detailed analysis, in order to discover the number and range of references to these sites and monuments regarding Neolithic and Early Bronze Age data. A comparison with sites from elsewhere in Britain could then be made. I decided to do my research only using prominent books with the word Britain in the title, and only those which were particularly discussing prehistory and more particularly, the Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages.

The original aim was to read twenty archaeology books, which reflected a synthesis of the prehistory of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, specifically in Britain (and Ireland). This study would look at syntheses of Britain published over an 80-year timescale, in order to see if referencing to sites and regions had altered over that period. These overviews would have 'undoubtedly benefitted' the archaeological record (Hunter & Ralston 1999, 8). It would be interesting to see if books, which had been included in my undergraduate reading lists, actually provided a holistic and geographically-wide picture of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of Britain, especially northern England. A systematic survey of each book was undertaken, using both Microsoft Excel and ArcGIS. The method chosen was to read each book and note down every single reference to Neolithic and Early Bronze Age sites, as well as to particular counties or areas of Britain. Every reference was logged onto an Excel spreadsheet (Appendix A), with one sheet per book and with identical headings on each sheet. Each site, region or area was referenced for each mention, with the relevant page numbers, in order to provide the ability to refer back to specific references and to check the accuracy of the data entry system. This was done, in order to record information on individual sites, including those, such as Whitby or Stonehenge, which might be used as location markers for a particular region. Individual site patterns could then be looked for. Each site was then provided with a Site Type label. They were referred to as stone circle, barrow, settlement etc., and provided with a grid reference, which needed to be converted into an x/y co-ordinate for later GIS mapping (Table 1).

A sample of the Excel datasheet headings

Book	County	Site Name	Site type	Area	Country	General Site Area mentions	Total no of site area mentions	Total no of specific mentions	Total no of pages mentioned	Page numbers	Grid	Eastings	Northings	X	Y

Table 1 - Sample of Excel Datasheet Headings

Elements considered during data completion

From the first book, a consistent protocol was developed, in order to reference each book in the same way. This was as follows:

- Mentions of Britain and Ireland together, and/or of the British Isles, would not be referenced in the Excel spreadsheet, whereas references to Britain alone, or to one of the five individual countries of ROI, England, Northern Ireland, Scotland or Wales, would be noted;
- Every mention of British or Irish region (North, East, South, West or Central) was referenced, as well as every reference to a particular site or county, if the writer had mentioned places specifically. Within some sites, there were multiple references, such as the Aubrey holes,

Bluestone circle, Altar stone, all within Stonehenge; or the reference to Thornborough's Northern, Central or Southern Henges;

- The decision as to whether a site or location was in the north, north-east, south, south-east etc of a particular country was based on the BBC's definition of location descriptions in Britain. A grid was created and adhered to for each book (see Table 2, Table 3, Table 4, Table 5). Ireland was slightly more problematic, due to the specific location of Northern Ireland (see below), and comments were often ambiguous, comparing the north with the south of Ireland as a whole.
- Generic mentions of pottery type-sites, flint sources or 'Cultures /People' would be referenced, as those names refer directly to a particular British location in one's mind, for example, Peterborough ware of southern England; Unstan-ware of Orkney; and Carrowkeel-ware of Ireland;
- This may seem obvious, but for reasons of clarity, British was referenced as Britain, Irish as Ireland, English as England, Welsh as Wales and Scottish as Scotland, for example, Irish lunulae or Scottish tomb-builders;
- Each reference was logged in one of two ways. This was either a specific reference, with details/images of a particular site, or was logged as a general reference. In this case, the site might be used: i) as a type-site; ii) as a site locator (5km from …); as a comparison to another site; iv) as a general reference to that area of the country;
- With reference to the MA Research title, it was decided to correlate evidence solely for the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods. Any reference to the Palaeolithic, Mesolithic or Iron Age periods was disregarded. Specific references to pre-Mesolithic and Mesolithic societies were avoided, unless there was a direct comparison within the paragraph to Neolithic societies (e.g. Pryor 2003, 140-2, regarding the Mesolithic settlement and subsequent Neolithic buildings at Lismore Fields, Derbyshire). There were further issues when reading about the Bronze Age. It was often unclear where references for the Early Bronze Age ceased and those for the Middle and Later Bronze Age began. This was particularly true if an author was describing a multi-period or long-occupied site. However, having discussed the situation with my supervisor, I reasoned that for modern books, the Early-Middle Bronze Age transition might be accepted at around 1700-1800 calBC, whereas for books produced before the calibrated, more reliable radiocarbon dates of today, the Early-Middle Bronze Age transition might be accepted at around 1500bc. Nevertheless, many authors separated each of the Bronze Age periods and wrote about them separately (e.g. Burgess 1974, Chapter 5), which made the decision-making process on my part, much easier.
- Other books had chapters covering the whole prehistory of Britain (for example, Megaw & Simpson 1979). I therefore deliberately avoided any chapters which were specifically about periods other than N/EBA (such as Bradley 2007, Chapters 4 & 5, which covered the Later Bronze and Iron Ages, respectively), and yet read any general chapters, such as the 'Preface' (Megaw & Simpson 1979, 1-5), and 'The environmental background to British prehistory' (ibid., 6-23); or chapters which contained any introductory or concluding remarks (e.g. Darvill 1999, Chapter 17).

The locations of British counties and regions, referred in the text

Location within Scotland	County/Area
North – N	Aberdeenshire
East – E	Angus
West – W	Argyll
South – S	Ayrshire
S	Borders

N	Caithness
S	Dumfries and Galloway
Central – C	East Ayrshire
E	East Lothian
E	Fife
W	Glasgow
E	Grampian
N	Hebrides
W	Inner Hebrides
E	Invernessshire
E	Midlothian
W	North Ayrshire
N	Orkney Islands
N	Outer Hebrides
S	Peeblesshire
C	Perthshire
W	Renfrewshire
N	Ross & Cromarty
N	Shetland Islands
S	South Ayrshire
C	South Lanarkshire
C	Stirlingshire
N	Sutherland
E	Tayside
W	Western Isles
C	West Lothian

Table 2 – Location within Scotland

Location within England	County/Area
South-west - SW	Bath and North-East Somerset
C	Bedfordshire
C	Berkshire
South-east - SE	Brighton and Hove
SW	Bristol
C	Buckinghamshire
C	Cambridgeshire
North-west - NW	Cheshire
North-east - NE	Cleveland
SW	Cornwall
NW	Cumbria
C	Derbyshire
SW	Devon
SW	Dorset
NE	Durham
SE	East Anglia
SE	Essex
C	East Midlands
C	West Midlands
SW	Gloucestershire
SE	Hampshire
SW	Herefordshire
SE	Hertfordshire

NE	Humberside
SE	Kent
NW	Lancashire
C	Leicestershire
NE	Lincolnshire
SE	London Greater
SE	London Inner
NW	Merseyside
C	Middlesex
SE	Milton Keynes
SE	Norfolk
C	Northamptonshire
NE	Northumberland
C	Nottinghamshire
C	Oxfordshire
SW	Poole - Dorset
C	Shropshire
SW	Somerset
C	Staffordshire
SE	Suffolk
SE	Surrey
SE	Sussex
NE	Tyne and Wear
C	Warwickshire
SW	Wiltshire
SE	Windsor & Maidenhead
SW	Worcestershire
NE	Yorkshire East
NE	Yorkshire North
C	Yorkshire South
C	Yorkshire West
NE	Yorkshire (general)
NW	Isle of Man
SW	Isle of Wight
SW	Channel Islands
SW	Scilly Isles

Table 3 - Location within England. The Isle of Man and the Channel Islands are included in this grouping.

Location within Wales	County/Area
W	Ceredigion
NE	Clwyd
N	Conwy
SW	Dyfed
SE	Glamorgan
SE	Gwent
NW	Gwynedd
C	Powys

Table 4 - Location with Wales

Location within Ireland	County/Area
Northern Ireland	Antrim
Northern Ireland	Armagh
Northern Ireland	Cavan

Northern Ireland	Derry
Northern Ireland	Down
Northern Ireland	Fermanagh
Northern Ireland	Lough
Northern Ireland	Tyrone
SE ROI	Carlow
SW ROI	Clare
NW ROI	Connaught
SW ROI	Cork
NW ROI	Donegal
NE ROI	Dublin
NW ROI	Galway
SW ROI	Kerry
E ROI	Kildare
SE ROI	Kilkenny
SE ROI	Leinster
NW ROI	Leitrim
SW ROI	Limerick
Central ROI	Longford
NE ROI	Louth
NW ROI	Mayo
NE ROI	Meath
NE ROI	Monaghan
SW ROI	Munster
Central ROI	Offaly
Central ROI	Roscommon
NW ROI	Sligo
Central ROI	Tipperary
SE ROI	Waterford
SE ROI	Wexford
SE ROI	Wicklow

Table 5 - Location within Ireland

At the end of each book's entries, the entire spreadsheet was copied onto a new sub-sheet, before any analysis was done to the individual Excel spreadsheet for each book. This meant that, firstly, the final spreadsheet would contain every single site or region referenced within all books, to create a comprehensive picture of all references. Secondly, the spreadsheet created for each book could also be looked at, checked and its data manipulated. The copying of information onto each new sheet, as each book was read, also enabled the researcher, as it reduced the necessity of looking up each site from scratch for each book, as coordinates, grid references, county or regional locations, site types etc. had already been completed for some places and referenced on the previous spreadsheet.

Some sites have changed their county over the last seventy years, and particularly since 1 April 1974, when the Local Government Act 1972 came into force. In all cases, the new or best-known county for each site was used. Many sites, for example, which were once in Berkshire are now in Oxfordshire. The most famous of these is Wayland's Smithy, which was described by Forde-Johnston (1976, 71) as being in Berkshire, but which currently lies in Oxfordshire. In the same way, books written before 1974 could not reference the then non-existent counties like Brighton and Hove or Cleveland, and so, naturally, their results will reflect this. In the pre-1974 books, therefore, one should expect more references for the neighbouring county to compensate for this issue, but, of course, that would be too arbitrary to assess. Nevertheless, these issues have naturally skewed

the results for a number of counties and the problems need to be taken into consideration in the overall picture of the county totals in each pre-1974 analysis.

Also, problems arose when logging information regarding the north of Ireland. It was frequently unclear whether north or northern Ireland meant the country or the area. Consequently, any references to northern Ireland were noted as the country Northern Ireland. This may have led to a few incorrect assumptions but categorising every single statement was very difficult. In almost all cases, the initial reference to northern Ireland actually referenced sites within the country of Northern Ireland, rather than the top half of the island of Ireland.

Building on this initial protocol, some further issues arose during the analysis and the protocols developed. When reading Renfrew's British Prehistory (1974), it was decided, as Renfrew did in his writing, to separate out the references to Northern Ireland and ROI. I therefore made new ROI sub-headings of NE, NW, SE, SW and Central ROI, as well as a specific reference to Northern Ireland itself. This made future entries much clearer and more obvious. If any discrepancies arose with ambiguous references to the north of Ireland, I divided those references three-ways from that point onwards, in order to make the results as fair as possible. This did, however, lead to some odd number totals (Appendix A). As Parker Pearson (1993) covered the Neolithic and the whole of the Bronze Age in his book, I only entered facts pertaining to the Earlier Bronze Age, for example, I did not include the four pictured sites referred to on pages 32-3, nor the two others mentioned also as Later Bronze Age on page 33. Likewise, I did not include Springfield Lyons circular ditch, as it has been dated to c.900BC.

The third chapter of Bradley's book (2007) was specifically about the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, and entitled 'North and South'. I thought that this would be a good opportunity to look at how fairly Bradley had referenced each part of Britain and a good exercise to see how he had interpreted that phrase. By noting the location of each reference for that chapter into North, South, East, West and Central headings for each of Scotland, Wales, Ireland and England, it was hoped that the totals for this chapter would reflect a fair distribution between the North and the South of Britain, as the chapter stated, and would therefore mirror the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age references within the content of the entire book, but in microcosm.

After having read each book, I also tallied the names of the provided bibliographic references in each book. For each bibliography article or book, I noted whether the title mentioned a specific place-name, general region or country, or no locational information, i.e., for general archaeological texts. I then tallied data on each book or article under the following headings: General; Elsewhere (for locations outside of Britain and Ireland); Britain; Ireland; southern, northern, eastern or western Britain; England, Scotland or Wales; northern or southern England; northern or southern Scotland; northern or southern Wales. Each author's bibliographical references were then entered onto an Organisational Chart, with the total amounts providing cumulative totals for each country, as well as for Britain.

Methodological issues encountered

I found many issues, when researching site names, locations and specific information pertaining to certain sites. The Pastscape website is an online journal which has logged every findspot, site reference or excavation discovery in England. However, the website only understands accurately-spelt names, with no margin for error, which created some serious issues. For example, Malone had named Hasting Hill, an interrupted-ditched enclosure in Sunderland, Tyne and Wear, 'Hastings Hill' (2001, 175). Pastscape did not identify the name and much time was spent in the search for the correct name. In fact, Google, megalithic.co.uk or The Modern Antiquarian websites often found a

reference to the site, as well as accompanying photographic evidence. Cornwall's Braddock Barrow Cemetery was an example of this (Forde-Johnston 1976, 136). There were no references to this on Pastscape, despite many references to its battle site, so only an approximate location could be used.

Another issue which occasionally became an issue, was the challenge of working out which site was being referred to, when there was more than one N/EBA site with the same name. Sometimes, however, the location or county was referenced (Parker Pearson 1999, 89; Pryor 2003, 250; Darvill 1987, 81; Smith 1974, 123). Nevertheless, during the later analysis, it became clear that there are two Bush Barrows, one in Dorset and one in Wiltshire. I have referenced all as Wiltshire, as no contrary explanation was provided.

Total number of known N/EBA sites per English county

As the study area is northern England and in order to provide a baseline comparison for each English county, the total number of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age sites for each county was calculated. It was difficult to obtain this data, as sites are often multi-period or have not been scientifically dated. Firstly, Pastscape's Advanced Search engine was employed, in order to search Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments for each county in England, for example, 206 Neolithic monuments in Buckinghamshire. However, it quickly became apparent that counties had entered their information differently. Some described, for example, a henge, as a henge or hengiform structure, whereas others listed the monument as a sub-circular bank with inner ditch. Therefore, my own decision had to be made, as to how the sites were referenced within the 122 listed counties. I therefore decided to restart the search, by choosing a defined list of monument types, listed below (Table 6). Each county was then separately searched within Pastscape, for this information.

Causewayed enclosure / ring ditch	Cursus	Barrow	Chambered tomb	Henge	Rock carving	Standing stone	Stone circle	Timber circle

Table 6 - Column Headings for total number of known N/EBA Sites (Pastscape)

However, even then, I had to decide to just take the number of references at face value, rather than to decide for myself, which listings I considered to be definite type-sites and which were most likely or could have been something else. Sometimes, the English Heritage entry stated that there were misgivings regarding the labelling of a particular site, such as, for English Heritage Monument 904716:

MONUMENT NO. 904716

DESCRIPTION	+ / -

Fragmented conjoined enclosures surviving mainly as cropmarks. Probably a field system, despite suggestions that a causewayed enclosure exists at the site. A number of Neolithic finds include flints, pottery, burnt flint and burnt pebbles. The site is scheduled.

MONUMENT TYPES	+ / -

NEOLITHIC ARTEFACT SCATTER -4000 to -2200
NEOLITHIC CAUSEWAYED ENCLOSURE -4000 to -2200
UNCERTAIN ENCLOSURE
UNCERTAIN FIELD SYSTEM

With no photographic or excavation information in this particular example, I felt that I must accept the label provided, even when that label also provided other or conflicting information, for example, Neolithic causewayed enclosure and Uncertain enclosure. If a causewayed enclosure was listed, I accepted that appraisal of the site. In other cases, there were accompanying excavation details, and a map/photograph, which made decision easier.

Nevertheless, my information is approximate at best. It is merely entered to provide a rough idea of the number of overall sites in any one county, rather than a definitive number. Without field survey, Geophysics and possibly also excavation of each mention, such a precise grid could never be constructed.

However, there are cases where the information provided by Pastscape itself, skews the results. There are, for example, seven separate references to the term causewayed enclosure on Hambledon Hill, Child Okeford and Hanford. Surely, this is not implying seven separate causewayed enclosure-type structures. On the other hand, the references to the causewayed enclosure in City of Peterborough provided three references to Maxey. Yet, each of those were for very different, specific sites, rather than for different parts of the same site. Again, there are two references made at Springfield, Essex, for the same enclosure, see below. The first is a more general reference to the overall site, whereas the second specifically names the causewayed enclosure. Both have virtually the same grid references (TL 735 081 and TL 7351 0818, respectively). This means that some areas' number of sites is … inflated, whereas, at others, only one, more specific entry is made for each site. It seems very dependent upon the person entering the information, rather than the number of sites listed.

MONUMENT NO. 879402 SPRINGFIELD	Monument Pictures ✗ Monument Maps ✓ Monument Investigation ✓ Monument Sources ✓ EH Visitor Information ✗	A multi period site, including a Late Bronze Age circular enclosure containing at least 3 round houses and other structures. During the Saxon period, ...
MONUMENT NO. 1075209 SPRINGFIELD	Monument Pictures ✗ Monument Maps ✓ Monument Investigation ✗ Monument Sources ✓ EH Visitor Information ✗	The site of a probable Neolithic causewayed enclosure at Springfield Lyons, visible as cropmarks and tested by small-scale excavation. The cropmarks w...

When searching for henges under Somerset, the four Priddy circles are afforded five entries in the Pastscape database, so implying that there are actually five circles and yet the four cursuses in Rudston, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, have their allotted four entries. These discrepancies in data entry make ascertaining numbers of type-sites or numbers of entries per county very difficult. Yet, the data for Wiltshire stated that there were nine separate Causewayed enclosures. When investigated, each did indeed have a separate grid reference and therefore that figure is most likely to be realistic. I therefore decided to read each reference, noting if one or more than one grid reference location was provided. This information might indicate either several references to one structure, or several separate structures with different grid references. I then altered my Excel spreadsheet entries accordingly. Results have also been inflated in certain areas, due to projects,

such as the 1992 Thames Valley Project, commissioned by RCHME. The Thames Valley Mapping Project was an aerial photo interpretation and mapping project of the low-lying Thames River gravels. Many new N/EBA sites were identified between October 1992 and April 1993 and entered onto Pastscape.

For the type-site Barrow, there were too many different entries to be able to read each one individually, as there are 17,272 results on Pastscape (27/09/2015), so all totals were entered, despite many references to an 'alleged barrow-site', as well as possible windmill, beacon, boundary or cannon mounds, as well as Saxon moots, Roman watchtowers or other mounds, such as a Roman mound, which fall well out of time period being investigated.

The presentation of Results

The data generated from these analyses are presented in the results sections. This has been divided into two parts: one for the results of the individual books, and one for a comparison of those results.

Each book's results contained information pertaining to the author and their location in Britain, plus working career, if known. Then, six charts are shown, as below:

A – Total number of references per country (England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland and Total references);

B – Percentage of total references per country (England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland);

C – Total number of references for each region in each country (England –North-east/North-west/South-east/South-west/Central; Scotland –North/South/East/West/Central; Wales - North-east/North-west/South-east/South-west/Central; Ireland –Northern Ireland and ROI - North-east/North-west/South-east/South-west/Central);

D – Total references per English region, as a percentage (North-east/North-west/South-east/South-west/Central); and GIS map of English results per book;

E - Number of sites mentioned per English county;

F – Percentage of sites referenced, within whole book, pertaining to this study area;

G – Total numbers of bibliographic references, per book, pertaining to specific areas of Britain and Ireland.

The images, used, on its legend, to describe specific sites within the book, were also counted and referenced according to their location within a country's region (England –North-east/North-west/South-east/South-west/Central; Scotland –North/South/East/West/Central; Wales -North-east/North-west/South-east/South-west/Central; Ireland –Northern Ireland and ROI -North-east/North-west/South-east/South-west/Central), so that percentages could be provided for comparison.

Books chosen for this thesis

In order to study a representative sample of archaeological books on the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of Britain from the last eighty years, fourteen books by key authors were eventually chosen. These books were all syntheses, containing 'Britain' in their titles, and related to the Neolithic and/or Early Bronze Age periods. These books were written by well-respected archaeologists of their time and representative samples of the available literature. They were read in the following

order and statistics filled into the Excel spreadsheet, but are presented in a chronological order by age in the Results section:

1. Darvill (1987) Prehistoric Britain
2. Piggott (1949) British Prehistory
3. Scarre (2007) The megalithic monuments of Britain and Ireland
4. Renfrew (1974) (ed) British Prehistory
5. Hawkes (1948) Prehistoric Britain
6. Bradley (2007) The Prehistory of Britain and Ireland
7. Parker Pearson (1993) Bronze Age Britain
8. Forde-Johnston (1976) Prehistoric Britain and Ireland
9. Thomas (2013) The Birth of Neolithic Britain
10. Malone (2001) Neolithic Britain and Ireland
11. Pryor (2003) Britain BC. Life in Britain and Ireland before the Romans
12. Megaw & Simpson (1979) eds) Introduction to British Prehistory from the arrival of *Homo Sapiens* to the Claudian invasion
13. Hunter & Ralston (1999) (eds) An Archaeology of Britain. An Introduction from the Upper Palaeolithic to the Industrial Revolution
14. Fox (1938) Personality of Britain. Third Edition.

I chose to read more current to older volumes, in a deliberately haphazard way, to make sure all general periods were covered, but also, as it was not clear how many books would make up a representative sample, and similarly analysed, within the time available. These syntheses will be discussed further, in the next chapter. They will be placed within an overall national literature review on Britain. This will be followed by a regional literature review, and then by a local literature review on the north of England. This will focus on an analysis of the work undertaken and ongoing in northern England, over the last thirty years.

3. Literature Review

In this section, it is intended, to address the national archaeological literature, which has concentrated on the prehistory of Britain since the sixteenth century. The fourteen books used in this thesis, will be discussed in chronological order, along with other major publications, from the last four hundred years. Following this, the upsurge in regional comparative literature will be debated, as it highlights the neglect of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age landscapes throughout Britain. The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age literature for northern England will then be discussed, with reference to fieldwork and excavation publications.

National Literature Review

The archaeological literature of the UK has had a great effect on those within the field of archaeology. Undergraduates spend hours leafing through volumes, in order to produce essays. It is also through publications or online journals that Neolithic and Early Bronze Age-focussed prehistorians keep up with advances and results of fieldwork and excavation throughout Britain. This chapter will therefore review the available literature on British Neolithic and Early Bronze Age monuments. It is intended to show how N/EBA monuments in northern England have contributed to the overall understanding of the national sequence of events, by looking at national developments in the discipline and by highlighting the profile of northern Neolithic and Early Bronze Age landscapes of England.

There has been a written history of the upstanding monuments of Britain, in the archaeological literature of the UK, for hundreds of years. Antiquarians toured Britain, recording data about prehistoric sites. Rosemary Sweet has recently published a book about antiquarians, which presented the antiquarian as the 'social and intellectual elite' of their time (2004, xiv). She added that 'antiquarian knowledge informed the culture and identities of the modern world' (ibid.).

Leland (1506?-1552) was a very early antiquarian, who concentrated on prehistory. His nine volumes of work were published in English in 1744-5. Camden's (1551-1623) work, *Britannia,* was published in Latin, in 1616-7, and in English, in 1637. He was one of the founders of the *Society of Antiquaries* and one of the first antiquarians to document his visit to Long Meg (1637, 1021). Later, Aubrey (1626-1697) toured the UK and yet his two volumes of work were only published in 1982. However, it was Stukeley (1687-1765), whose work *Itinerarium Curiosum* was published in two volumes in 1776, who travelled more widely in the north of England. In *Iter Boreale,* he recalled his travels in 1725 (1776, 17). He visited the ancient monuments of Cumbria (ibid.42-8) and the Devil's Arrows in Yorkshire (ibid.74), but failed to see the henges along the A1 corridor in North Yorkshire, or the long and round mounds of the North Yorkshire Moors and the Yorkshire Wolds. Pennant (1726-1798) visited the Lake District and was fascinated by Castlerigg and Long Meg and her Daughters stone circles, in particular (1774, 41-7). At a later date, Hall (1770-1843) also visited Cumbria. He was most impressed by the stone avenue and associated monuments of the Shap landscape. The Shap avenue, at that time, was a 'remarkable monument', with its long avenue of very large stones, placed at equal intervals, heading northwards and curving westwards, and passing a number of stone circles *en route* (Hall 1824, 3).

The first volume of the journal *Archaeologia* was published in 1770, and in its third volume (1775), Brereton documented a tour he had undertaken in South Wales, where he had visited three portal dolmens in the parish of St. Nicholas (1775, 116). Nevertheless, the majority of antiquarian writers and excavators focussed their attentions on Wessex and the monuments of Stonehenge and Avebury. Colt Hoare dug in Wiltshire from 1794 to 1810, as well as at key sites in Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Fergusson (1808-1886) was one of the first writers to compile a synthesis of previously-

gained knowledge (1872, v) about 'rude stone monuments' (ibid.vi). He then presented a compilation of known information from many sources through publication. Within England, he devoted a chapter to Avebury and Stonehenge (ibid.61-115) and another to 'Minor English Antiquities' (ibid.116-174). Within the latter chapter, some of the upstanding monuments of Cumbria (ibid.126-130, 159-60) were referenced.

Local archaeological societies did arrange visits to excavate, draw and study prehistoric and historic monuments in their areas. The oldest antiquarian society in northern England is the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which was established in 1813, http://www.newcastle-antiquaries.org.uk/. Within northern England, other societies also flourished. The Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Archaeological Society was founded in 1866, http://cumbriapast.com/. The Yorkshire Archaeological Society launched its first journal in 1869, as the *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Society,* http://www.yaj.yas.org.uk/.html and the East Riding Antiquarian Society published its first journal in 1893, http://www.biab.ac.uk/. The rationale behind the founding of all of these societies was to encourage local interest in the history and archaeology of the local region. These societies published journals, detailed with excavation and fieldwork data. In Cumbria, Dymond wrote in TCWAAS about the Cumbrian stone circle of Long Meg and her Daughters, with images (1881, 40-47) and Anderson did the same at Castlerigg (1915, 98-112). Barrow diggers, such as Greenwell (1877) and Mortimer (1905), produced their own volumes of information on the monuments of Yorkshire. Canon William Greenwell (1820-1918) was born in County Durham. He gained a degree and a Master of Arts in Theology from Durham, in 1839 and 1843, respectively. Greenwell was involved in many large-scale excavations, such as, fifty-three barrows at Danes Graves, an Iron Age site in East Yorkshire, and at Grimes Graves in Norfolk. In 1877, he published a large volume on British barrows, including sections on both Bronze Age round barrows and Neolithic long barrows. The volume mostly related to barrows in northern England, including those in the North Riding (1877, 33-357; 484-7; 501-5; 509-10; 550-3); East Riding (ibid., 132-331, 487-501; 505-9; 553-6); Northumberland (ibid., 402-37); Cumberland (ibid., 378-9); Westmoreland (ibid., 381-400; 510-3); and Durham (ibid., 440-2). John Robert Mortimer (1825-1911) lived in East Yorkshire, where he was responsible for the excavation of 288 barrows in the Yorkshire Wolds. He recorded forty years of his work, in a book published in 1905, called *Forty years' researches in British and Saxon burial mounds of East Yorkshire*. He had many workers, digging for him and recorded the finds and excavations in detailed drawings, sometimes presented as colour plates. Mortimer and Greenwell catalogued all round and long barrows in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire. Mortimer compiled a thousand detailed illustrations of Yorkshire barrows, which he considered more numerous in Yorkshire than in most other locations (1905, Introduction). Greenwell felt that his record of *British Barrows* would preserve the knowledge of the contents of these sepulchral mounds, which had already been plundered by shepherds for their own curiosity and treasure-seeking (1877, Preface). This fact was recently reiterated by Hodder (1990, 244) and Mitchell (2007, 7). Many Early Bronze Age barrows on the North Yorkshire Moors between Castleton and Hutton-le-Hole suffered from careless digging, with no care for the barrow's restoration.

The early twentieth century was a period, after the identification of the three ages of stone, bronze and iron, when there was a huge interest in the accumulation, classification and typologising of prehistoric objects, and the chronological dating of upstanding monuments throughout Britain. This was achieved through a loose cross-comparison with deciphered 'secure' dates from Egypt, where translated written records had revolutionised chronological knowledge of Classical civilisations. Without today's sophisticated technology, such as dendrochronology or radiocarbon dating, early archaeologists struggled to date monuments precisely. Nevertheless, by 1900, archaeology and

prehistory were firmly established as scientific disciplines (Darvill 1987, 16) and the fifteen years from 1925 to 1940 were 'decisive'. British prehistory was re-defined through the piecing together of the past (Renfrew 1974, 11). Prominent prehistorians used journals to document both their newly acquired knowledge and vast collection of data about both British and classical sites. A good example of this is in the first publication of the journal, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, which had begun as *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia* in 1911, which ran until 1934. The *Prehistoric Society*'s first volume (1935) included articles from many prominent archaeologists, including Professor Vere Gordon Childe, Christopher & Jacquetta Hawkes, Grahame Clark and Stuart Piggott.

With both books and journals, artefact distribution maps were created and aerial photography was used to discover many new sites from the air, especially during the inter-war years (Darvill 1987, 19). Vere Gordon Childe (1892-1957) was an Australian, who studied European prehistory. He was a co-founder of the *Prehistoric Society* in 1934 and excavated extensively in Orkney. He wrote *The dawn of European civilization* in 1925. However, it was in the first journal of the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society,* where he coined the phrase 'Neolithic Revolution' (1935, 12). Childe's work, along with Cyril Fox's *Personality of Britain,* were the starting points of modern prehistoric archaeology. For this reason, the Third Edition of Fox's book was included as one of the syntheses on British prehistory studied in this thesis. His distribution maps were extremely detailed, such as, the distribution of British megalithic monuments (1938, 10). Fox wrote the first edition of this book in 1932. His breakdown of Britain into Highland and Lowland regions, changed the archaeological view of Britain and is still referred to (1938, Map B). It was Fox, who presented the phrases of Highland Britain and Lowland Zone in a compelling way. The Highland zone was not considered by Fox to be a barrier to cultural advance, but as having 'a more positive cultural character'. In the Lowland zone, new cultures imposed themselves on the populous, whereas in the Highland zone, they were absorbed. 'Viewed in another aspect, in the Lowland, you get *replacement*, in the Highland, *fusion*' (ibid.34). It was Fox too, who highlighted the importance of certain areas (all Lowland) over others (ibid.28). Of these, the area around the Humber estuary was included, adding that the Humber and the Wash groups had many settlements on their middle and upper reaches. The 'largest dug-out boats in Britain', said Fox, came from those bodies of water. This was indicative of 'long-distance river traffic', suggesting that 'the extension of the Yorkshire settlements…such as Bridlington, Scarborough, and Whitby' were 'largely the result of coastal and other sea trade' (ibid.64-5). He also used this theory to account for prehistoric sites along the Cumberland coast via the Irish Sea (ibid.67). However, Fox's perspectives and rationale for his views on the division of Britain were dominated by the culture historical approach to archaeology, which was based on the notion of waves of migrations from the Continent. This issue was ever-present in the years preceding World War II. Inevitably, Scotland and Northern England would be classed as peripheral in such discussions.

Despite huge advances in aerial reconnaissance during the 1930s, the Second World War curtailed much archaeological excavation and writing, although subsequent advances in the science of archaeology can be attributed, in some part, to the necessary innovations and developments required to fight war. Until this time, the archaeological picture still relied heavily on sequencing and cross-comparison with the Orient. However, it was huge technological and scientific advances which benefitted archaeology and its literature so greatly, including the first geophysics in 1946 (Gaffney & Gater 2003, 13) and Libby's discovery of radiocarbon dating in 1949. From the 1950s onwards, these were at the forefront of further developments, along with dendrochronology. It was the ability to date finds and sites, securely, that altered the process of archaeology and led to huge changes, and advances, in archaeological thinking.

After the Second World War, the next seminal work in British archaeology was Stuart Piggott's *British Prehistory*. This synthesis was chosen, instead of his perhaps more famous *Neolithic Communities of the British Isles*, published in 1954, because *British Prehistory* covers both the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods, and was therefore more relevant to this study. Piggott was the first scholar to emphasise the huge disparity in the amount of information available from different parts of Britain (ibid.15). He was born and raised in southern England and spent much time working there, until he was offered a role at Edinburgh University and, soon afterwards, wrote *British Prehistory* in 1949. He stated, in the Introductory Note, that his short treatment of this wide topic contained 'many unresolved problems', which had to be justified with approximations and probabilities, as the 'most likely explanation of a set of facts' (1949, 5). At that time, he acknowledged that there had only been a serious look at British prehistory for fifty years, and many of his thoughts were therefore 'working hypotheses' (ibid.). In order to write the book, Piggott used a compilation of both his, and others', work (ibid.). He was keen to write an up-to-date account, which included all scientific advances to date (ibid.15-21). He recognised that the archaeological picture was 'inevitably one-sided' and partial. There were regional gaps in his knowledge, where little excavation or antiquarian digging had been carried out. Also, there was limited evidence, depending on the 'accident of survival' of material, varying 'in its content from place to place' (ibid.15-6). Nevertheless, for those regions with antiquarian activity, Piggott acknowledged that their excavations did provide 'a great corpus of material…which could never be recovered to-day in such bulk, when more exacting technique would only permit a tiny proportion of the sites being excavated with the time and funds available' (ibid.12). Yet, he wanted to redress the balance (ibid.21), by producing a book which covered the sequence of British prehistory, in as much detail as was known at that time (ibid.5).

To balance Piggott's culture-focussed views of the past, I also included another, much more conversational, but nonetheless British work, *Prehistoric Britain* by Jacquetta and Christopher Hawkes. Unlike Piggott's work, this book included many images of prehistoric sites. The book was mainly written as a general overview about the individuals (from the Hawkes' perspective) who lived in the past. This included the Hawkes' view of what people wore, the daily tasks for men and women, how people lived and what they believed in. The Hawkes couple published this book in 1948, although Jacquetta had started it during the Second World War (1948, 1). In that year, she had fled from East Anglia to western Dorset, for fear of a German invasion (ibid.). She then wrote the majority of the book, whilst living there. Possibly due to their own gathering fears, the book emphasised the invasion hypothesis for the start of the Neolithic period in Britain (ibid.29). The couple also included 'A Guide to the Prehistoric and Roman Antiquities of Great Britain' in the back of the book (185-273). Certain regions lacked sufficient references, such as Scotland. This was explained as a 'lack of resources' (ibid.265).

The post-war period saw some highly influential texts, which shaped the way that archaeologists thought at that time. One of these was a piece of historical literature, *The Making of the English Landscape,* by WG Hoskins (1955), and another was Glyn Daniel's *The prehistoric chamber tombs of England and Wales* (1950). Leslie Grinsell brought out his book on *The ancient burial-mounds of England* in 1953 (with a reprint in 1975). Much of the book was devoted to southern England, especially in Part II. Of the nineteen chapters of barrow locations, fifteen were from southern England (i.e. 108 pages of data); one of the Peak District (i.e. 8 pages of data); and three were about northern England, that is: the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire Wolds (1975, 214-221); the Yorkshire Moors, including North and West Riding (ibid.231-9); The Lake counties (ibid.240-47); and Northumbria (ibid.248-53), with 29 pages of information, in total, for the whole of northern and central England. Paul Ashbee published his study of Early Bronze Age British round barrows in 1960,

and his study of earthen long barrows in 1970. (The Second Edition and added radiocarbon dates came out in 1984). Both books provide key data about northern England's monuments, along with distribution maps.

In the British archaeological literature of the 1960s onwards, problems in archaeological interpretation were identified. This ultimately led to a bitter dispute within all scientific disciplines, not least in archaeology, about the way that the past was described. Writers, instead of using typology and 'cultures' to explain how people had lived, now needed to explain past changes, scientifically. Binford and Clark both published their seminal works on archaeology in 1968, in the USA and Britain, respectively. They both supported the interpretation of the archaeological record, dubbed as 'New Archaeology' (Renfrew & Bahn 2008, 40). This involved constructing models of the past, through the scientific testing of hypotheses. This view quickly became known as processual archaeology. Colin Renfrew was a major supporter. He was the editor of *British Prehistory,* which was the next book that I studied (1974). Renfrew was born in the north of England but schooled in St. Alban's and later Cambridge. He went to Cambridge University, where he gained his PhD and lectured in both Sheffield and Southampton. His book was published in 1974, and contained six chapters, one of which was unusual for the time, as it discussed Scottish chambered tombs and long mounds. Colin Renfrew edited the volume of papers, from a 1972 Sheffield University conference, which sought to consider major British developments in radiocarbon dating. At that time, sequences and dates throughout British prehistory, were being altered. Radiocarbon dating, using the recent advances in tree-ring dating, had been calibrated by the end of the 1960s. This changed many prehistoric dates. IF Smith noted in that volume, that at that time, three-fifths of the aforementioned radiocarbon dates, of which 150 were available in 1972 in the UK, were from sites in southern England (1974, 100) and a further one-third from Ireland. So, it is clear, that at that time, the concept of partiality was acknowledged, if not universally accepted. It is also pertinent to add that charcoal was initially the preferred material, rather than bone, a decision which has later been questioned, due to the 'old wood' effect of charcoal, such as, at Street House, Loftus (Vyner 1984). Archaeological geophysical prospecting also became more important during this period in the UK. Its first laboratory opened in 1967 (Gaffney & Gater 2003, 19). Then, by 1971, geophysics began to be taught in British universities (ibid.).

Forde-Johnston's *Prehistoric Britain and Ireland* was the next book chosen. He penned his account of Britain and Ireland's prehistory in 1976. This was the same year as his book on Iron Age hillforts. At that time, he was Keeper of Ethnology at Manchester Museum. He had gone to the University of Liverpool and had worked at RCHME, among other places. From his discussions about 'culture' and 'people' in *Prehistoric Britain and Ireland*, he was clearly a proponent of the culture-history approach to the past, holding on to the idea of the migration of 'Primary Neolithic groups' from the continent, who were subsequently followed by the 'Beaker people' (1976, 16-8). His work included many line-drawings and images of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age sites. He also referenced many numbers of sites in the book, not mentioned by the other authors, including a good number of Cumbrian stone circles and landscapes.

Vincent Megaw and Derek Simpson published their synthesis, *Introduction to British Prehistory* in 1979. Megaw was Head of Archaeology at the University of Leicester, at that time, with Simpson as Senior Lecturer. They both graduated from Edinburgh University. Megaw had worked at the University of Sydney, Australia, for ten years. His main interest was pre-Roman archaeology. Simpson, on the other hand, had excavated widely in Britain. His specialism was Britain's Neolithic and Earlier Bronze Age, and he had spent time as Curator of Devizes' Museum. Megaw and Simpson, plus five contributors, intended their book to provide first-year university students with 'a straightforward, fully illustrated and referenced guide to the raw material and literature covering

the prehistory of the British Isles' (1979, 1). The seven prehistorians came from a wide geographical area and all had separate interests, within the archaeological discipline. This would provide a holistic approach to prehistory. Yet, from the Preface, it is clear that they also wished to present a descriptive, historical view of the past, rather than a processual view (ibid.). Leafing through the publication, numerous typological line-drawings of artefacts, along with many distribution maps, dominate the images used throughout the book. In the same year, Ian Kinnes published his gazetteer on Britain's Neolithic round barrows and ring-ditches. He demonstrated that the Yorkshire Wolds is the most prominent area for non-megalithic round barrows in Britain, with 26 monuments in southern England, 16 in the Midlands, 48 in northern England and 4 in Scotland (1979, 40, 42, Figures 4.4a & 5.2). His map on page 43 also demonstrates that Yorkshire is one of only three areas in Britain with high concentrations of non-megalithic long barrows (ibid. Figure 5.3).

Timothy Darvill, born and raised in the Cotswolds, completed his PhD at Southampton University and was (and is) based at Bournemouth University. There, he wrote his book, *Prehistoric Britain,* published in 1987, revised in 2010, to update non-specialists in the exciting developments made over the previous 25 years, in order to produce 'a coherent overview of prehistory'. He achieved this, as the book is interesting and well written (1987, 11). He stated that he was 'highly selective' in his choice of source material, based on its 'relevance to current understandings of the prehistoric past'. The author wrote the book as a more-or-less processual synthesis of known information, by incorporating the updated radiocarbon dates into the wealth of archaeological evidence. This had been created by the building boom of the 1960s and 1970s (1987, 17), as many previously unknown sites were discovered, during foundation preparations.

Between the mid-1950s and 1970s, there was a pessimism in archaeology (Bradley 1984, 2). This was due to a focus on the paucity of material remains from past societies and thereby on the inability to be able to happily reconstruct past societies from these remains. Richard Bradley sought to reopen discussions about past societies. In 1984, he published his book, entitled *The social foundations of prehistoric Britain*. This book specifically dealt with N/EBA prehistoric societies, through the development and maintenance of power and through the understanding that social questions can be investigated through archaeological methods (1984, 157). This focus on society within archaeological thought, led onto a new theoretical perspective in the later 1980s and early 1990s. Known as post-processual archaeology, it sought to bring individual agency into the overall debate. Instead of generalisations and modelling, the post-processual approach challenged everything and highlighted personal experiences, whether in the past or the present. The most influential authors of this period included Hodder (1987), Shanks & Tilley (1987), Thomas (1991, 1999), Tilley (1994, 2004), Bender (1993), and Barrett (1994).

Hodder was extremely influential in shaping ideas and generating new thoughts in the 1980s and 1990s. As early as 1982, he was a proponent for 'self-aware archaeology' (1982, 211). He demonstrated that all individuals are bound by their own experiences (ibid.196), and that much can be learned through 'alternative explanations' (ibid.211).

Shanks and Tilley reconstructed archaeological theory in their two books, *Social Theory and Archaeology* and *Reconstructing Archaeology*, both published in 1987. They strove to understand the role of the individual in archaeology (1987b, 61), adding that, 'the archaeological past must be *written'* (ibid.13). Fieldwork and excavation should be 'active and productive' (1987a, 23). Archaeology is a contemporary practice in which people 'engage in discussions and debates and establish positions which *need* to be criticized' (ibid.246).

Barbara Bender wrote *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives* in 1993. She was concerned with the ways of 'seeing' and 'contesting' landscapes and the social engagement of people in their past worlds. This might be dependent on age, gender, race, etcetera (1993, 2-3). Tilley also discussed the concept of space in his work, *A phenomenology of landscape* (1994). He saw space as 'socially produced', with different societies, groups and individuals acting out their lives in different spaces (1994, 10). He used a phenomenological approach, i.e., 'the manner in which people experience and understand the world', to visit a Neolithic landscape, in order to achieve a 'personal spatial experience' within it (ibid.74). In *Understanding the Neolithic* (1999), Julian Thomas discussed the ways that material culture transformed everyday life in the past. In Neolithic Britain, polished stone tools, monuments, pottery and domesticated animals were used 'to create and reproduce economic regimes, social systems and interpretations of the world' (1999, 222).

Post-processual prehistorians altered the way in which the archaeological narrative was written, by phenomenologically and hermeneutically placing themselves within the landscapes of the Neolithic and Bronze Age worlds being studied, re-seeing the past through a new perspective. These seminal works have ultimately led to a re-evaluation of N/EBA landscapes in northern England.

Mike Parker Pearson published his book, *Bronze Age Britain,* for English Heritage, in 1993. This synthesis incorporated both Neolithic and Bronze Age Britain's sites and landscapes. It was written whilst he was a lecturer at Sheffield University. At the time, both processual archaeology was flourishing and at the emergence of much post-processual archaeological debate. The book has elements of post-processual thinking. Good examples are the pictorial reconstructions, such as that of Street House long barrow (1993, 127). Parker Pearson had much archaeological experience, having worked in the West Country and the Outer Hebrides, as well as for English Heritage. At that time, the subject of archaeology also benefitted from further developments in scientific dating techniques, such as thermo-luminescence dating, for pottery, among other inorganic materials, and radiocarbon dates were recalibrated to incorporate these new advances.

John Hunter and Ian Ralston published their compilation of essays on the various timespans of the archaeological record in 1999, with each contributor producing their own work, in their own style. John Hunter is a Viking studies expert who, at that time, was working at Birmingham University, and had been Reader in Archaeology at the University of Bradford. Ian Ralston, at that time, was working at Edinburgh University, and had been a lecturer at Aberdeen University, before that. He specialises in Later Prehistory and Scottish archaeology. Within the book entitled *The Archaeology of Britain*, both processual (e.g. Darvill, Figures 17.2, 17.4, 17.5, pages 301, 305, 307, respectively) and post-processual (e.g. Whittle, e.g. discussion about an Early Neolithic burial at Windmill Hill, 1999, 66) theories were employed.

Caroline Malone wrote her book *Neolithic Britain and Ireland* in 2001, whilst editing *Antiquity* and working at the British Museum. She has had a varied career in prehistory, first at Cambridge where she gained her PhD, and then in roles at English Heritage, Avebury, Bristol University, and the University of Cambridge. The book was aimed at informing students of the variety of Neolithic sites in Britain and Ireland (2001, 9). Malone wrote the synthesis, in order to create an 'integrated study of the past', with 'much scope for discovery and understanding' (ibid.26).

Francis Pryor wrote his book in 2003, in order to reassert the importance of British pre-Roman culture to modern British society. He stated that he believed that the nations of the British Isles had more to unite them than divide them. Yet, it is impossible for archaeologists to provide an unbiased and objective truth (2003, xxv-xxviii). His book *Britain BC* was penned as a personal narrative of his own experiences, which he intended to be read as a story 'about people and time' (ibid.3). Pryor discovered Flag Fen in 1982, during an archaeological survey of fenland drainage dykes (ibid.277).

This Middle Bronze Age site, south-east of Peterborough, uncovered a vast array of preserved organic remains, including wooden causeways and houses, as well as metal objects (ibid.280, 287).

Chris Scarre and Richard Bradley both published their books in 2007. Scarre, having spent fifteen years working at the University of Cambridge, had just taken up his post, in 2006, as Professor of Prehistory at the Department of Archaeology at Durham. When he published his book, *The megalithic monuments of Britain and Ireland,* he had just completed a monumental work on *The Human Past* in 2005. Scarre has been involved in fieldwork projects in Britain, France, Greece and the Channel Islands and co-edited a book on sensory archaeology, *Archaeoacoustics,* in 2006 (Scarre & Lawson). Chris Scarre kindly provided me with the origins of this book, which he originally penned in 2005 for a French publisher (Scarre & Joussaume 2006). The contents were then revised for the English edition and was published in 2007. Richard Bradley, on the other hand, was schooled in Hampshire and attended Oxford University, before taking a post as Lecturer at Reading University. He has undertaken archaeological research all over Britain and stated in 2002, 'I may have started my career in Wessex and the Thames valley but…fieldwork has taken me steadily northwards, from Great Langdale to Northumberland, through southern Scotland to Inverness and Aberdeen, and even as far as Orkney' (2002, 37). Bradley wrote this book, *The Prehistory of Britain and Ireland,* in order to update the disparity in knowledge that existed at that time, and still exists today, between developer-funded and research-led archaeological projects (2007, xv).

The final book studied was published, in 2013, by Julian Thomas. *The Birth of Neolithic Britain* was written as an interpretive synthesis, to reflect his views of the start of the Neolithic period in Britain. He focussed both on the contribution of the indigenous Mesolithic people of this island to the start of the Neolithic period, as well as the possible routes for arrival of people from the European continent. Thomas suggested that the British Neolithic began in southern England. He suggested continuous, long-standing cross-channel contacts from the Mesolithic period onwards, led to the Early Neolithic period in Britain. He added that there was a time-lapse of up to 300 years before the north and west of Britain adopted these new lifeways (Thomas 2013, 425).

Sheridan, on the other hand, has identified four routeways into Britain and Ireland from the continent. People brought Neolithic pottery assemblages with them, the remains of which Sheridan believes, demonstrate the origins of the Neolithic period in Britain (2010, 91-3), contra Thomas (2013). However, invasion ideas are not a new concept. In 1930, Elgee was arguing that the long barrows with their cremations in north-east Yorkshire indicated to him that Neolithic man had arrived from the region now known as Denmark (1930, 33).

Regional Studies within Britain

Neolithic and Early Bronze Age regional studies have grown over the last twenty years. In the past, regional debates had been constructed to compare a site or group of sites within Wessex, to sites elsewhere (Bradley & Edmonds 1993, 22, 24). However, studies such as Anna Ritchie's *Neolithic Orkney in its European Context* (2000), which could have been entirely Orkney-focussed, instead hugely widened thoughts, with thirty-two chapters about varying regions all over Europe. This type of regionally-focussed wider debate, in this case looking at the Neolithic in Europe, was also being achieved through the work of the Neolithic Studies Group. In fact, in 2009's *Defining a Regional Neolithic'*, the editors, Kenny Brophy and Gordon Barclay, highlighted the intention of that study to avoid the 'usual suspects', i.e., Wessex and Orkney, and instead to provide a closer inspection of the evidence elsewhere (2009, vi). The introduction by Gordon Barclay then added, 'to what extent are areas like Wessex, the Boyne Valley, and Orkney 'centres' in prehistory, or merely 'central' to the thinking of the majority of prehistorians' (2009, 3; 2001, 13). That particular regional discussion included two important regional papers about Cumbria: 'On the edge of England: Cumbria as a

Neolithic region' (Watson & Bradley 2009, 65-77), about the relationship between the Neolithic areas of Cumbria and eastern Ireland. 'No-man's land revisited: some patterns in the Neolithic of Cumbria' (Clare 2009, 78-91) is about the importance of Cumbria as a region in the Neolithic period, most especially because of its axe factory. As there are so few radiocarbon dates or excavated sites within the region, most archaeological work has to be based on analogy or cross-comparison. Another paper was published about the Yorkshire Wolds: 'Recent work on the Neolithic round barrows of the upper Great Wold Valley, Yorkshire' (Gibson & Bayliss 2010, 72-107). In that paper, Gibson and Bayliss used topographical and geophysical surveys, as well as radiocarbon dating, excavation accounts and skeletal analysis, where available, to re-look at eleven large round barrows in the Great Wold Valley. Nevertheless, in another regional study, Barclay and Harding's collection of papers on the cursus monuments of Britain and Ireland (1999), northern England's sites failed to be referenced at all, despite there being at least seven separate cursus locations within this region. Moreover, the four cursuses which meet at the Rudston monolith, form one of the largest and most important cursus landscapes in Britain.

In another recently published study on regionality, arising from the 2006 TAG conference, *Beyond the core. Reflections on Regionality in Prehistory* (Jones & Kirkham (eds) 2011), Jones had the opportunity to sum up his views on the regional situation throughout the UK. He commented that the conference arose, due to the concerns of archaeologists throughout Britain, that 'the archaeological narratives of their regions were being subsumed by the evidence from…Wessex', due to geographical, taphonomic and antiquarian reasons (2011, 1).

Local Literature Review

These fourteen books have demonstrated how the history of archaeological literature in the UK has altered over the last eighty years, setting the stage for a regional analysis of the literature. Certainly, the number of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age monuments recorded and excavated in northern England have increased over this time, but the focus of interest on the very diverse regions of the north of England, has waxed and waned over the last one hundred years.

Three areas of the north were of particular interest to antiquarians and early archaeologists, those of Cumbria, Northumberland (most particularly, the Cheviots) and North Yorkshire. Within North Yorkshire, the North Yorkshire Moors, the A1 Swale-Ure landscape and the Yorkshire Wolds will be discussed within this study (despite the fact that some of the monuments are geographically within East Yorkshire). There has been a recent upsurge of interest in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age archaeological sites of northern England. Harding (2013), Manby (1986, 1988, 2003), Passmore & Waddington (2009, 2012), Spratt & Harrison (1989), Vyner (1984, 1994), Waterhouse (1985), Watson (2009), have outlined the landscapes surrounding the upstanding and below ground structures: their locations, descriptions and the artefacts associated with the monuments, in their chosen regions. National gazetteers, such as those written by Burl (2000; 1988a), Dyer (1982), Gibson (1998, 2005), Harding & Lee (1987) and Thom, Thom & Burl (1980) also include all the relevant structures in northern England. However, with this, has been some ongoing debates, which Bradley summed up, from his personal view, in 2002. He felt that there were still unanswered questions in northern archaeology, which were 'frustrating' for an overall 'synthesis' (2002, 37).

Nevertheless, there have been several attempts over the last twenty years, to address these issues and to start to look for an overall synthesis of the north of England. *Past, Present and Future* was published in 2002, in order to summarise the known information about the archaeology of northern England. This included a detailed description of the Neolithic and Bronze Age upland surveys completed in Cumbria and the Upper Pennines over the last thirty years, summarised by Quartermaine (2002, 29-31). Within the Earlier Prehistoric section, Quartermaine also commented

that there was very little excavation evidence or radiocarbon dates to support a proper interpretation and analysis of the survey data, which suggested the presence of Neolithic activity, within the north of England. An example of this is Samson's Bratful trapezoidal long cairn in Cumbria (2002, 31). Yet, it has long been acknowledged that the west and east of the Pennines were not as separated, as they now appear. Elgee, from an Early Bronze Age axe find at Bowes (1933, 34), suggested a link across the northern Pennines, in order for Cumberland copper to be transported to East Yorkshire. He then drew a through-route via the Aire Gap (and River Ribble), passing to the south of York, and arriving at the coastal locations of Bridlington and Scarborough. Burl also acknowledged this routeway but added two others: the fertile Eden Valley would have linked with north-eastern Britain via the Tyne-Tees Gap (possibly the same route as suggested earlier by Elgee); and the Stainmore Gap would link with Yorkshire settlements (1988b, 181). It is for this reason that Burl suggested that the two very different henges of Mayburgh and King Arthur's Round Table were found within the same landscape, within half a mile of one another. Catterick and Mayburgh henges both followed the same design with one entrance and no ditch, with Mayburgh's entrance facing eastwards, invitingly (ibid.182-3). Topping added that Mayburgh's earthworks were 'imposing' (Topping 1992, 249). King Arthur's Round Table, instead, is of a 'Yorkshire' design, with its two north-west/south-east axis entrances and elliptical shape, so encouraging trade with the Swale-Ure henge group, whose henges also have two ditches, one inside and one outside their banks (Burl 1988b, 182). On the other side of the Pennines, the Swale-Ure group also align in a north-west/south-easterly direction, following the alignment of the stone row of the Devil's Arrows, within their vicinity (Richards 1996, 330-1). Bradley noted that Cumbrian axes were often moved across the Pennines to north-east England, where they were deposited with other, deliberately broken flint objects (2000, 120-2). He went on to add that, as Langdale tuff moved eastwards, so the chalk flint from North Yorkshire's coast was moving westwards (2002, 40). Clare also discussed links between Cumbria and Yorkshire (2009, 98). Northumberland's stone circles of Hethpool and Threestoneburn were also located within valleys which lead to the central Cheviots and potential 'axe factory' sites (Waddington & Passmore 2012, 176). There may also be an overlooked routeway from northern Cumbria and south-west Scotland to the east coast of England, between Carlisle and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, following a route later used by the Romans, or from Carlisle following the edge of the Cheviots and arriving just north-east of Duddo, where a later stone circle would be constructed.

Cumbria has over seventy known henges, stone and timber circles (Watson 2014, 18), of which nine very large and early stone circles have been identified (Burl 1988b, 177). It also has forty standing stones, two interrupted-ditched enclosures, one cursus, ten long cairns (Waterhouse 1985, 7), over a hundred Bronze Age barrows and eighteen rock carvings. Its landscape is a combination of coastal, upland and valley locations, all of which provide evidence of ceremony, if not habitation. It was, along with Yorkshire, at the centre of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age world in Britain (Clare 2009, 78) and was an important region of the Irish Sea basin (Watson & Bradley 2009, 65). It has two huge and important henges, Mayburgh and King Arthur's Round Table. Mayburgh has imposing banks which survive to four metres in height and, once inside, 'you are immediately in a different world' (Harding 2000, 268). It is an enigmatic site, placed within a circle of hills.

At the very centre of the Lake District, lies the Great Langdale Neolithic axe factory (Bradley & Edmonds 1993, 81). The site at Pike O'Stickle produced thousands of axes, through fire-setting, on 570 different Neolithic working floors, dated from 4211-3200 cal BC (Quartermaine 2002, 34). These axes were then traded at specific sites, suggested by Burl as stone circle locations, such as Grey Croft, and then were 'finished' at special locations away from the quarry, e.g. Ehenside Tarn (1988b, 182). Polished Langdale stone axes were numerous and widely distributed throughout the

UK in the Earlier Neolithic period (Bradley & Edmonds 1993, 157). These Lake District axes must have had a special significance to the people who desired them (Bradley 2000, 86). 43% of the axes taken across to Ireland were deposited in rivers and bogs (ibid.). At Fengate, the polished Langdale axe was deliberately broken up with carefully directed blows, presumably for some ritual or ceremonial purpose (Pryor 2014, 103). In fact, the Langdale axe source 'accounts for 21% of the axes of known origin' (Bradley & Edmonds 1993, 39). Therefore, it is most important in the Neolithic debate. Cherry and Cherry have studied the lowland, upland and coastal sites of Cumbria. They published their articles in The Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Archaeological Society between 1983 and 2000, and also published their thoughts on Cumbrian landscapes in Northern Archaeology (1996, 63-6). Over 35 years, Peter and Jim Cherry surveyed prehistoric activity, in the form of flint scatters, in Cumbrian upland and coastal landscapes, uncovering over 300 in south-western and eastern Cumbria (ibid.63).

In 1972, Clare conducted a fieldwork investigation of the Shap Avenue in Cumbria. Antiquarians had much admired the Shap Avenue and associated monuments (Fergusson 1872, 129-30; Hall 1824, 3; Stukeley 1776, 42-3) but by the 1970s, there was little left to see in the landscape. However, from his research, he identified the remains of an avenue (1978, 7, Fig.1). He detailed twenty-six large stones over three kilometres (ibid.8, Fig.2). That Clare's work has not attracted more recent attention is surprising. The landscape has such potential, in particular, its stone avenue leading from a 24-metre diameter stone circle of large pink granite megaliths, named Kemp Howe; a number of other smaller stone circles, namely Castlehowe Scar, Shapbeck Plantation, Wilson Scar and White Hag; the two concentric-ringed circles of Gunnerkeld and Oddendale; Oddendale timber circle and its long barrow. Nearby, are the larger Gamelands stone circle and Bronze Age upland landscape of Crosby Ravensworth, with its long barrow and stone circle; and the two enigmatic closely-associated henges of Mayburgh and King Arthur's Round Table; as well as Eamont Bridge, Brougham Hall and Leacet Hill stone circles. Not to be forgotten is the upland route to the Moor Divock complex landscape, to the north-east, and the Eden Valley complex to the south. More monuments were described by Stukeley (1776, 44-5) but they have long gone from the archaeological record, including Wilson Scar at Shap, which was excavated in 1952, prior to its destruction (Sieveking 1984, 33). Waterhouse (1985) referred to these absent monuments in his study of Cumbrian stone circles, and Watson (2009) used aerial photography and good explanatory data to encourage a modern-day antiquarian to explore the stone circles of the Lake District, which are still extant, and very enigmatic. Bradley has argued that the early Cumbrian stone circle builders incorporated the individual circle metaphorically into becoming part of the wider landscape (pers.comm.), such as at Gamelands (Watson 2014, 24). This stone circle is located in a valley, with a steep, scarp slope to its north and mountain peaks beyond. It is an ideal example of a Bradley 'early' circle (pers.comm.), due to its large, oval size. However, whether the mountain peaks are reflected in the northern-most stones of the oval, and the valley below in the southern-most stones, is a matter for contention. Bradley added that these circular monuments were deliberately placed in order to be at the centre of a circular landscape (2007, 136), mirrored by the dome of the sky (2012, 35), which Burl had also considered (1988b, 202), (Figure 4 and Figure 5).

Figure 4 - Gamelands Stone Circle, View To The North, From West To East

Figure 5 - View to the South, from East to West

Petts & Gerrard (2006) 'Shared Visions' publication incorporated a huge synthesis of current data and historical information on the archaeology of the north-east of England. Chapter 4, on the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age is extremely detailed, highlighting the huge geographical area from the Scottish borders to just south of the River Tees, and inland towards the upland Pennines/Cheviots. It highlights all the crucial fieldwork over the last 150 years, which has shaped our current knowledge of the N/EBA in north-east England. The section on Northumberland features a variety of N/EBA monuments. Neolithic and Early Bronze Age activity was very complex in Northumberland, with stone circles, henges, four-posters, ritual pits and alignments, as well as cup-and-ring marks. Sadly, these are being damaged by present weather conditions and by farm animals. Nevertheless, Burl considered the four-poster of Goatstones near to Hexham as 'splendid', especially the sixteen cup-markings on the north-easterly stone (1988a, 67). Yet, previously, there had been an impression that only the Milfield Plain in Northumberland had been occupied during the Neolithic period, but this was in reality an indication of the focus of archaeological fieldwork in that area over others, such as Teesside, Newcastle, Morpeth and Durham (Burgess 1984, 133). Miket too had noticed that Northumberland, Durham and Tyne and Wear had hardly figured prominently in discussions of the time about northern Britain's Neolithic activity (1976, 113). Waddington added to this, commenting that between the 1970s and the 1990s, 'overgeneralisations' had attempted to fit the evidence available into 'one specific straight-jacket or another' (1997, 21). Due to a reduced amount of rescue excavations or funded circle excavations in Northumberland in recent years, this situation still applies to some extent for Northumberland, despite the superb work being achieved by Waddington and Passmore, and others (Waddington & Passmore 2012, 176). Despite this, the Till-Tweed work has enabled the authors to gather huge amounts of information about the sequence of henge building within the Milfield Basin, but also about the changing climatic conditions of the Later Neolithic (ibid.142). The Milfield Basin, which had once been a glacial lake (Harding 1981, 89), is the location of numerous N/EBA structures, with very different histories. These include eleven ditched enclosures (Waddington 2009, 175), with dates from 3780-3630 cal BC at Coupland (Waddington & Passmore 2012, 182) to 2190-1620 cal BC at Milfield South (ibid.188). At Whitton Hill, the ditches for Site One were dug and then almost immediately infilled, whereas at Site Two, stone uprights were used to increase the importance of the inner circle (Miket 1985, 143, 147). There was a segmented henge at East Marleyknowe, with a mainly south-west orientation, whereas entrances at Coupland and Milfield North were aligned North-South (Harding 1981, 130). These three entrances align exactly with the orientation of the River Till's course at each point (Richards 1996, 329). Yeavering, Akeld Steads, Ewart and Whitton Hill, on the other hand, are aligned North-West/ South-East (Harding 1981, 130). Coupland and East Marleyknowe were also linked via a long pit-lined droveway (Harding & Lee 1987, 204).

The county of Yorkshire has such tremendous variety within its county. It is as a 'microcosm of Britain' (Pierpoint 1980, 4-6). For the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods, the regions of the A1 corridor, the North Yorkshire Moors and the Yorkshire Wolds (in both North and East Yorkshire) have many structures, and form part of this thesis' geographical region. Yet, until the 1980s, large-scale N/EBA excavations of these landscapes were largely unknown (ibid.10). Nevertheless, Manby has continued to focus huge amounts of effort on Yorkshire (1986, 1988, 2003). His latest volume, compiled with Moorhouse and Ottaway, has reiterated that Yorkshire's location is in the very centre of the UK. It has a variety of N/EBA structures and landscapes, making it 'as good as any…for archaeological research' (Ottaway *et al.* 2003, 1-2).

The Yorkshire Dales has also had recent interest. In 2004, *Archaeology and historic landscapes of the Yorkshire Dales* was published. White and Wilson included several chapters on the prehistory of the Dales, including Tim Laurie's work on Middle Bronze Age burnt mounds and Roger Martlew's discussion on Later Prehistoric landscapes (79-88 & 39-50, respectively). There was also a chapter, detailing the 3000 square kilometres archaeological mapping project, initiated in 1988 (Horne & MacLeod 2004, 15). This identified thirty percent of new sites pertaining to the prehistoric and Roman periods, and added, 'It is likely that further research…would significantly increase this figure'.

The A1 corridor in North Yorkshire has a large concentration of N/EBA circular and linear monuments, all situated on prime agricultural land, within the Swale-Ure valley region. The builders chose material from their surroundings, which included the sacrifice of this land to build monuments, with earth coming from the land and cobbles from nearby rivers. Six almost identical henges were constructed within a twelve kilometre area (Harding 2013, 200). The row of three (once, five) huge standing stones at Boroughbridge 'form one of the most astonishing megalithic settings in Western Europe' and yet, have 'been remarkably neglected', in archaeological terms (Burl 1991, 1). Hutton Moor henge and Thornborough's North and Central henge earthworks are the other fully extant monuments within this low-lying river valleys system, and yet part of a much larger group of circular and linear Neolithic and Early Bronze age monuments. Nunwick and Cana Barn henges were built on a slight rise in the field, which identifies their exact locations. Ferrybridge, Catterick and Thornborough South have been excavated and Leeming Lane was discovered when the A1/A168 junction was widened. A long timber avenue was likewise discovered at Catterick (Bradley 2007, 126) Three more henges were identified by aerial photographs (Harding & Lee 1987, 305-312). Yet, with a huge project at Thornborough, this picture is slowly being enhanced to include a cursus, ten round barrows and a long pit alignment all close to the three aligned Thornborough henges, on a low-lying location close to the River Ure (Harding 2013, 38). 'Collectively they represent one of the largest earthmoving episodes ever undertaken in later Neolithic Britain, yet their history is characterised by neglect' (ibid.1). Another 2.1 kilometre cursus was also discovered from aerial photographs in 1949 at Scorton, North Yorkshire (Topping 1982, 7). When a section was dug across it, by Topping, in advance of gravel quarrying, it was shown that it had similarities, at its terminal end, to the four Rudston cursuses, but not the nearer Thornborough cursus (ibid.15). Scorton cursus was unique in other ways. It has the widest-known ditches in the UK but the shallowest-known ditch depths (ibid.).

The North Yorkshire Moors and the Yorkshire Wolds landscapes are of considerable importance to the understanding of the Neolithic in northern England, yet their 'meaning and nature…is far from clear' (Carver 2011, 111). There have also been very few excavations in the modern era (Vyner 1994, 27). An absence of recognised threats to the moorland archaeology of north-east Yorkshire and the Cleveland Hills has resulted in a lack of modern archaeological data (ibid.), despite there being at least twelve long barrows on the North Yorkshire Moors (Spratt & Harrison 1989, 30). As stated

above, Greenwell (1877) and Mortimer (1905) published huge gazetteers, detailing their antiquarian excavations of the burial mounds of Yorkshire. They included barrow plans and artefactual data, with their own views and commentary about what they uncovered. In fact, Mortimer's whole study was about East Yorkshire, whereas Greenwell covered the whole of the north of England, with a few brief references to Gloucestershire.

Within the modern era, as far back as the 1980s, Fowler was applauding the previous decades of archaeological endeavours which, through aerial photography, ground survey, stray finds analysis and fieldwork, had uncovered a whole ancient upland farming landscape within the Yorkshire Wolds (1983, 11-12). Similar work was achieved in Cleveland and the Tees Valley hinterland (Still *et al.* 1989, 1). Harding's article outlined the importance of the Neolithic 43 round and 42 long barrows within British archaeological literature, as these two 'collective' and 'individual' burial rites co-exist on the North Yorkshire Moors and within the Great Wold Valley of East Yorkshire. The complexity of the relationship between the two types of monument has been largely unexplored (1996, 67-9), yet has been noted for over a hundred years (Greenwell 1877; Mortimer 1905). Loveday assigned the Rudston landscape an enigmatic title, as the greatest cursus complex in northern Britain. The four cursus' combined length equal that of the longest cursus in Britain (2009, 35, 43). He went on to add that this region had started as a cult area and had evolved into the first individual-enhancing prestige goods economy in the UK, a location where the existing ideology was usurped to legitimate individual wealth and power (ibid.48). This monumental landscape is also close to an identified high-quality flint-working site, close to Flamborough Head (Durden 1995, 410, 412, 431). The Rudston complex originally had another unusual feature too, that of two long barrows, which formed a V, with their lower, narrower ends being in contact. This was visible in the 1930s (Elgee 1933, 41). Other features make the Yorkshire Wolds and North Yorkshire Moors regions special and different too. Lynch discussed the wooden chambers found under round mounds (1997, 54). Kinnes debated the unusual 'crematoria' found within the Yorkshire Wolds' long mounds (1992, 84-5) and Neolithic round mounds (1979, 58), stating that northern England's monuments were unique, regarding their crematoria and inhumation burial, as well as the 'wooden avenues recorded at Kilham and Kemp Howe' (ibid.61) and the richness of the finds from the mounds' forecourts (1992, 108). Despite the fact that the mounds' earlier stages were comparable with chamber format and inhumation mortuary practice found elsewhere, the final stage and the deliberate firing of the chamber is an exceptional phenomenon of northern England's monuments (ibid.85). Grinsell had also noted this difference (1953, 217), as had Ashbee (1984, 65). He had specifically noticed that the human bones within the Yorkshire chambers were also 'set in more circumscribed groups, namely the bones of individual bodies, rather than in sorted assemblages' (ibid.65-7). Ashbee, in his earlier Bronze Age round barrow study, made specific and detailed references to a number of prominent and 'remarkable' Yorkshire round barrows, including the Kellythorpe (1960, 73) and Duggleby Howe (ibid.74) barrows. He also discussed the Gristhorpe timber coffin burial and the Loose Howe canoe burial, plus their associated organic assemblages (ibid.88-91). Fox (1926, 122-151) recorded the finding of four Early Bronze Age boats near to North Ferriby, in the Humber estuary, when it was being dredged and widened. He later suggested that settlements along and northwards of the Humber estuary were indicative of coastal trade in that area. It will be interesting to see from this study if anyone, in the last eighty years, has considered trying to prove or disprove this theory (1938, 64).

Bronze Age barrows are also a major feature of the Yorkshire Wolds landscape, as previously stated. Elgee saw the region as 'one of the greatest centres of the beaker culture in England' (1930, 80-1). Both Margaret Smith (1994), and Brewster and Finney (1995), have logged all finds from all excavated Early Bronze Age North-East Yorkshire round barrows, plus excavation details and plans.

Smith added in many artefactual details and old photographs; and Brewster and Finney provided EBA radiocarbon dates from Gnipe Howe and Sawdon Moor (1995, 66).

Russell found that the Neolithic round mounds of northern England demonstrated similar features and deposits to those recorded beneath linear mounds, thus making them unusual within the overall sequence (2002, 30). Earlier Neolithic monument construction may have started in Yorkshire and, although similar early dates can be attributed to southern England, Yorkshire has a larger proportion of early monuments (Bradley & Edmonds 1993, 24). The recent radiocarbon dates (Gibson & Bayliss 2010, 104-5) add to the known sequence. Their model suggested that Early Neolithic burial began in that area between 4190-3725 calBC, probably in 3985-3775 calBC (95% probability) (ibid.101). Yet, these monuments are only a small part of the vast, wider landscape of the Wolds, for which a substantial, holistic re-evaluation is imminently needed, to re-place this group of monuments within a national and British context, as previously stated by Harding (1996, 75). Many of the monuments are denuded or seriously damaged and ploughing is further affecting the situation. 'Speculation' (Kinnes *et al.* 1983, 103) and 'secondary referencing' (Gibson & Bayliss 2010, 99) are no longer acceptable and much more work is required.

Despite the wealth of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age structures within the landscapes of northern England, there has been no coherent, overarching study of the relationship between all the monuments on both sides of the Pennines. Monuments are frequently compared with southern examples and the region of northern England has long been overlooked, as the archaeological eye wanders from southern Britain to north-eastern Scotland (Pollard 1997, 7). Both southern Britain and north-eastern Scotland have regions with excellent archaeological preservation, the latter due to the lack of modern or even medieval agriculture (Pryor 2014, 106). From the early archaeologists onwards, there seems to have been an ongoing thought process, which has undermined the nature of the monuments in northern England through a constant comparison with southern structures of similar types and the idea that southern 'cultures' (Piggott 1949, 79) must have been responsible for their construction (Thomas 1955, 436). Even in 1933, when Frank and Harriet Wragg Elgee wrote their account of the archaeology of Yorkshire, the die was cast. They commented that the Yorkshire barrow culture must have been 'a later and degenerate form of that of the south-west of England' (1933, 45), despite later stating that the Garton Slack and Cottingham flint daggers 'rank among the most superb examples of flint craftsmanship in this country' (ibid.57-8).

Even within the modern era, interest in the north of England has been patchy, both in terms of time and location. There was little work done, unless a monument threat was involved, and a rescue excavation needed to be completed. An example of this was at the south-eastern end of East Gilling Long Barrow (Wilson 1988, 1). Gibson and Bayliss commented that, despite its importance, there had been little attention paid to the Great Wold Valley in recent years, certainly in comparison to some other landscapes in Britain. Instead, presumptions had been made, most particularly in relation to the well-known Neolithic round mounds of the region (2010, 98). When Kinnes *et al.* had studied Duggleby Howe, published in 1983, they had had to draw on Wheeler's investigations almost ninety years before, to commence their debate. Gibson and Bayliss' 2010 results, however, pushed back the radiocarbon dates of the Wolds to almost 4200 cal BC, that is, earlier than even the earliest chronologies for southern Britain (ibid.101; Whittle *et al.* 2011, 869, Fig 15.8). This is only one example of what might further be achieved, if the whole of northern England's N/EBA monuments were thoroughly incorporated into a national synthesis on the period. Bradley stated that research was needed on long-distance links in northern England. He added, 'We need to 'section the country from east to west, combining surface collection with sample excavation, ceramic studies and radiocarbon dating' (2002, 40). To my knowledge, this ambitious project has not yet been managed.

4. Results

The reasoning behind this investigation was to critically question claims by many archaeologists, such as those cited above in the Literature Review, that there continued to be an emphasis on certain 'core' areas within Britain, with other areas being marginalised and neglected. It was therefore clear from the outset that, in order for the research to be relevant and quantifiable, a reliable data-set of results would need to be created, and, in order to achieve this, a strict methodology would need to be adhered to for each book and journal.

The methodology above was therefore strictly adhered to for each book, with additions to the protocol improving the data collection, as more books were read. By the fourth book (that is, Renfrew (1974); after having read, recorded and analysed data from Darvill (1987), Piggott (1949) and Scarre (2007)), these issues had been resolved and all further work was maintained at that high standard.

These results have been divided into five broad sections: a set of specific data for each individual book; a comparison of data between books; the number of monuments for each county, as provided by Pastscape (see Methodology); and finally, a Pivot Table analysis of the fourteen books. This data is all available in Appendices (Appendices A-E). The data comparison focussed on overall data for the total number of references for each country, as well as for each region within each country. The focus then closed in on the references for English sites, with each English region being compared with each English county. A GIS map of all English sites mentioned, per book, was entered at this point. The results then focussed on the data gained for northern England, specifically, as the focus of this dissertation, but the data has been completed and is available on spreadsheets and could equally have been collated for any country or region of Britain or, indeed, Ireland.

For the comparison of data between books, overall totals and therefore percentages could be created for total number of references gained from all books together. Each author was also compared to the others, with regards to their regional and national emphases.

Section 1: Datasets per book

All results were recorded in Microsoft Excel and the supporting database of results is attached (Appendix A). The results were logged in date order. Books were chosen, as has been stated above, a) based on the requirement of the word Britain in the title, as well as the topic of prehistory, or more specifically, as Neolithic or Bronze Age; b) within the date range of the last 80 years, prominent books were chosen, both from my own undergraduate reading list and books easily available on Durham University Library's website. The regions of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, and their counties, were defined in the Methodology, above.

Fox (1938) The Personality of Britain. Its influence on inhabitant and invader in prehistoric and early historic times. Third Edition.

Fox's First Edition of this book was published in 1932. However, this version was not used for this study, as both the First and Second Editions would be difficult for an undergraduate to get hold of. However, the Third Edition and those published after that date, are far easier to take out from, for example, Durham University's Library.

Fox, whose Third Edition, written in 1938, was included as part of this study, made 1149 references within his book (Appendix A14), although only 19 were for actual sites: there are seven locations in each of south-west and central England and two in south-east England; there is one site referenced in north-east England and one in south-east Wales. The other references were made about areas within Britain, and Ireland, either as regional, county or country references. In total, there are 544 about England, 90 regarding Scotland, 102 about Wales and 79 about Ireland (Table 7), with England

clearly gaining the majority of the references, in fact, 67% (Figure 6). Scotland, Wales and Ireland each had surprisingly similar numbers of mentions, at 11%, 12% and 10% respectively (Figure 7). Even more surprising, is that Wales received the second-most number of references, the first book to achieve this (and the oldest of all the books studied).

Unsurprisingly, though, most of the references pertained to south-east England with 154/501 English regional references (31%) (Figure 8, Figure 9), one and a half as many as for any of the other countries, with 128/501 (26%) for south-west and 94.5/501 (19%) for north-east England, with central England gaining 83/501 (16%) references. Although north-west England received only 41/501 (8%) references, the number was still higher than for any other region. Of those, northern Scotland (27/1149) and north-west Wales (22.5/1149) gained the most mentions (ibid.).

Many counties in England were evenly referenced in Fox's study (Figure 11), for example, Cambridgeshire, Cornwall, Dorset, East Yorkshire and Yorkshire (generally mentioned) all received 15-17 mentions, and Derbyshire, Devon and North Yorkshire were referred to 13-14 times. The Isle of Man also received 17 references. East Anglia received the most mentions (33/398, English county mentions), followed by Kent (30/398), Lincolnshire (27/398) and Wiltshire (25.5/398). The GIS map shows the distribution of Fox's English site references (Figure 10).

The study area of northern England was referred to in 10% of occasions (55/544), although North and East Yorkshire (plus general Yorkshire mentions) were referenced 45 times (Figure 12).

Fox did not provide a bibliography in his book, preferring to rely on his own, gathered knowledge (Figure 129).

Fox used some images in his book. However, the majority of these are maps, either of Britain as a whole, or of southern Britain, Scotland or Wales. Of the four more localised maps, 3 reference the N/EBA period in Cambridgeshire (central England) and one pertains to Caithness in northern Scotland.

A – Total number of references per country

England	544
Scotland	90
Wales	102
Ireland	79
Total GB	1149

Table 7 - Total number of references per country (Fox)

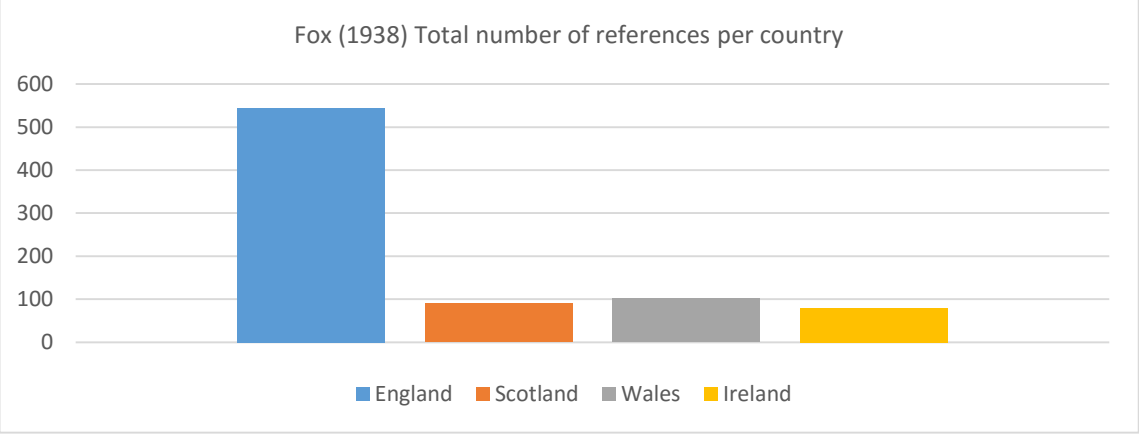


Figure 6 - Fox (1938) Total number of references per country

B – Percentage of total references per country

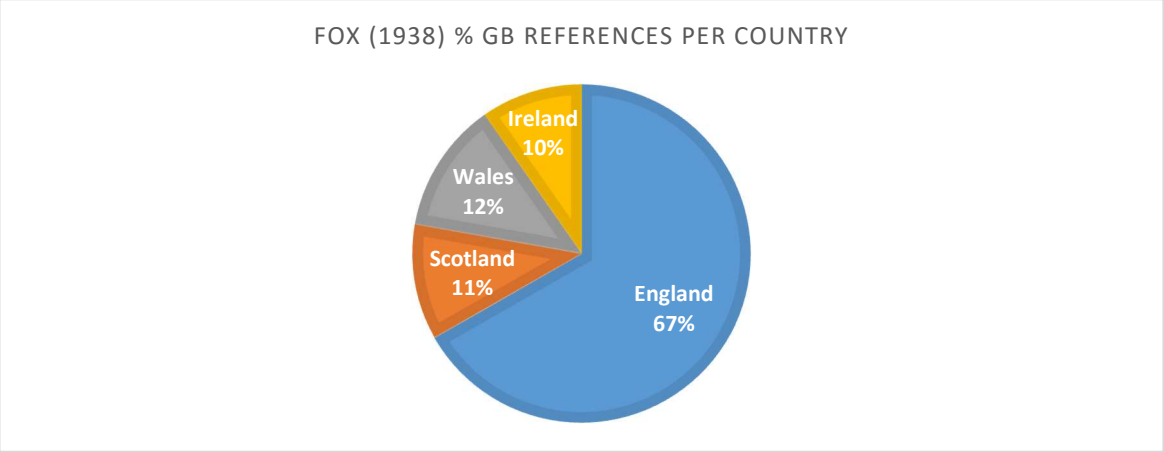


Figure 7 - Fox (1938) % GB references per country

C – Total number of references for each region in each country

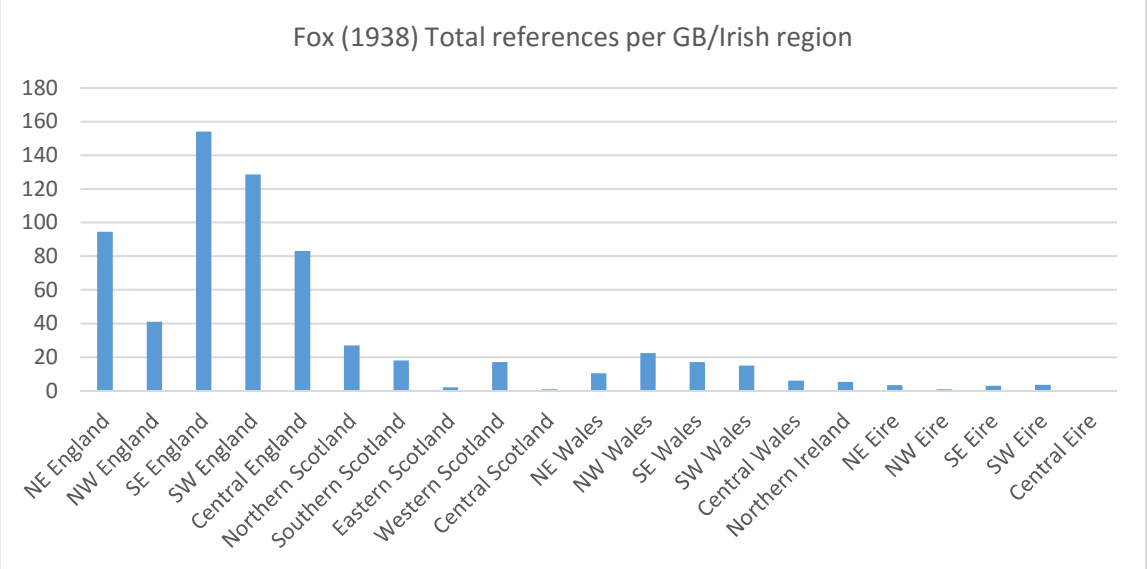


Figure 8 - Fox (1938) Total references per GB/Irish region

D – Total references per English region, as a percentage

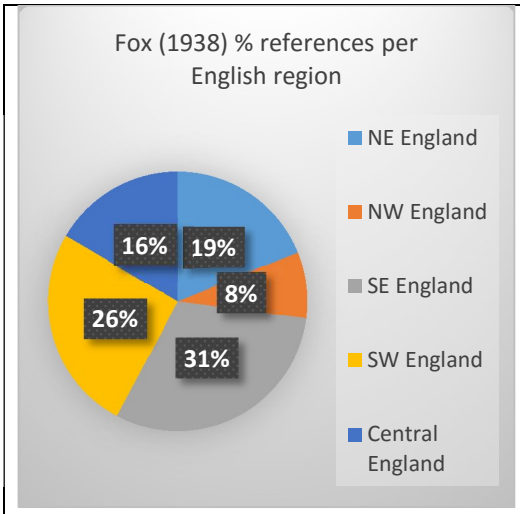


Figure 9 - Fox (1938) % references per English region

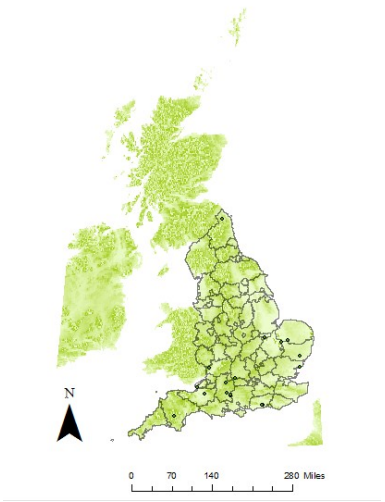


Figure 10 - GIS Map of Fox's English Site References

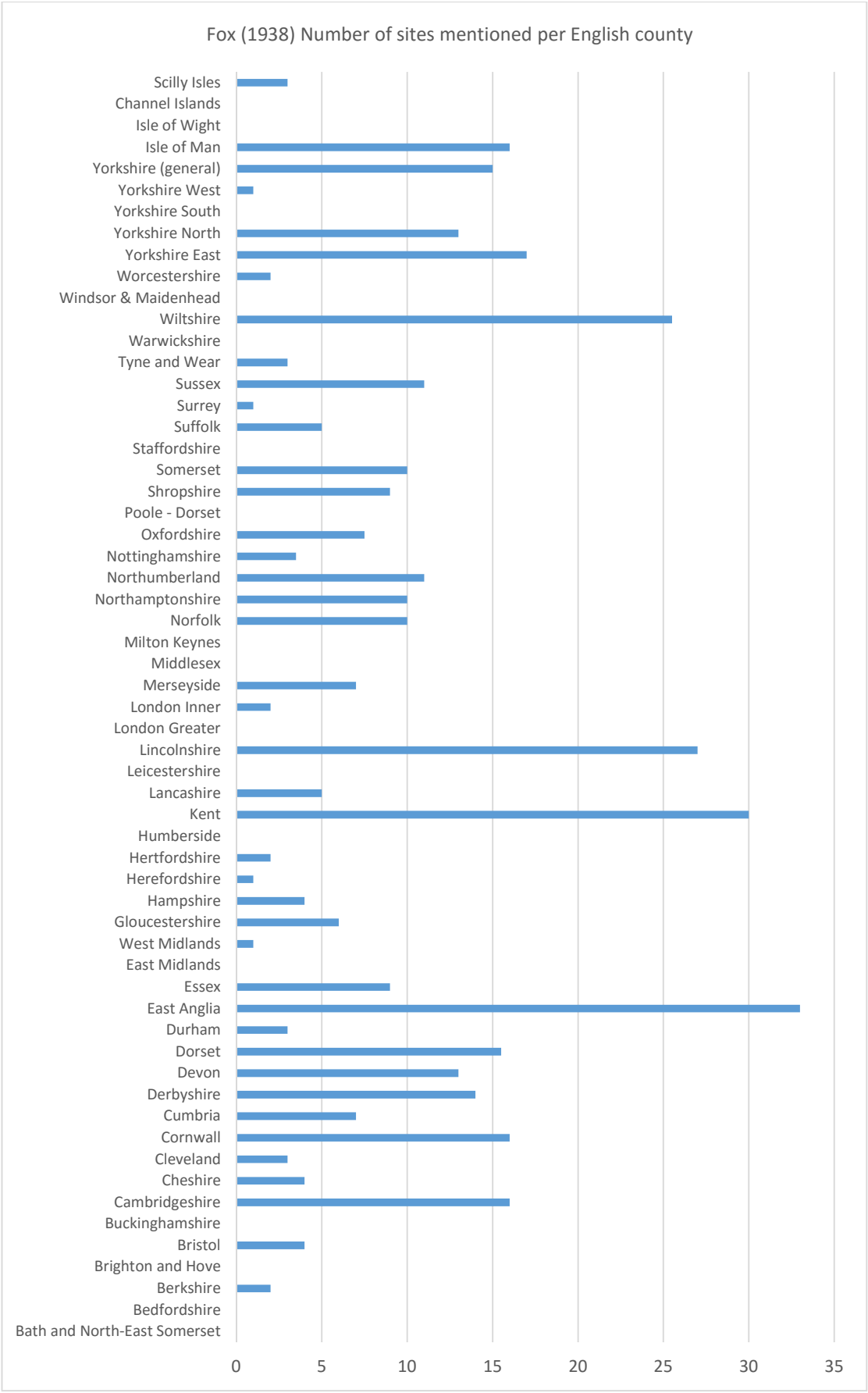


Figure 11 - Fox (1938) Number of sites mentioned per English county

F – Percentage of sites referenced pertaining to this 'located within northern England', as that region is defined for this study

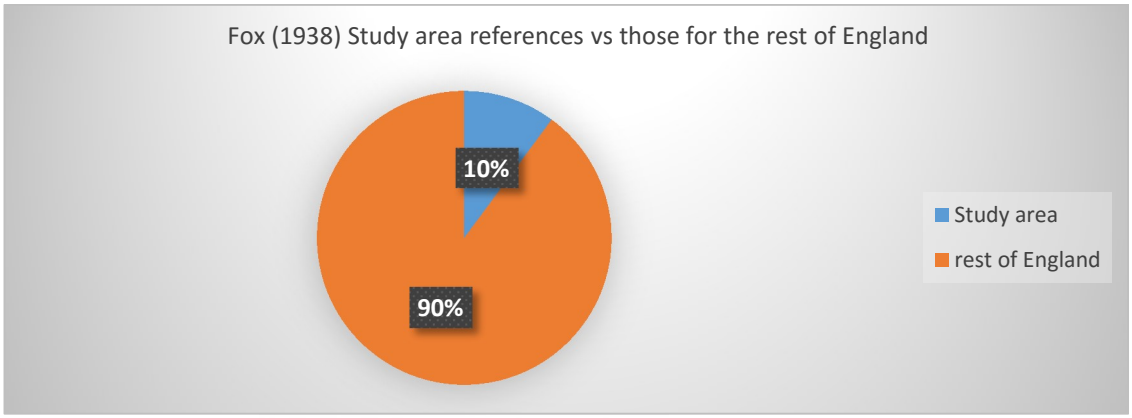


Figure 12 - Fox (1938) Study area references vs those for the rest of England

Hawkes (1948) Prehistoric Britain

As the majority of the book was produced during the Second World War, Jacquetta and Christopher Hawkes must have experienced difficulties in information gathering. This is clearly evident in both the number of references per country and, in many ways, excuses the regional focus of the work, although one would have expected more Dorset and less Wiltshire references. The Cambridgeshire information was surely gathered before Jacquetta's exodus to Dorset, as may have been the data about Wiltshire. The team produced 372 references overall (Appendix A5) (Table 8) of which 258 (74%) pertained to England, 40.5/372 (11%) to Scotland, 16/372 (5%) to Wales and 35.5/372 (10%) to Ireland (Figure 13, Figure 14). Regionally, south-west England gained 60% (145.5/258) of England's references and south-east England 16% (41/258), i.e., more than three-quarters of the total English references (186.5/258), and half of the total number of references (186.5/372). Central England has 31/258 references (12%) and north-east and north-west England together were only referred to in 11% of English references (28.5/258), that is, only 16% of total mentions (Figure 16). Northern Scotland had the most Scottish references, with 25/40.5 (62%) mentions. The whole of the rest of Scotland was only referred to 6 times in the whole book though, i.e., 15% of Scottish mentions but only 1.5% of mentions overall. Wales gained 11/16 references to specific sites or Welsh regions, with 5 references to the country and Ireland, although not mentioned in the book's title, has ten specific mentions (10/35.5) and the other 25.5 references were cited generally about the island of Ireland, rather than specifically about Northern Ireland or ROI (Figure 15).

Within England, of the 25 counties mentioned (Figure 18), Wiltshire gained the most site or county references with 68/258 (26%), although this percentage is actually higher as 79/258 references were about England in general, therefore meaning that Wiltshire was actually referenced in 38% of specific mentions (68/179). Cambridgeshire was referred to 24 times and Dorset and Cornwall 12 times each. The six counties included in this study were only referenced ten times in total (4% of English and 2.5% of total references) but with general references to northern England, the study area gained 7% of the total references for this book (Figure 19). The GIS map shows the distribution of referenced English sites (Figure 17).

Hawkes provided 58 bibliographic references in his book (Figure 129). Of these, there were 16 general archaeological references and 4 referenced places outside of Britain and Ireland; 38 were about Britain and none about Ireland (Figure 20). Of the British references, 24 pertained to England (with 20/24 about southern England's sites); 3 to Scotland; and 4 to Wales.

The Hawkes team added 52 images to their book, of which 31 referenced specific sites within Britain. Of these, 42% (13/31) were line-drawings or photographs of sites in south-western England, with 4 (13%) for south-eastern England, 1 (3%) for central England and 4 (13%) for north-eastern England. There were no images pertaining to north-western England, nor for the East, West or central regions of Scotland, nor for the North or central regions of Wales, nor any for Ireland. There were 6 images of Orkney/Shetland (19%) and one from southern Scotland, south-eastern Wales and south-western Wales respectively (Appendix B).

A – Total number of references per country

England	258
Scotland	40.5
Wales	16
Ireland	35.5
Total	372

Table 8 - Total number of references per country (Hawkes)

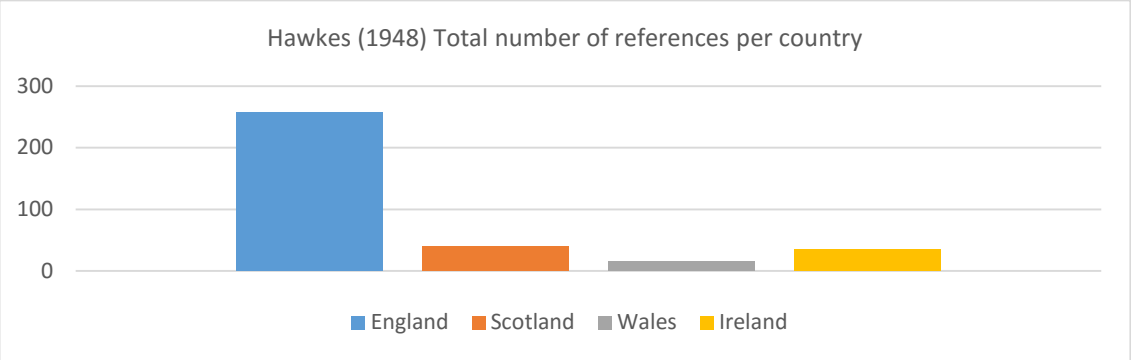


Figure 13 - Hawkes (1948) Total number of references per country

B – Percentage of total references per country

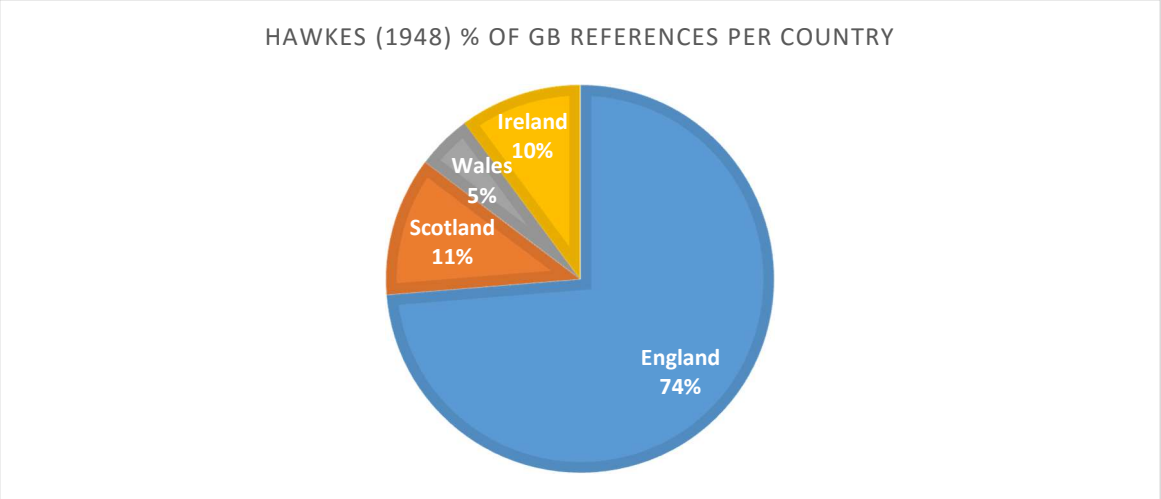


Figure 14 - Hawkes (1948) % of GB references per country

C – Total number of references for each region in each country

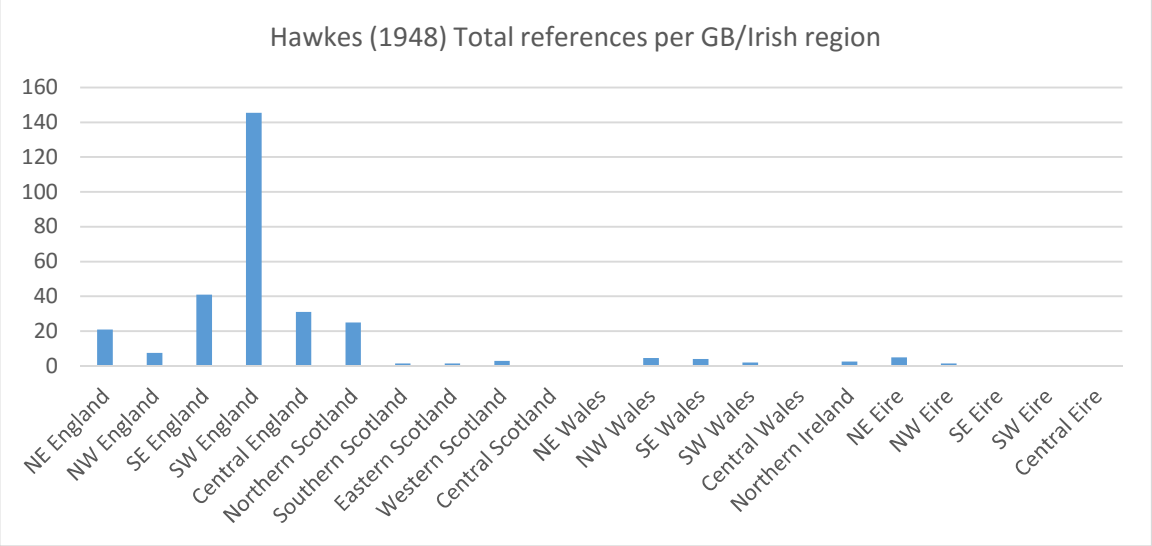


Figure 15 - Hawkes (1948) Total references per GB/Irish region

D – Total references per English region, as a percentage

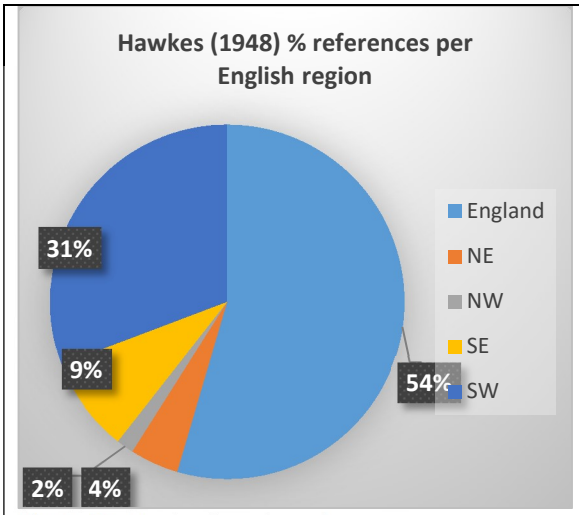


Figure 16 - Hawkes (1948) % references per English region

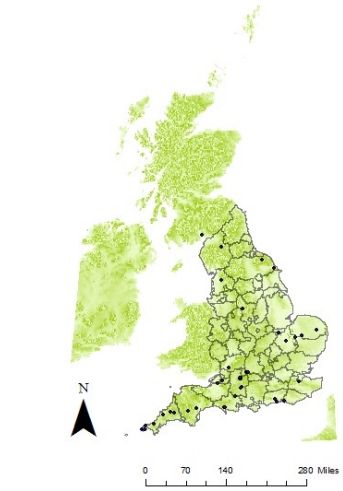


Figure 17 - GIS Map of Hawkes's English Site References

E – Number of sites mentioned per English county

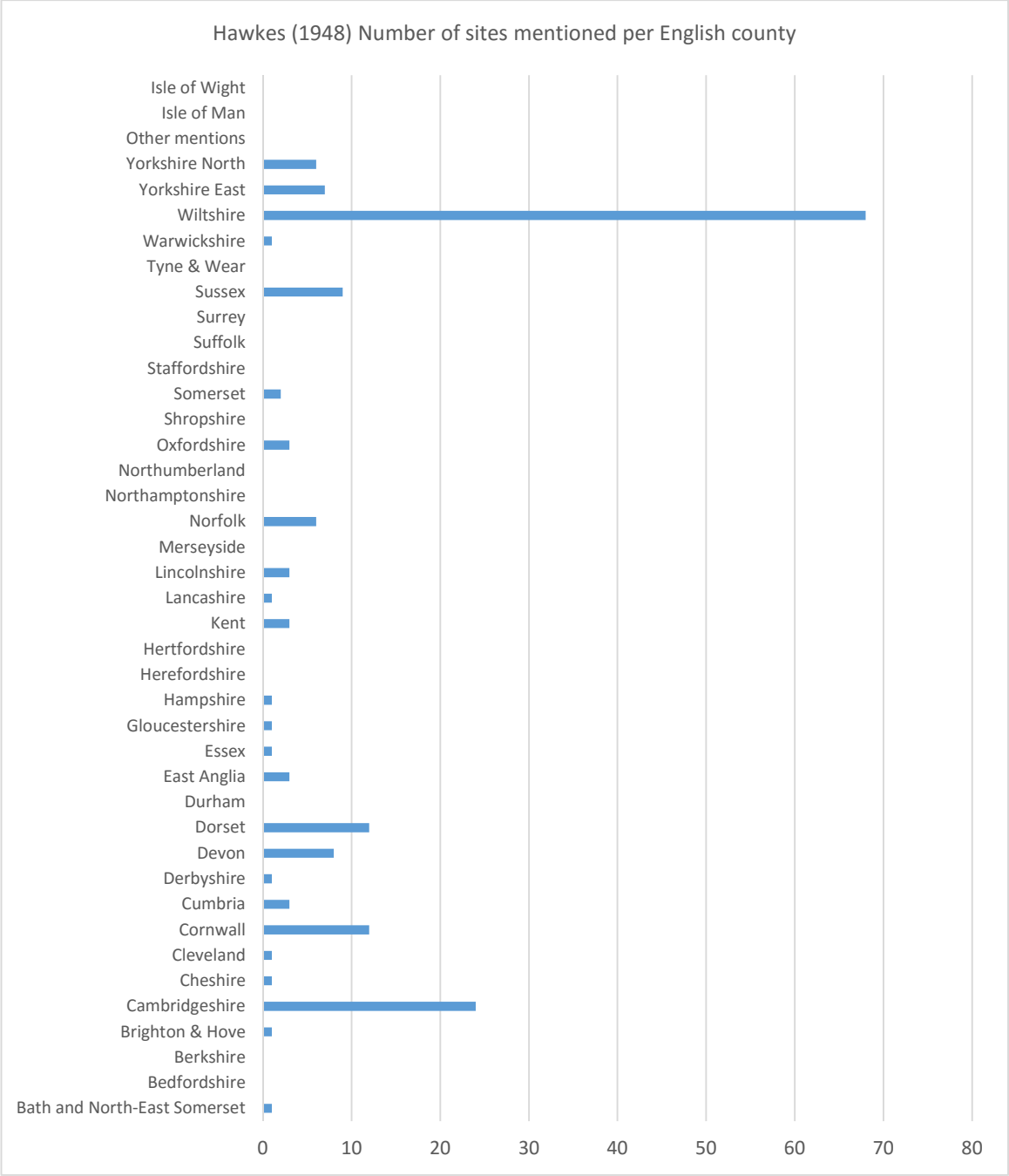


Figure 18 - Hawkes (1948) Number of sites mentioned per English county

F – Percentage of sites referenced pertaining to this 'located within northern England', as that region is defined for this study

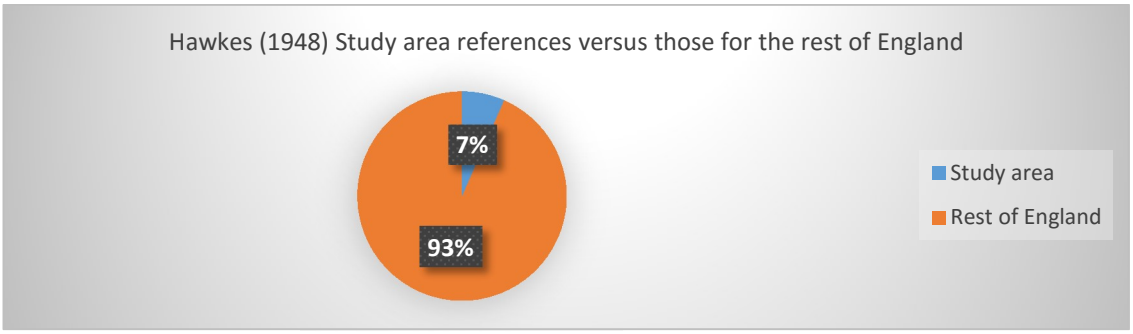


Figure 19 - Hawkes (1948) Study area references versus those for the rest of England

G – Total numbers of bibliographic references, pertaining to specific areas of Britain and Ireland

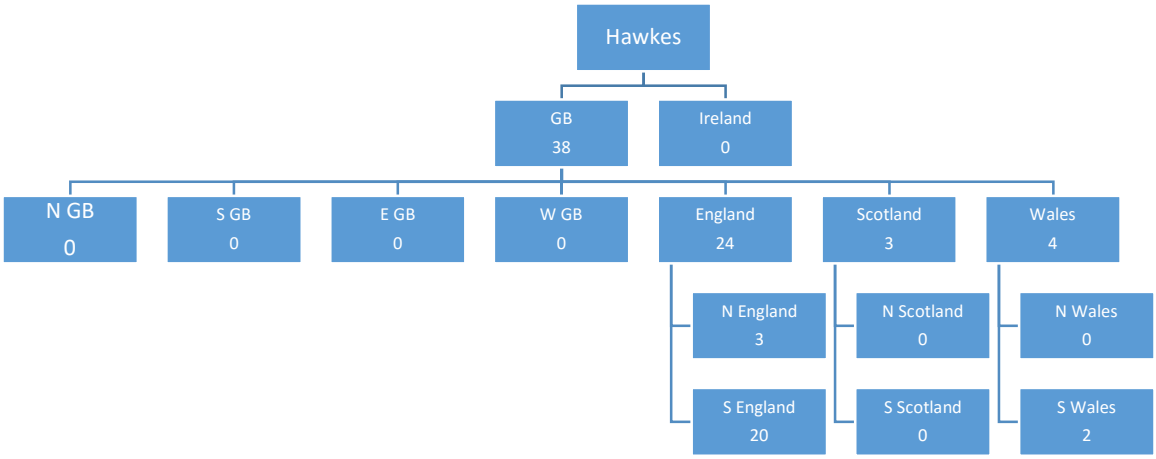


Figure 20 - Hawkes (1948) Bibliographic references - Cumulative totals

Piggott (1949) British Prehistory

Piggott acknowledged that he had had to compile this book on prehistory as a working hypothesis of his and others' thoughts at that time. He considered the study partial, due to taphonomic and excavation-location factors (1949 15-6, 21). Nevertheless, the book contains 1166 references (Appendix A2), of which 401 (34%) pertain to England, 651 (56%) to Scotland, 30 (3%) to Wales and 84 (7%) to Ireland (Table 9, Figure 21, Figure 22). Of these, northern Scotland gained by far the most references (590.5/651), in fact, almost 91% of the total references for Scotland, with the Hebrides having 96% of these mentions and Orkney another 2% (Appendix A2). The rest of Scotland gained only 4.5% of the total mentions (29.5/651) for southern, eastern, western and central Scotland together. Nevertheless, Scotland had over half the total references within the book.

For England, the south-west fared best, with 47% (177/401) of the total references (Figure 24). The south-east amassed 17% (65/401) of references, the north-east and central regions having 15% each (58.5/401 & 57/401, respectively) and England's north-west region gained only 6% (21.5/401) of all mentions. In fact, this matched the number of site or regional references for the whole of Wales (Figure 23), at less than 2% of overall references (21/1166), with a further 9/1166 (0.7%) mentions of the country's name (Appendix A2). Within England, many of the references were regional and many counties had few specific references. The best of these were Wiltshire with 62 of 188 total English references, or 33%; 33/188 or 17% for Yorkshire; and 31/188, or 16% for Cambridgeshire (Figure 26). The northern England study area gained 10% of the overall references

for England (Figure 27). The GIS map shows the distribution of English site references within the text (Figure 25).

Ireland, although not mentioned in the book's title, gained 84/1166 references (i.e., 7%), with 18/84 (21%) pertaining to Northern Ireland. 17/84 (20%) of mentions specifically referenced sites or regions in ROI, with a further 22/84 (26%) mentioning ROI as a country. The rest of the references, 27/84, or 32%, referred to the landmass of Ireland in general (Appendix A2).

Piggott provided 45 bibliographic references in his book (Figure 129). Of these, there were 12 general archaeological references and only 2 references to places outside of Britain and Ireland; 30 were about Britain and only one about Ireland (Figure 36). Of the British references, 15 pertained to England (with 13/15 about southern England's sites); 2 to Scotland; and 2 to Wales.

There are no images within the borrowed library book at all, apart from those penned by former Durham University students.

A – Total number of references per country

England	401
Scotland	651
Wales	30
Ireland	84
Total	1166

Table 9 - Total number of references per country (Piggott)

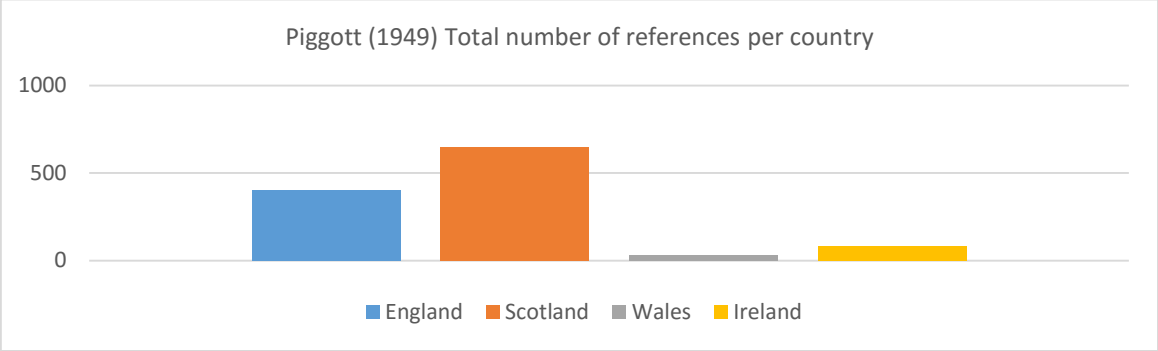


Figure 21 - Piggott (1949) Total number of references per country

B – Percentage of total references per country

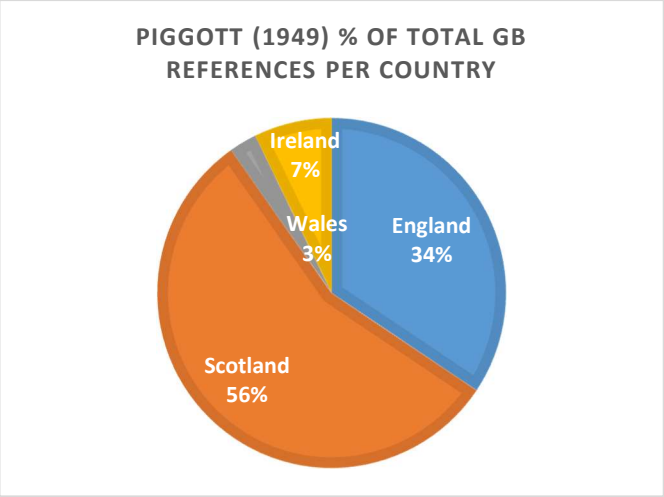


Figure 22 - Piggott (1949) % of total GB references per country

C – Total number of references for each region in each country

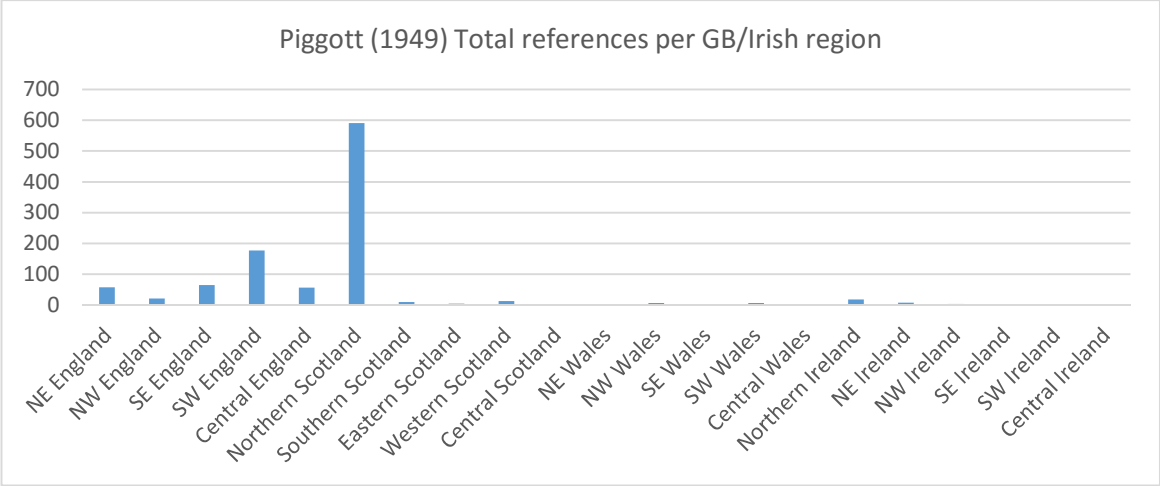


Figure 23 - Piggott (1949) Total references per GB/Irish region

D – Total references per English region, as a percentage

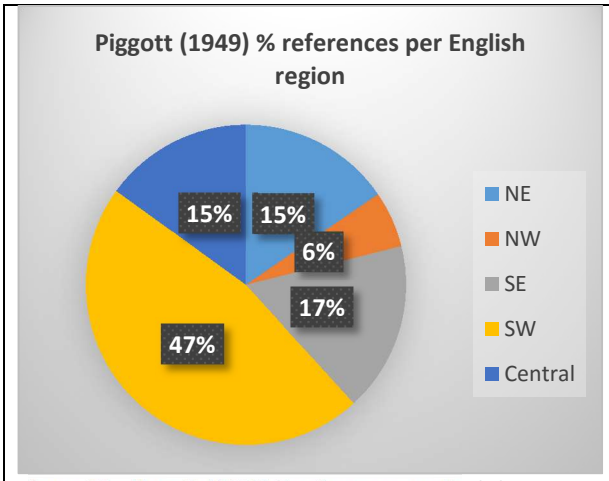


Figure 24 - Piggott (1949) % references per English region

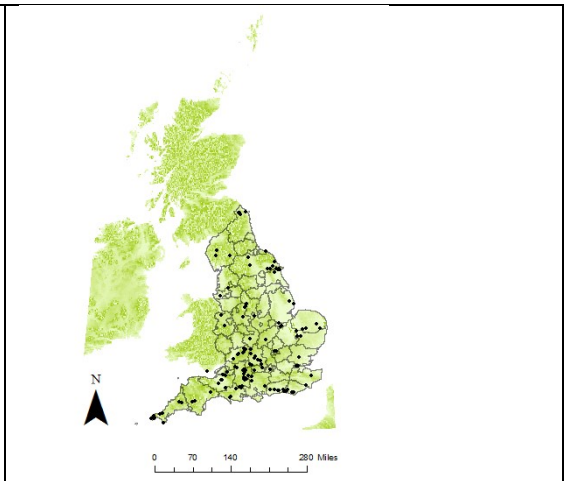


Figure 25 - GIS Map of Piggott's English Site References

E – Number of sites mentioned per English county

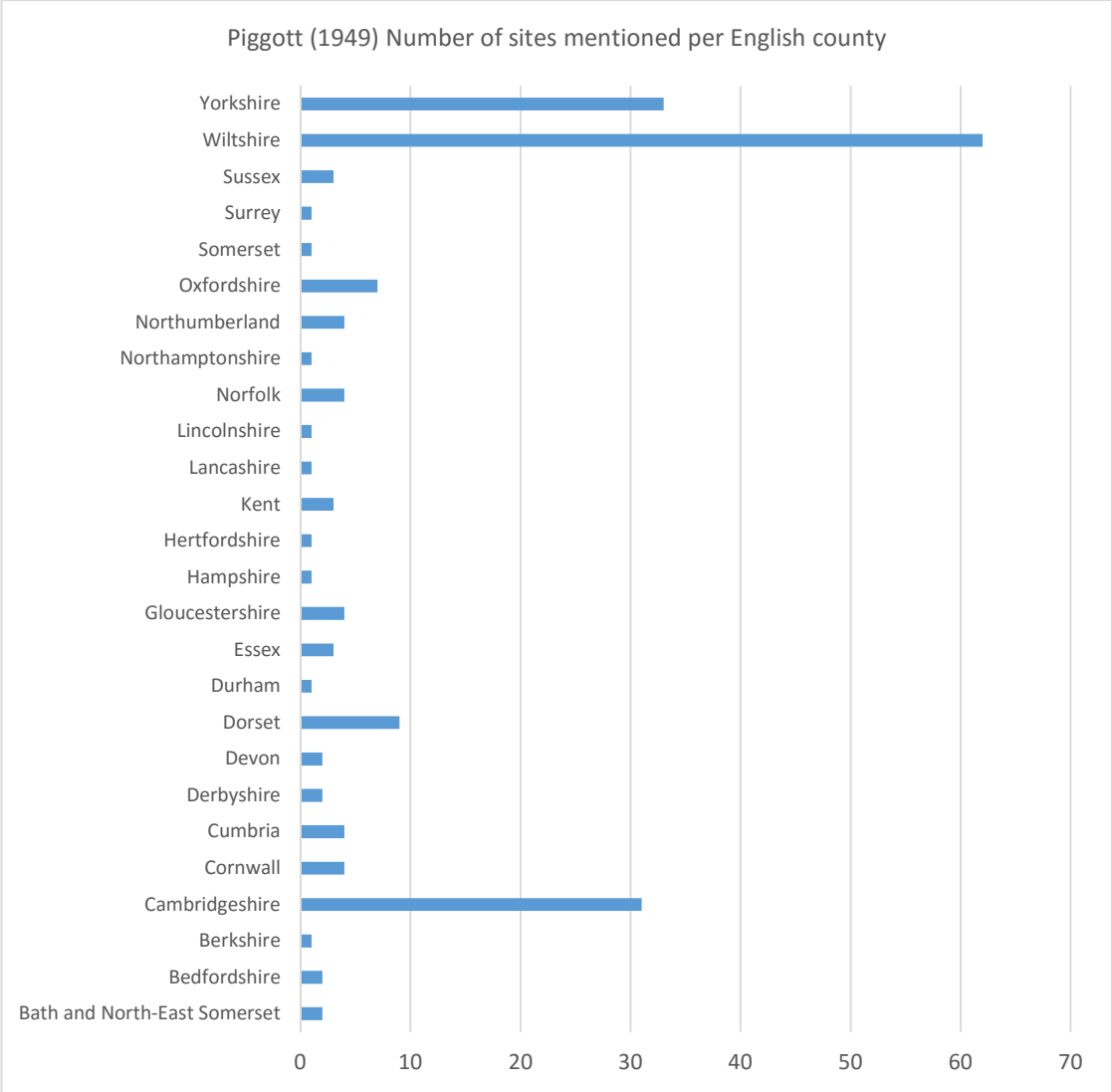


Figure 26 - Piggott (1949) Number of sites mentioned per English county

F – Percentage of sites referenced pertaining to this 'located within northern England', as that region is defined for this study

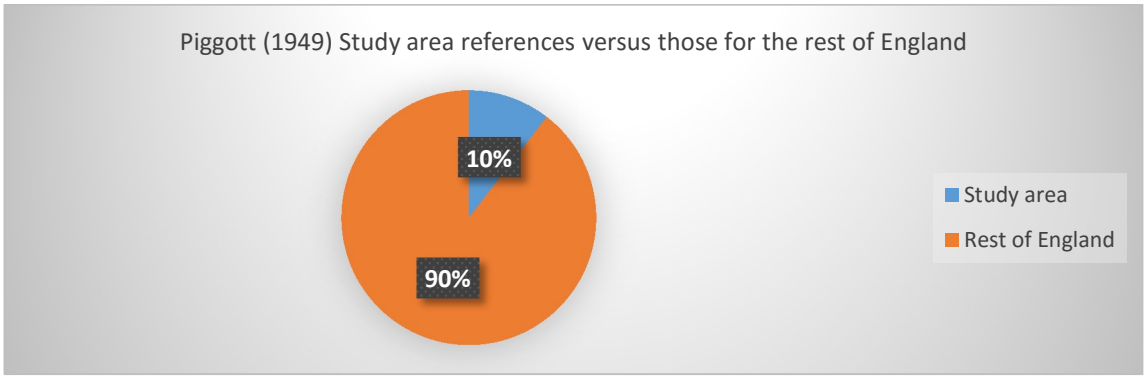


Figure 27 - Piggott (1949) Study area references versus those for the rest of England

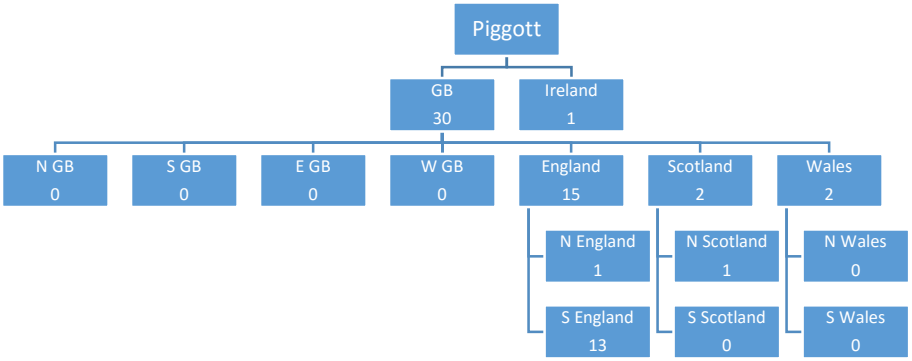


Figure 28 - Piggott (1949) Bibliographic references - Cumulative totals

Renfrew (1974) (ed) British Prehistory

This book, as stated, was compiled and edited by Renfrew, and written by a group of experts of British prehistory of the time. For this thesis, I studied the general chapter and those pertaining to the Neolithic and Early Bronze age periods, that is, Chapter 1 by Colin Renfrew, Chapter 3 by IF Smith, Chapter 4 by Audrey Henshall and Chapter 5 by Colin Burgess (Appendix A4). As the separate chapters focussed on different topics, they were presented as a whole synthesis and not compared with one another. Renfrew wrote only a general Introduction and Smith's focus was on Scotland, whereas the other authors wrote about Britain in general.

There is a slight disparity which can be noticed here, as Renfrew *et al.* referenced the country itself frequently, rather than sites or regions within the country. It is for this reason that there is a slight difference between the overall percentages quoted below for each region within each country, and the percentages of references within England (Figure 30, Figure 31), as those results equate to a percentage of their own regional total, i.e., of 539 references, rather than the overall 586 English references (Table 10). This issue will probably occur from this book's results onwards, as I refined my entry system at this point and kept it the same from this book onwards.

The results, despite the whole of Chapter Four being devoted to Scottish chambered tombs, are weighted towards England, with 49% of the total references (586/1213) (Table 10). Scotland has 29% of the total mentions (352.5/1213); Wales has only 3% (42/1213) of the total references and Ireland, a country not mentioned in the book's title, has 222.5/1213 mentions (19%) (Figure 29, Figure 30). Once again, within each country, there is an emphasis on certain areas (Figure 31), with south-west England gaining the most references in England (301/586 or 51%) and the north-west of England was referenced the least number of times (14.5/586 or 2%). North-east, central and south-east England were all referenced evenly at 59/586 (10%), 78/586 (13%) and 86.5/586 (14%) respectively (Figure 32). 10% of England's references referred to the country in general. Scotland's references were also skewed, this time towards the north, with 173/352.5 (49%) of mentions. Western Scotland gained 15% (54.5/352.5) of references. 17% of references mentioned the country of Scotland and the remaining 19% of references were divided between the regions of central, eastern and southern Scotland, with 4% (13/352.5), 5% (18/352.5) and 10% (35/352.5), correspondingly. Western Wales has half the Welsh references (21/42), divided between the north-west (13/41 or 31%) and south-west (8/42 or 19%) regions. Eastern and central Wales were only referred to 11/42 times (26%) and 24% of all Welsh results mentioned Wales in general terms. Northern Ireland gained 99.5/222.5 of Irish references (45%), with 30% of mentions (66/222.5) referring to ROI in general. Of that number, 45.5/66 (i.e., 69%) mentioned sites within or the region of north-east ROI (Appendix A4).

Once again, within England, the county references (Figure 34) are weighted towards the south of England, and, in particular, Wessex, with Wiltshire having 100/586 mentions, Dorset 42/586 mentions, Devon 33/586 references and Cambridgeshire was referred to 31/586 times. North and East Yorkshire were mentioned on only 18/586 and 13/586 occasions respectively. Nevertheless, Renfrew *et al.* referenced sites within 30 different English counties. This MA's study area of six counties in northern England was mentioned in only 5% of references (Figure 35). The GIS map shows the distribution of English sites from the text (Figure 33).

Renfrew provided 50 bibliographic references in his book (Figure 129). Of these, there were 7 general archaeological references and only 2 references to places outside of Britain and Ireland; 35 were about Britain and 6 about Ireland (Figure 36). Of the British references, 5 pertained to England, 11 to Scotland and 2 to Wales. This is the only bibliography with more specific references to Scotland than to England.

During the four studied chapters of Renfrew's book, there were few pages of images. However, the sites referenced for these images numbered 138 (Appendix B), of which 45 referred to England, 64 to Scotland, 5 to Wales, 14 to Northern Ireland and 10 to ROI. Northern Scotland was the most referenced, with 28/138 mentions, followed by south-west England (16/138) and Northern Ireland (14/138). South-east Wales, as well as central and southern ROI, were not referenced at all. The book also provided a set of radiocarbon dates (Appendix C), for the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods, and specifically for Scottish tombs. Of these, the majority pertained to sites within England (37 Neolithic, and 42 Bronze Age); there were 6 Neolithic and 9 Bronze Age dated sites in Scotland, plus 9 Scottish tomb dates; 2 Neolithic and 6 Bronze Age sites in Wales; 7 Neolithic and 5 Bronze Age sites in Northern Ireland; and 7 Neolithic, no Bronze Age and 4 RC-dated tomb sites in ROI (ibid.).

A – Total number of references per country

England	586
Scotland	352.5
Wales	42
Ireland	222.5
Total	1213

Table 10 - Total number of references per country (Renfrew)

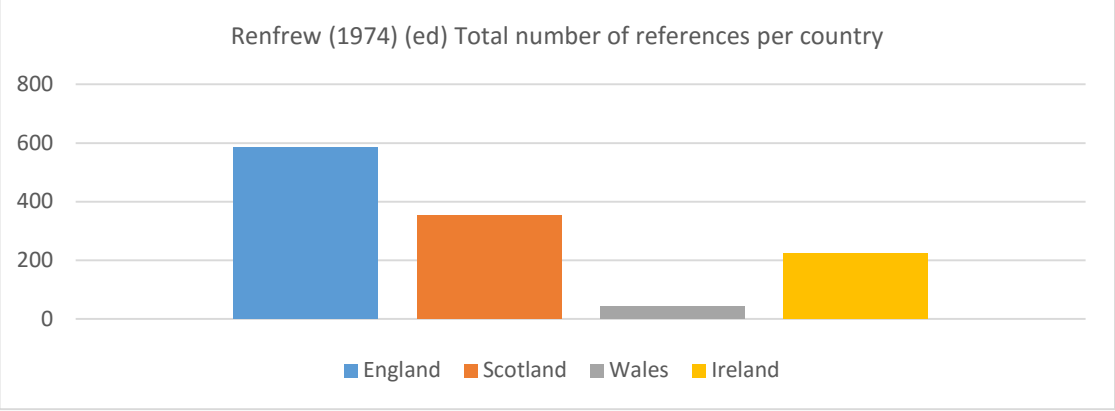


Figure 29 - Renfrew (1974) (ed) Total number of references per country

B – Percentage of total references per country

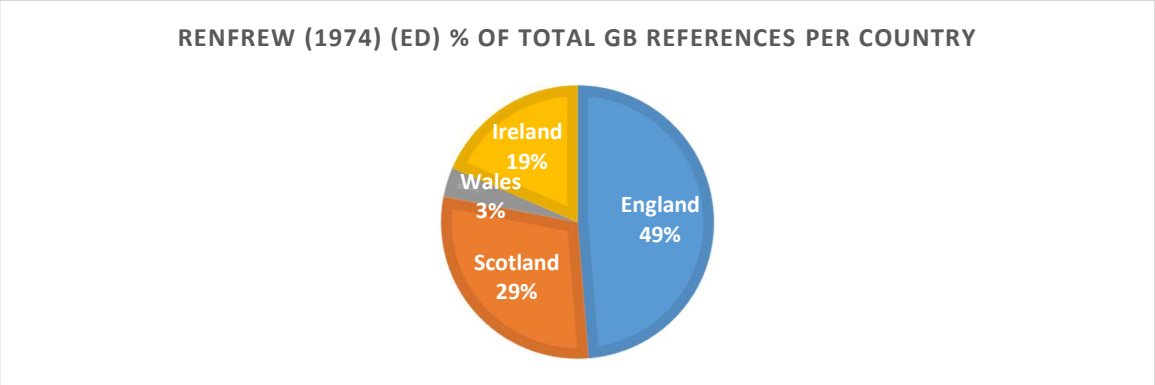


Figure 30 - Renfrew (1974) (ED) % of total GB references per country

C – Total number of references for each region in each country

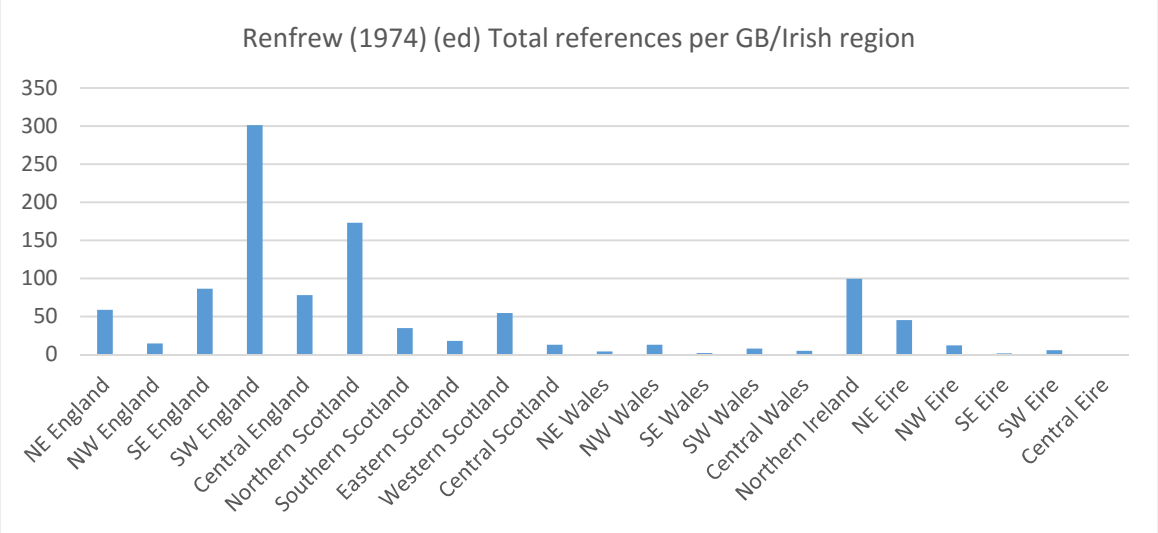


Figure 31 - Renfrew (1974) (ed) Total references per GB/Irish region

D – Total references per English region, as a percentage

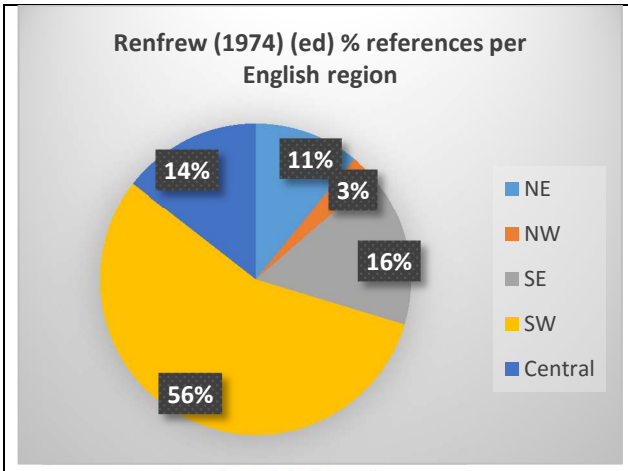


Figure 32 - Renfrew (1974) (ed) % references per English region

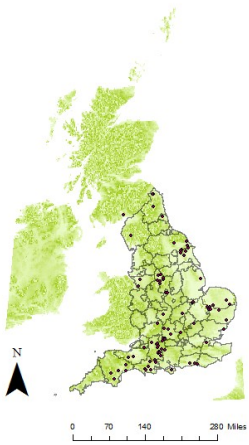


Figure 33 - GIS Map of Renfrew's English Site References

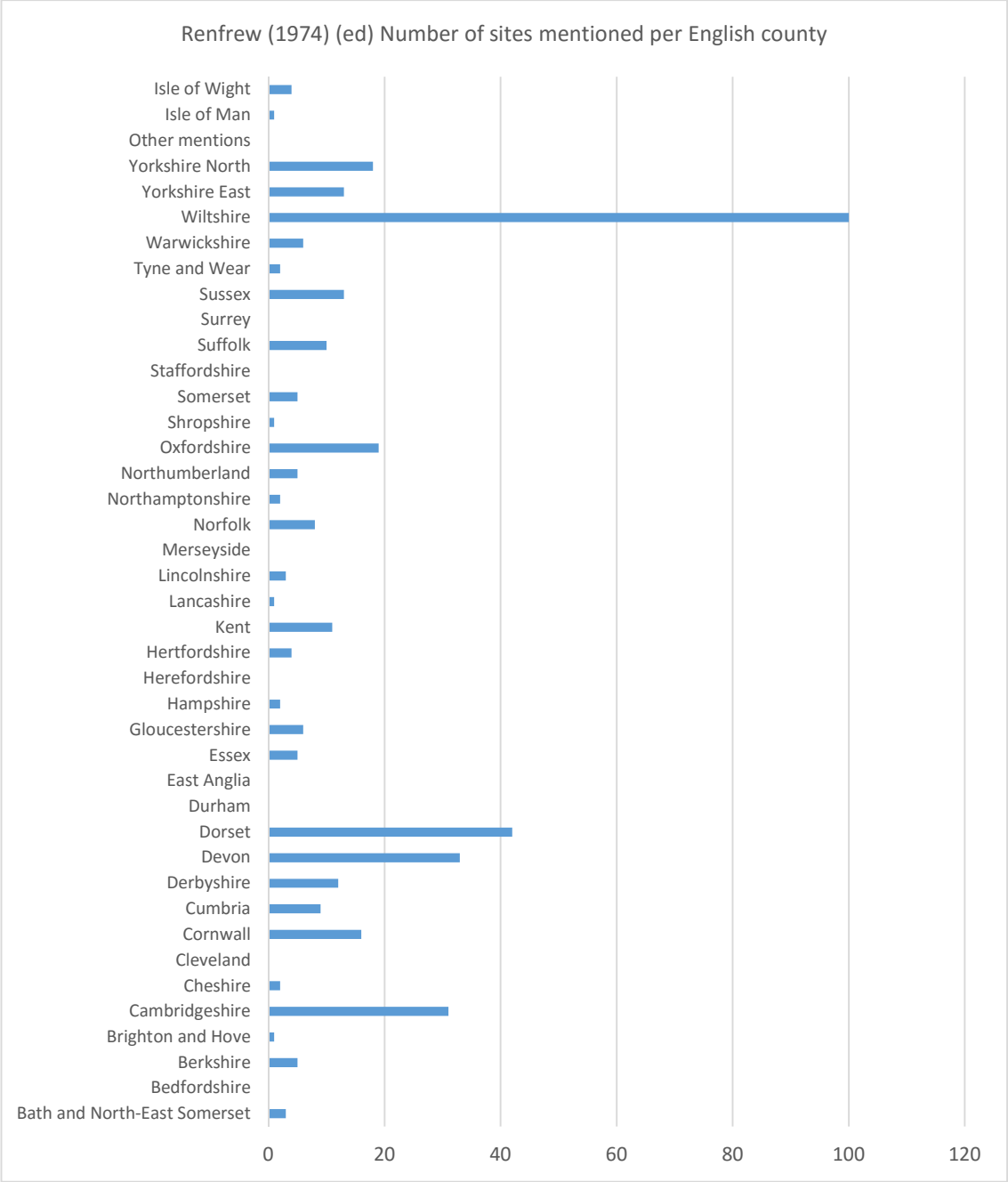


Figure 34 - Renfrew (1974) (ed) Number of sites mentioned per English county

F – Percentage of sites referenced pertaining to this 'located within northern England', as that region is defined for this study

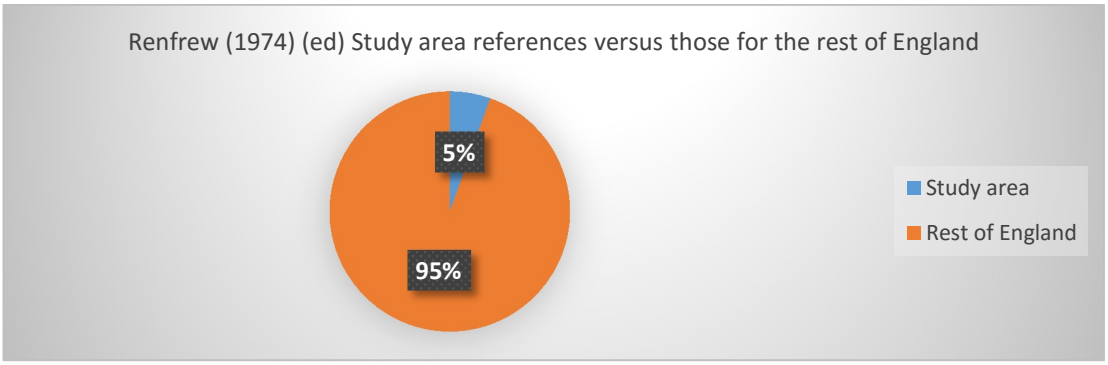


Figure 35 - Renfrew (1974) (ed) Study area references versus those for the rest of England

G – Total numbers of bibliographic references, pertaining to specific areas of Britain and Ireland

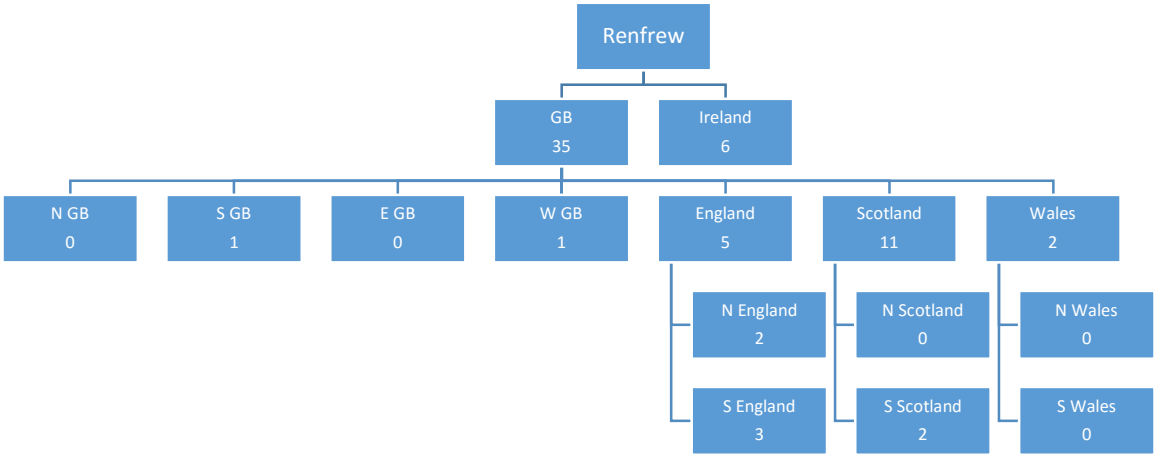


Figure 36 - Renfrew (1974) (ed) Bibliographic references - Cumulative totals

Forde-Johnston (1976) Prehistoric Britain and Ireland

The following pages were not included in this analysis, as they refer to the Later Bronze or Iron Ages: 20-28, 38-60, and 164-200. Forde-Johnston penned this account of Britain and Ireland's prehistory in 1976, and made 1409 references (Appendix A8) during the book, the lion's share of these (Table 11) about England (842.5/1409 or 61%). However, he referenced the other three countries more fairly with 19% about Scotland (268/1409), 8% about Wales (114.5/1409) and 12% referencing Ireland (161/1409) (Figure 37). However, the regional totals are very one-sided, with 555 references pertaining to south-west England (i.e., 66% of English and 39% of total mentions) and 171.5 references for northern Scotland (that is, 64% of Scottish and 12% of total mentions) (Figure 38). At the other end of the scale, NE Wales gained less than ten mentions and central Eire was not referenced at all (Figure 39). Apart from the aforementioned regions, south-east England, central England and north-east Eire were all referred to more than the others, with 71, 67 and 64.5 references, respectively. North-east and north-west England were also mentioned fairly often, with 14% of the English references (Figure 40).

Yet, within England (Figure 42), the 728 county references were very one-sided, with 337 pertaining to Wiltshire (46%), and a further 64/728 to Dorset (9%), whereas 17 counties had less than ten references, and 16 (including modern-day counties) were not referenced at all. This is partly understandable, especially if, as with Cleveland, the county had only just been created, but not so

acceptable for Durham, which had no references at all either. Within the northern England study area, Cumbria was referred to 45 times and North Yorkshire on 22 occasions (6% and 3% of English county references, correspondingly), but Northumberland gained only two mentions. This means that the study area was referenced only 8% of times during the book (Figure 43). The GIS map shows the distribution of English site references (Figure 41).

Forde-Johnston provided 107 bibliographic references in his book (Figure 129). Of these, there were no general archaeological references and only one reference to a location outside of Britain and Ireland; 94 were about Britain and 12 about Ireland (Figure 44). Of the British references, 48 pertained to England, with 46/48 of those about southern England and none specifically about northern England. 9 bibliographic references were specifically about Scotland and 10 about Wales.

Forde-Johnston included 136 images in his book (Appendix B). With reference to the pages read (above), the following analysis can be made. His images referred to 68 sites in England, 33 in Scotland, 17 in Wales, 4 in Northern Ireland and 14 in ROI. For England, the majority pertained to the south-west (45/68), with only 11/68 referencing sites in northern England as a whole. 24 of the 33 Scottish sites were photographs or images of locations in northern Scotland. The other regions had few, if any, references.

A – Total number of references per country

England	842.5
Scotland	268
Wales	114.5
Ireland	161
Total	1409

Table 11 - Total number of references per country (Forde-Johnston)

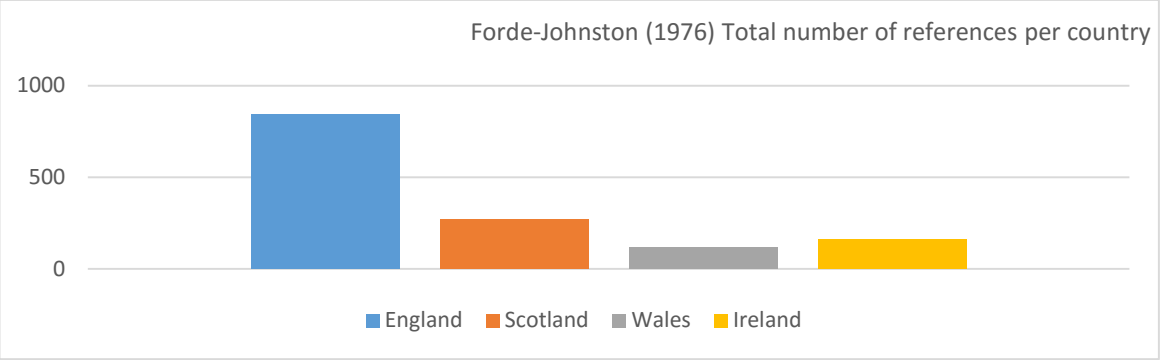


Figure 37 - Forde-Johnston (1976) Total number of references per country

B – Percentage of total references per country

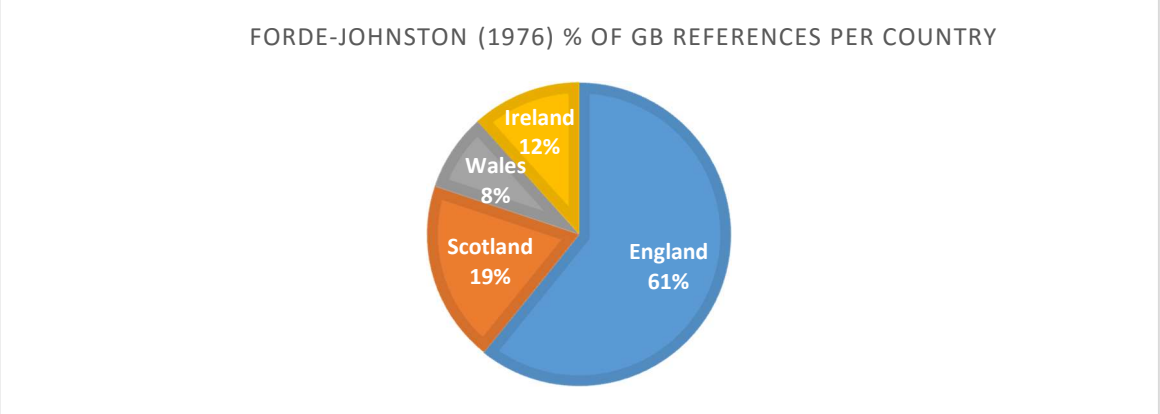


Figure 38 - Forde-Johnston (1976) % of GB references per country

C – Total number of references for each region in each country

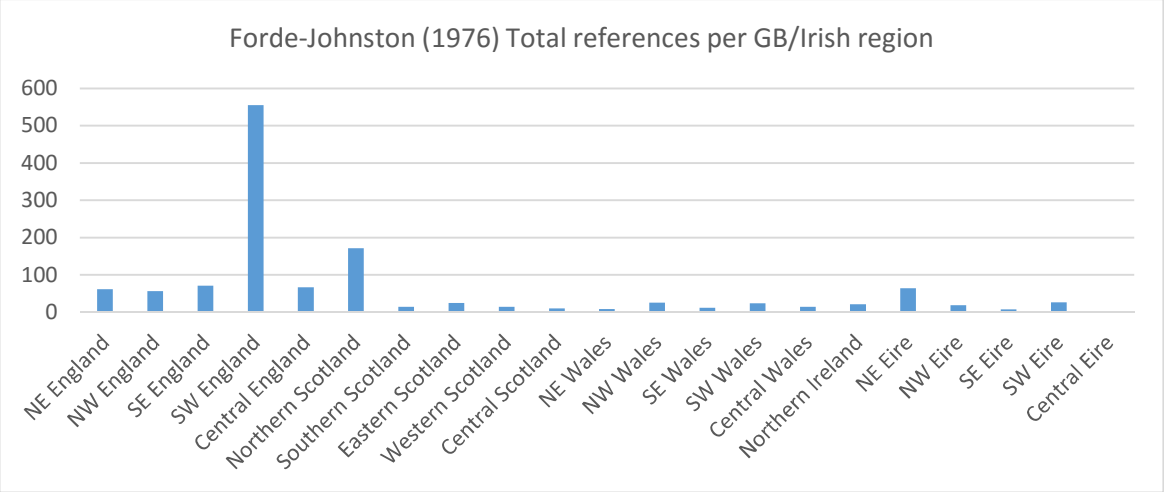


Figure 39 - Forde-Johnston (1976) Total references per GB/Irish region

D – Total references per English region, as a percentage

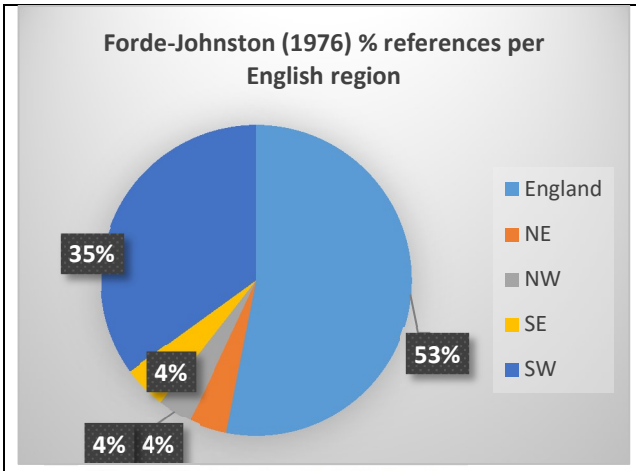


Figure 40 - Forde-Johnston (1976) % references per English region

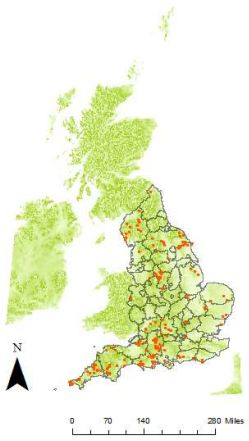


Figure 41 - GIS Map of Forde-Johnston's English Site References

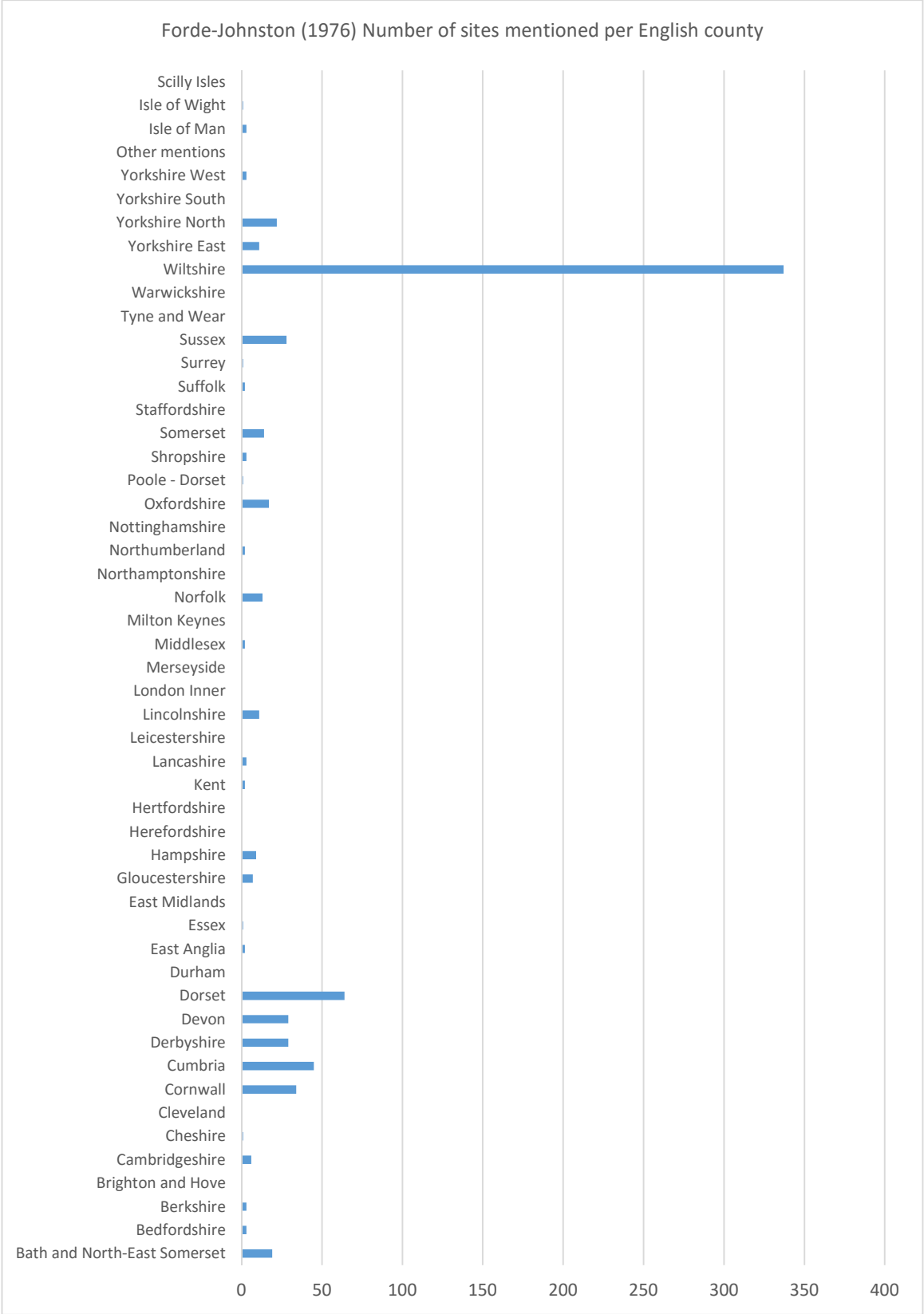


Figure 42 – Forde Johnston (1976) Number of sites mentioned per English county

F – Percentage of sites referenced pertaining to this 'located within northern England', as that region is defined for this study.

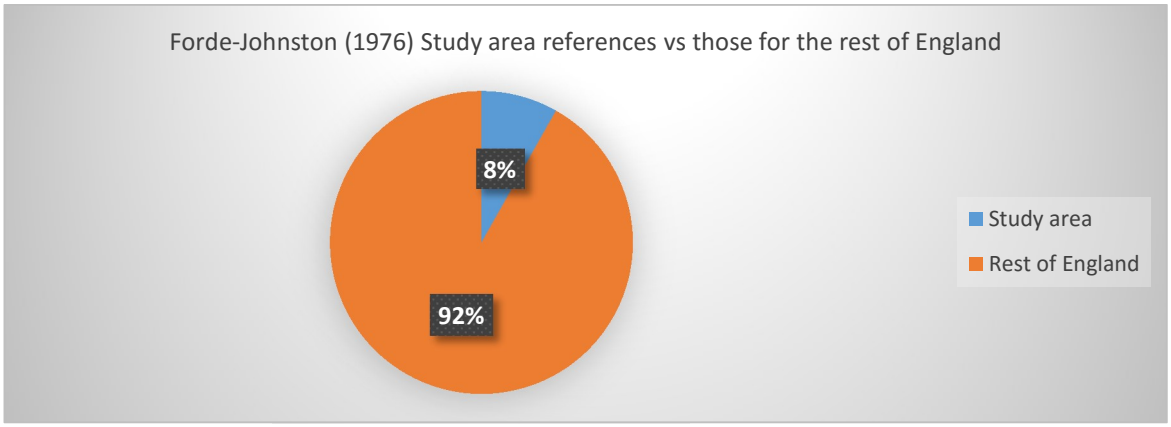


Figure 43 - Forde-Johnston (1976) Study area references vs those for the rest of England

G – Total numbers of bibliographic references, pertaining to specific areas of Britain and Ireland

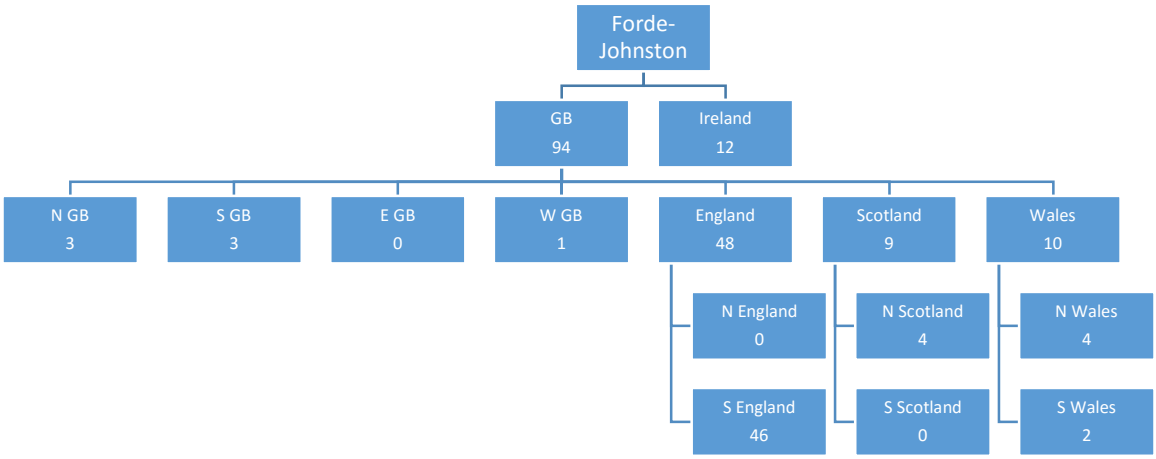


Figure 44 - Forde-Johnston (1976) Bibliographic references - Cumulative totals

Megaw & Simpson (1979) (ed) Introduction to British Prehistory from the arrival of *Homo Sapiens* to the Claudian invasion

As this book had been compiled by two prominent archaeologists, who had both graduated from Edinburgh University, and who were both, subsequently, working at the University of Leicester. I hoped that the north of England, and indeed Britain, might be better represented by those who had worked within it. For this book, I read all pages and chapters which pertained to the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. These included pages 1-5 of the Preface; part of Chapter 1 (1979, 12-20); and then all of Chapters 3, 4, and 5 (ibid.78-241) (Appendix A12). Yet, it is clear from the total references per country (Table 12), i.e., 1,820, that the book is heavily weighted towards sites and regions in England (1,001/1,820); with Wales, once again gaining the fewest references (75/1,820), with only 4% of mentions, compared to 60% for England (Figure 45). In fact, there are three times as many references to Ireland, at 12% (192/1,820), despite the fact that it is not mentioned in the title of the book. Scotland is referred to on 391 occasions, that is, 21.5% of mentions (Figure 46).

Nevertheless, the regional breakdown of mentions (Figure 47, Figure 48) makes it clear that south-west England, followed by central England, northern Scotland and then north-east England, gained more references than anywhere else. The south-west of England (has more than double the number of references of any other region, with Wales in general, central Scotland and the majority

of ROI (apart from the north-east region), gaining the fewest references. Wiltshire, once again, has the majority of England's references, with Dorset, Oxfordshire and Yorkshire better referenced than any other county. In fact, this dissertation's study area of the six counties of Cleveland, Cumbria, Durham, Northumberland, Tyne and Wear, and North Yorkshire gained 11% of English references, second only to Malone's 13% and closely followed by Piggott's 10%.

Within England, Megaw & Simpson referenced 35 counties with 884 references (Figure 50). As can be seen, Wiltshire gained the most mentions (310/884 or 35%). Dorset and Oxfordshire were also mentioned fairly often, with 61 (7%) and 53 (6%) of mentions, in that order. Yorkshire, in general, which, from the text, I mainly took to include the Yorkshire Wolds region, along with North Yorkshire and East Yorkshire were fairly well referenced as a group together, with 12.5% of the total English county mentions (111/884), although this is still far less than the total number of references for Wiltshire alone.

The study area of six counties within northern England gained only 7.5% of English county references (with 67/884 mentions) but, with lots of general references to the north-east and north-west regions of England, this percentage rose to 11% of the overall book mentions (Figure 51). The GIS map shows the distribution of English site references (Figure 49).

Megaw & Simpson referenced 1,204 bibliographic texts in their book (Figure 129). Of these, 177 were general archaeological references; 120 referenced locations outside of Britain and Ireland; 814 were about Britain and 93 about Ireland (Figure 52). Their bibliography included more English references (438/814) than for Scotland (152/814) or Wales (54/814). Of the English references, the majority pertained to southern England (340/438). Nevertheless, Megaw and Simpson's book referenced far more articles or books about northern England, than any other of the fourteen writers in this study.

Megaw & Simpson did include 135 images in their book (including 6 general images) (Appendix B), of which 82/129 (63.5%) are of English images, and of those, 54/129 (42%) (or 66% of English images) are of sites in south-west England. The thesis' study area had only 9/129 images, or 7%. Scotland gained 22.5% of images, and of those, the majority (18/29) were of northern Scotland. Wales, Northern Ireland and ROI had few images of their sites, with 7/129 (5.5%), 5/129 (4%), and 6/129 (4.5%), respectively.

A – Total number of references per country

England	1001
Scotland	391
Wales	75
Ireland	192
Total	1820

Table 12 - Total number of references per country (Megaw & Simpson)

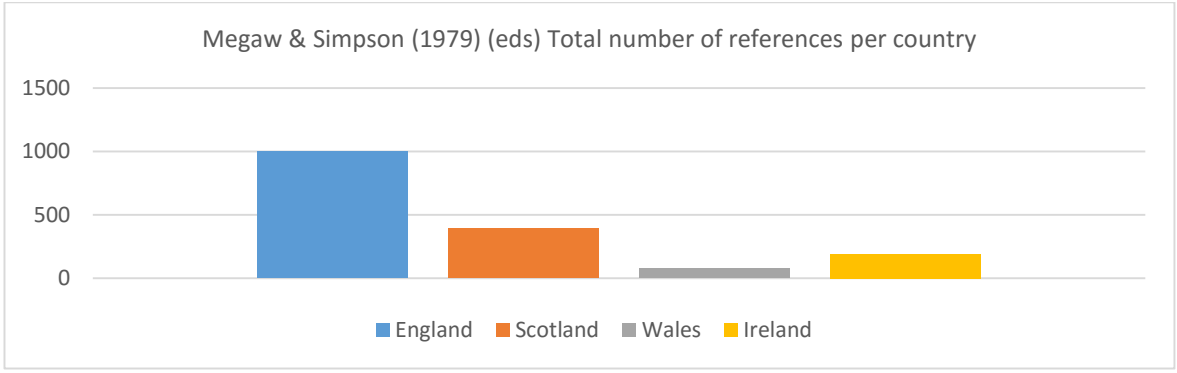


Figure 45 – Megaw & Simpson (1979) (eds) Total number of references per country

B – Percentage of total references per country

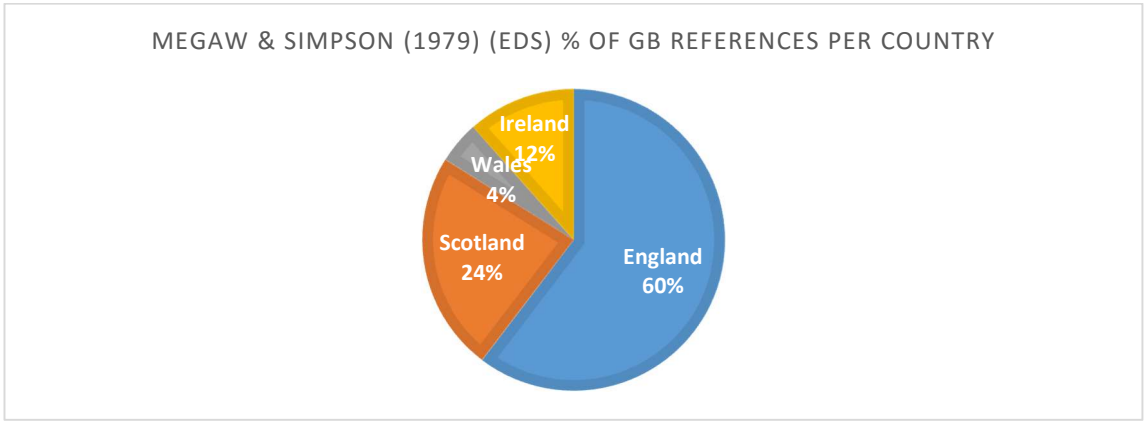


Figure 46 – Megaw & Simpson (1979) % of GB references per country

C – Total number of references for each region in each country

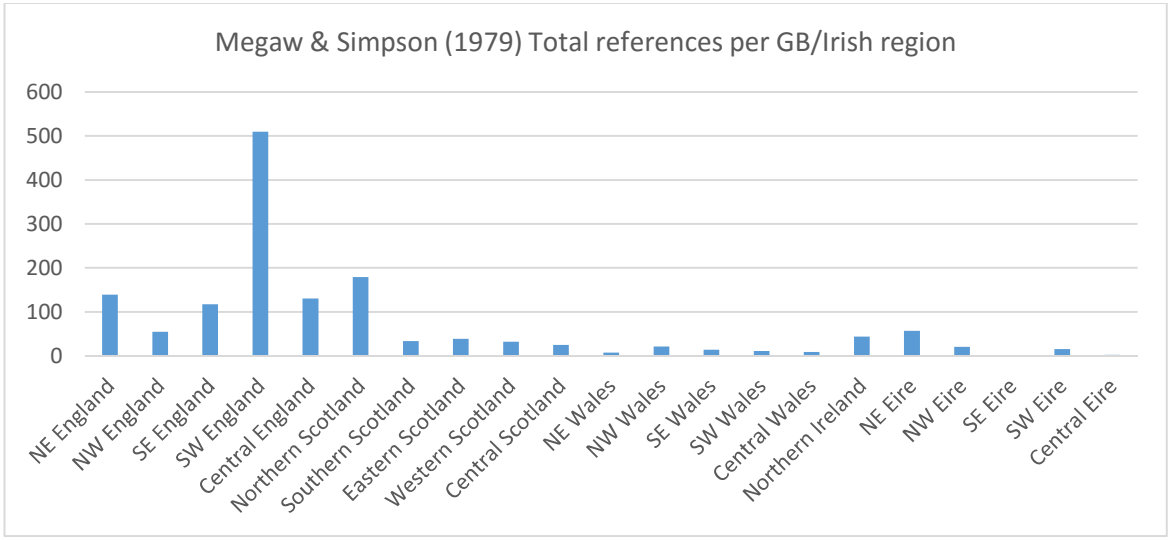


Figure 47 – Megaw & Simpson (1979) Total references per GB/Irish region

D – Total references per English region, as a percentage

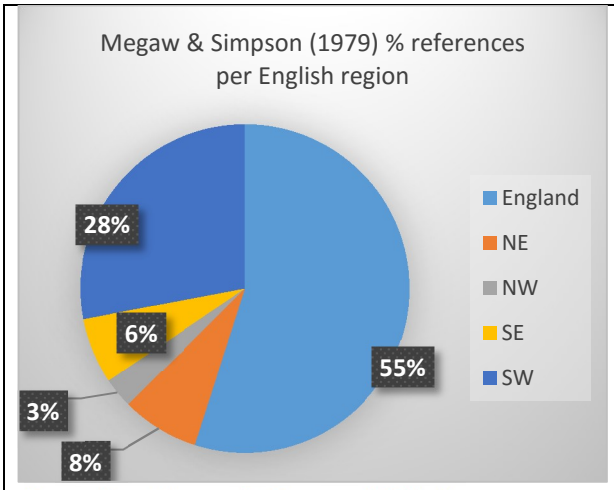


Figure 48 – Megaw & Simpson (1979) % references per English region

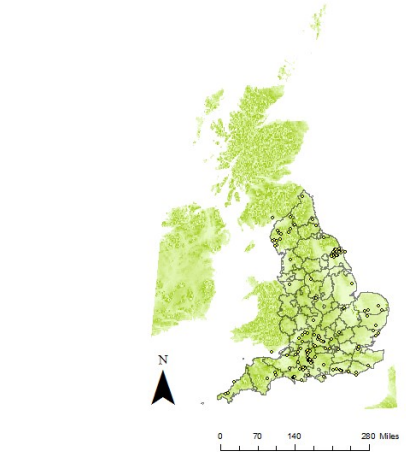


Figure 49 - GIS Map of Megaw & Simpson's English Site References

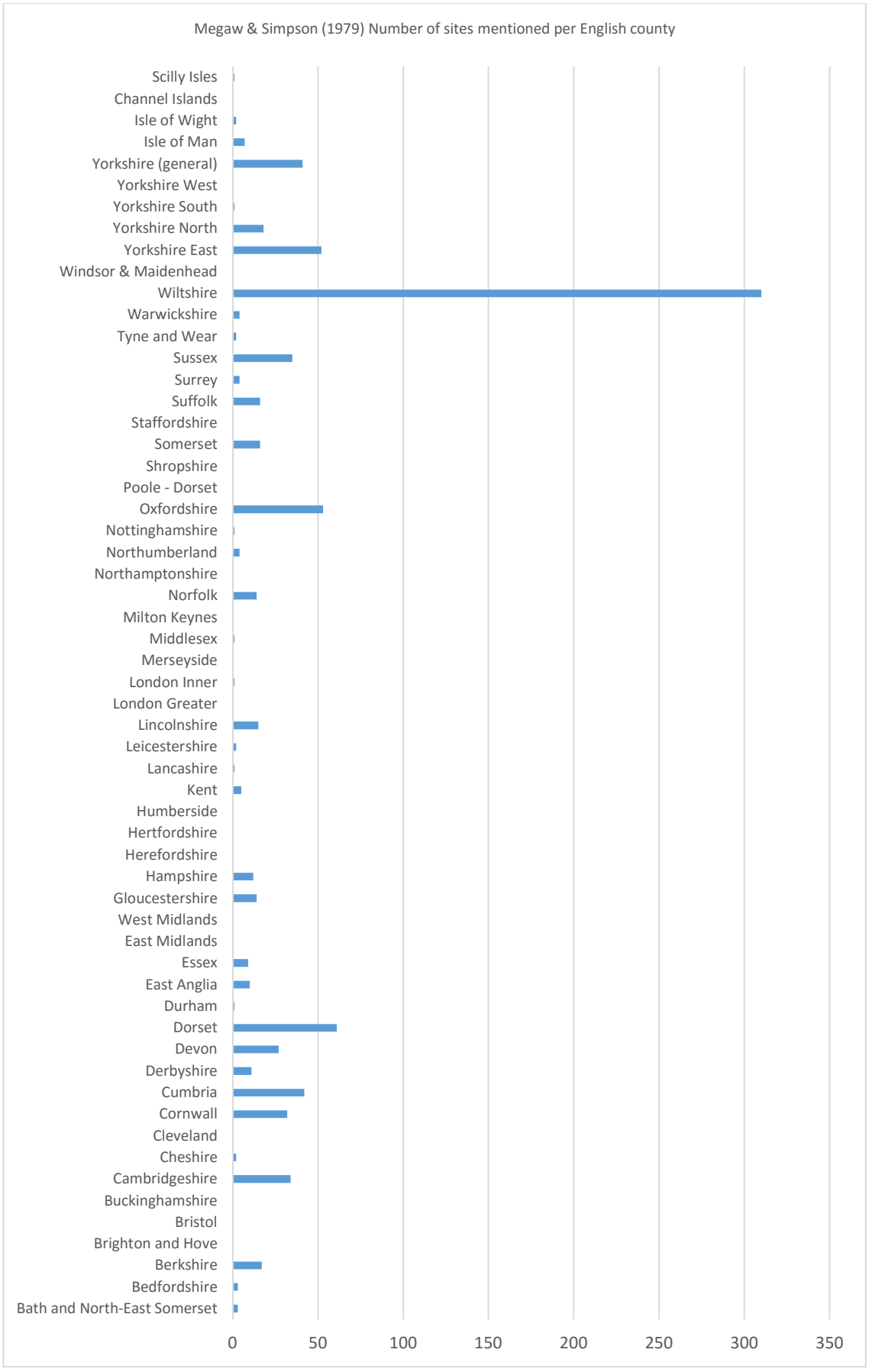


Figure 50 – Megaw & Simpson (1979) Number of sites mentioned per English county

F – Percentage of sites referenced pertaining to this 'located within northern England', as that region is defined for this study

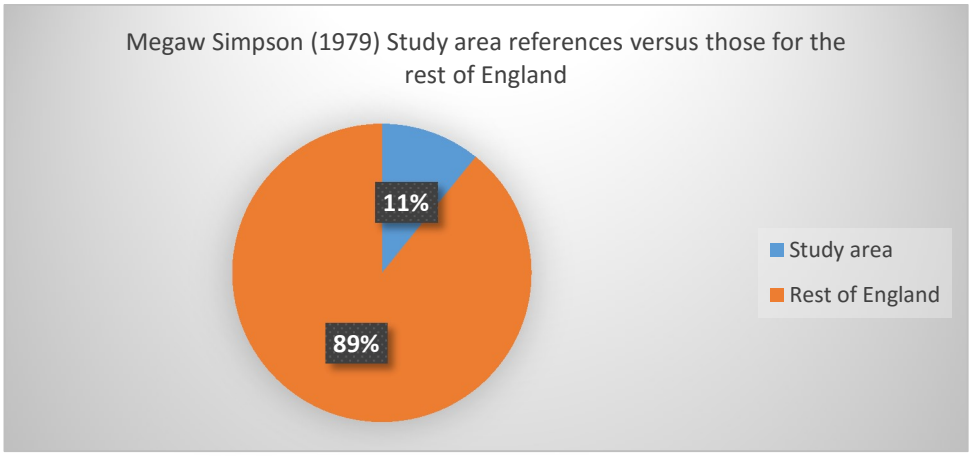


Figure 51 – Megaw & Simpson (1979) Study area references vs those for the rest of England

G – Total numbers of bibliographic references, pertaining to specific areas of Britain and Ireland

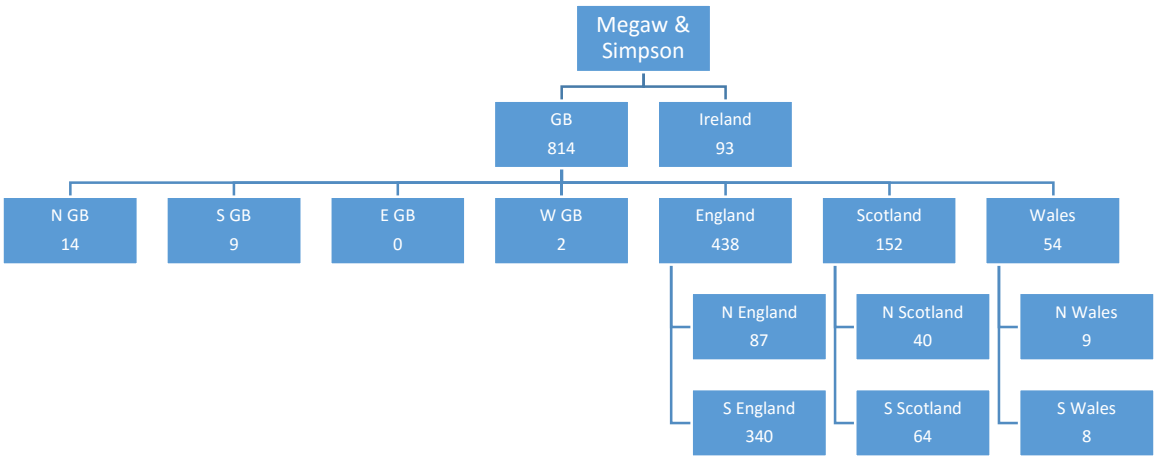


Figure 52 - Megaw & Simpson (1979) Bibliographic references - Cumulative totals

Darvill (1987) Prehistoric Britain

Darvill's book was written from his base in southern England. He made 727 general or site references during the book (Appendix A1). The majority of these country references (482/727) pertained to England (Figure 53, Figure 54 and Table 13), that is 66%, whereas Scotland gained 19% (140/727), Wales 13% (93/727) and Ireland only 2% (12/727) of the total number of mentions. This is most likely because Darvill did not name Ireland in the book's title. Regionally, England's south-west gained the most references, i.e., 53% (253.5/482), with central England having 91/482 (19%) references and 76.5/482 (16%) for south-eastern England (Figure 56). North-east England (43/482) (9%), northern (46/140) (33% of Scottish references) and western (36/140) (26%) Scotland and north-west Wales (26.5/93) (28% of Welsh mentions)' regions were all better represented than other areas (Figure 55). For example, north-western England only gained 3% (15/482) mentions. In fact, the study area only gained 7% (34/482) of the total number of references for England (Figure 58), bearing in mind that there were many references to England as a country and to southern Britain, which I took to mean England, based on its context, as well as to seas surrounding England and river valleys within England, which could not be assigned to a specific region and were noted as 'England' or 'Query' in Excel. The GIS map shows the distribution of English sites from the text (Figure 57).

Of the specific county references (Figure 58), only 21/354 (6%) pertained to the whole of Yorkshire, whereas 109/354 English county references were made about Wiltshire (31%), 35/354 (10%) about Dorset, 29/354 about Cornwall (8%), 25/354 (7%) about Gloucestershire and 23/354 (6.5%) about Oxfordshire. Northumberland only gained 7 references in total (2%) and Cumbria 9 out of a total of 354 English county references (2.5%). In fact, the thesis' study area only gained 7% of overall references (Figure 59). Nevertheless, Darvill did reference sites in thirty different counties in England.

Darvill referenced 165 bibliographic texts in his book (Figure 129). Of these, 68 were general archaeological references; 13 referenced locations outside of Britain and Ireland; 82 were about Britain and only 2 about Ireland (Figure 60). Darvill's bibliography included more English references (59/165) than for Scotland (12/165) or Wales (8/165). Of the English references, the majority pertained to southern England (50/59).

Darvill also used many images to illustrate his points. Of these, only six were taken by the author: 3, that is, half of his personal photographs were taken in North Yorkshire (1987, 37, 174); 1 was from Dyfed (ibid.63); 1 was from Cornwall (ibid.78); and one was taken at the Bristol City Museum (ibid.129). Yet, despite this promising interest in northern England by Darvill, unfortunately, the largest proportion of images pertained to south-western England (83/205), with 59/205 referencing south-east and central England together; and only 15/205 for northern England. There wasn't a single image from north-west England, nor from Ireland. 31/205 images referenced sites in Scotland and 17/205 sites in Wales (Appendix B). Of Darvill's map images (Appendix B), 15/20 contained data from the whole of Britain, whereas 5/20 show the distribution of stone axes from particular sources, but are curtailed along a line between Whitby and the bottom of Cumbria, therefore only showing data from central and southern England and Wales, due to a 'limit of data' (1987, 72).

A – Total number of references per country

England	482
Scotland	140
Wales	93
Ireland	12
Total	727

Table 13 - Total number of references per country (Darvill)

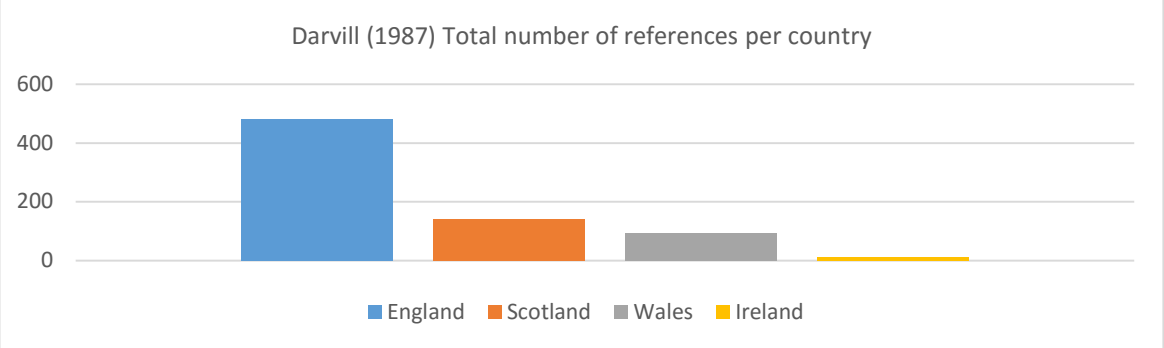


Figure 53 - Darvill (1987) Total number of references per country

B – Percentage of total references per country

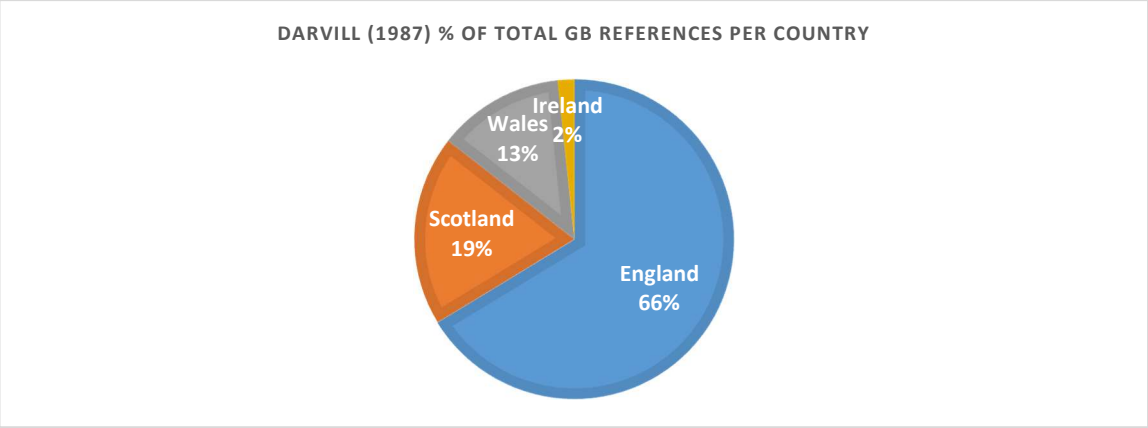


Figure 54 - Darvill (1987) % of Total GB References Per Country

C – Total number of references for each region in each country

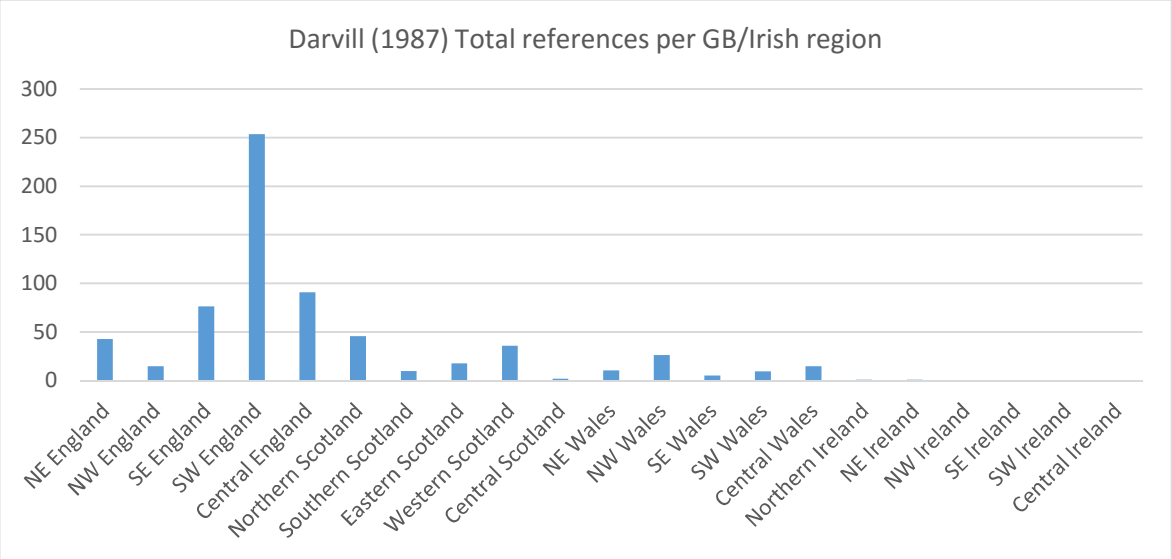


Figure 55 - Darvill (1987) Total references per GB/Irish region

D – Total references per English region, as a percentage

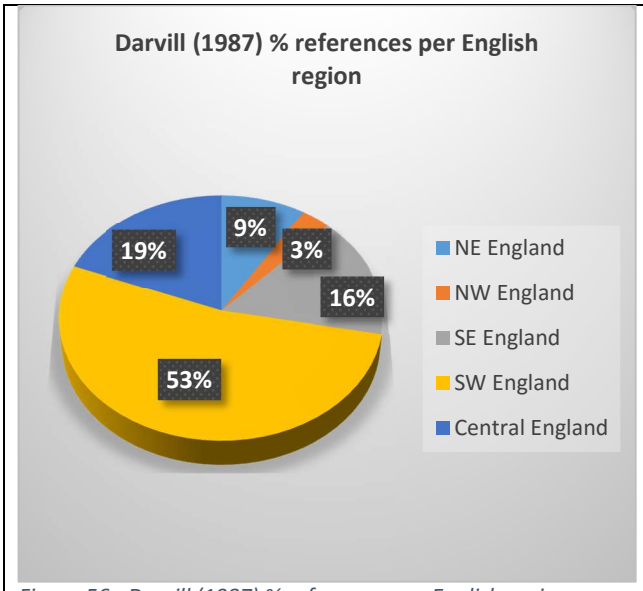


Figure 56 - Darvill (1987) % references per English region

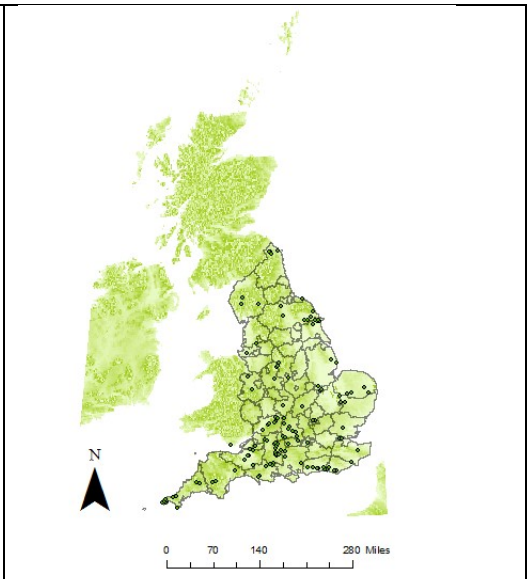


Figure 57 - GIS Map of Darvill's English Site References

E – Number of sites mentioned per English county

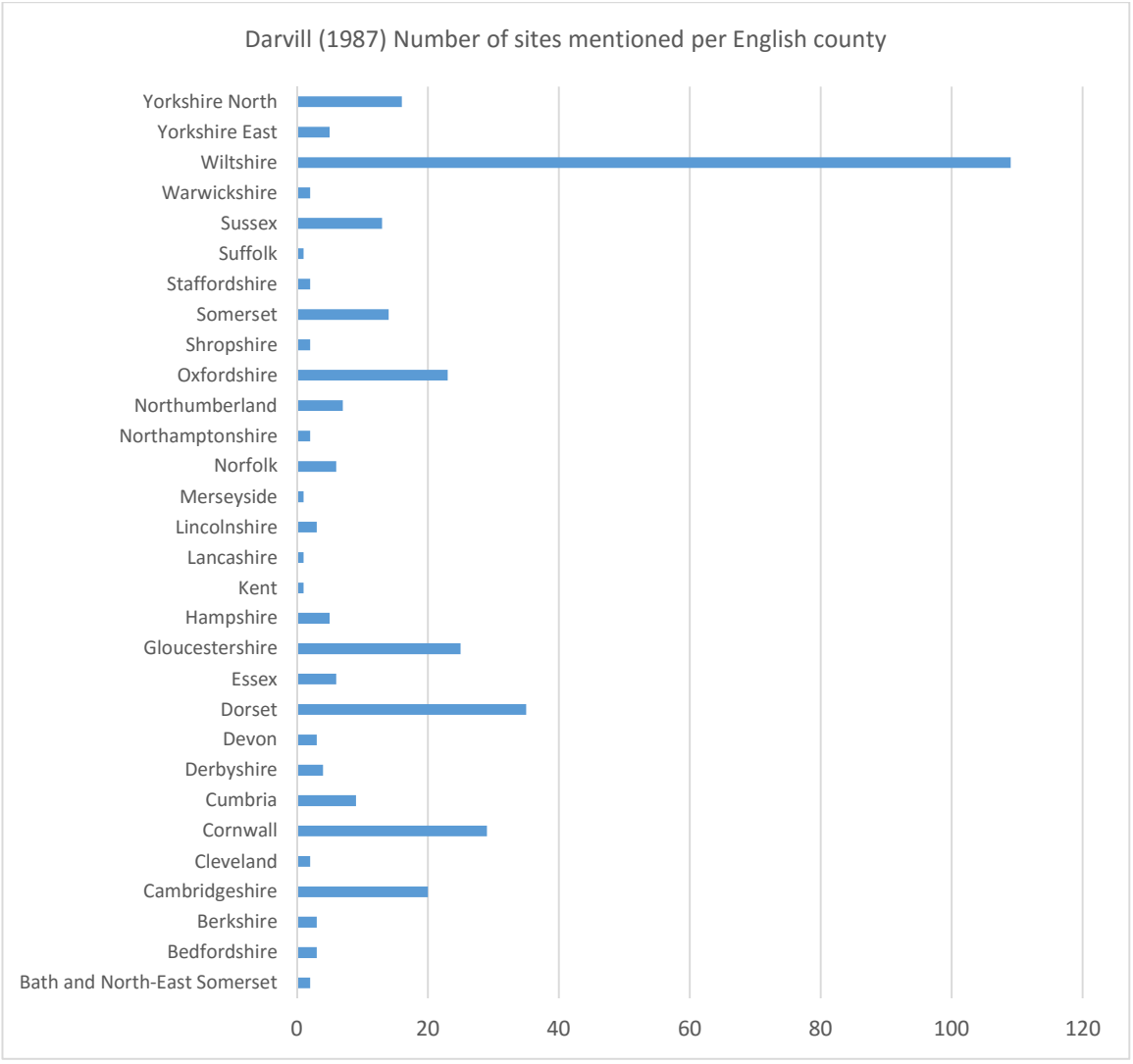


Figure 58 - Darvill (1987) Number of sites mentioned per English county

F – Percentage of sites referenced pertaining to this 'located within northern England', as that region is defined for this study

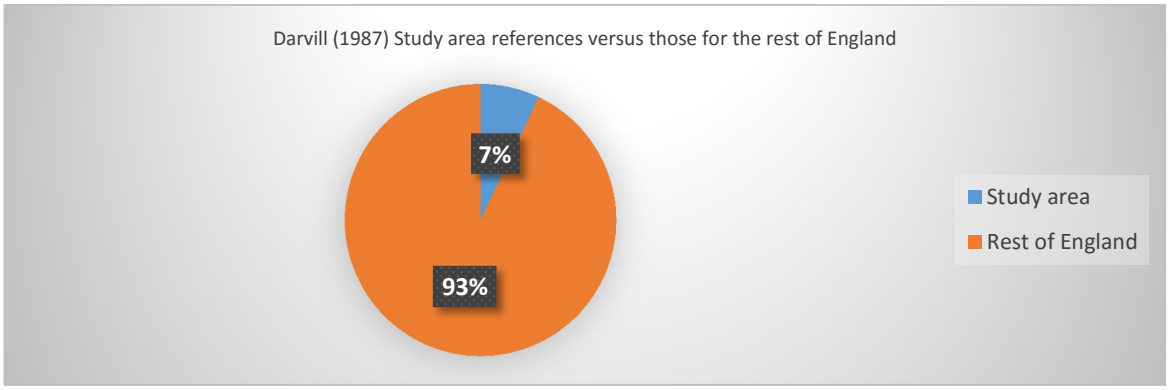


Figure 59 - Darvill (1987) Study area references versus those for the rest of England

G – Total numbers of bibliographic references, pertaining to specific areas of Britain and Ireland

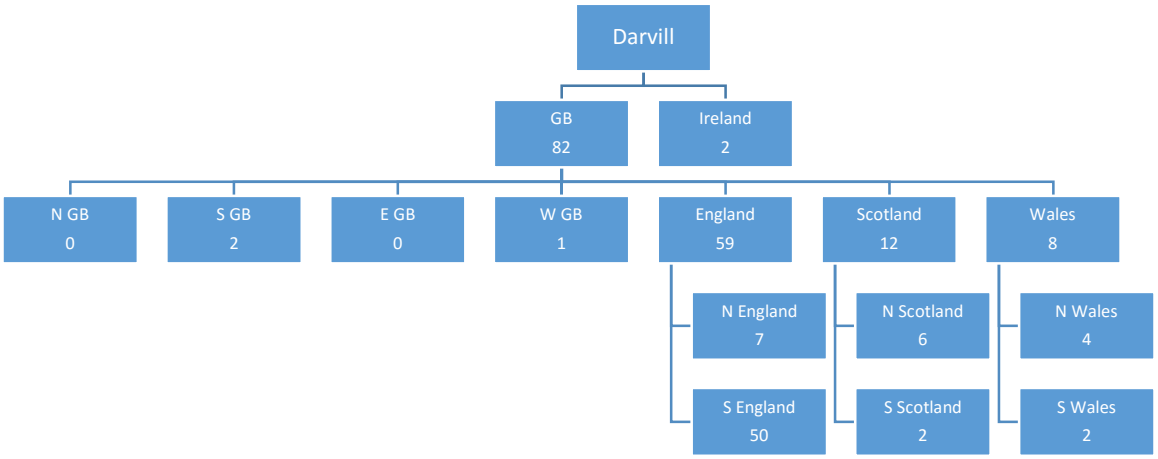


Figure 60 - Darvill (1987) Bibliographic references - Cumulative totals

Parker Pearson (1993) Bronze Age Britain

Parker Pearson wrote this book, whilst working at Sheffield University. Despite its title, the book covers both the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods in Britain. However, as this study is only concerned with the Early Bronze Age, I did not reference sites after page 117, as they were too late in date to be relevant to this thesis. Parker Pearson made 980 references within the first part of this book (Appendix A7), with the lion's share (610/980) referring to English sites and regions (Table 16), at 66% of the overall total (Figure 63). Scotland was referenced on 152 occasions (16% of the total); Ireland 126 times (14% of the total) and Wales only 39 times, i.e., in only 4% of references (Figure 64). Yet, the situation is more complex than this basic distinction (Figure 65), as it can be seen that the majority of mentions were made about south-east (101/980), south-west (300/980) and central (119/980) England, as well as northern Scotland (124/980), (that is, 10%, 31%, 12% and 13% of the overall total, accordingly). In fact, put together, these 4 areas (of 21 regions in total) take up 66% of the total references, demonstrating that two northern regions in England plus the general references for England as a country provide the same percentage as the area of northern Scotland (124 references). The rest of Scotland's regions are very poorly referenced, with only 16/980 mentions (1.5% of the overall total and 10.5% of Scotland's total references) (Appendix A7). Wales has only 39 references in total, and of these, western Wales is best referenced, with 15.5 mentions for the south-west and 6 for the north-west (40% and 15% of Wales' totals). The eastern and central

Welsh regions are barely mentioned, with 0.8% of the overall references (ibid.). Ireland has many general references but few pertain to specific sites or regions. Northern Ireland is mentioned on 27 occasions (21% of Irish mentions but merely 3% of the overall total). North-eastern ROI has 18% (23/126) of Irish mentions, whereas north-west and south-west ROI were mentioned 30 times (24% of Irish references). South-east and central ROI were barely mentioned with 5.5% of Irish references in total (Figure 65). North-east and north-west England, together, were only accorded 11% of the total number of references for England (Figure 66).

England's counties were referenced on 433/610 occasions (Figure 69), but of these, this dissertation's 6 counties' study only actually received 8% of these English county references (35/433) and only 6% of England's total references (Figure 68). On the other hand, Wiltshire received the most references (98/433, or 22.5% of English county mentions), followed by Cambridgeshire (with 48/433, or 11%), Cornwall (41.5/433, or 9.5%), Devon (38/433, or 9%) and Dorset (35/433, or 8%) (Figure 66). This is despite the fact that, at that time, Parker Pearson had been based at Sheffield University for three years. South Yorkshire received only 2 of 610 English references and West Yorkshire received none (Appendix A7). It is also puzzling, as Ireland has three times more references than Wales, and yet, the country is not included in the book's title. The distribution of English site references can be seen on the GIS map (Figure 67).

In fact, this situation appeared again in the 'Sites to Visit' section at the back of the book (1993, 135-9). This section names a number of key sites worth visiting in Britain and Ireland but, of the 171 extant sites mentioned (Table 14), only 4 are referenced for the whole of northern England and those are in Cumbria, leaving out the 4 counties of Yorkshire, plus the counties of Northumberland, Tyne and Wear, Durham, Cleveland, Lincolnshire, Lancashire, Merseyside and Cheshire (1993, 135-9). In fact, this compares with 50 sites mentioned for southern England (i.e., 29%); 43 for Scotland (or 25%); 17 (10%) for Northern Ireland and 38 for ROI (22%) (Figure 61), a country not included in any definition of Britain.

Area	**Total references**
Southern England	50
Northern England	4
Wales	19
Scotland	43
ROI	38
Northern Ireland	17
Grand Total	171

Table 14 – 'Sites to Visit' section from Parker Pearson

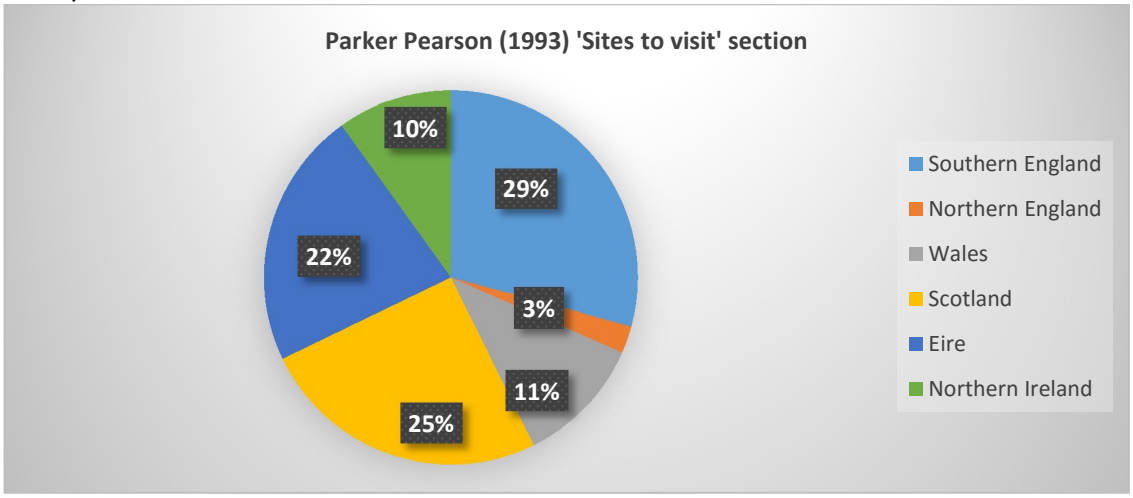


Figure 61 - Parker Pearson (1993) 'Sites to visit' section

Parker Pearson provided very few bibliographic references in his book, that is, only 19 in total (Figure 129), clearly relying on his own known data. Of these, 11 were general archaeological references; there were no references to locations outside of Britain and Ireland; 7 were about Britain and 1 about Ireland (Figure 70). Of the British references, 6 pertained to southern England and one to northern Scotland. Wales was not mentioned specifically within the bibliography.

Parker Pearson also included 146 images in his book (Appendix B). Of these, 108 (i.e., 74%) referenced places in England: 35% (51/146) pertained to sites in south-western England; 33/146 (22.5%) to sites in central England; and 13/146 (9%) of locations in south-east England. Northern England only gained 11/146, that is, 7.5%, of images (8 for the north-east and 3 for the north-west). There are 23 images referencing Scottish regions, with 21 of these from northern Scotland (14%) and 2 from western Scotland. The other regions were not mentioned. There were 6 Welsh images, 4 for the west of Wales, one for a northern site and one from central Wales, while 9 images referenced Ireland: 4 for Northern Ireland, 2 for each of north-eastern and north-western ROI and one from ROI's south-west region. There were no images for eastern Wales, nor for the central and south-eastern areas of Ireland. Of those mentioned above, 16 were colour plates: 11 of English sites (7 from south-west, 3 from south-east and one from north-west England) and 5 of Scottish sites, three of which pertained to Orkney (Table 15, Figure 62).

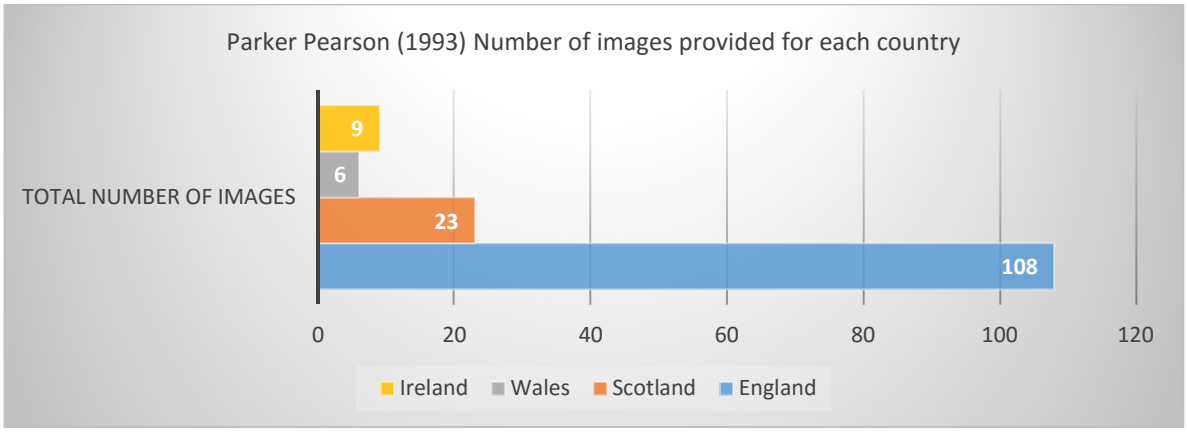


Figure 62 - Parker Pearson (1993) Number of images provided for each country

Country	Colour plate images
NW England	1
SE England	3
SW England	7
England Total	11
Northern Scotland	5
Orkney Mainland	3
Scotland Total	5

Table 15 – Numbers of Colour Plate Images per Country (Parker Pearson)

A – Total number of references per country

England	610
Scotland	152
Wales	39
Ireland	126
Total	980

Table 16 - Total number of references per country (Parker Pearson)

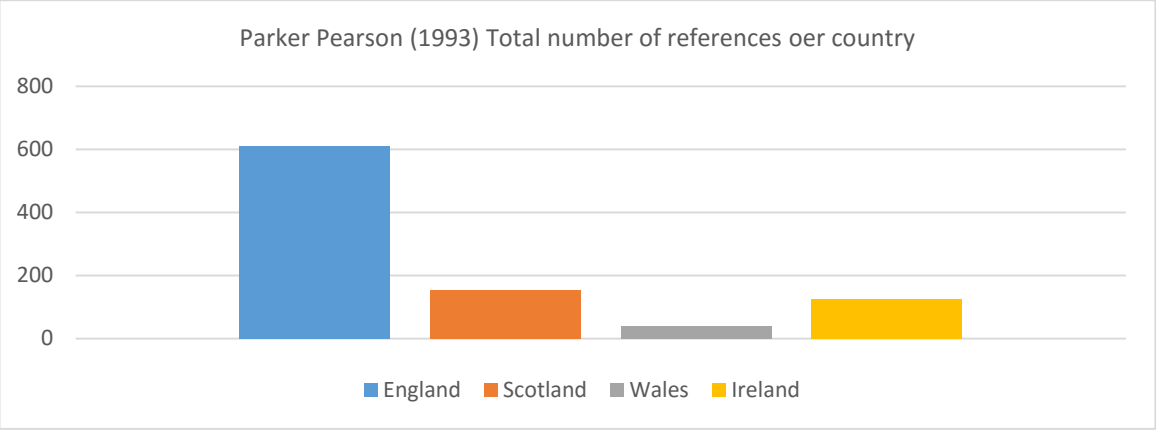


Figure 63 - Parker Pearson (1993) Total number of references per country

B – Percentage of total references per country

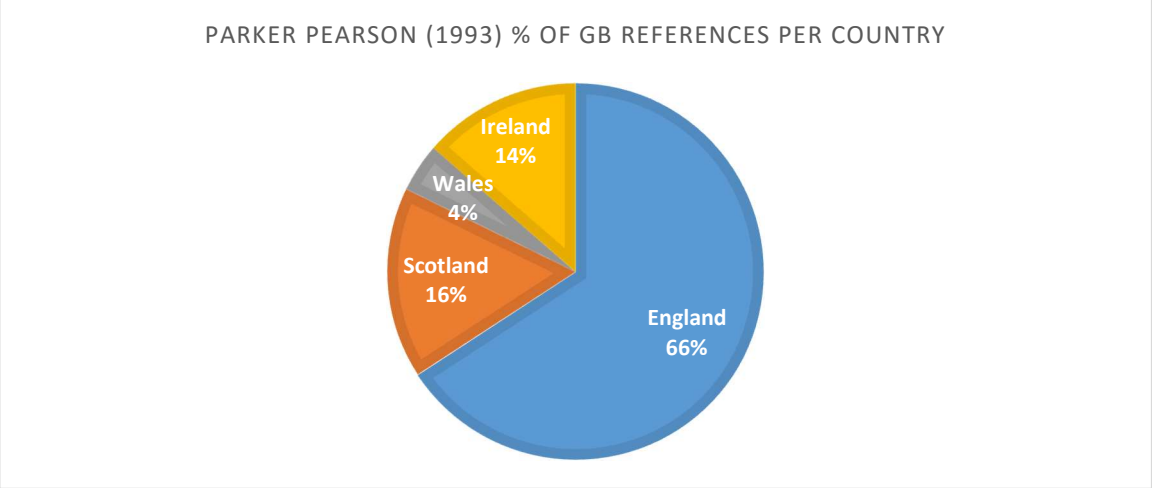


Figure 64 - Parker Pearson (1993) % of GB references per country

C – Total number of references for each region in each country

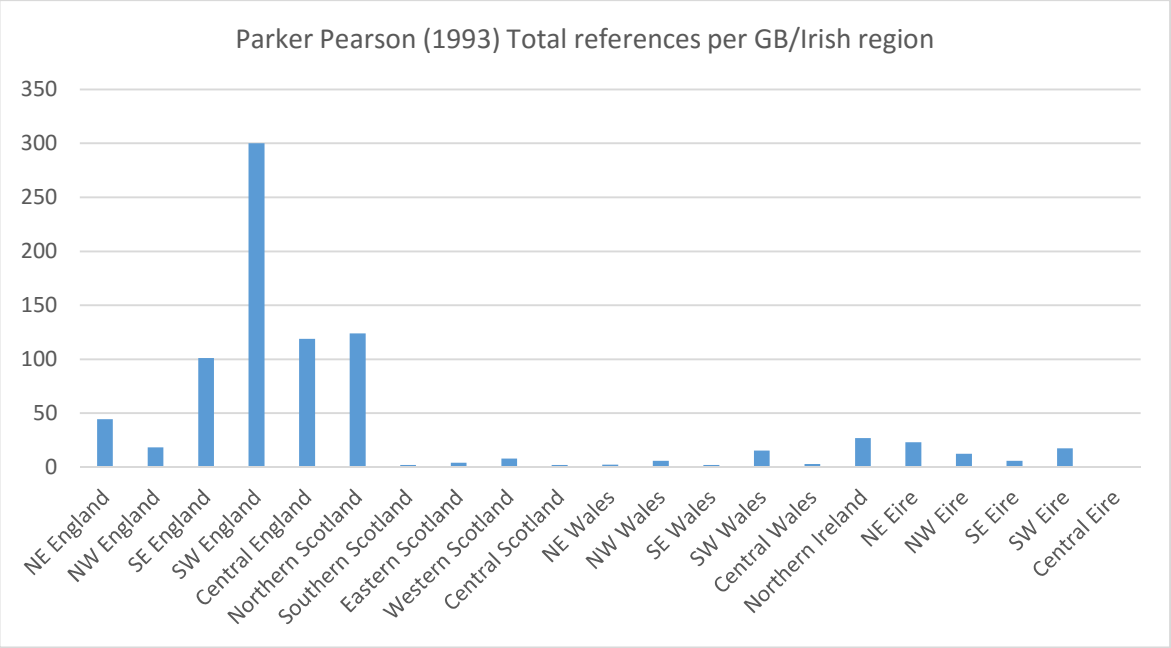


Figure 65 - Parker Pearson (1993) Total references per GB/Irish region

D – Total references per English region, as a percentage

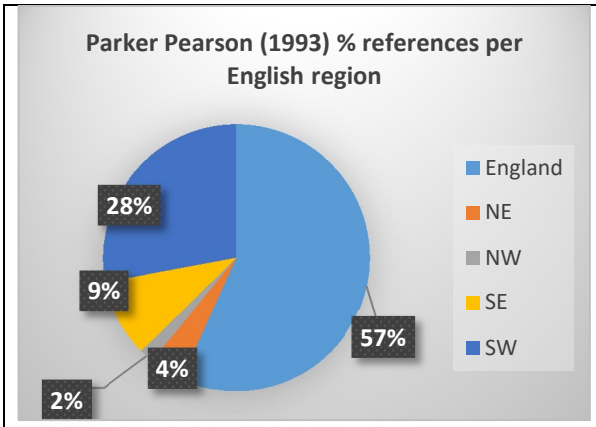


Figure 66 - Parker Pearson (1993) % references per English region

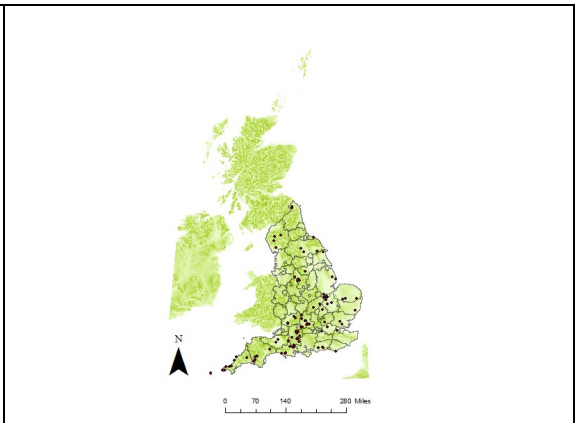


Figure 67 - GIS Map of Parker Pearson's English Site References

E – Percentage of sites referenced pertaining to this 'located within northern England', as that region is defined for this study

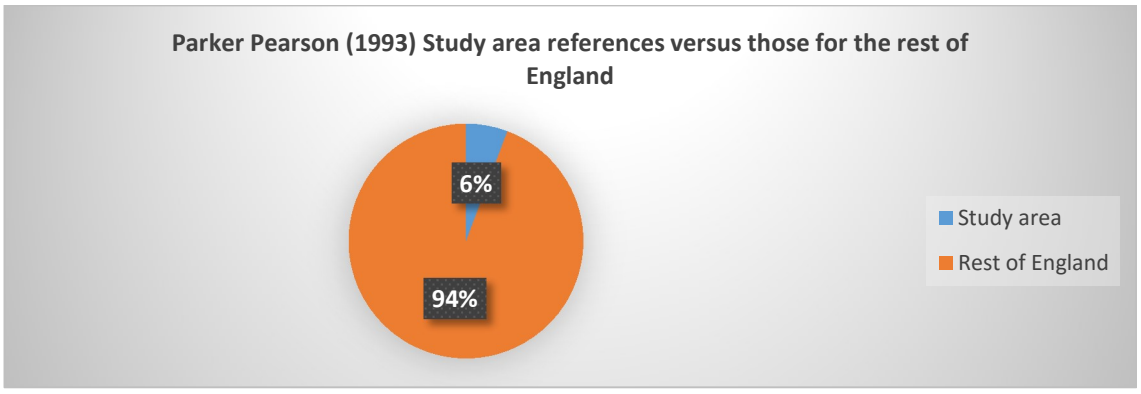


Figure 68 - Parker Pearson (1993) Study area references versus those for the rest of England

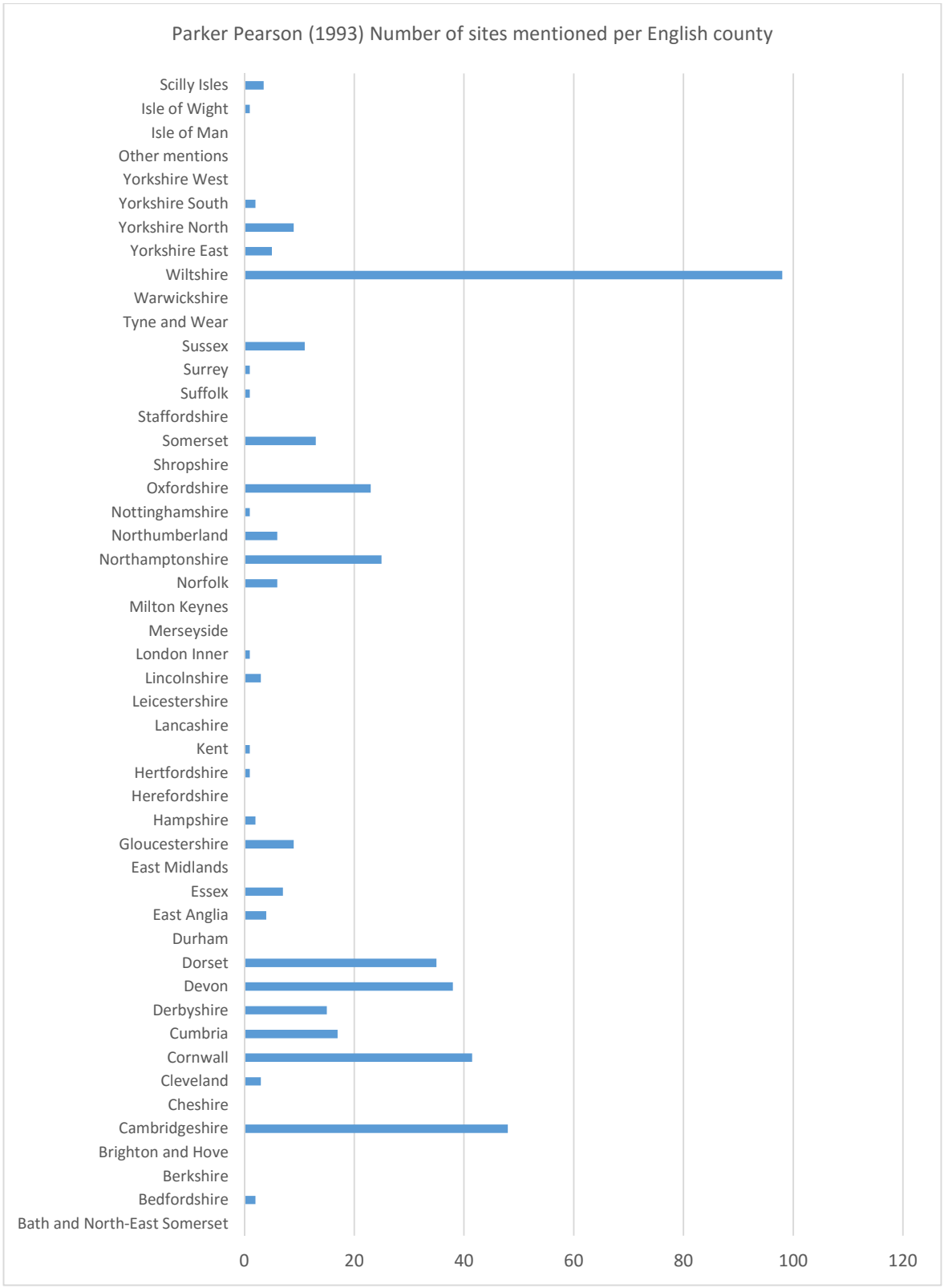


Figure 69 - Parker Pearson (1993) Number of sites mentioned per English county

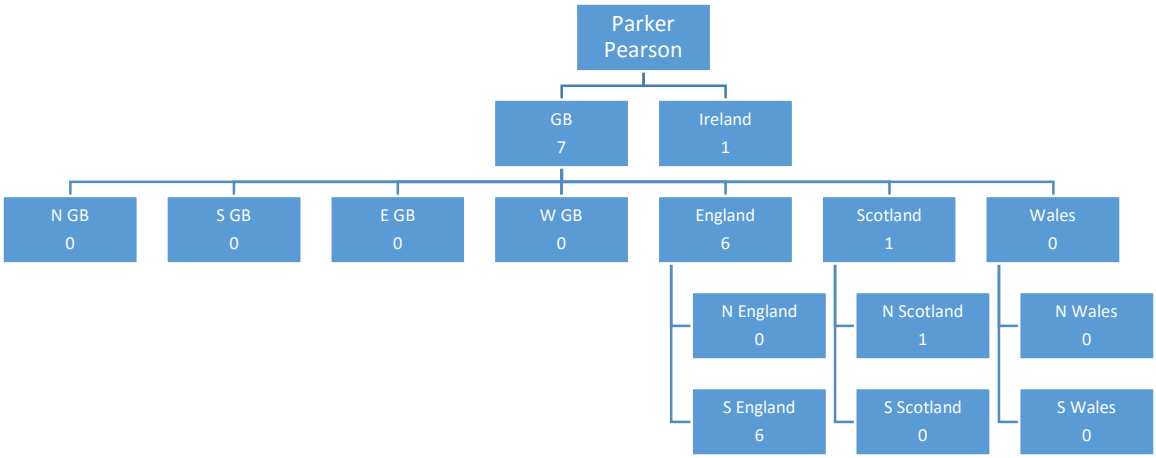


Figure 70 - Parker Pearson (1993) Bibliographic references - Cumulative totals

Hunter & Ralston (1999) (eds) An Archaeology of Britain. An Introduction from the Upper Palaeolithic to the Industrial Revolution

This book covers a vast time span, and I therefore only assessed a small section of it for this study. I decided to include it as this was one of the first key texts on an Introductory Reading List provided as necessary for the 2008 intake of undergraduates to read, before embarking on their degree at the University of Durham. I was therefore curious as to whether it painted a fair and comprehensive picture of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age prehistory of Britain, or not. I was especially interested, as Hunter had formerly worked in Bradford, before moving to Birmingham and Ralston's career was based within Scottish universities. I hope that this would help to provide a better focus on northern Britain, within the sites and regions mentioned. I read all the relevant pages and chapters, and analysed them, that is, Chapters 1 (by Ralston and Hunter), 4 (by Alasdair Whittle), 5 (by Mike Parker Pearson), and 17 (by Timothy Darvill) (1999, 1-12, 58-94, 297-315, respectively) (Appendix A13). In total, these authors referenced 677 sites (Table 17), regions or countries in their chapters, with the best part of these (Figure 71, Figure 72), i.e., 466 (69%), pertaining to England, 20% to Scotland (134/677), only 28/677 (or 4%) to Wales, and 45/677 (7%) to Ireland, not mentioned in the book's title. I also compared the two chapters on the Neolithic and Earlier Bronze Ages (Chapter 4, by Whittle and Chapter 5, by Parker Pearson), to see how they chose their references, in such a short body of work. I also analysed their choice of reading list at the end of each chapter, for similar reasons.

Regionally, it can be seen on the graph (Figure 73), that once again, there is a major peak for England's south-western region (270/677, or 40% of all references), with another slighter peak for northern Scotland, with 12.5% of mentions (85/677). South-eastern and central England were referred to a number of times (57.5 and 67, respectively). These, totalled with south-western England's references make up 58% of all mentions (Figure 74). In fact, the rest of Scotland, north-western England, all of Wales and Ireland, were very poorly referenced (Figure 73).

Within England, 39 counties were referenced 397 times (Figure 77), implying that each county might have been referenced ten times. However, the reality was different, with 28 of these counties only being referenced five times each, or less (Appendix A13). In fact, two counties only took 46% of the total English county references, that is, Wiltshire, with 125/397 mentions (31%) and Dorset with 59/397 mentions (15%) (Figure 77).

Five of the six counties in this northern England study area were referenced five times or less and only north Yorkshire gained more references than this, with 9 mentions in total. Nevertheless, with general references to Yorkshire included, as they predominantly referenced locations within or close to the Yorkshire Wolds region in the text, the study area gained 7% of the total number of references for the chapters analysed (Figure 76). A GIS map shows the distributions of English site references (Figure 75).

Hunter and Ralston referenced 142 bibliographic texts in their book (Figure 129). Of these, 51 were general archaeological references; 10 referenced locations outside of Britain and Ireland; 81 were about Britain and none about Ireland (Figure 78). Yet, their bibliography included more English references (36/142) than for Scotland (9/142). Wales was only mentioned once as a specific bibliographic reference (1/142). Of the English references, the majority pertained to southern England (30/36).

Hunter and Ralston included many black-and-white images in their book (Appendix B). However, I have only looked at those images which pertain to the Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages of Britain, despite the fact that other periods might have had a great concentration on the north of England's sites, which might have affected how many were used within the four chapters studied. This is because I reasoned that if a student only read those four chapters, how might they be influenced by the images they saw, especially as, in the other chapters of the book, for example, Colin Haselgrove's Iron Age chapter, many images are added without reference to the site's location (e.g. 1999, 116, 118-9), so that if one did not know the locations and were just flicking through the book and only reading specific chapters, one might be unaware of the number of sites which referenced the north of England, or other such region.

There were, in fact, only 28 images in the four chapters studied, all of these pertaining to sites in England or Scotland, with 12 of sites in south-west England; six in central England; 1 in south-east England and two in north-east England. Within Scotland, two of the images were for sites in the north and 5 for sites in the west of the country.

A – Total number of references per country

England	466
Scotland	134
Wales	28
Ireland	45
Total	677

Table 17 - Total number of references per country (Hunter & Ralston)

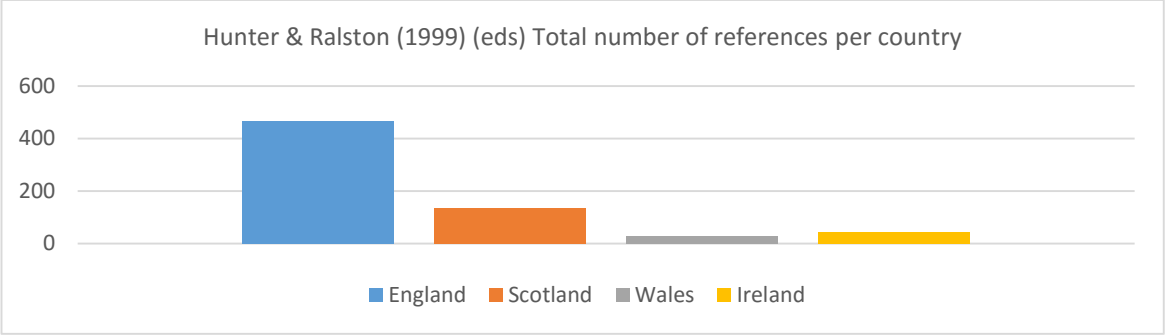


Figure 71 – Hunter & Ralston (1999) Total number of references per country

B – Percentage of total references per country

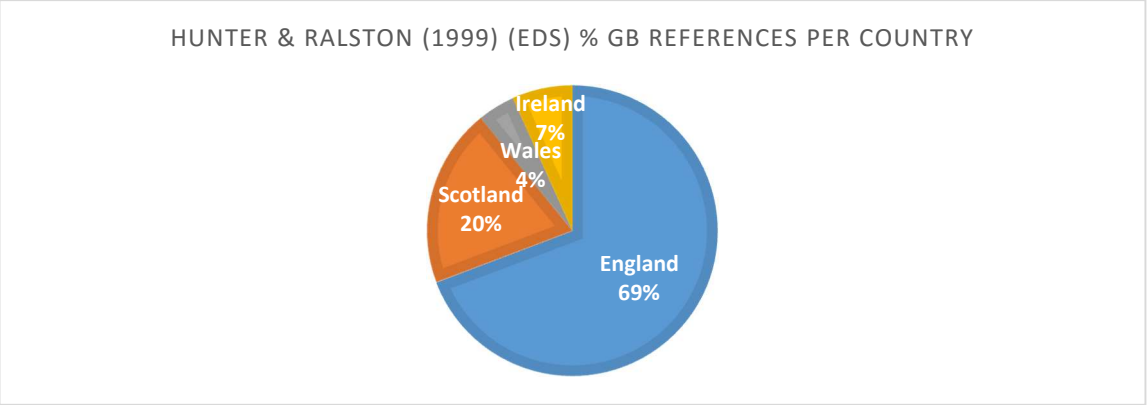


Figure 72 - Hunter & Ralston (1999) % GB references per country

C – Total number of references for each region in each country

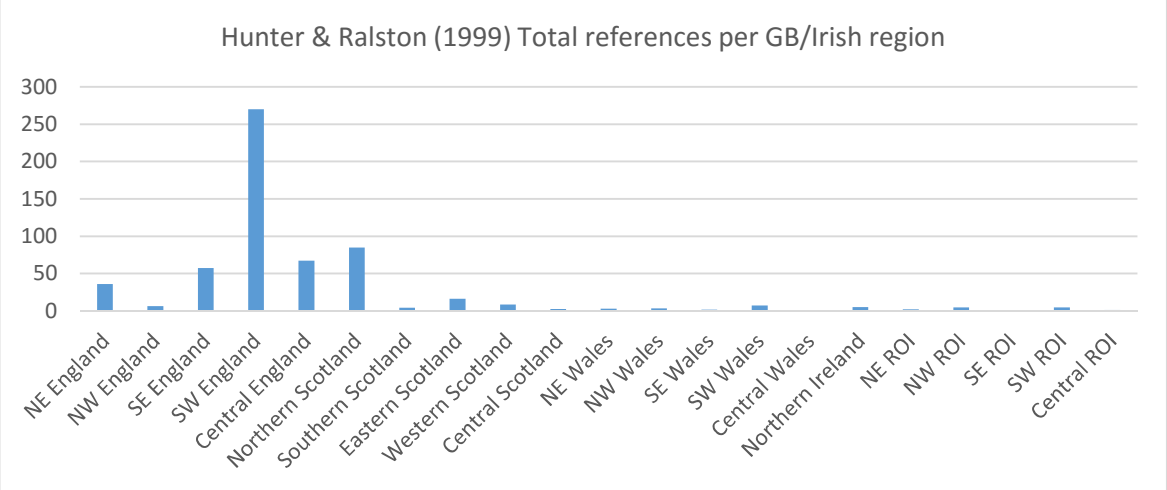


Figure 73 – Hunter & Ralston (1999) Total references per GB/Irish region

D – Total references per English region, as a percentage

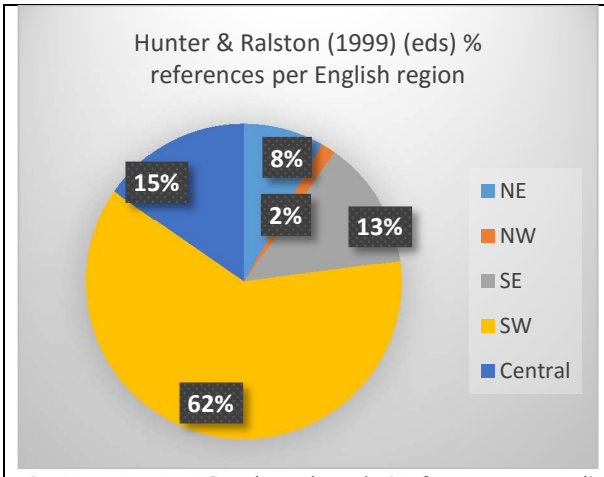


Figure 74 - Hunter & Ralston (1999) % references per English region

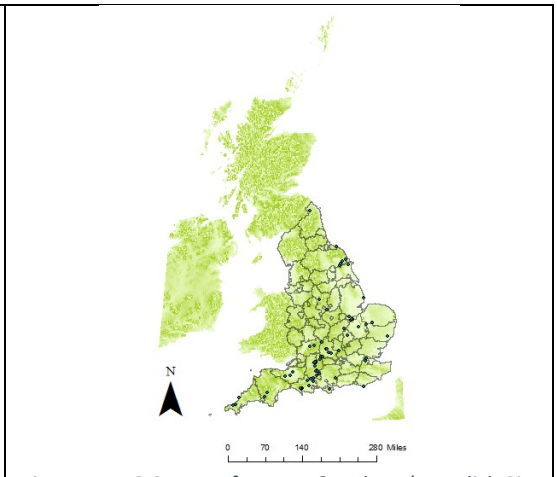


Figure 75 - GIS Map of Hunter & Ralston's English Site References

E – Percentage of sites referenced pertaining to this 'located within northern England', as that region is defined for this study

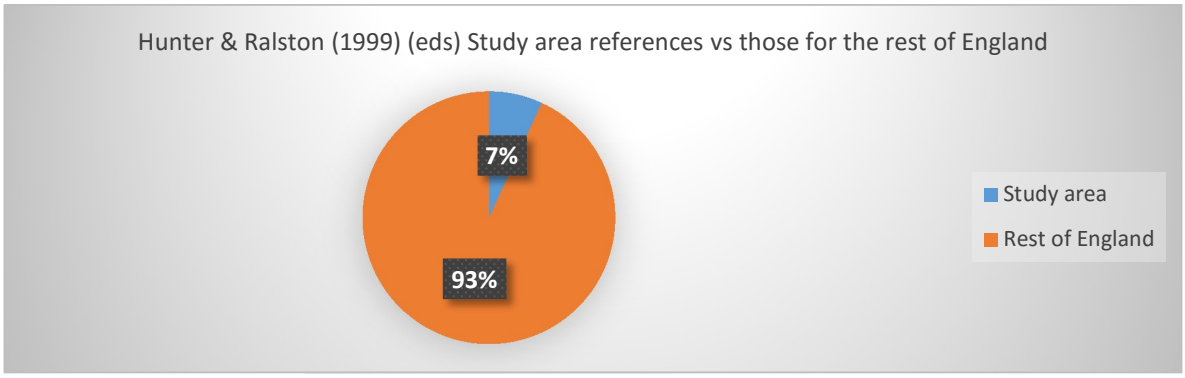


Figure 76 - Hunter & Ralston (1999) Study area references vs those for the rest of England

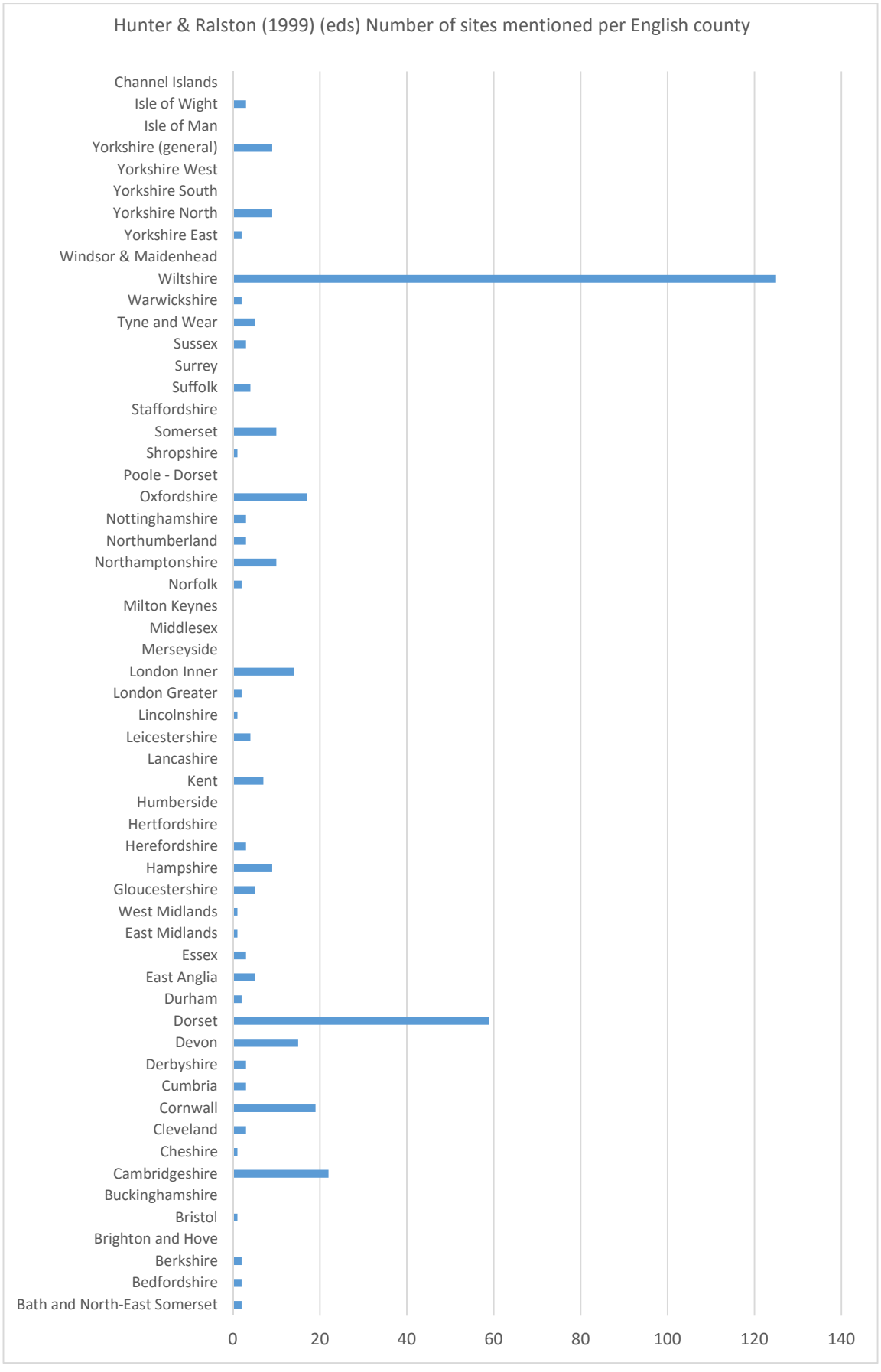


Figure 77 - Hunter & Ralston (1999) Number of sites mentioned per English county

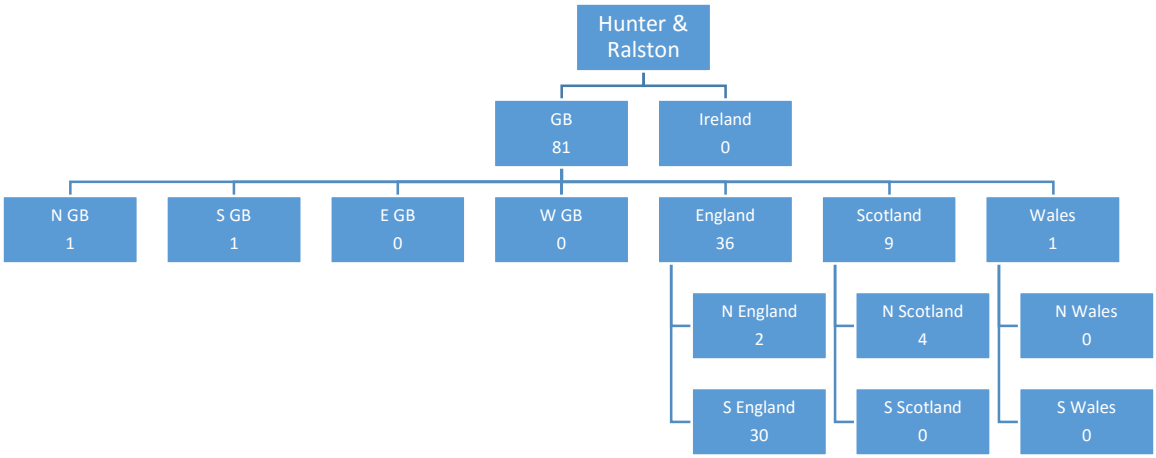


Figure 78 - Hunter & Ralston (1999) Bibliographic references - Cumulative totals

The chapters of Whittle and Parker Pearson were further analysed, to see how fairly different areas of Britain had been represented. The results were very stark (Table 18, Figure 79):

	Whittle	Parker Pearson
England	0	0
northern England	6	3
southern England	60	51
central England	6	10
Scotland	3	3
northern Scotland	24	25
southern Scotland	2	2
central Scotland	1	0
Wales	0	3
northern Wales	0	2
southern Wales	0	1
Northern Ireland	0	2
ROI	0	6

Table 18 - Comparison and Whittle and Parker Pearson references within Hunter & Ralston's Synthesis

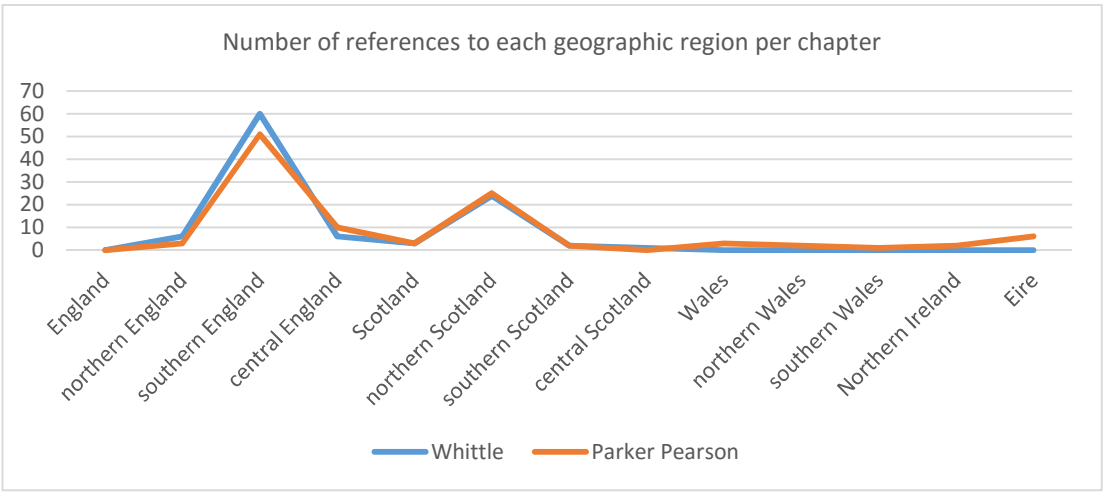


Figure 79 - Number of references to each geographic region per chapter

Despite the book's authors' intention that this book be an overview of current knowledge of the geographical area of Britain (1999, 9-10) intended for student-centred learning, Whittle and Parker Pearson have both produced a similar spread of references, both of which favour the regions of southern England and the islands of northern Scotland (Figure 79).

On page 11 of their book, Hunter and Ralston also asked each contributor to provide 25 book titles for further reading. This is the geographical breakdown of the results.

Breakdown of 'Key Texts'' titles (not contents)

Whittle	Number of mentions	Parker Pearson	Number of mentions
NE England	1		0
SW England	8		10 (plus 2 key texts with Stonehenge in title)
S England/GB	0		2
C England	3		0
Scotland	1		1
Orkney	1		0
Skye/W Isles	0		1
NW Europe	2		0
General	21 (including 6 key texts)		22 (incl 4 key texts)

Table 19- Number of site mentions per region by Parker Pearson and Whittle

As can be seen above (Table 19), students were encouraged to read more than the 25 specified texts, most of which were general Neolithic or Bronze Age studies. However, among the Key Texts were some specifically names regional or site locations, the majority of which pertained to Stonehenge or the south-west region of England. Wales was not mentioned at all and the thesis' geographic area was referred to only once.

Malone (2001) Neolithic Britain and Ireland

Malone wrote this book, to inform undergraduate university students about the variety of British and Irish Neolithic sites. To that end, she made 3,572 references, by far the most for the volumes included in this study (Appendix A10).

Nevertheless, most of the references pertain to England, with 1,759 out of 3,572 mentions (49%). Scotland was referred to less than half that number of times, with 818/3,572 references (23%). Ireland, although referred to in the book's title, gained a mere 17% of references (601/3,572) and Wales was mentioned on only 6% of occasions (217/3,572) (Table 20, Figure 80, Figure 81). Yet, as Malone mentioned Britain, as opposed to Ireland, on 123 occasions (Appendix A10), this has slightly skewed the overall percentages, as compared to those mentioned in Figure 81, which are percentages of country mentions, as opposed to percentages of total mentions.

Regionally, Malone demonstrated a great emphasis on south-western England, with 879.5 mentions, possibly due to the fact that she had worked in Avebury and Bristol, with more references to south-western England than to the whole of Scotland, or indeed to the whole of Wales and Ireland added together (Figure 82). This equates to 50% of English references and 25% of all book mentions. South-east and central England also gained many references (248.5 and 253,

respectively) and together, the central and southern counties of England have 39% of all references (1,381/3,572) (Figure 83). Northern Scotland was also the focus of many references, with 468.5/818 mentions, i.e., 57% of Scottish mentions and 13% of all references. Yet, by far the majority of these, 246/468.5 (52.5%), referred to the Orkney Islands. The rest of Scotland's regions, south, east, west and central, were referred to on 64.5, 87, 60 and 47 occasions, accordingly, accounting to merely 7% of all mentions. Wales had few references for each regions and the majority of these pertained to the west (45% of mentions, with 57.5 and 39.5 mentions for north-west and south-west Wales in that order) and central (46/217 or 21% of Wales' total) regions of Wales. Some Irish regions fared a little better. The north of the island gained more references than the south, with 66% of mentions (394.5/601 or 122 for Northern Ireland, 174 for NE ROI and 98.5 for NW ROI), which equates to 11% of the overall total. The south-west was mentioned on 71.5 occasions and the south-east and central regions of ROI gained 22 and 18 references, respectively (Appendix A10).

Within England, Malone made 1620 references in forty counties (Figure 85). Of these, 25% (409/1620) were for Wiltshire, with Dorset and Cambridgeshire gaining 146 and 134 references, accordingly (17% of the English county total, together). Yorkshire (including North and East Yorkshire and general references to the Yorkshire Wolds) gained 157 mentions, that is, almost 10% of the total number of English county references. Other counties in England were also fairly well referenced, with 62 for Cornwall, 73 for Cumbria, 72 for Derbyshire, 50 for Gloucestershire, 55 for Oxfordshire, 62 for Somerset and 55 for Sussex. Nonetheless, fifteen counties, mentioned by Malone, had less than eight references each, many with only a few mentions.

However, the MA's study area of six counties in the north of England was referenced 176 times, with 11% of the county mentions and 13% of the overall mentions, which include general references to north-east and north-west England (Figure 86). The GIS map shows the distribution of English site mentions (Figure 84).

Malone referenced 285 bibliographic texts in her book (Figure 129). Of these, 48 were general archaeological references; 19 referenced locations outside of Britain and Ireland; 197 were about Britain and 21 about Ireland (Figure 87). Yet, her bibliography included more English references (111/285) than for Scotland (36/285) and Wales (10/285). Of the English references, the majority pertained to southern England (92/111).

Malone illustrated her book with an astonishing 480 images (Appendix B), of which 48 were general images or maps. Of the 432, 214 (49.5%) pertained to English sites, with 30 images of north-east and north-west England together, i.e., 7%; 5.5% for south-eastern sites (24/432); 10% of central sites (43/432); and 117 images of south-western locations (27%), which equates to 54.5% of all English images. Northern Scotland had 82/432 images, or 19%, and Scotland in total had 28% (120/432) of all of these images. Wales only had 7% (30/432) of images and Northern Ireland 3%, whereas 12.5% of images pertained to ROI (55/432).

A – Total number of references per country

England	1759
Scotland	818
Wales	217
Ireland	601
Total	3572

Table 20 - Total number of references per country (Malone)

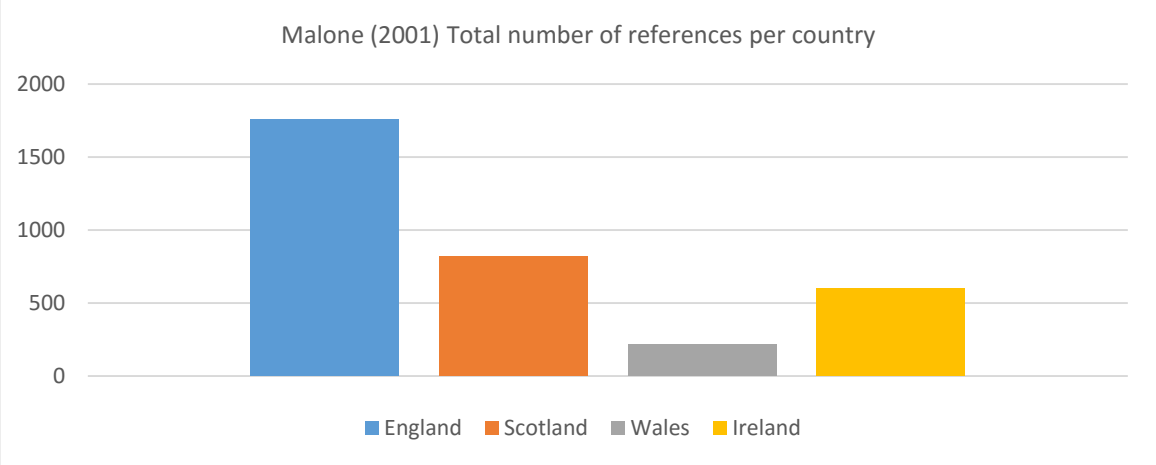


Figure 80 - Malone (2001) Total number of references per country

B – Percentage of total references per country

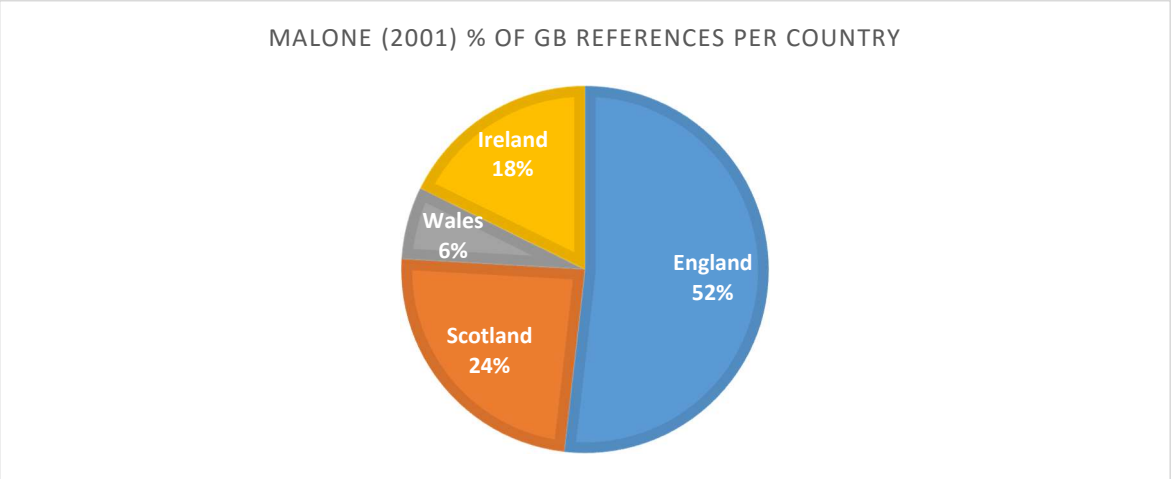


Figure 81 - Malone (2001) % of GB references per country

C – Total number of references for each region in each country

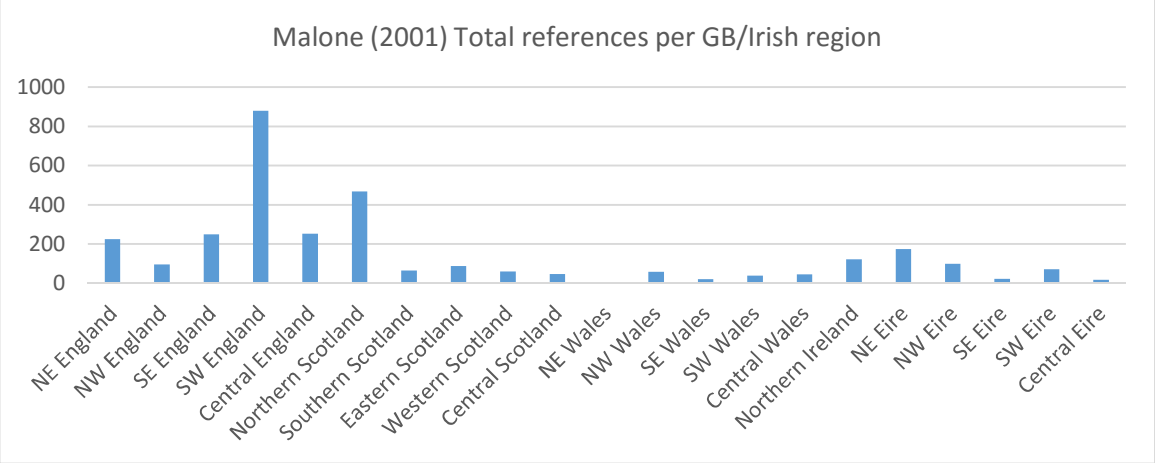


Figure 82 - Malone (2001) Total references per GB/Irish region

D – Total references per English region, as a percentage

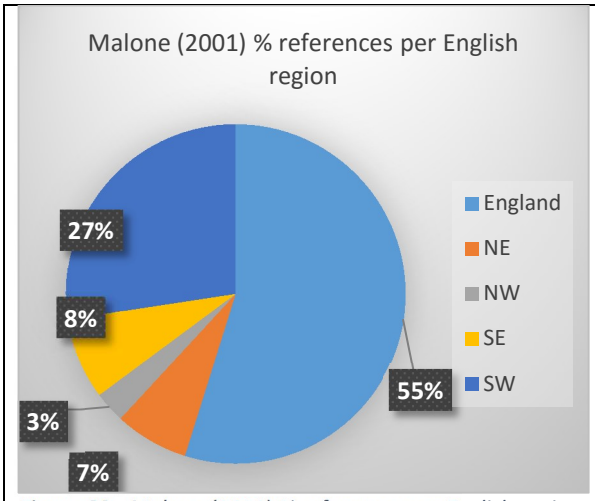


Figure 83 - Malone (2001) % references per English region

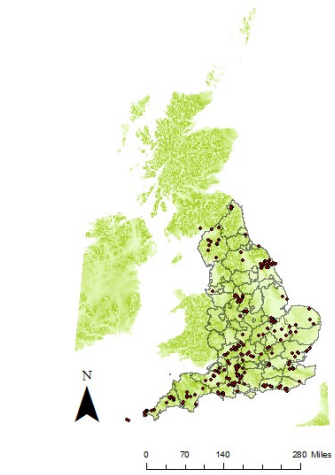


Figure 84 - GIS Map of Malone's English Site References

E – Number of sites mentioned per English county

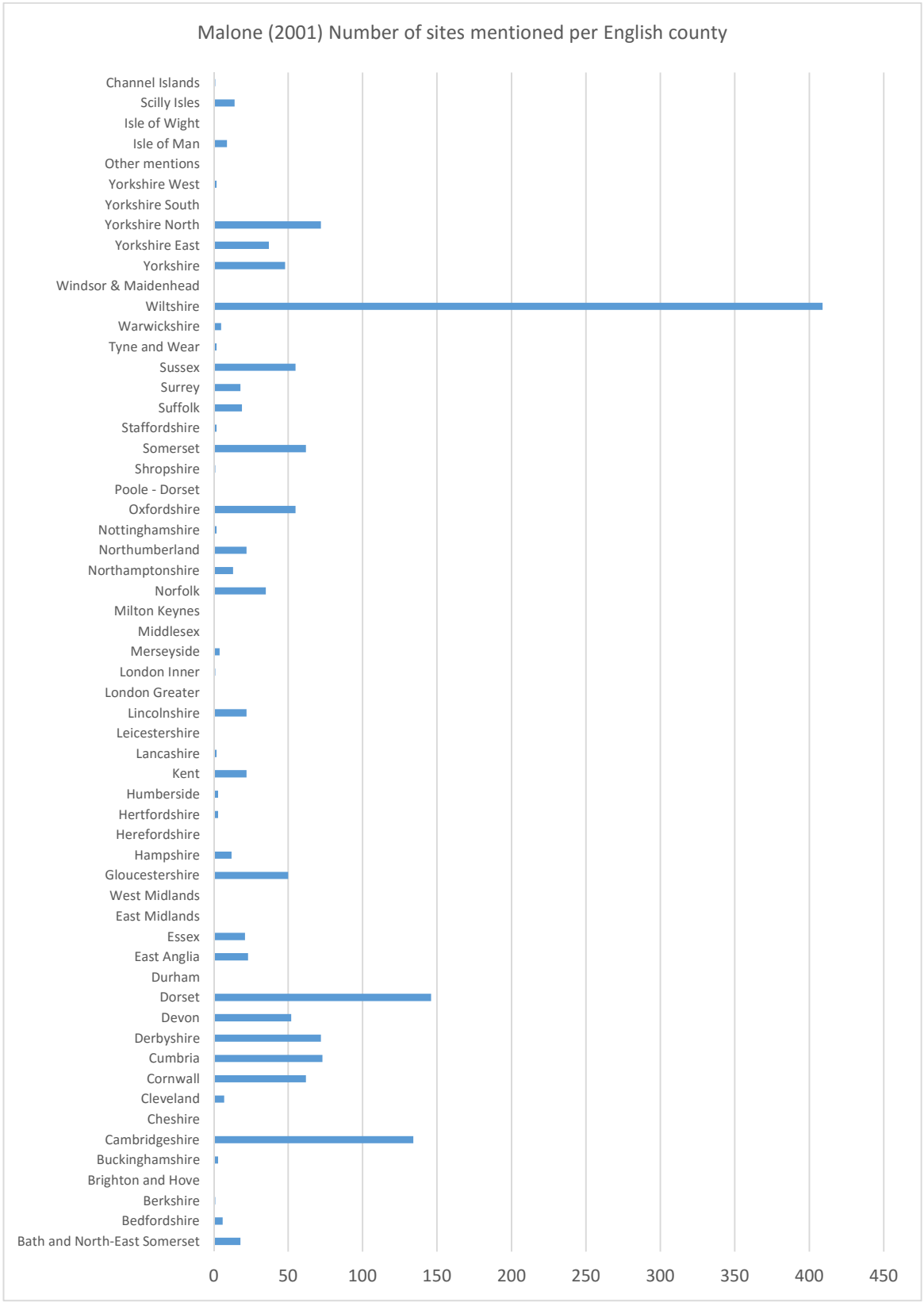


Figure 85 - Malone (2001) Number of sites mentioned per English county

F – Percentage of sites referenced pertaining to this 'located within northern England', as that region is defined for this study

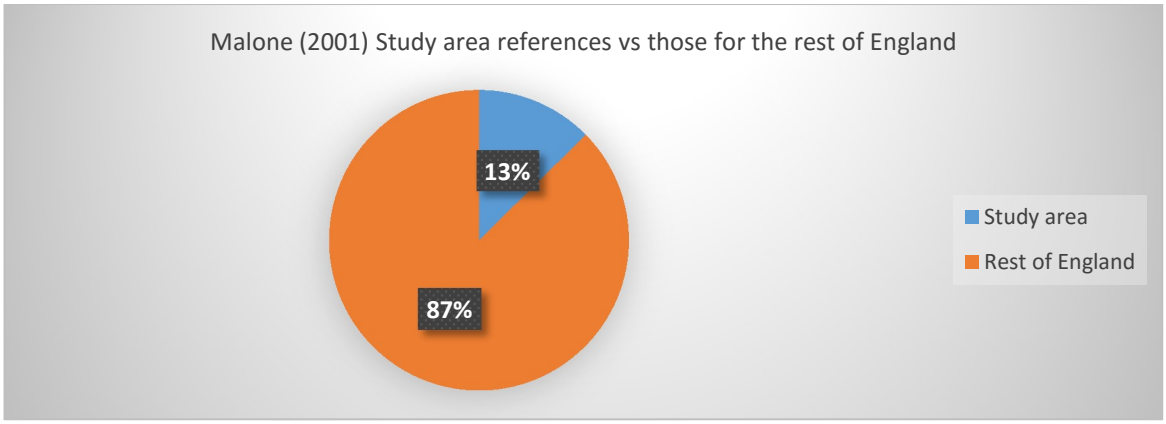


Figure 86 - Malone (2001) Study area references vs those for the rest of England

G – Total numbers of bibliographic references, pertaining to specific areas of Britain and Ireland

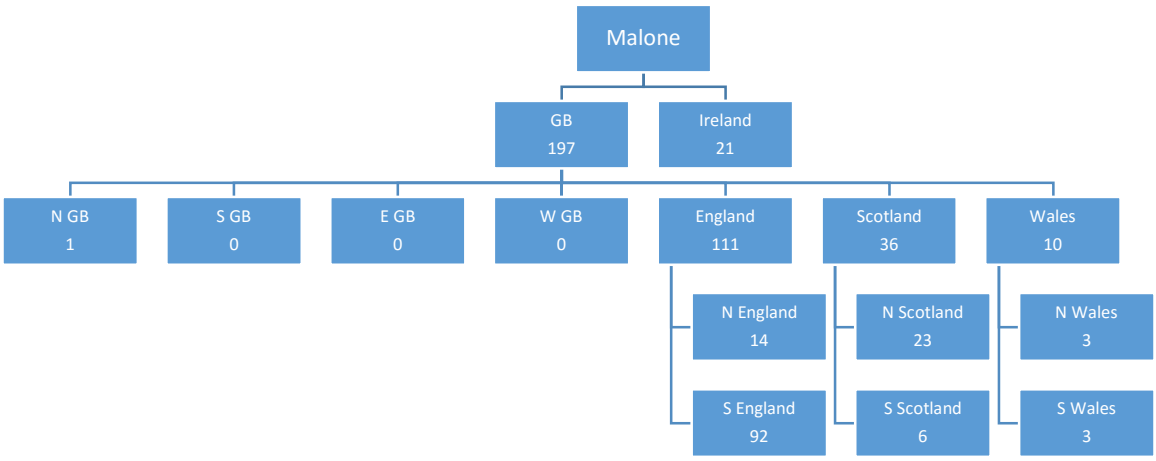


Figure 87 - Malone (2001) Bibliographic references - Cumulative totals

Pryor (2003) Britain BC. Life in Britain and Ireland before the Romans

Pryor made 1,253 references to specific sites, regions or UK countries during the Preface and Chapters 5-9 of his book, *Britain BC,* written in 2003 (Appendix A11, Table 21). These chapters included all the sections relevant to this study. The majority of the references (60%) referred to sites in England, with only 8% and 3% referring to Scotland and Wales, accordingly (Figure 89). The final 29% referenced Ireland and general British or 'Query' mentions (e.g. eastern or western Britain) equally (Appendix A11). Compared with one another, the four UK countries were referenced even less favourably, with 70% for England, 9% for Scotland, 4% for Wales and 17% for Ireland (Figure 88). These percentages altered from the overall percentage, as Britain was mentioned 141 times on its own, so skewing the results (Appendix A11).

Regionally, England's south-west gained the lion's share of the references (Figure 90), with 34% of the overall total (419/1253) and 55% of the English total. Central and south-eastern England were also well-referenced, with 164.5 and 85 mentions. Together with south-western England, these account for 88% of English and 53% of overall mentions. North-east and north-west England, with 41.5 and 21.5 references, individually, together gained 8% of England's and 5% of the overall totals (Figure 91). Although the north of Scotland has more references than the north-east and north-west of England together (at 65 mentions), this also only equates to 5% of the overall number of

references, even though this northern region acquired 66% of the total Scotland references. Southern Scotland gained 19% (19/99) of Scottish mentions, but the west, east and central regions only gained 5% of the Scottish total together and a negligible 0.4% (5/1,253) of the overall total. There was a similar situation in Ireland with the southern and central regions only gaining 1.5% of Ireland's mentions (i.e., 0.2% of the overall total), whereas the north of the island was referenced on 67% of Irish occasions, with Northern Ireland gaining 12% (22/181), north-eastern ROI 50% (90/181) and north-western ROI 5% (9/181) of Irish references (Figure 90). Overall, the north of the island of Ireland was referred to in only ten per cent of all occasions, which is surprising as the country is named in the book's title (Appendix A11).

Within England, Pryor mentioned 33 counties with a total of 673 references (Figure 93). Wiltshire, once again, received the most references (276/673 or 41%), with 89 for Cambridgeshire (13%), 48 for Somerset (7%) and 38 for Oxfordshire (5.5%), whereas 18 of the 33 counties mentioned in Pryor's book received 5 or less references.

The MA's study area in northern England was poorly referenced, with only 6% of the total book references (Figure 94) and 6% of the English county total (i.e., 11 for Cleveland; 22 for Cumbria; 1 for Durham and 9 for North Yorkshire). Northumberland and the Tyne and Wear counties were not mentioned at all (Appendix A11). The GIS map shows the distribution of sites in England, from Pryor's book references (Figure 92).

Pryor referenced 240 bibliographic texts in his book (Figure 129). Of these, 50 were general archaeological references; 24 referenced locations outside of Britain and Ireland; 145 were about Britain and 21 about Ireland (Figure 95). Yet, his bibliography included more English references (95/240) than for Scotland (18/240) and Wales was not specifically represented in his bibliography. Of the English references, the majority pertained to southern England (84/95).

Pryor added many black-and-white (Chapters 5-9, inclusive), and some colour images in four sections within his book (Appendix B). 99 images were counted, of which 64 are colour. Of the black-and-white images, 12 are of sites in south-west England, 2 are from south-east and 7 from central England, whereas there is only one site referenced in northern England (at Loftus, in the north-east). The are 3 images for Scotland, two for the north and one for the south, and three images from Wales, two from the south and one from the west. There are two images of sites in Northern Ireland; four from north-east ROI and one from the north-west region. The 64 colour images are mostly taken in England, with 30 of these pertaining to central, nine to south-east, and seven to south-west England, and one is from north-east England. There are ten photographs from northern Scotland and one from central Scotland, as well as one from north and another from south Wales, two from Northern Ireland, and two images are from County Meath, north-east ROI.

A – Total number of references per country

England	758.5
Scotland	99
Wales	40.5
Ireland	181
Total	1253

Table 21 - Total number of references per country (Pryor)

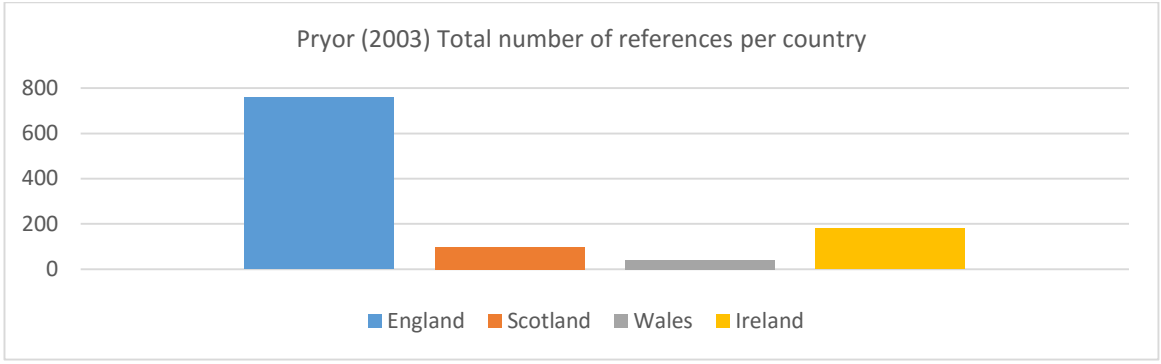


Figure 88 - Pryor (2003) Total number of references per country

B – Percentage of total references per country

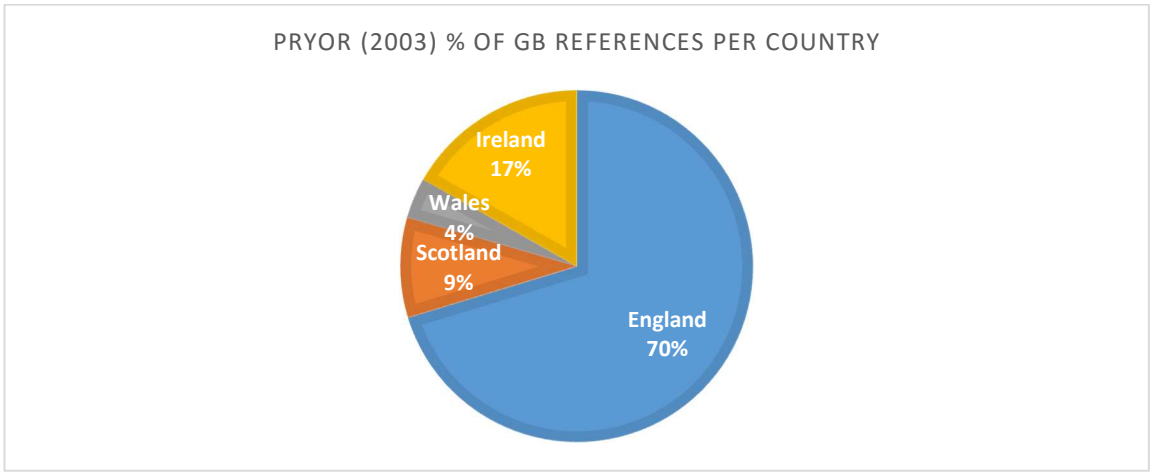


Figure 89 - Pryor (2003) % of GB references per country

C – Total number of references for each region in each country

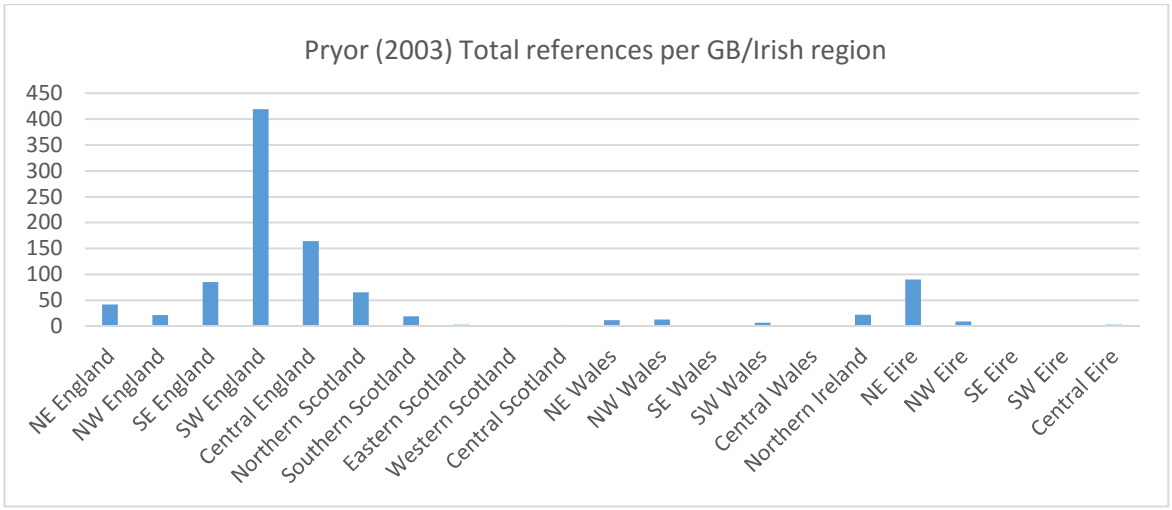


Figure 90 - Pryor (2003) Total references per GB/Irish region

D – Total references per English region, as a percentage

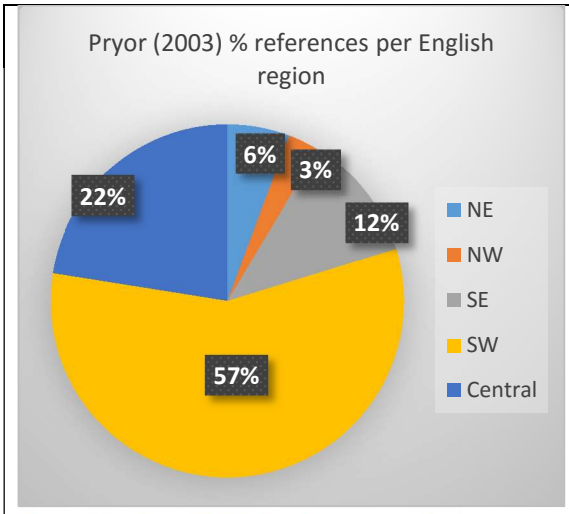


Figure 91 - Pryor (2003) % references per English region

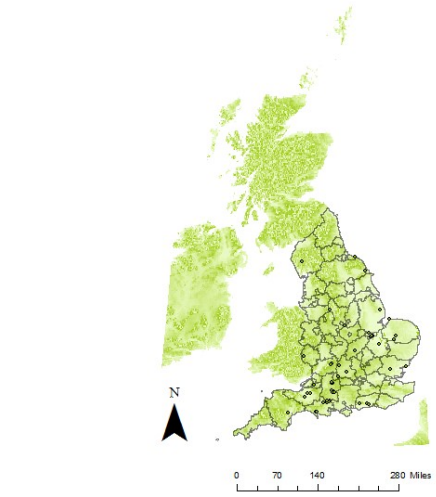


Figure 92 - GIS Map of Pryor's English Site References

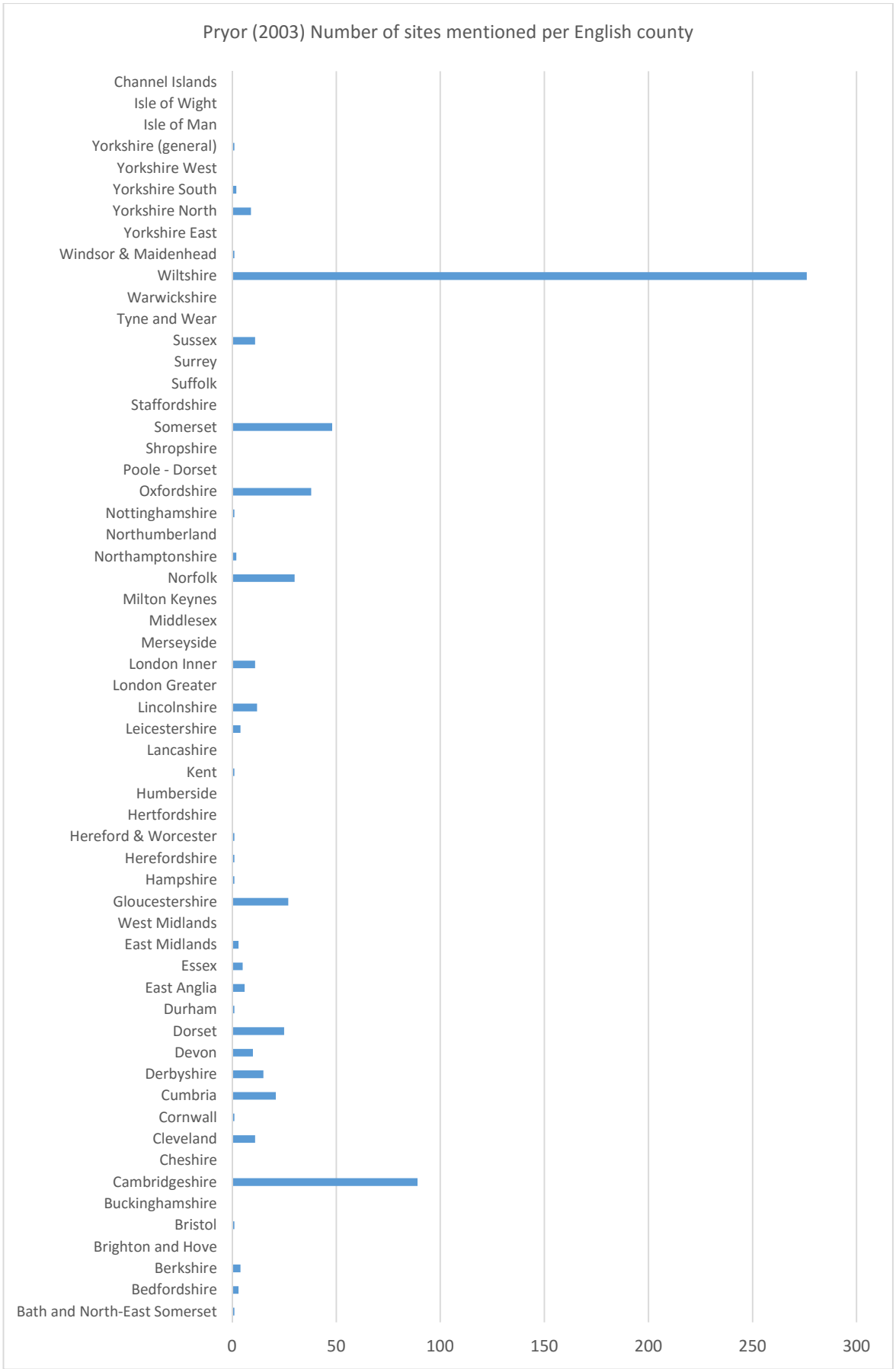


Figure 93 - Pryor (2003) Number of sites mentioned per English county

F – Percentage of sites referenced pertaining to this 'located within northern England', as that region is defined for this study

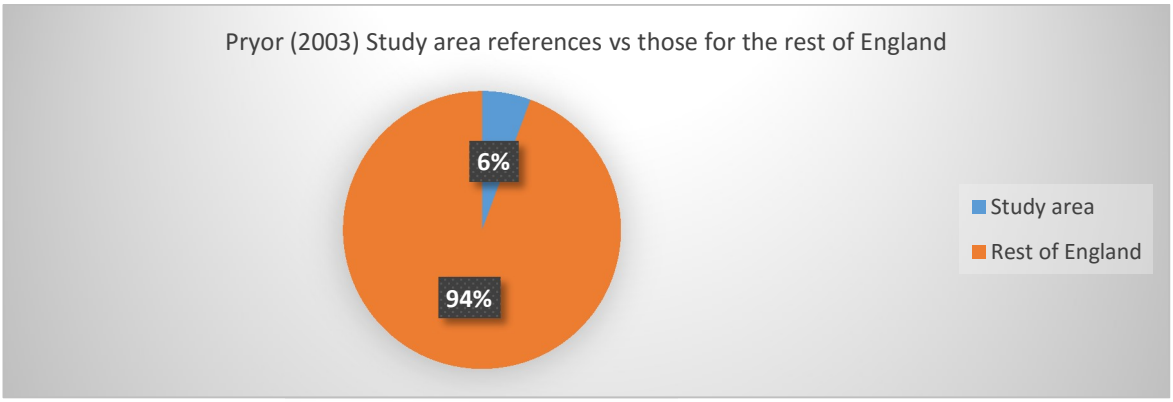


Figure 94 - Pryor (2003) Study area references vs those for the rest of England

G – Total numbers of bibliographic references, pertaining to specific areas of Britain and Ireland

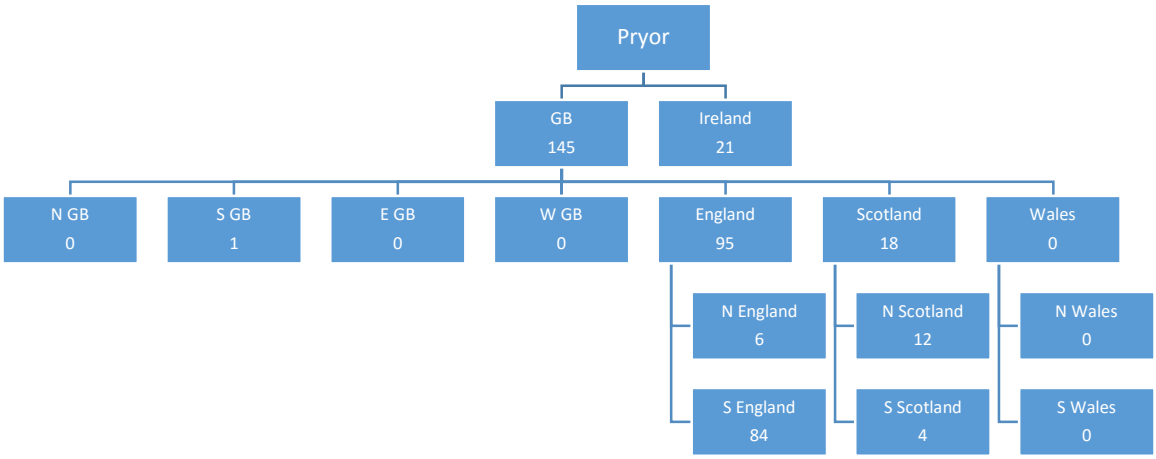


Figure 95 - Pryor (2003) Bibliographic references - Cumulative totals

Scarre (2007) The megalithic monuments of Britain and Ireland

Scarre's book, written in 2007 for the original benefit of a French audience (Scarre & Joussaume 2006), has 1479 entries in total (Appendix A3). Apart from the minimal number of Welsh entries, at merely 81/1479 (6%) (Table 22, Figure 97), the references are more or less balanced between England (554/1479), Scotland (449/1479) and Ireland (395/1479) at 37%, 30% and 27% respectively (Figure 96). However, within each country, there is a specific emphasis on certain areas: the south-west, and to a lesser extent the south-east, of England, with 62% (330/554) and 23% (120.5/554) respectively, which equates to 30% (450.5/1479) of the total UK references. Northern Scotland has 294.5/449 mentions (66%), that is 20% of the overall UK references (294.5/1479); and western Scotland gained 84.5/449 references (19%), which is only 6% of all references. Wales, as mentioned above, is poorly referenced with the majority of mentions referring to the north-west (27.5/81 or 34%), which seems bad enough but much worse in comparison to the total number of book references versus those for north-western Wales, at less than 2%, that is, 27.5/1479; yet, this is the most referenced of Wales' regions. North-east ROI also gained the lion's share of the Irish references with 147.5/395 (37%) or 10% of all UK mentions (Figure 98).

This ultimately means that certain regions were barely referenced at all. Central, north-east and north-west England together only gained 15% of the total English references (80.5/554) or 5% of all

mentions, which matches the percentage of references to the south, east and central regions of Scotland (69/449) (4.5% of total mentions) (Figure 99). Wales' south-west region received 22% of the total mentions for Wales (18/81) (only 1% of total references), whereas the other regions (north-east, south-west and central Wales) were referred to only 11.5 times, or 14% of the references for Welsh regions or sites. South-western and north-western ROI took 23% of the total Irish mentions (with 48/395 (12%) & 45/395 (11%), respectively, or 6% of total references). Northern Ireland only gained 7% of references, with central and south-eastern ROI having only 3% of the total references (12.5/395). There were also general references to both Wales (30%, or 24/81) and Ireland (29%, or 113/395) (Appendix A3).

In fact, within England, when the details are further broken down into individual counties, the results are starker again (Figure 101), with the majority of English references being for sites within Wiltshire, i.e., 272 of 380 total English county references, that is, 72%, most likely due to the fact that Scarre penned the whole of Chapter Four about Stonehenge and Avebury (2007, 98-124), for the benefit of a French audience (pers.comm.). Cumbria and Gloucestershire gained 15/380 mentions apiece (i.e., 4% each), with this dissertation's research area gaining only 8% of England's total references (Figure 102), despite North Yorkshire having the second-best total of English county references, with 24 of 380 mentions (6%) (Appendix A3). However, the focus of this book was clear. Scarre referenced only 16 English counties, 14 less than Darvill and far less than the 53 English counties which were referenced during the total survey (Appendix A3). The GIS map shows the overall distribution of English site references within the text (Figure 100).

Scarre only referenced 46 bibliographic texts in his book (Figure 129). Of these, 4 were general archaeological references; 1 referenced a location outside of Britain and Ireland; 35 were about Britain and 6 about Ireland (Figure 103). Yet, his bibliography included more English references than for Scotland, Wales or Ireland; and of the English references, the majority pertained to southern England (14/17).

Scarre's book has a total of 185 images, of diagrams, maps and photographs (Appendix B). Of the 20 photographs taken by the author, eight were taken in northern and two in eastern Scotland; two in south-west Wales; three in north-west and two in north-east ROI; and the remaining three in south-west and central England. The images represent a wide variety of megalithic monuments, with sixty in England, seventy in Scotland, 14 in Wales, and 41 in Ireland. In England, the south-west and predominantly Wiltshire, had the lion's share of images (43/60 or 72%), north-east and central England having 7/60 and 6/60 respectively. Only 2/60 images represented sites in both south-east and north-west England. In Scotland, the north has 67% (47/70) of the images, with 10/70 (14%) from western Scotland, 6/70 (9%) from eastern Scotland, with 7 images shared between central and southern Scotland (4 (6%) and 3 (4%) respectively). Wales has few images, mostly representing the west of the country, with half (7/14) from the north-west and a further 29% (4/14) from the south-west of Wales. The north-east is not represented, most probably due to the fewer numbers of megalithic monuments in this region. Yet, for Ireland, the majority of images are from north-east ROI (24/41 or 58%), with western Ireland having a further 37% (8/41 from north-western ROI and 7/41 from south-western ROI). Central and south-eastern ROI are not referenced at all and Northern Ireland has only 2/41 (5%) of images.

A – Total number of references per country

England	554
Scotland	449
Wales	81
Ireland	395
Total	1479

Table 22 - Total number of references per country (Scarre)

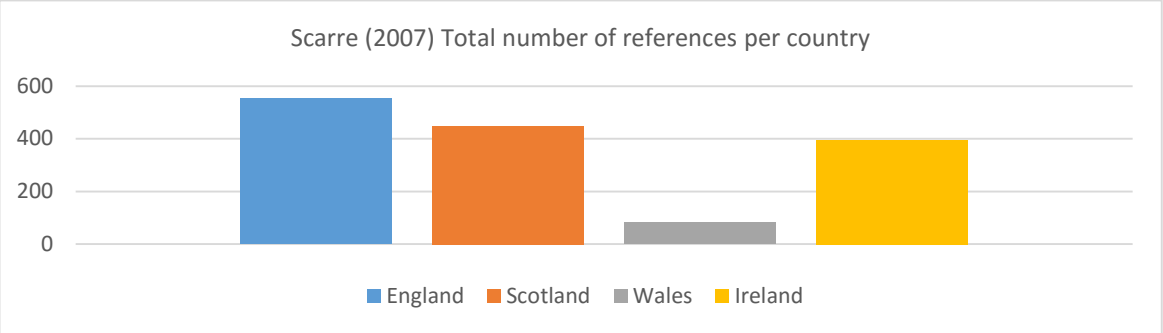


Figure 96 - Scarre (2007) Total number of references per country

B – Percentage of total references per country

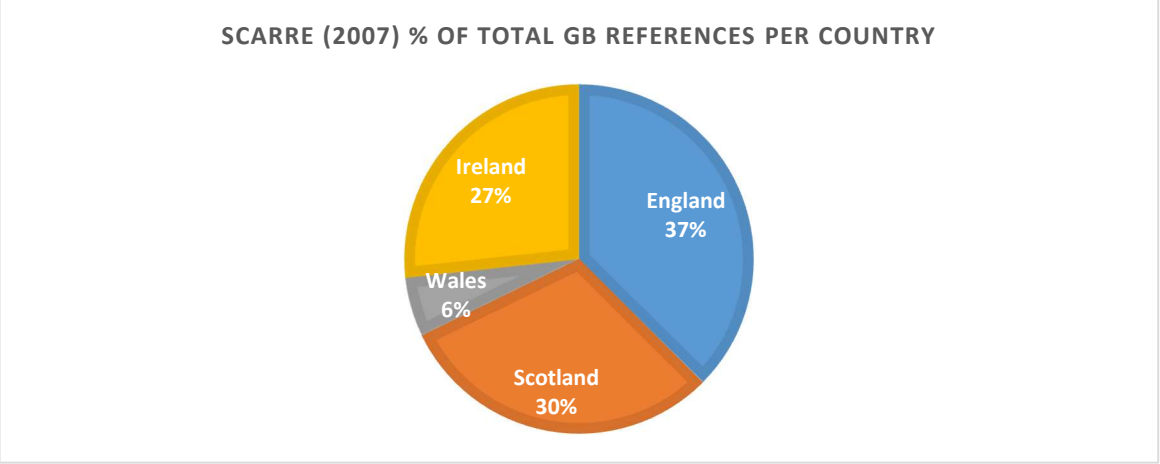


Figure 97 - Scarre (2007) % of total GB references per country

C – Total number of references for each region in each country

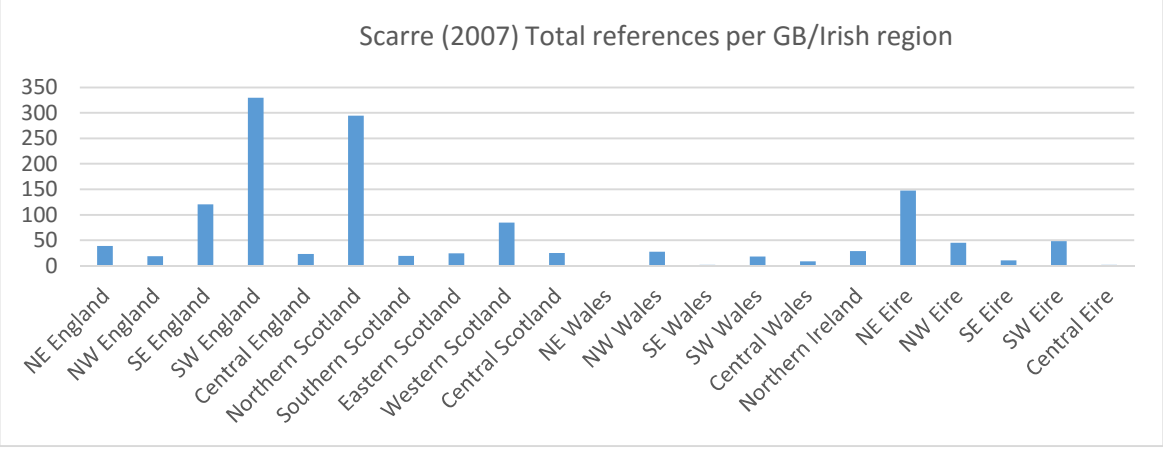


Figure 98 - Scarre (2007) Total references per GB/Irish region

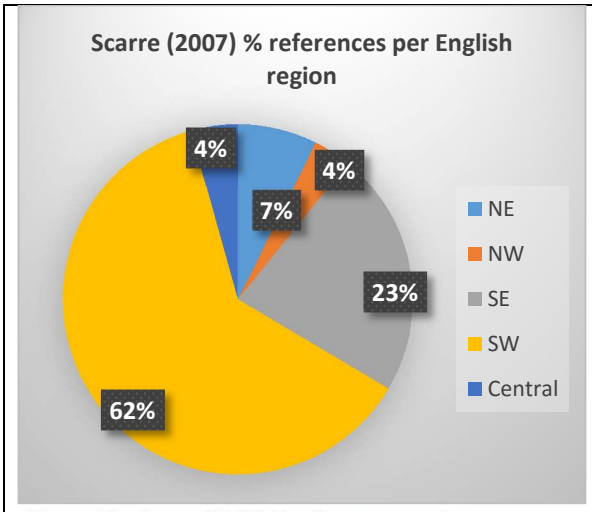


Figure 99 - Scarre (2007) % references per English region

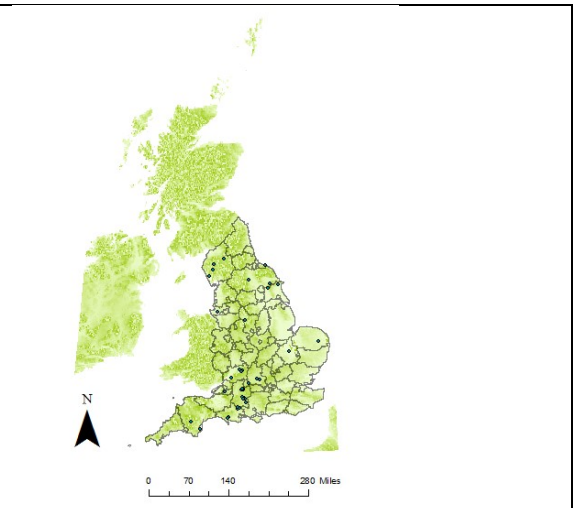


Figure 100 - GIS Map of Scarre's English Site References

E – Number of sites mentioned per English county

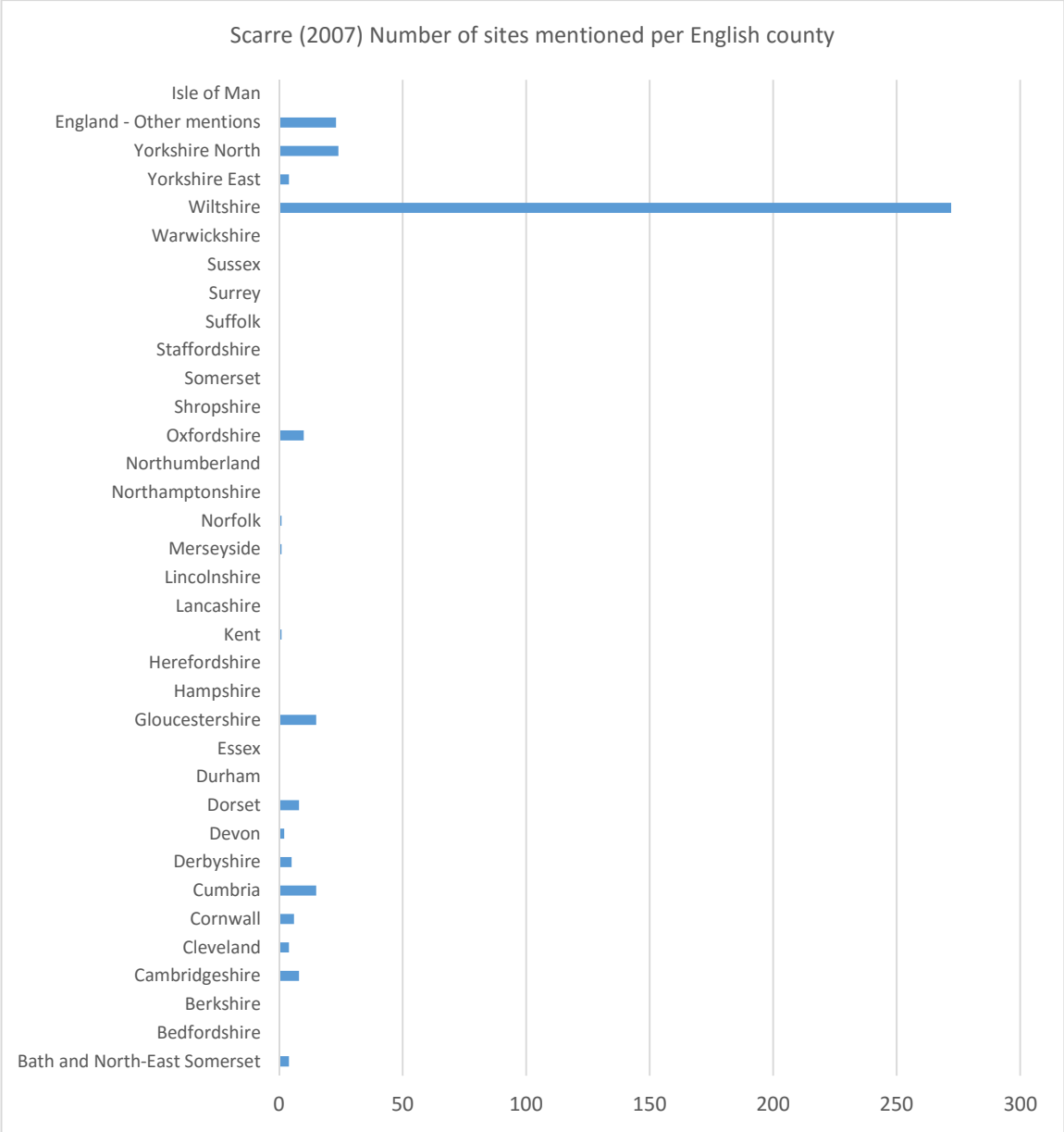


Figure 101 - Scarre (2007) Number of sites mentioned per English county

F – Percentage of sites referenced pertaining to this 'located within northern England', as that region is defined for this study

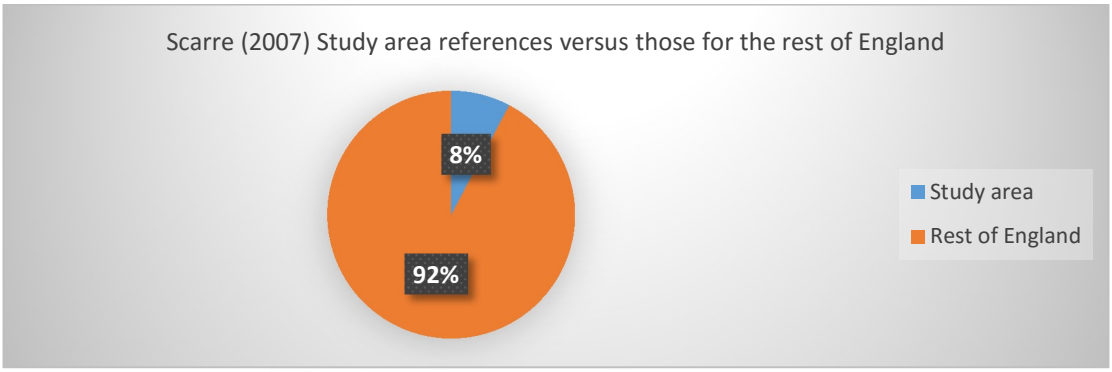


Figure 102 - Scarre (2007) Study area references versus those for the rest of England

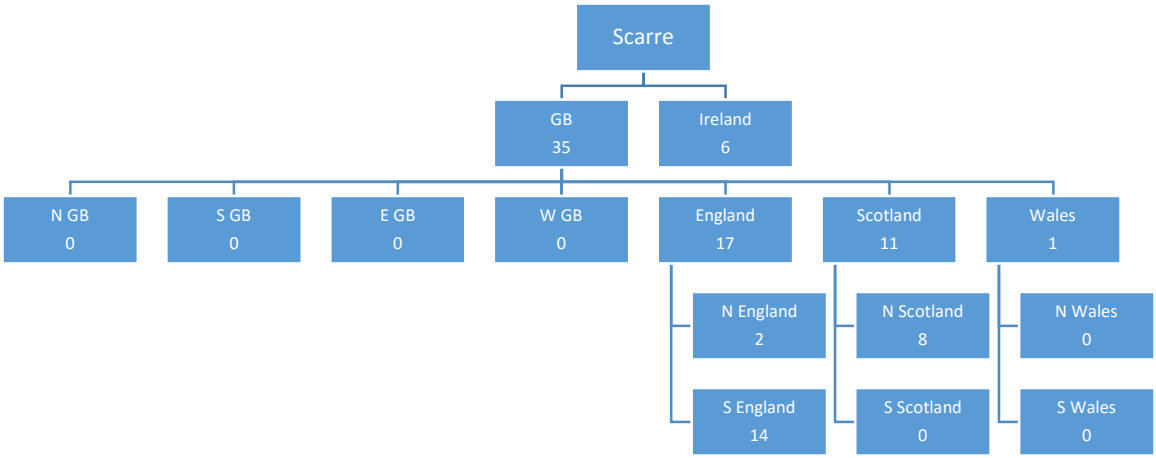


Figure 103 - Scarre (2007) Bibliographic references - Cumulative totals

Bradley (2007) The Prehistory of Britain and Ireland

Bradley, writing in 2007, referenced 2,008 results within his book (Appendix A6), up to page 178, after which, were references to the Middle Bronze Age and later. These show a fairly even distribution between England, Scotland and Ireland (Table 23, Figure 104,

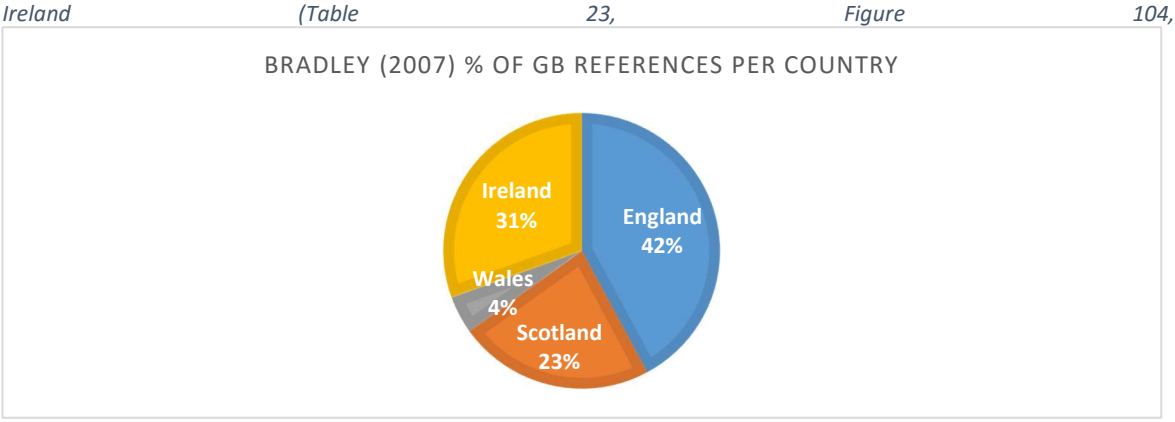


Figure 105) (42%, 23% and 31% respectively), although Wales once again is poorly represented (Figure 106) (4%), and the country of England is referenced over 200 times, more than any other. The regional distribution shows that the south-west of England has the most references (301.5/2008), followed by the north of Scotland (242.5/2008) and the south-west of Ireland (211.5/2008) (Figure 106). In England, the south-west accrued 36% of the total mentions (301.5/846.5), with south-eastern and central England gaining 19% (158.5/846.5) and 16% (132/846.5), correspondingly. North-eastern England has 13% (106.5/846.5) and north-western England 6% (54.5/846.5) of the references. 93.5 references mention the English nation in general terms. (Figure 107). In Scotland, as already stated, northern Scotland is well referenced, with 53% of the Scottish references (242.5/460.5). The other regions fare less well though. Central Scotland gained 10% (45/460.5) mentions; eastern and western Scotland each have 9% of the Scottish references and southern Scotland only gets referred to on 18 occasions (i.e., 4% of mentions for Scotland). 71.5 mentions refer to Scotland as a country/region (Appendix A6). Even though Wales has only 89/2008 references, 43% of these pertain to its western regions (24/89 or 27% for the north-west and 14/89 or 16% for the south-west). The other regions are poorly referenced, with 35/89 (39%) of mentions referring to Wales itself (Appendix A6). Ireland is the second-best referenced country. Once again, these references favour the west of the country, with 211.5/612 or 34.5% concerning the south-west region and a further 9% (55.167/612) pertaining to north-west ROI. Northern Ireland received only 6% (36.67/612) of the references, whereas north-eastern ROI

fared much better and was referred to in 20% of Ireland's mention (122.67/612). The south-east and central ROI regions were barely referenced (16.5 & 4 times, correspondingly). 165 references pertained to the island of Ireland, rather than any particular region within it (Appendix A6). However, Bradley's regional graph certainly shows a wider distribution of regional mentions than most of the other books' results (Figure 106).

Nevertheless, the breakdown of results for England (Figure 107) show a typically overwhelming total for Wiltshire, with 132 of the 498 English county references (or 26.5%), with Cambridgeshire and Dorset gaining 47 mentions each (or 9.5%). Cumbria and North Yorkshire received 35 and 32 references respectively (i.e., 7% and 6.5%) but, actually, each of those two counties gained more references than the other 27 counties in England, which were referenced between 1 and 22 times each (Figure 109). Yet, the study area for this dissertation, that is, roughly the areas of north-east and north-west England together (although the study area is actually smaller than these two regions) has the same number of total references as that for just south-eastern England, and half of those accorded to the south-west (Figure 106). In fact, despite Bradley having worked in Cumbria, the whole of the north of England study area only has 8% of the total references (Figure 110). The GIS map shows the distribution of English site references (Figure 108).

Bradley referenced 786 bibliographic texts in his book (Figure 129). Of these, 85 were general archaeological references; 62 pertained to places outside of Britain and Ireland; 514 were about Britain and 125 about Ireland (Figure 111). His bibliography included more English references than for Scotland, Wales or Ireland; and of the English references, the majority pertained to southern England (221/284). This demonstrates that whilst researching the book, Bradley had read more articles or books about sites in southern England, than about regions elsewhere in Britain and Ireland. However, he did reference 28 articles or books pertaining to Yorkshire, 2 to Northumberland and 5 to Cumbrian sites or landscapes, more than any other of these fourteen writers.

Bradley used 153 images in his book (Appendix B), up to the Middle Bronze Age, of which 125 were of specific sites or locations. Of these, 50.5% (63/125) pertained to England, with 54/63 of sites in central or southern England. South-west England had 21% of the total images. Scotland gained 21.5% of the images (27/125), Wales only 3% (4/125), Northern Ireland 2.5% (3/125), and ROI 28/125 images, i.e., 22.5%, of which north-east and north-west ROI took the lion's share. The thesis' area of northern England gained 9/125 references in total (7%), roughly the same as the percentage of mentions within the book (8%).

A – Total number of references per country

England	846.5
Scotland	460.5
Wales	89
Ireland	612
Total	2008

Table 23- Total number of references per country (Bradley)

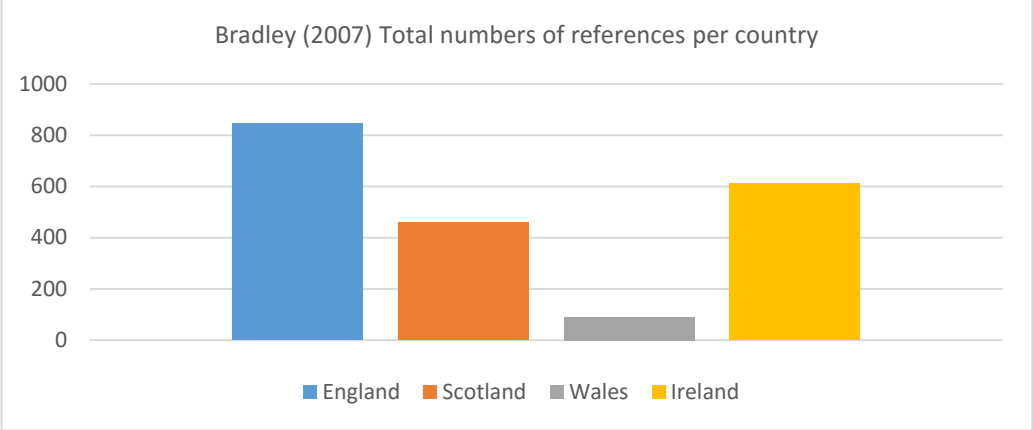


Figure 104 - Bradley (2007) total number of references per country

B – Percentage of total references per country

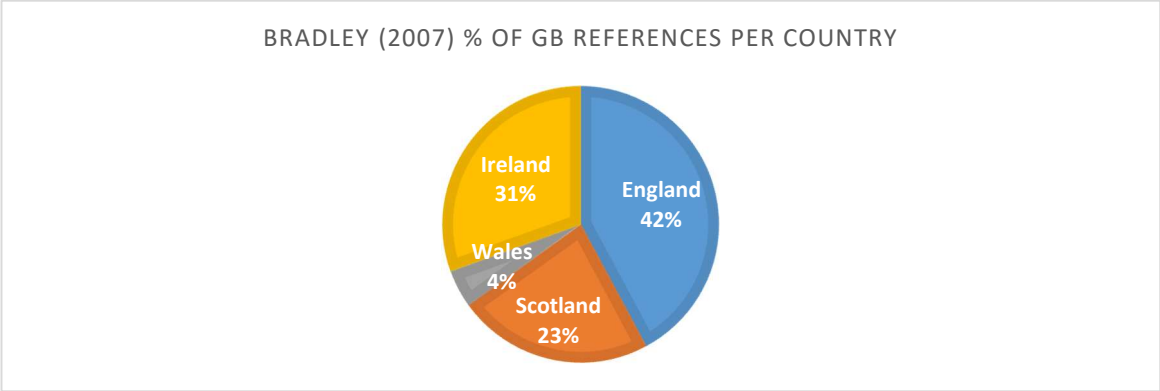


Figure 105 - Bradley (2007) % of GB references per country

C – Total number of references for each region in each country

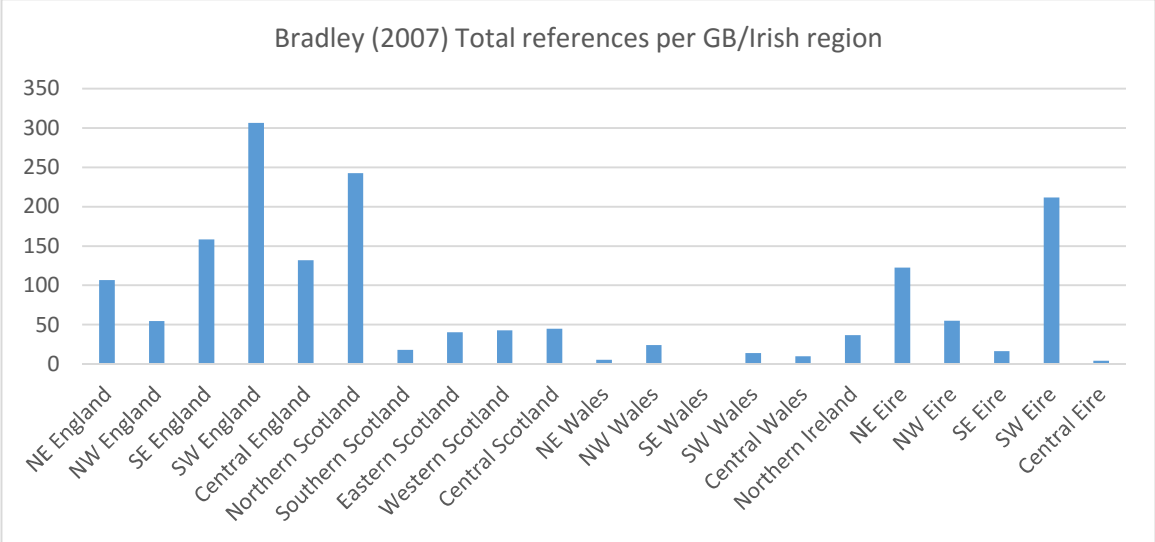


Figure 106 - Bradley (2007) Total references per GB/Irish region

D – Total references per English region, as a percentage

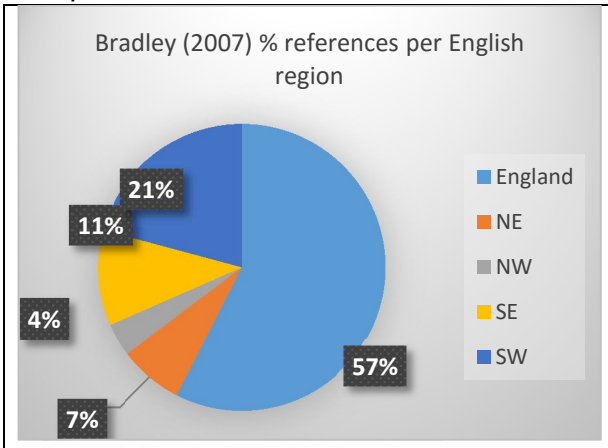


Figure 107 - Bradley (2007) % references per English region

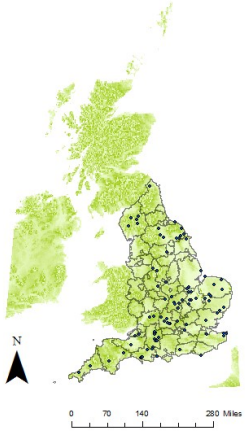


Figure 108 - GIS Map of Bradley's English Site References

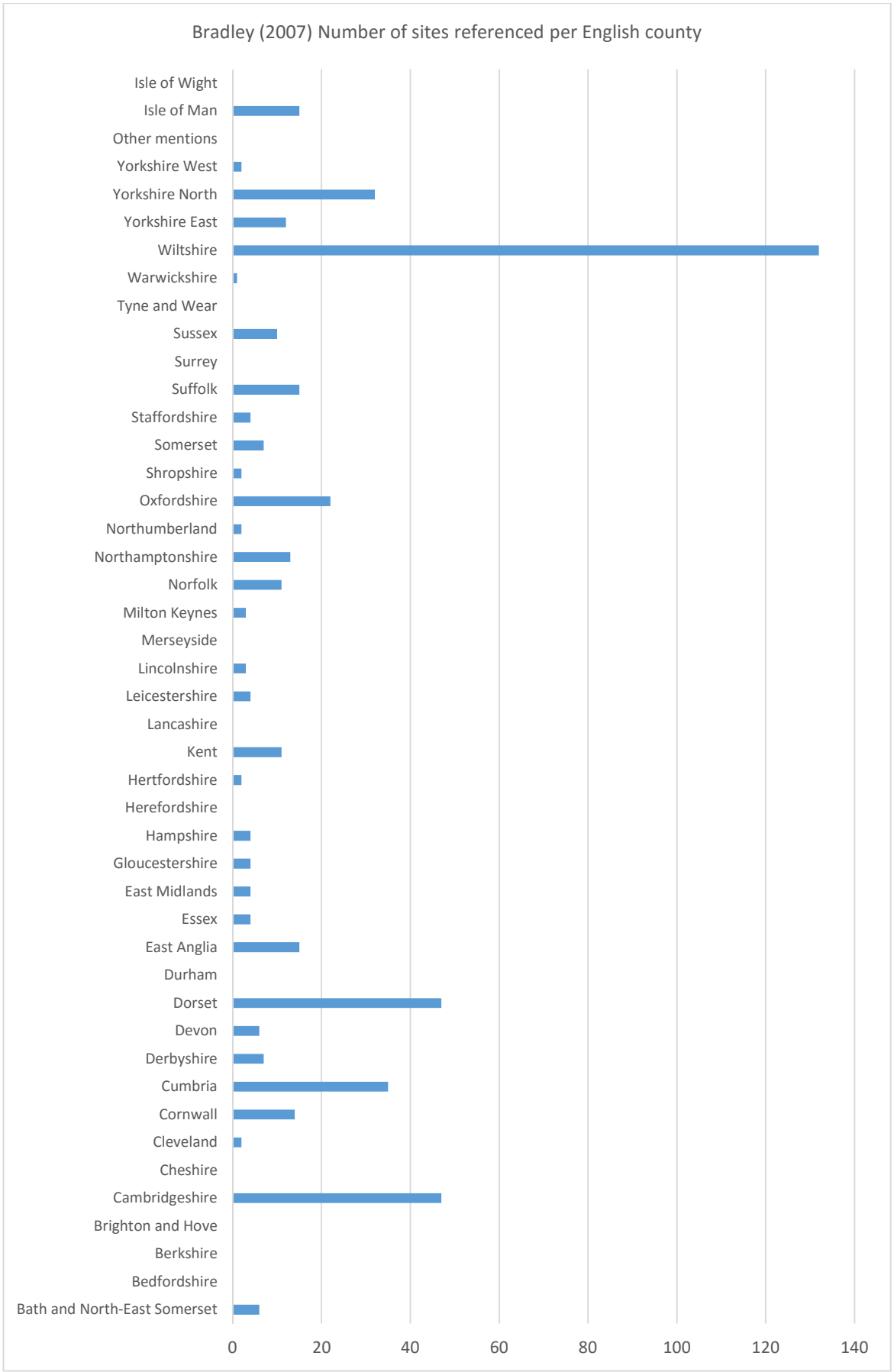


Figure 109 - Bradley (2007) Number of sites referenced per English county

F – Percentage of sites referenced pertaining to this 'located within northern England', as that region is defined for this study

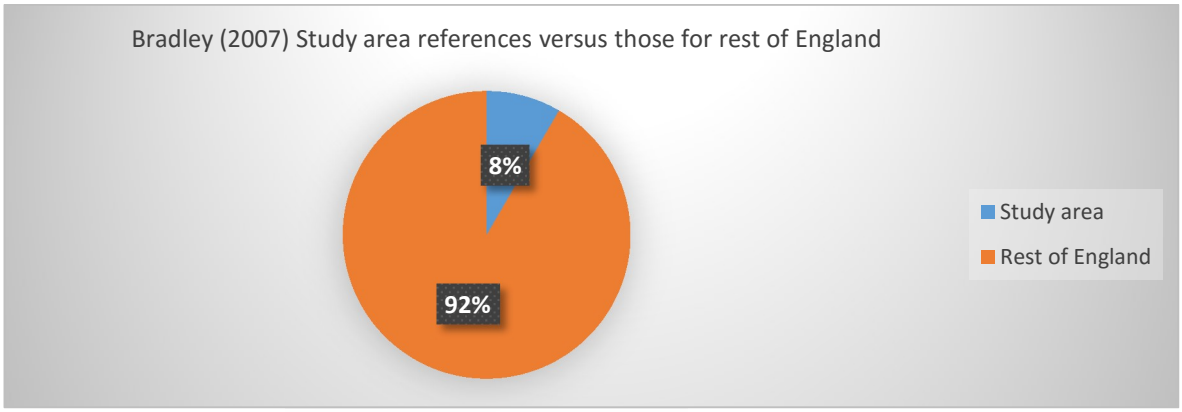


Figure 110 - Bradley (2007) Study area references versus those for rest of England

G – Total numbers of bibliographic references, pertaining to specific areas of Britain and Ireland

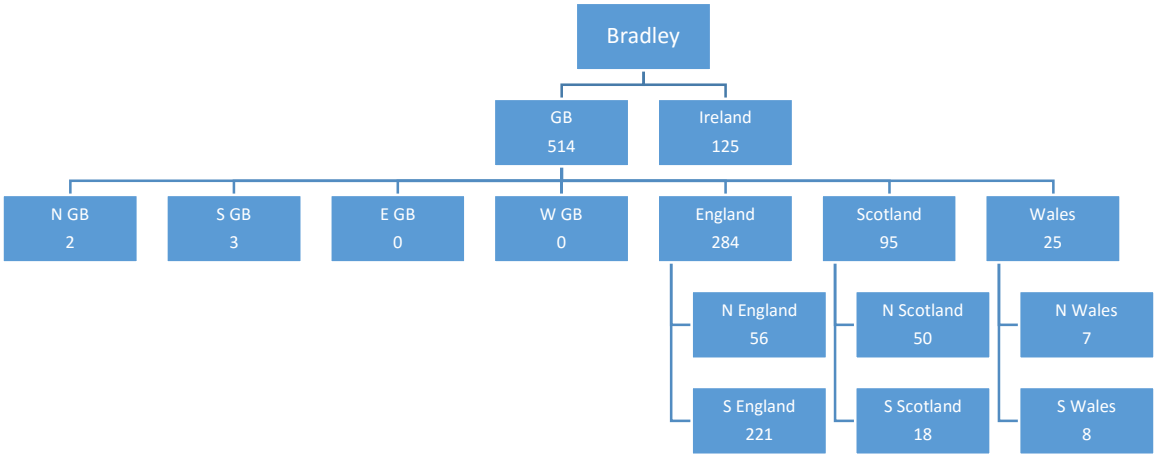


Figure 111 - Bradley (2007) Bibliographic references - Cumulative totals

Thomas (2013) The Birth of Neolithic Britain

Thomas wrote this book recently and used his vast experience in the field of archaeology to include 2,560 references within his book (Appendix A9), of which I read pages 1-7, and then from page 129 onwards. His focus, about the beginning of the Neolithic period in Britain pertaining to southern England, is clear and reflected in the number of references to each region, with the south-east, south-west and central regions of England gaining the most references, that is, 283, 475 and 179 respectively (Table 24), which can be clearly seen on the graph (Figure 112). Northern Scotland received 153.5 references, with between 50 and 79 mentions for the other areas of Scotland. This was similar to the region of north-west Wales, which was referred to 51.5 times, slightly less than the region of north-east England. North-west England, the rest of Wales, and all of Ireland had few references, with only between 2 and 29 mentions for each region. He included many references to areas labelled as 'Query' within my Excel spreadsheet (605/2560), such as western Britain, and included 566 references to Britain itself (Appendix A9). Of the remaining total of 1,955 references, the majority (Figure 113), that is, 1085 (56%), referred to England, 26% (508.5) to Scotland, 7% (142) to Wales and the remaining 219.5 (11%) to Ireland (Figure 114).

Within England, Thomas made 827 county references within 34 counties. Yet, once again, there is a clear emphasis between regions, with central and southern England gaining the majority of the

site or county references (Figure 115). With 150/827, Wiltshire has the most mentions (18%), followed by Gloucestershire (86/827 or 10%), Sussex (77/827 or 9%), Somerset (67/827 or 8%), Oxfordshire (61/827 or 7%), Kent (57/827 or 7%), Cambridgeshire and Dorset, both with 42/827 mention (5% each) (Figure 117).

The six counties included in this study area, of Cleveland, Cumbria, Durham, Northumberland, North Yorkshire and Tyne and Wear, gained less than 5% of the overall references with 41/827 (5/827, 3/827, 0/827, 11/827, 22/827, 0/827, respectively) and, in fact, this equates to only 4% of the overall English references (41/1085), which is very poor indeed (Figure 118). The GIS map shows the distribution of English site references (Figure 116).

Thomas referenced 1,418 bibliographic texts in his book (Figure 129). Of these, 318 were general archaeological references; 614 pertained to places outside of Britain and Ireland; 435 were about Britain and 51 about Ireland (Figure 119). His bibliography included more English references than for Scotland, Wales or Ireland; and of the English references, the majority pertained to southern England (131/165). This demonstrates that whilst researching the book, Thomas had read more articles or books about sites in southern England, than about regions elsewhere in Britain and Ireland.

Thomas used 69 images in the sections I studied (Appendix B). Of these, 13 were general images or maps. Of the remaining 56 images, 52% (29/56) pertained to English sites and of these, only 1.5% (1/56) were of the thesis' study area, 18% (10/56) to south-east England, and 16% (9/56) each to central and south-west England, respectively. 37.5% (21/56) of references were of Scottish sites. 11% (6/56) of images were of sites in northern Scotland and 14% (8/56) of those in southern Scotland (of which, Dumfries is included); and 7% (4/56) were of sites in the East. Very few images 5/56 (9%) of images related to Wales, only one was for ROI and there were no sites referenced in images for Northern Ireland.

A – Total number of references per country

England	1085
Scotland	508.5
Wales	142
Ireland	219.5
Total	2560

Table 24 - Total number of references per country (Thomas)

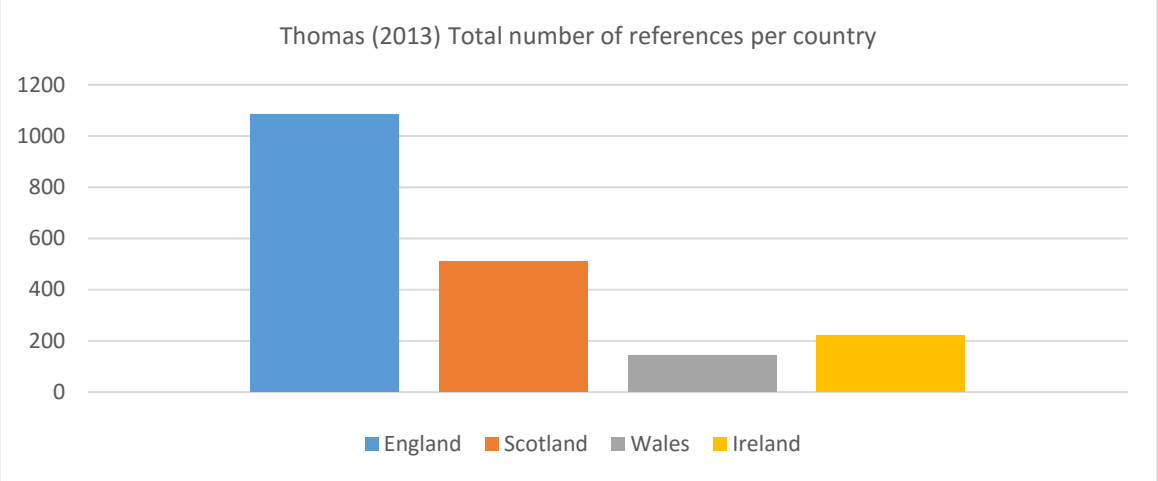


Figure 112 - Thomas (2013) Total number of references per country

B – Percentage of total references per country

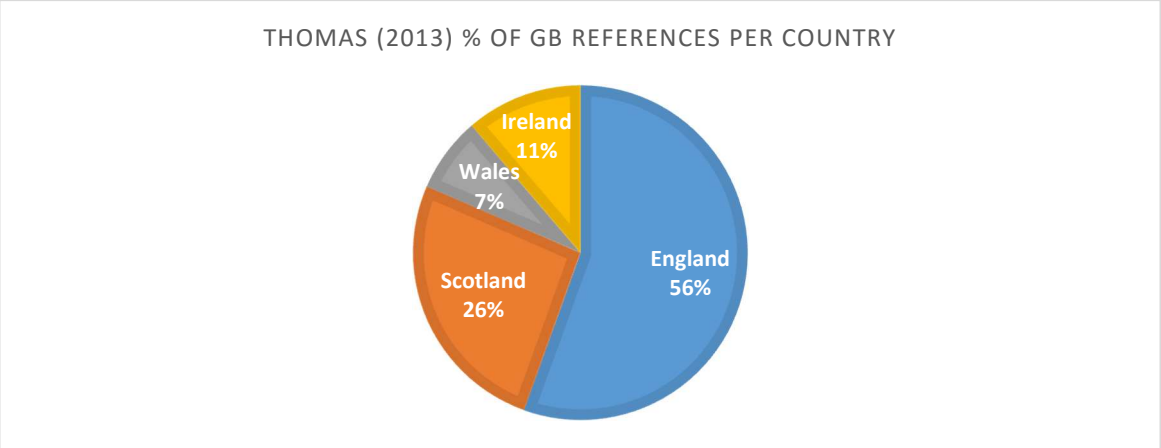


Figure 113 - Thomas (2013) % of GB references per country

C – Total number of references for each region in each country

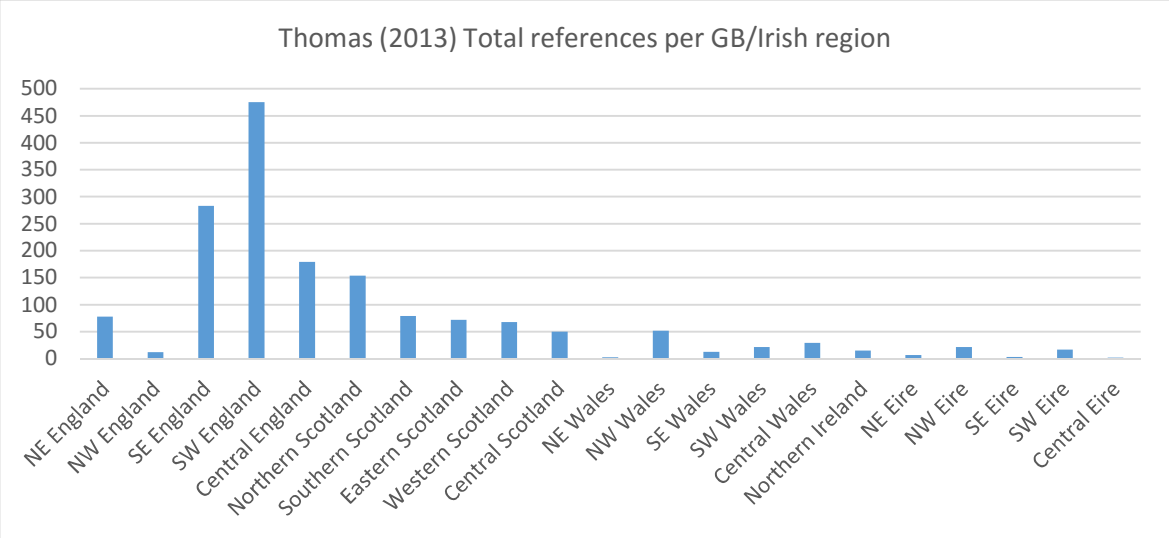


Figure 114 - Thomas (2013) Total references per GB/Irish region

D – Total references per English region, as a percentage

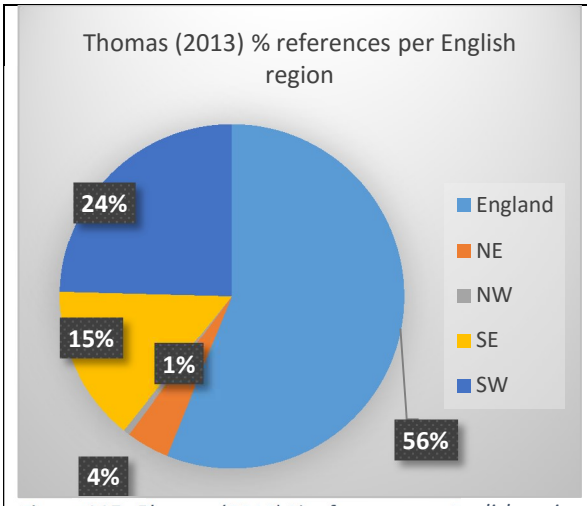


Figure 115 - Thomas (2013) % references per English region

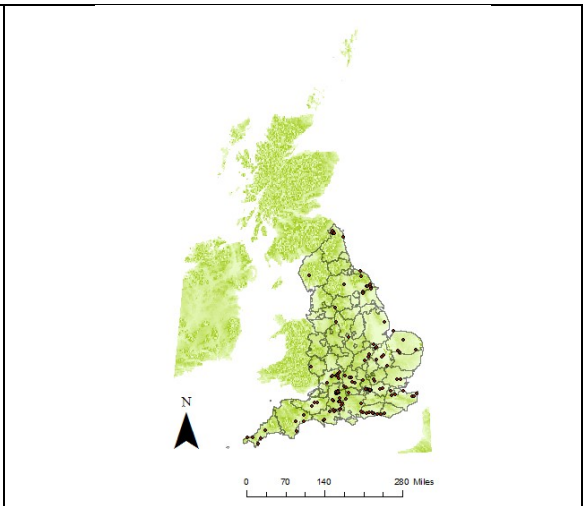


Figure 116 - GIS Map of Thomas' English Site References

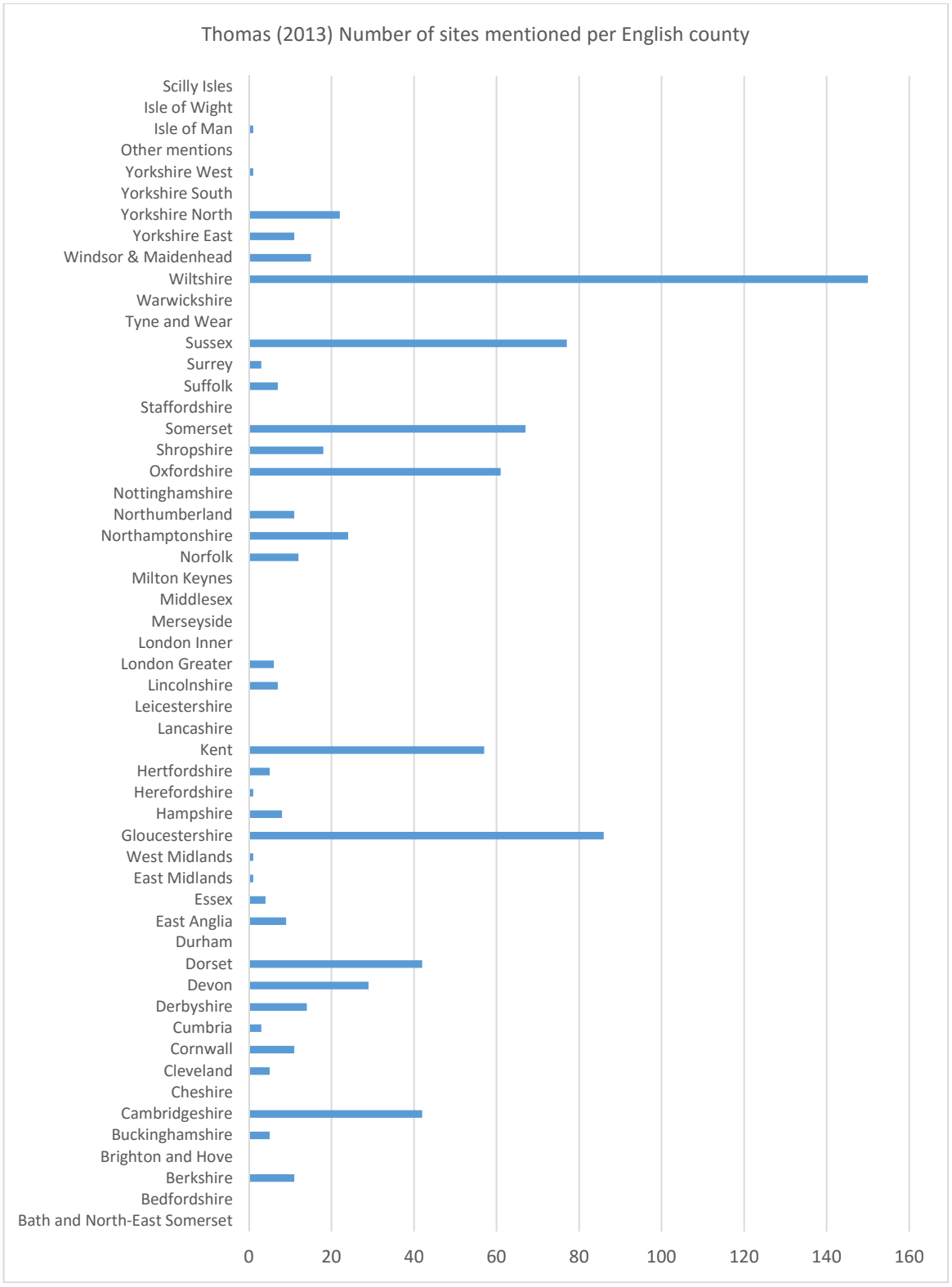


Figure 117 - Thomas (2013) Number of sites mentioned per English county

F – Percentage of sites referenced pertaining to this 'located within northern England', as that region is defined for this study

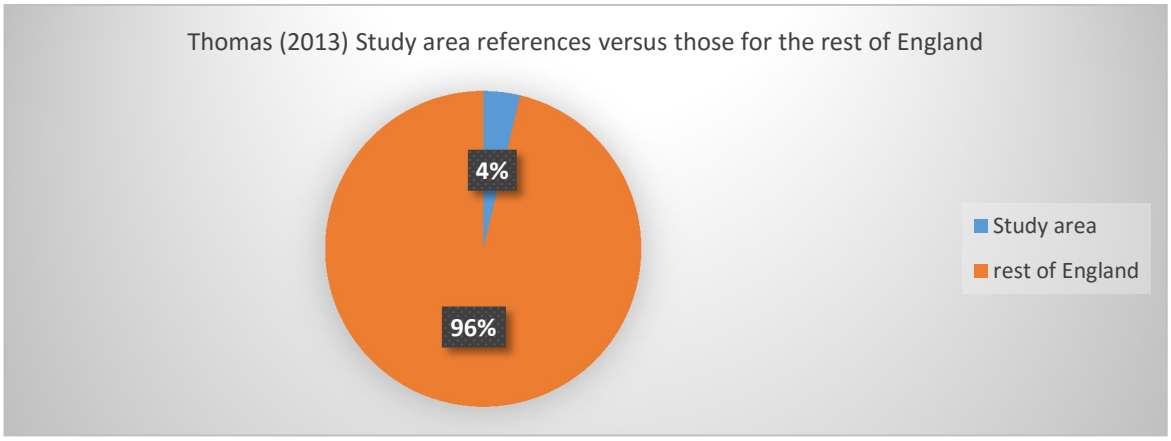


Figure 118 - Thomas (2013) Study area references vs those for the rest of England

G – Total numbers of bibliographic references, pertaining to specific areas of Britain and Ireland

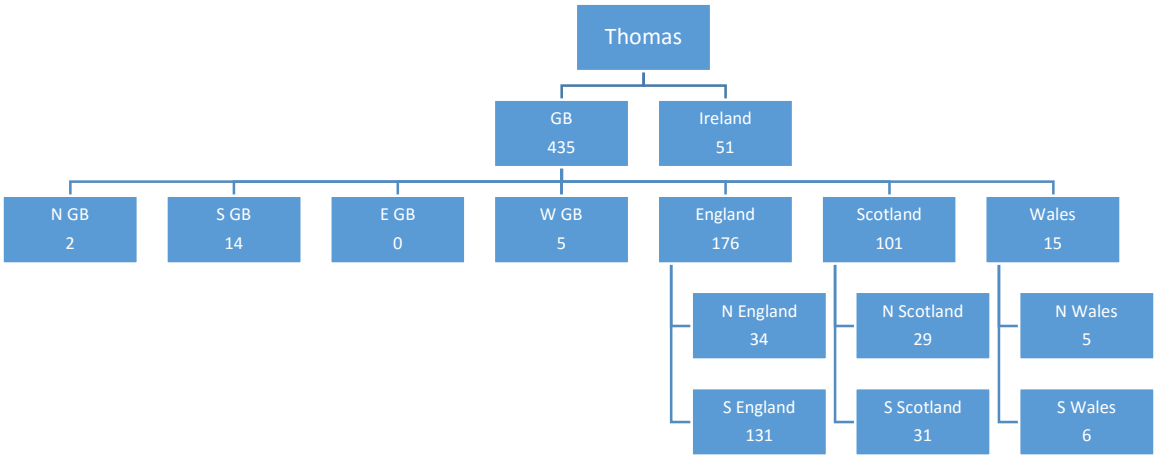


Figure 119 - Thomas (2013) Bibliographic references - Cumulative totals

Section 2 -Data comparison between authors

When all the regions of all countries were compared for all the books together, some definite patterns occurred, which will need further analysis below.

Total Site Mentions -14 books	ROI	England	N Ireland	Scotland	Wales	Grand Total
Bradley	17	115	4	47	13	**196**
Darvill	0	117	0	34	22	**173**
Forde-Johnston	0	224	0	70	44	**338**
Fox	0	9	0	0	1	**10**
Hawkes	1	28	0	2	2	**33**
Hunter & Ralston	0	66	0	35	6	**107**
Malone	2	250	2	121	44	**419**
Megaw & Simpson	0	137	0	53	19	**209**
Parker Pearson	10	108	4	23	8	**153**
Piggott	6	34	2	8	2	**52**
Pryor	0	74	0	13	9	**96**
Renfrew	10	72	5	59	8	**154**
Scarre	21	48	6	51	10	**136**
Thomas	0	131	1	55	21	**208**
Total site mentions per country	**67**	**1413**	**24**	**571**	**209**	**2284**

Table 25 - Data Comparison between Authors

Firstly, the total number of specific site mentions for each book was compared per country (In this as other studies, the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands were included within England's totals, so as not to marginalise these Islands' results) (Table 25). As can be seen, the total number of mentions was greatest for sites within England (1413/2284, or 62%), with Scotland gaining 25% of the mentions. Wales' specific monument or find-spot sites were referenced more than Northern Ireland and ROI's sites counted together, at 9% (209/2284) and 4% (91/2284), respectively. This means that, even when an author may have referenced a specific region frequently, for example, Piggott's total number of references to Scotland (Table 25), he actually referenced few specific names of sites within any country.

Secondly, the regional totals for each country were compared (Table 26). The chart's data bars show the total number of references for each region for the fourteen books altogether, demonstrating that, overall, England was referred to more than the other countries, and Wales was the least mentioned. South-west England and northern Scotland gained the most references in total, with central and south-east ROI and north-east Wales being referred to the least number of times.

NE England	1047.4
NW England	437.5
SE England	1665.5
SW England	5050.5
Central England	1474.5
Northern Scotland	2645
Southern Scotland	329.5
Eastern Scotland	354
Western Scotland	442.5
Central Scotland	225.5
NE Wales	76
NW Wales	303
SE Wales	96.5
SW Wales	198.5
Central Wales	148
Northern Ireland	448.503
NE Eire	749.503
NW Eire	304.167
SE Eire	75.333
SW Eire	424
Central Eire	34

Totals: England: 9675.5; Scotland: 3996.5; Wales: 822; Ireland: 2035.5.

Table 26 - Total number of references per region

	Fox 1938	Hawkes 1948	Piggott 1949	Renfrew 1974	Forde-J 1976	Meg Sim1979	Darvill 1987	MPP 1993	Hunt Ral 1999	Malone 2001	Pryor 2003	Scarre 2007	Bradley 2007	Thomas 2013
NE England	94.5	21	58.5	59	61.5	139	43	44.5	36	225.5	41.5	39	106.5	78
NW England	41	7.5	21.5	14.5	56.5	54.5	15	18.5	6.5	95.5	21.5	18.5	54.5	12
SE England	154	41	65	86.5	71	117.5	76.5	101	57.5	248.5	85	120.5	158.5	283
SW England	128.5	145.5	177	301	555	510	253.5	300	270	879.5	419	330	306.5	475
C England	83	31	57	78	67	130	91	119	67	253	164.5	23	132	179
N Scotland	27	25	590.5	173	171.5	179	46	124	85	468.5	65	294.5	242.5	153.5
S Scotland	18	1.5	10.5	35	15	33.5	10	2	4	64.5	19	19.5	18	79
E Scotland	2	1.5	4.5	18	24.5	38.5	18	4	16	87	3	24.5	40.5	72
W Scotland	17	3	13.5	54.5	15	32	36	8	8.5	60	0	84.5	43	67.5
C Scotland	1	0	1	13	10	25	2	2	2.5	47	2	25	45	50
NE Wales	10.5	0.5	3	4	9	7	10.5	2.5	3	5.5	11.5	1	5.5	2.5
NW Wales	22.5	4.5	7	13	26	21	26.5	6	3.5	57.5	12.5	27.5	24	51.5
SE Wales	17	4	3	2	12	14	5.5	2	1.5	20.5	0.5	1.5	0.5	12.5
SW Wales	15	2	7	8	24	11	9.5	15.5	7	39.5	6.5	18	14	21.5
C Wales	6	0	1	5	15	9	15	3	0	46	0	9	10	29
N Ireland	5.333	2.5	18	99.5	21.5	44	1	27	5	122	22	29	36.67	15
NE ROI	3.333	5	8	45.5	64.5	56.5	1	23	2	174	90	147.5	122.67	6.5
NW ROI	0.833	1.5	4	12	19.167	20.5	0	12.5	4.5	98.5	9	45	55.167	21.5
SE ROI	3	0.5	3	1.5	7.833	1.5	0	6	0	22	0	10.5	16.5	3
SW ROI	3.5	0.5	2	6	27	15	0	17.5	4.5	71.5	0	48	211.5	17
C ROI	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	1	18	3	2	4	2
Overall total	653	298	1055	1030	1273	1460.5	660	839	585	3104	975.5	1318	1647.5	1631

Table 27 - Total number of References per Region per Book

	Fox 1938	Hawkes 1948	Piggott 1949	Renfrew 1974	Forde-J 1976	Meg Sim 1979	Darvill 1987	MPP 1993	Hunt Ral 1999	Malone 2001	Pryor 2003	Scarre 2007	Bradley 2007	Thomas 2013
NE England	14.47	7.05	5.55	5.73	4.83	9.52	6.52	5.30	6.15	7.26	4.25	2.96	6.46	4.78
NW England	6.28	2.52	2.04	1.41	4.44	3.73	2.27	2.21	1.11	3.08	2.20	1.40	3.31	0.74
SE England	23.58	13.76	6.16	8.40	5.58	8.05	11.59	12.04	9.83	8.01	8.71	9.14	9.62	17.35
SW England	19.68	48.83	16.78	29.22	43.60	34.92	38.41	35.76	46.15	28.33	42.95	25.04	18.60	29.12
C England	12.71	10.40	5.40	7.57	5.26	8.90	13.79	14.18	11.45	8.15	16.86	1.75	8.01	10.97
N Scotland	4.13	8.39	55.97	16.80	13.47	12.26	6.97	14.78	14.53	15.09	6.66	22.34	14.72	9.41
S Scotland	2.76	0.50	1.00	3.40	1.18	2.29	1.52	0.24	0.68	2.08	1.95	1.48	1.09	4.84
E Scotland	0.31	0.50	0.43	1.75	1.92	2.64	2.73	0.48	2.74	2.80	0.31	1.86	2.46	4.41
W Scotland	2.60	1.01	1.28	5.29	1.18	2.19	5.45	0.95	1.45	1.93	0.00	6.41	2.61	4.14
C Scotland	0.15	0.00	0.09	1.26	0.79	1.71	0.30	0.24	0.43	1.51	0.21	1.90	2.73	3.07
NE Wales	1.61	0.17	0.28	0.39	0.71	0.48	1.59	0.30	0.51	0.18	1.18	0.08	0.33	0.15
NW Wales	3.45	1.51	0.66	1.26	2.04	1.44	4.02	0.72	0.60	1.85	1.28	2.09	1.46	3.16
SE Wales	2.60	1.34	0.28	0.19	0.94	0.96	0.83	0.24	0.26	0.66	0.05	0.11	0.03	0.77
SW Wales	2.30	0.67	0.66	0.78	1.89	0.75	1.44	1.85	1.20	1.27	0.67	1.37	0.85	1.32
C Wales	0.92	0.00	0.09	0.49	1.18	0.62	2.27	0.36	0.00	1.48	0.00	0.68	0.61	1.78
N Ireland	0.82	0.84	1.71	9.66	1.69	3.01	0.15	3.22	0.85	3.93	2.26	2.20	2.23	0.92
NE ROI	0.51	1.68	0.76	4.42	5.07	3.87	0.15	2.74	0.34	5.61	9.23	11.19	7.45	0.40
NW ROI	0.13	0.50	0.38	1.17	1.51	1.40	0.00	1.49	0.77	3.17	0.92	3.41	3.35	1.32
SE ROI	0.46	0.17	0.28	0.15	0.62	0.10	0.00	0.72	0.00	0.71	0.00	0.80	1.00	0.18
SW ROI	0.54	0.17	0.19	0.58	2.12	1.03	0.00	2.09	0.77	2.30	0.00	3.64	12.84	1.04
C ROI	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.12	0.17	0.58	0.31	0.15	0.24	0.12

Table 28 - Percentage of References per Region per Book

Thirdly, with regards to a comparison of each book's total regional references against one another (Table 27, Table 28), it is clear that certain authors can be grouped together, based on their regional emphases. Darvill, Hawkes, Hunter and Ralston and Fox all weighted their references heavily towards southern England, although Fox also referenced northern England more than his mentions of other regions.

On the other hand, all the following authors had distinctive similarities, as all referenced a few key regions to the detriment of others. Pryor, Parker Pearson and Renfrew referenced mainly central and southern England, northern Scotland with a smaller focus on Ireland, although Pryor and Renfrew also referenced NE ROI and Northern Ireland well, respectively. Megaw & Simpson and Thomas focussed their attention on central and southern England and northern Scotland, but had less emphasis on Ireland. Bradley's results emphasised central and southern England and northern Scotland, but stressed south-west ROI as well, with a lesser focus on north-east ROI too. Scarre highlighted the southern regions of England, northern and, to a lesser extent, western Scotland, and north-east ROI.

Forde-Johnston, Piggott and Malone were also similar in their weighting of regions, in that they both emphasised two regions over all others. Piggott made far more references to northern Scotland than any others, with a lesser emphasis on south-west England, whereas Forde-Johnston focussed on south-west England, with northern Scotland a second area of importance. Malone also mirrored this bi-focal weighting, but, as she had so many more references than the others, this uneven distribution was easily masked. Even so, in her book, south-west England took 28% of all references, almost double the number given to any other region.

Fourthly, the number of references per English region was referenced as a bar chart of the fourteen authors (Figure 120). The results, for the English regions of north-east, north-west, south-east, south-west and central England, are consistently heavily weighted towards the south-west, with the north-west always getting the least number of references. In fact, only Fox referenced the south-east more than any other region (followed by the south-west, north-east and then central regions of England, with the north-west least referenced).

Overall, the south-east fared marginally better than central England and the north-east (Figure 120). When these results are compared more accurately as percentages of the total number of mentions of English regions, the results also reflect a similar pattern (Figure 121), with the south-west gaining the largest percentage of English references and the north-west the least percentage.

However, some patterns could be discerned in the proportion of references given to the south-east, north-east and central regions of England (Figure 120, Figure 121). Darvill, Parker Pearson, Malone, Pryor and Hunter & Ralston all cited a larger percentage of sites in central England, followed closely by south-eastern locations, with the north-east of England faring less well than those, whereas, Piggott, Renfrew, Hawkes, Bradley, Forde-Johnston and Thomas had more references for the south-east of England, followed by the central region and then the north-east. Only Scarre and Megaw & Simpson followed a different pattern. Scarre referenced more sites in south-east England than the other two but referenced more north-eastern sites than those in the central belt. Megaw & Simpson referenced more sites in the north-east, followed by those in central England and then those in the south-east.

All sites, mentioned by the fourteen authors, were used to make two different maps (Figure 122, Figure 123). Firstly, A GIS map shows a combined map of all site English references by all authors (Figure 122). Secondly, the total number of mentions for each site within England were entered into Google Earth (Figure 123). Each reference was assigned a height of 1,000 metres. The results are very interesting.

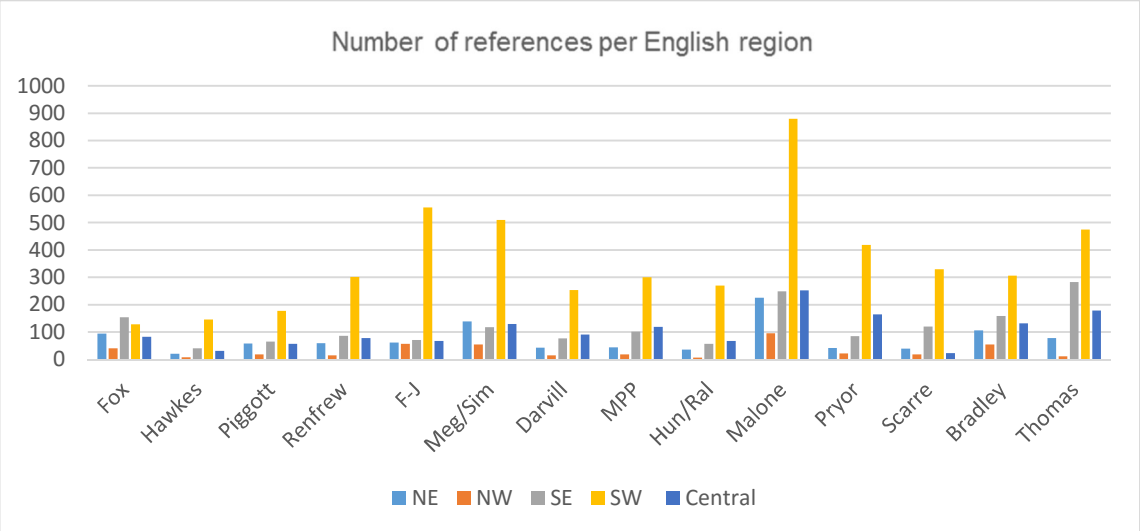


Figure 120 - Number of references per English region

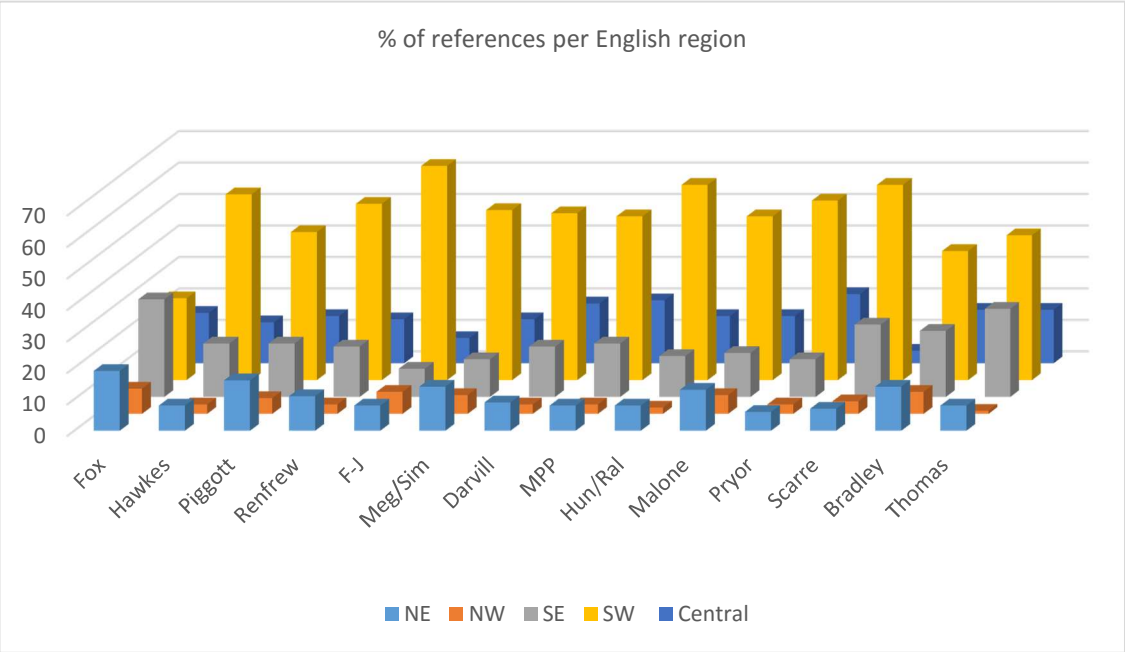


Figure 121 - % of references per English region

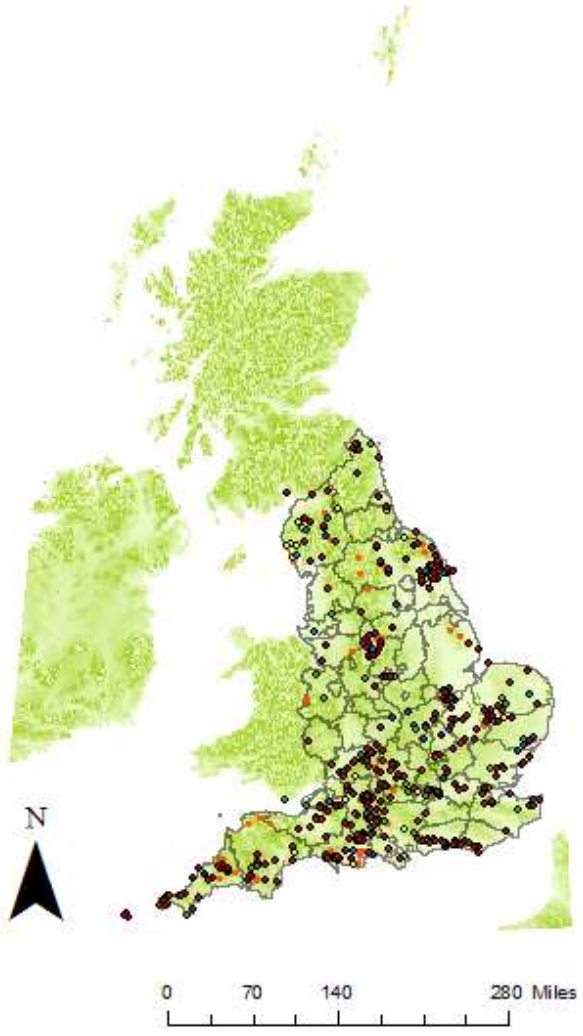


Figure 122 - Total English Site Mentions for all 14 books

Figure 123 - Total English site mentions for all 14 books (1000 metres per site reference)

Figure 124 - Totals for each English county for each book

Fifthly, with each English county's total references placed on a line chart of all results per author (Figure 124) and in descending order grid (Table 29), it is clear that Wiltshire dominates the overall totals, with 2,473 references. This can also be seen in the chart showing counties with more than 40 references overall (Figure 125). The south-west and central England were referenced roughly 900 times (on top of the south-west's Wiltshire) in Dorset /Cornwall and Cambridgeshire /Oxfordshire, respectively. North Yorkshire and Cumbria rank 6th and 7th on the descending order grid, with a combined total of over 570 references. However, of the top 15 counties, 10 are in southern England (including Oxfordshire), with two centrally-located counties (Cambridgeshire and Derbyshire) and three northern counties (all coastal). Yet, of the 15, only 3 are land-locked (Derbyshire, Cambridgeshire and Wiltshire), of 25 possible counties (Table 33), with 11 of 22 possible coastal English counties, and one straddling the tidal River Severn (Gloucestershire). This means that half of the coastal counties were well referenced, compared with only 12% (3/25) of land-locked counties (Table 33).

English counties	Totals
Wiltshire	2473.5
Dorset	600.5
Cambridgeshire	552
Oxfordshire	355.5
Cornwall	297.5
Yorkshire North	290
Cumbria	286
Sussex	279
Somerset	269
Devon	267
Gloucestershire	259
Derbyshire	204
Yorkshire East	189
Norfolk	158
Kent	155
Yorkshire (gen)	114
Lincolnshire	113
East Anglia	110
Northamptonshire	102
Suffolk	80
Essex	78
Northumberland	77
Hampshire	70
Bath & NE Somerset	61
Isle of Man	55
Berkshire	49
Cleveland	41
Shropshire	37
London Inner	30
Surrey	29
Bedfordshire	24
Scilly Isles	21.5
Warwickshire	21
Hertfordshire	18
W & Maidenhead	16
Lancashire	15

Leicestershire	14
Tyne and Wear	14
Merseyside	13
Nottinghamshire	11.5
Cheshire	11
Isle of Wight	11
East Midlands	9
Herefordshire	9
Yorkshire West	9
Buckinghamshire	8
Durham	8
London Greater	8
Staffordshire	8
Bristol, City of	6
Yorkshire South	5
Humberside	3
Middlesex	3
Milton Keynes	3
West Midlands	3
Brighton and Hove	2
Channel Islands	1
Poole - Dorset	1

Table 29 - English county total references. Isle of Man and the Channel Islands are included, although not counties, to allow their total number of references to be shown

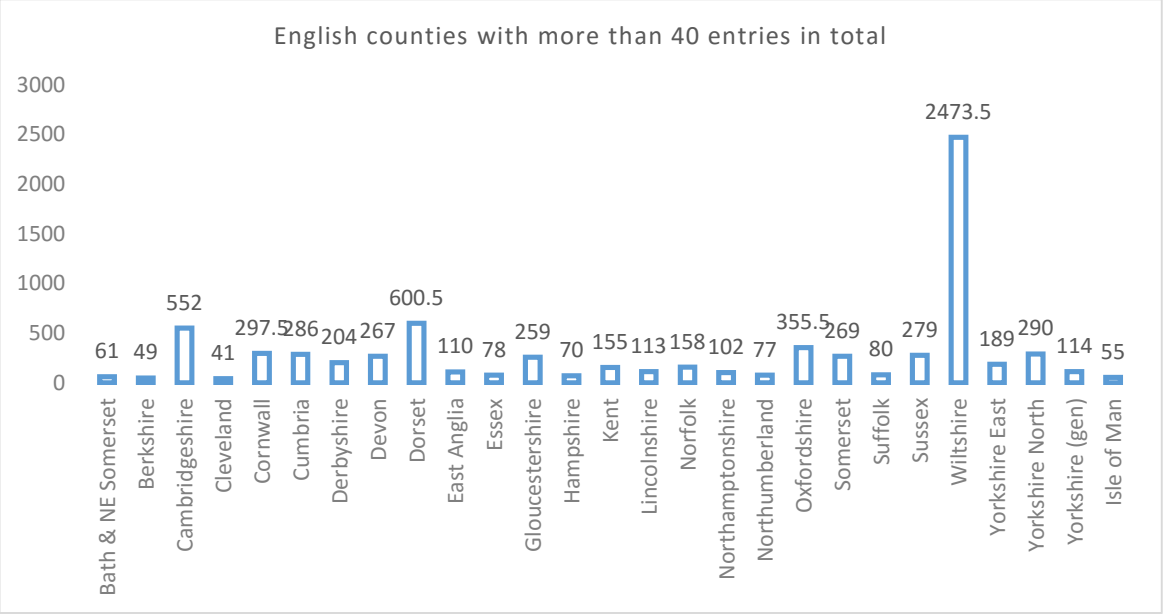


Figure 125 - English counties with more than 40 entries in total

Finally, it can be seen from the 100% Stacked Column and Clustered Column-Line charts below (Figure 126, Figure 127), that the six counties of northern England, included in this study, were fairly poorly referenced, compared with the rest of England's mentions. The study area was referred to between 4% and 14% of times, with an average of 8.5% of mentions (Figure 127). Thomas referenced the study area the least (4%) and Malone the most (14%), with Piggott, Megaw & Simpson and Fox all referencing the six counties with 11% or 12% of their total references. However, it can be seen on both charts how varied the numbers of total references are and how much this

affects the number of references to northern England (and other regions), bearing in mind that England was consistently better referenced than the other countries included in this thesis.

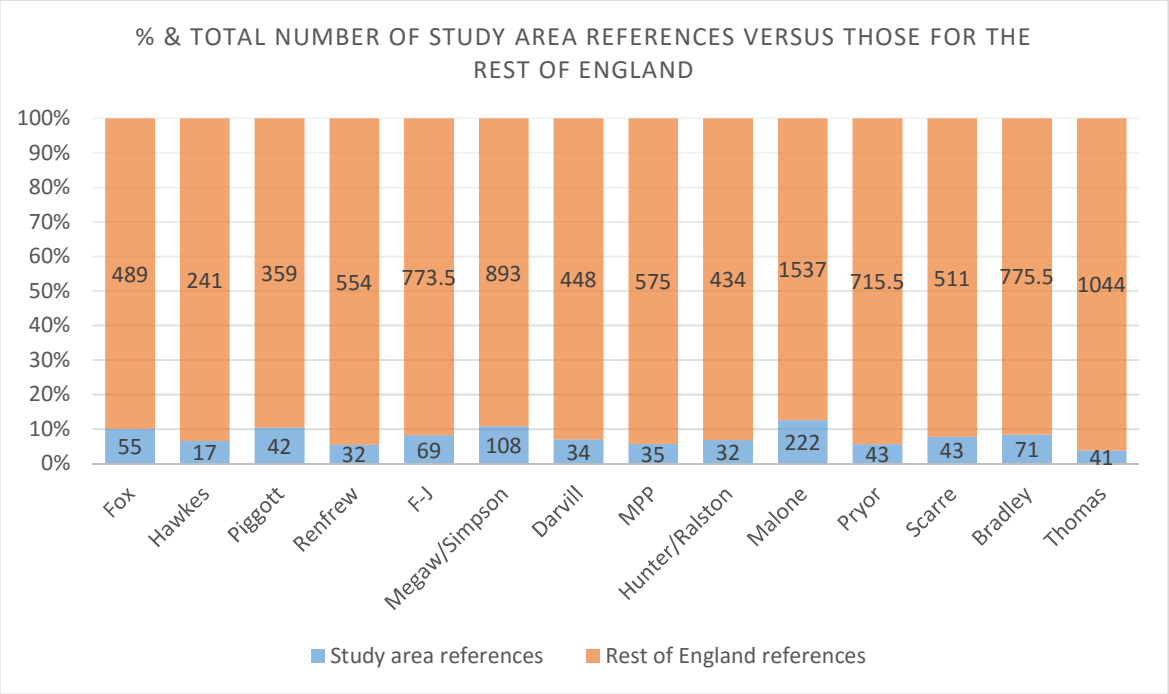


Figure 126 - % & total number of study area references versus those for the rest of England

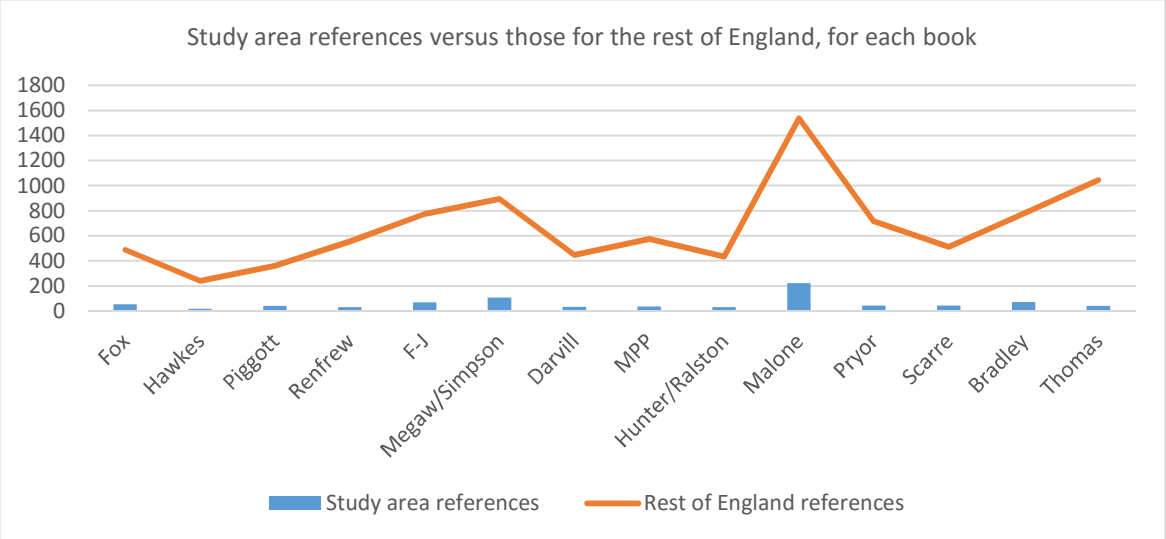


Figure 127 - Study area references versus those for the rest of England, for each book

To sum up, the results followed one distinctive pattern, that is, that Wiltshire had more references per book than any other county (Figure 123), with Dorset and Cambridgeshire also faring well, in comparison with the other English counties, including The Isle of Man and the Channel Islands (Table 29). While it is true that each county is differently sized (see Section 3b), which could clearly affect the total number of N/EBA monuments within it, the next section (Section 3a) has explored the possible numbers of different monuments within the 122 listed English counties within Pastscape, to see where, and in what quantity, they are located. It has provided some more interesting results.

Section 3a –Pastscape monument versus county search

I decided to collate a list of English counties and their numbers of prehistoric monuments. This would enable the researcher to compare counties with high numbers of actual monuments, against the total site mentions per county by each author. This may highlight regions with many monuments, which are being neglected and conversely show up any counties with few monuments, which have many references.

Using Pastscape (see Methodology), a list of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age monuments for each of their listed 122 English counties was compiled (Appendix D), a total which includes Metropolitan Boroughs, as well as 'City of'. The 'monuments' include causewayed enclosures/ring ditches; cursuses; barrows; chambered tombs; henges; rock carvings; standing stones; stone and timber circles. Using this data, several county lists could be compiled in descending order (most to fewest per county) for the total number of monuments; the total number excluding barrows (explained in Methodology); and the total number excluding barrows and rock carvings (which, whilst very important in northern England's archaeology, alters the county results) (Table 30, Table 31).

Total number of monuments, in descending order:

TOP 10 COUNTIES in ENGLAND	Causewayed enclosure / ring ditch	Cursus	Barrow	Chambered tomb	Henge	Rock carving	Standing stone	Stone circle	Timber circle	Total - including barrows
Wiltshire	9	4	2733	13	26	1	12	13	10	2821
North Yorkshire	1	3	1570	3	17	126	70	21	0	1811
Dorset	7	3	1678	6	17	3	12	10	5	1741
Cornwall	2	0	989	48	6	37	130	47	0	1259
Hampshire	1	1	1032	0	1	0	1	0	3	1039
Devon	5	1	742	15	5	4	140	44	0	956
Oxfordshire	13	15	691	5	26	0	12	4	2	768
Gloucestershire	9	4	598	34	8	3	20	2	0	678
Lincolnshire	2	1	662	0	11	0	1	0	1	678
East Riding Yorkshire	0	6	572	1	16	1	1	0	1	598

Table 30 - Total number of monuments, in descending order

Top 10 totals for all 48 English counties	All monuments, including barrows and rock art	All monuments, NOT including barrows	All monuments, with NEITHER barrows NOR rock art
1	Wiltshire	Cornwall	Cornwall
2	North Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	Devon
3	Dorset	Devon	Cumbria
4	Cornwall	Northumberland	North Yorkshire
5	Hampshire	Cumbria	Northumberland
6	Devon	Bradford	Wiltshire
7	Oxfordshire	County Durham	Somerset
8	Gloucestershire	Wiltshire	Gloucestershire
9	Lincolnshire	Derbyshire	Oxfordshire
10	East Yorkshire	Somerset	Derbyshire

Table 31 - Top 10 total monuments for all 48 English counties

As can be seen above (Table 30, Table 31), with all monuments included, Wiltshire comes top as it has 1,000 more recorded barrows than any other county, with North Yorkshire second in England. 3 out of 4 Wessex counties are in the top 10, in fact 6 out of 10 of these counties are in south-west England, with 3/10 in north-east England. However, when barrows are removed from the totals, Wiltshire falls to 8/10 on the list, whilst North Yorkshire remains second out of the top ten, and only 4/10 counties are in south-west England, compared with 4/6 of this thesis' counties. With neither barrows nor rock art, the results alter again, with Cumbria, North Yorkshire and Northumberland all featuring above Wiltshire in the top 10 totals. From this thesis' study area (Table 32), North Yorkshire has the most proliferous number of known monuments, with or without barrows, with Northumberland second. Cumbria, Durham and Redcar & Cleveland are third, fourth and fifth, respectively.

COUNTIES	Causewayed enclosure / ring ditch	Cursus	Barrow	Chambered tomb	Henge	Rock carving	Standing stone	Stone circle	Timber circle	Total - not including barrows	Total - including barrows
Cumbria	2	1	112	2	5	18	40	68	0	136	248
Darlington	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Durham	0	1	42	0	1	79	7	6	0	94	136
Hartlepool	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Middlesbrough	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Newcastle u Tyne	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
N Tyneside	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
N Yorkshire	1	3	1570	3	17	126	70	21	0	241	1811
Northumberland	0	0	149	1	25	121	38	23	1	209	358
Redcar & Cleveland	0	0	83	0	0	12	5	1	1	19	102
South Tyneside	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Stockton-on-Tees	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Sunderland	1	1	11	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	14
York	0	0	24	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	25

Table 32 - Total number of monuments per county within the study area

Section 3b –Total number of monuments versus land area for each English county

This information was compiled to, once again, allow the researcher to compare the most referenced counties in the fourteen books against the counties with the greatest concentration of N/EBA monuments per land area. The total numbers of monuments, including barrows and rock art, excluding barrows and excluding both barrows and rock art, were then calculated against the total land area for each county (Appendix E). As can be seen, the total number of counties had to be curtailed to 48 counties in England, with many Metropolitan Boroughs and 'City of' counties being incorporated into larger units, known as Metropolitan Counties. The land areas, in miles squared, were then added, for each county. This number was then divided by the total number of monuments for each of the 48 Metropolitan Counties. The Top Ten results were then compiled for each section, as above and the total results presented on an Excel spreadsheet (Table 33).

Top 10 totals for all 48 English counties	Land area (miles squared) per county versus total monuments, including barrows and rock art	Land area (miles squared) per county versus total monuments, NOT including barrows	Land area (miles squared) per county versus total monuments, with NEITHER barrows NOR rock art
1	Wiltshire	Cornwall	Cornwall
2	Dorset	West Yorkshire	Devon
3	Cornwall	Northumberland	Oxfordshire
4	Oxfordshire	Durham	Derbyshire
5	Isle of Wight	Derbyshire	Bristol
6	Hampshire	Devon	Gloucestershire
7	East Sussex	North Yorkshire	Wiltshire
8	East Yorkshire	Oxfordshire	Somerset
9	Gloucestershire	Gloucestershire	Dorset
10	North Yorkshire	Bristol	Northumberland/Cumbria

Table 33 – Land area per county versus monuments: Top 10 totals (for all 48 English counties)

The data produced was very interesting. This is a very complex analysis, which clearly needs much more work, in order to refine the input data. However, with basic data assessment, Wiltshire came first in totals of all N/EBA monuments researched versus land area per county. Yet, once barrows were excluded from the totals, Wiltshire no longer appeared on the Top Ten list, only to reappear once both barrows and rock art were taken off the totals lists. Cornwall was the most visible county in this analysis, coming third, first and first, in the overall totals. Counties in northern England, being in large land areas with grouped concentrations of N/EBA monuments, struggled to keep within the Top 10 totals, for the 48 English counties. Nevertheless, North Yorkshire came in the Top Ten of the monument totals, with or without barrows. Northumberland and Durham also featured in the Top Ten, once barrows were excluded from the list. Without barrows or rock art, but still divided by the overall area, Northumberland and Cumbria still achieved a Top Ten status. These overall results mean that there are many regions within northern England, which have enough monuments per land area (whether or not, barrows or rock art are included), to be extremely important to the current N/EBA prehistoric written literature about Britain. A further study might assess the totals of above-ground monuments versus land area, for each English county, as that too, might provide some stimulating results.

It was surprising to note, out of interest, rather than to particularly add to this thesis, that of the Top Ten totals, in most cases, as can be seen below (Table 34), the majority of the counties are coastal, rather than land-locked. This may seem obvious, as Britain is an island, but there are actually more land-locked (25/59) than coastal (22/59) English counties mentioned in this study, with one tidal county (Gloucestershire) (although, possibly Cheshire, might have been included in

that total too). Of those, the majority of top ten counties in each grid, mentioned above, are coastal, rather than land-locked, counties.

English coastal counties	English landlocked counties	English tidal county	Not included + reason
Northumberland	West Yorkshire	Gloucestershire	Middlesex - now Greater London
Durham	South Yorkshire		East Anglia - Norfolk+Suffolk
Tyne and Wear	Greater Manchester		Milton Keynes - in Bucks
Cumbria	Cheshire		Poole - in Dorset
Cleveland	Derbyshire		Windsor & Maidenhead - in Berkshire
North Yorkshire	Nottinghamshire		Humberside - now E Yorks
Lancashire	Leicestershire		Yorkshire (gen) - can include all 4 Yorkshires
Merseyside	Staffordshire		Brighton& Hove - in E Sussex
East Yorkshire	Shropshire		Isle of Man - not mainland
Lincolnshire	Herefordshire		Isle of Wight - not mainland
Norfolk	Worcestershire		Channel Islands - not mainland
Suffolk	Warwickshire		
Essex	Northamptonshire		
Somerset	Cambridgeshire		
Devon	Wiltshire		
Cornwall	Oxfordshire		
Dorset	Berkshire		
Hampshire	Surrey		
Sussex	Buckinghamshire		
Kent	Inner London		
Avon/Bath&NE Somerset	Greater London		
Bristol	Hertfordshire		
	Bedfordshire		
	East Midlands		
	West Midlands		

Table 34 - Landlocked versus coastal English Counties

Section 4 – Pivot Table Analysis of the fourteen books

A Pivot Table Analysis is a device within Microsoft Excel, for analysing, sorting and choosing data, which has already been entered into a spreadsheet. It can re-order totals for any column, at the same time as limiting certain data from a list. An example is the ability to just sort sites and references to sites from the fourteen different spreadsheets for the 14 books (Appendix A). Once all that data was added together (Appendix F), the spreadsheet through the Pivot Table Analysis could group and total only those sites with a grid reference. This provided site-only information, which could then be ordered per book, ordered into least-most or most-least totals, and manipulated to assess the validity of the findings.

As can be seen from the Pivot Table analysis of the totals for all fourteen books (Table 35), the Top 20 referenced sites of all the fourteen books' totals, added together, are all located in central (5/20) or south-west England (15/20). The north-east and north-west fare less well overall than the other regions within the Top 100 site references (Figure 128). In fact, the north-east, north-west and south-east regions are barely referenced within the Top 40 referenced sites in England. In every total, the south-west region is far better represented than the other English regions.

English sites	Top 10	Top 20	Top 30	Top 40	Top 50	Top 60	Top 70	Top 80	Top 90	Top 100
NE	0	0	0	3	7	8	8	8	9	12
NW	0	0	1	1	1	2	2	3	4	4
SE	0	0	1	2	5	7	10	14	16	19
SW	8	15	19	24	26	30	34	38	42	46
C	2	5	9	10	11	13	16	17	19	19

Table 35 - Pivot Table Analysis of the fourteen books

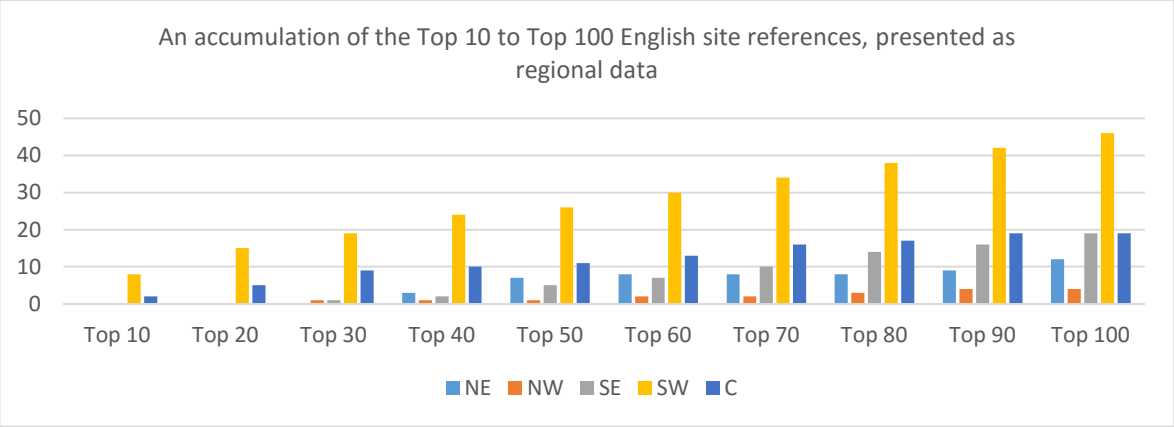


Figure 128 - An accumulation of the Top 10 to Top 100 English site references, presented as regional data

Top 5	Bradley	Darvill	Forde-Johnston	Fox	Hawkes	Hunter & Ralston	Malone
1	Stonehenge	Avebury	Stonehenge	Cheviots	Windmill Hill	Stonehenge	Stonehenge
2	Durrington Walls	Stonehenge	Windmill Hill	Stonehenge	Stonehenge	Durrington Walls	Windmill Hill
3	Etton	Hambledon Hill	Durrington Walls	Peterborough	Peterborough	Avebury	Avebury
4	Avebury	Crickley Hill	Avebury	Shippea Hill	Avebury	Mount Pleasant	West Kennet
5	Peterborough	Durrington Walls	Sanctuary	Forest of Dean	Shippea Hill	West Kennet	Etton

Table 36 - Top 5 mentions per author

Top 5	Megaw & Simpson	Parker Pearson	Piggott	Pryor	Renfrew	Scarre	Thomas
1	Windmill Hill	Stonehenge	Windmill Hill	Stonehenge	Hembury	Stonehenge	Windmill Hill
2	Stonehenge	Peterborough	Peterborough	Avebury	Windmill Hill	Avebury	Somerset Levels
3	Peterborough	Hambledon Hill	Stonehenge	Etton	Peterborough	West Kennet	Ascott-under-Wychwood
4	Crickley Hill	Dartmoor	Avebury	Barrow Hills	Durrington Walls	Silbury Hill	Hazleton
5	Durrington Walls	Irthlingborough	Cheviots	Somerset Levels	Stonehenge	Thornborough	Coneybury

Table 37 - Top 5 mentions per author

Of the Top 5 English mentions per book (Table 36, Table 37), Stonehenge is the most referenced place in 7 books and within the Top 5 in 13/14 books, with Windmill Hill gaining the top spot in 4 books and referenced within the top 5 in 7/14. Avebury, the Cheviots and Hembury received the most mentions in one book each but that is where the similarity ended, as Avebury was in the top 5 in 9/14 books, whereas the Cheviots were in the top 5 in two books and Hembury only in Renfrew's. Eight of fourteen authors favoured sites, which were less well referenced by others, with Thomas focussing on three different sites, Scarre and Parker Pearson on two different sites, and Forde-Johnston, Fox, Hunter & Ralston, Pryor and Renfrew referencing one site each within their top five mentions that the other authors did not reference as much, if at all.

Section 5 – Bibliographic summary for each of the 14 books, divided by country or region, including total number of bibliographic references

Bibliography Summary Locational Information	Fox (1938)	Hawkes (1948)	Piggott (1949)	Renfrew (1974)	Forde-Johnston (1976)	Megaw & Simpson (1979)	Darvill (1987)	Parker Pearson (1993)	Hunter & Ralston (1999)	Malone (2001)	Pryor (2003)	Bradley (2007)	Scarre (2007)	Thomas (2013)
General	0	16	12	7	0	177	68	11	51	48	50	85	4	318
Elsewhere	0	4	2	2	1	120	13	0	10	19	24	62	1	614
Britain	0	38	30	35	94	814	82	7	81	197	145	514	35	435
Southern Britain/Lowland Britain	0	0	0	1	3	9	2	0	1	0	1	3	0	14
Northern Britain/Upland Britain	0	0	0	0	3	14	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	2
Western Britain	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Eastern Britain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ireland	0	0	1	6	12	93	2	1	0	21	21	125	6	51
England	0	24	15	5	48	438	59	6	36	111	95	284	17	176
Scotland	0	3	2	11	9	152	12	1	9	36	18	95	11	101
Wales	0	4	2	2	10	54	8	0	1	10	0	25	1	15
Northern England	0	3	1	2	0	87	7	0	2	14	6	56	2	34
Southern England	0	20	13	3	46	340	50	6	30	92	84	221	14	131
N Scotland	0	0	1	0	4	40	6	1	4	23	12	50	8	29
S Scotland	0	0	0	2	0	64	2	0	0	6	4	18	0	31
N Wales	0	0	0	0	4	9	4	0	0	3	0	7	0	5
S Wales	0	2	0	0	2	8	2	0	0	3	0	8	0	6
Total references	0	58	45	50	107	1204	165	19	142	285	240	786	46	1418

Figure 129 - Bibliographic references for all 14 books

Some authors provided a very limited bibliography, preferring to rely on their own knowledge, gained from experience in the field. Others provided a very comprehensive list of every referenced book or article. Of these, in general, the majority favoured English and even more so, southern English, publications. In every case, apart from Fox, there were less referenced publications about Wales, than the other countries.

5. Analysis

This study has highlighted many different issues, with regards to the way that archaeologists write about Britain, as a whole, with respect to the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods. Some sites have been referenced in every book studied, and yet numerous other sites were mentioned only once, within the overall total of the fourteen books (Appendix F – 'English sites - grand totals'). Only 82 out of the 530 specifically-mentioned English sites received more than one reference per book, on average (i.e., more than 14 overall references). Yet, the most referenced site, Stonehenge, gained 692 mentions, more than double the second overall total of Windmill Hill, with 301 references. In all the books so far, northern England has been seriously marginalised with far less references than other parts of Britain (except Wales), despite having many N/EBA monuments within its counties (Table 31). In some regards, the archaeologists followed a similar pattern of referencing. They all, apart from Piggott, favoured sites and areas in England over other regions, with an emphasis on the south of England, and in particular the south-western counties (Table 27, Figure 124, Figure 128). The north-west received the least mentions in England, and was often in the group of regions, with very few references at all (ibid.). These included the central and south-eastern regions of Ireland, Wales and the south, east and central areas of Scotland. Northern Scotland and north-eastern ROI were mostly well referenced, with western Scotland, north-west and south-west Wales, Northern Ireland plus south-western Ireland, often receiving more mentions than other regions (Table 27). Conversely, England's greatest percentages of references *favoured* its southern regions. This may be partly explained by the bibliographies in each book, whose references all favoured southern England, over other British regions (Figure 129), except for Fox who did not provide a bibliography.

The south of England, however, did not have a consistent dataset of results. Wiltshire was overwhelming referred to, in comparison to all other counties in England, and, indeed in Britain (Table 29, Appendix F). This is apart from Piggott's focus on the Hebrides (Figure 23), which totalled twice as many references as anyone else gave to any Scottish county. It is curious that so many other counties within the south of England received few references, compared with their neighbours. For example, Hampshire, which, despite bordering Wiltshire, gained only 70 mentions. Some English counties received a good number of references in most books (Table 29), such as Cambridgeshire, Cornwall and Oxfordshire, even though these counties did not receive the most references overall.

While the total results for the thesis' study area were discouraging in all books, with the north of England only gaining between four and fourteen percent of overall result totals, the counties of North Yorkshire and Cumbria were actually referenced sixth and seventh overall in England, which was encouraging (Table 29). This may be partly due to the fact that some counties, such as Cleveland, did not exist before 1974, although this should not have affected the regional totals. Even though I tried to use counties named before 1974, if an author mentioned a new county name, such as Cleveland, I entered it into the totals. Also, some sites had not yet been discovered, for example, the Street House long cairn in Loftus, which was first uncovered during excavations between 1979 and 1981. Other locations were only discovered through rescue excavation, such as Ferrybridge and Dishforth. However, the overall numbers of references for the study area's counties of northern England, versus those references for the rest of England, clearly demonstrated how marginalised northern England has become, with regards to other regions, being as it is roughly a quarter of the land-mass of the whole of England (Appendix E).

This analysis will therefore attempt to answer several questions. Why might each of the authors have structured their books to refer to sites in this way? Do the counties with the highest number

of mentions have the most monuments, and those with the lowest number the least? Why else might some areas be referenced over others? What other patterns can be discerned, regarding this? Does the selection of authors chosen affect the results and might a different group of writers have produced a totally different dataset? Has there been a change in the interest of different areas of Britain over the last 80 years?

During this study, it was noted that each of the books about British prehistory was written in a different way. Some books, like Renfrew (1974) and Megaw & Simpson (1979), provided many site or area references for each sub-topic, whether henges or food vessel types. However, Fox (1938) only referenced 19 specific sites in the whole narrative. Thomas chose to look at the European Neolithic and then based his analysis of the British Neolithic within that sphere (2013). Hawkes (1948) concentrated on a description of the general situation, with a few examples to support the narrative. Others, like Scarre (2007) and Malone (2001), referenced as many areas of Britain and Ireland as possible, with examples of the megalithic monuments constructed in each environment. Pryor (2003) wrote his book as an account of his own, personal digging experience, which was mainly based around Peterborough in Cambridgeshire (for the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods, specifically). Parker Pearson also favoured the regions he knew best, namely those in southern England (1993), as was also the case for the writers within Hunter and Ralston's book (1999). Forde-Johnston attempted to mention sites from all over Britain, in order to provide a comprehensive study. This worked to an extent, but in Forde-Johnston's case, he wrote broadly, both archaeologically and geographically, for example, about henges (1976, 105-130), but covered the whole of Britain, in pages 105-113, and then concentrated on 'Wessex and adjacent areas' to the end of the chapter (ibid.113-130).

According to Scarre (pers.comm.), writing at the time he did, Piggott had had to draw on antiquarian knowledge to build up a picture of the prehistory of Britain, in order to be able to produce his book. Piggott also confirmed this (1949, 15-6, 21). Later writers had far more evidence and data to go on, for example, as can be seen in Manby's collection of Neolithic datable sites for Yorkshire (2003, 40, Fig.11). However, Darvill's 1987 book was published only a couple of years after Bradley's (1984, 41) graph of 'core' areas, and yet Darvill clearly favoured Stonehenge as the only core area in his writing. 'Few people can fail to be interested in or inspired by … the magnificence of Stonehenge' (1987, 14). Darvill, as stated above in the Results chapter, chose a 'highly selective' set of source material, in order to produce a 'coherent overview of prehistory' for non-specialists (1987, 11). He based this selection on whether or not the material was relevant to further understanding the past, rather than to reproduce known information. Darvill explained that it wasn't possible 'to cover every region of Britain in the detail it deserves'. Although the map of the stone circles and henges of Britain, (1987, 103) shows concentrations of monuments within the whole of northern England, south-western, north-eastern and southern Scotland, as well as Wales, Cornwall, Derbyshire, Wessex and the Cotswolds, Darvill mainly discussed the sites which are found in southern England, and in particular, those within Wessex (Figure 55). In fact, his top five referenced sites within England mirror this (Table 36), whereas Hunter and Ralston and Forde-Johnston's top five English references are even narrower, as all pertain to the Stonehenge region itself. Bradley, Hawkes and Malone referenced the Stonehenge region with the Peterborough area over all others. Renfrew, Pryor and Megaw & Simpson's top five English references were of sites in Wessex and Cambridgeshire (Table 36, Table 37). Only five authors' referenced sites, within their top five mentioned English sites, that are outside these key areas. Thomas focussed on southern England in general, whereas Parker Pearson referenced south-west and central England. Scarre mentioned the Stonehenge and Avebury areas, and Thornborough in North Yorkshire. Fox and Piggott's top five references, on the other hand, were spread all over England (ibid.).

Nevertheless, writers did sometimes reference sites in northern England, such as, Bradley (2007, 162); Parker Pearson (1993, 48), or Forde-Johnston (1976, 109). However, in these cases, the author failed to take an extra opportunity, from their own text, to add further information on, and weight to, northern England's N/EBA monuments. Bradley (ibid.) discussed the quality and variety of Early Bronze Age burials in northern England, but then failed to provide examples from northern England to back up his discussion. These might have included references to Petersen (1972) and Mizoguchi (1993). In Bradley's case, he used an example instead from Gayhurst Quarry, Milton Keynes. Bradley then used this research from northern England, by both Petersen and Mizoguchi, to discuss Wessex linear cemeteries, with images of these monuments (Bradley 2007, 166). This is disappointing, as this would have been an ideal opportunity to emphasise the linear barrow cemeteries on the North Yorkshire Moors, as shown in Spratt and Harrison (1989, 33). There are numerous lines of round barrows along watersheds above the Rye, Riccal, Hodge, Dove, Seven and Esk valleys, in the area inland from Whitby. These North Yorkshire barrows are mentioned a few pages later (Bradley 2007, 169), but their importance seems side-lined, as all the photographs and images are of elsewhere. Perhaps, Bradley intended to back up his earlier argument and emphasise his point about links between Britain and Ireland to Continental Europe, which he first posited at the start of the chapter (ibid.89). In this case, using the Wessex region may have seemed more appropriate, with its Channel shoreline and closer proximity to Europe, and wealth of unusual or exotic artefacts found in its barrows. It is a shame that northern England's exceptional concentration of monuments might not have been afforded a paragraph in its own right. Parker Pearson (1993, 48) referred to a new Yorkshire burial style with associated grave goods. Yet, instead of photographs of these grave-sets, he provided a reconstructed sketch of the Duggleby Howe Neolithic round mound on page 49, and photographs of Gloucestershire and Northamptonshire burials on the previous and following pages. In another example, Forde-Johnston made a grand statement about the A1 corridor group of Yorkshire henges, 'some of the largest sites encountered…Undoubtedly the most celebrated of these Yorkshire sites are the Thornborough circles, three large henges built in a line with half-mile gaps between' (1976, 109). Yet, the henges at Thornborough are not afforded either a line drawing or a photograph. In fact, the next page has a line-drawing of Mayburgh and the page after that has several line drawings of the Orkney henge monuments. The north-east of England really does not feature in his book at all. Nevertheless, in Forde-Johnston's favour, he is one of the only authors to reference Cana Barn and Hutton Moor henges, also within the A1 corridor (ibid.111).

Bradley stated that 'the 'great barrows of northern England…proved to be only the most prominent parts of denuded long barrows' (2007, 80). It is not clear why he has arrived at this conclusion, especially as Kinnes *et al.* (1983, 102) and later, Gibson and Bayliss (2010, 75, 79) clearly show that the Neolithic mounds are round or slightly oval. These results have come from both from aerial photography and geophysical survey. Individual burials rites were important in this area. A major reason why they have played such a prominent role in early Neolithic dating sequences is that northeast England saw a major campaign of fieldwork during the Victorian era. Perhaps, more fieldwork in other parts of Britain will reveal just as many fascinating sites in other areas. Certainly, if the amount of money, time and effort that has been put into the Stonehenge area could be put into, for example, the A1 corridor, or the Yorkshire Wolds, nowadays, with all the up-to-date techniques available to large, well-funded projects, then these regions may also reveal a huge amount of new, previously unknown sites. An example of this was the siting of the M3 motorway between the hills of Tara and Skryne in County Meath, ROI, and the number of monuments revealed during the process, including Lismullin Iron Age henge (O'Sullivan *et al.* 2013, 241).

Parker Pearson (1993, 61) referred to 'cursuses', as a class of monument found in southern Britain and the Midlands even though, on page 63, he included an aerial photograph of the Rudston Cursus A, in the Yorkshire Wolds, with the four Rudston cursuses line-drawn on page 68. He then mentioned the Thornborough cursus in the legend below the aerial photograph of the central henge at Thornborough (ibid.69). In spite of showing a few photographs of these amazing sites in northern England, Parker Pearson used the text to discuss sites in the midlands and south of England.

Future syntheses would benefit from more written and pictorial references on the same page. Pollard (1997, 33) showed the plan of the Street House mortuary enclosure, Cleveland, but provided no text about it and conversely, mentioned Kilham long barrow, Yorkshire Wolds, along with Haddenham long barrow, Cambridgeshire, and Fussell's Lodge long barrow, Wiltshire, in the text. He provided a line drawing of the latter two but no plan of Kilham (ibid.31-33). Likewise, Parker Pearson, in this case, included an aerial image of Mayburgh and King Arthur's Round Table henges in Penrith, Cumbria (1993, 70), but didn't mention those sites in the text.

Pollard (1997, 27) commented that Early Neolithic enclosures were not just a southern English phenomenon but were being discovered in upland northern England and Scotland, but then, rather than taking the opportunity to reference these newly uncovered sites, he instead gave two examples from Cornwall and one from Sussex, and then switched his remaining comments to the Wessex causewayed enclosures.

Malone referenced many cursuses in southern and central England and Wales, but also a couple of line drawings of North and East Yorkshire examples, that is, Willerby Wold and East Heslerton (2001, 114). There is little text about the north-eastern examples, but she does include some information, including an image, of Rudston (ibid.118). This is referred to on a page with a picture of the Cleaven Dyke in Scotland, and six images from southern Britain, which overshadow the line-drawing of the confluence of Rudston's cursuses.

The Hunter and Ralston book, which was written to provide suitable literature for students preparing for university entrance (1999, Preface), was meant 'to encapsulate the British archaeological record'. However, when the total references for each region were analysed for both the Neolithic and Earlier Bronze Age chapters (Table 18, Table 19), there was a clear and undeniable emphasis on the region of southern England and northern Scotland's islands, in both chapters. Many counties and regions failed to be referenced at all. As the title of these two chapters do not state that they will focus mainly on southern England and the Scottish islands, the reader, in this case, an undergraduate beginner in archaeology, may not realise the geographical bias within the texts. In fact, it is authors within their books, who fail to take advantage of the opportunity to reference a variety of regions throughout Britain. Parker Pearson (1999, 87) provided only southern British examples of Early and Middle Bronze Age burials. However, after commenting, 'In Scotland, the occurrence of slab-lined graves…beneath mounds…is common', he had an ideal chance to reference somewhere else in Britain, but followed this instead with another example from southern Britain, rather than one from Scotland. In the same volume, Whittle (1999, 61) chose to highlight the disparities between the amount of fieldwork completed in southern Britain and elsewhere, commenting that the 'bias…persisted for a long time'. He then chose to reference projects in northern Scotland, a region he later included in a discussion about areas which have had proportionately more prolonged site excavations (ibid.62), which has led to relative neglect of other areas. Instead of choosing, therefore, to discuss a couple of less-well known sites in unknown areas, he then completed the discussion by referring to examples from central-southern England, with the

comment, 'it is important to stress that there were also large enclosed monuments…and significant complexes in other areas' (ibid.73).

In fact, some authors felt that all sites elsewhere in Britain had to be compared to those in Wessex or Wiltshire, in order to give them credence and to make them special enough to be compared in that way. Megaw & Simpson discussed the long barrows of Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Perthshire and Kincardineshire, as comparisons to those in southern Britain (1979, 104). Yet, they commented that it is only in Yorkshire that long barrows can be divided into two distinct types. However, it is unclear why they then chose not to explain why there were two burial rites within this region and offered no further study on the area. It would have made more sense for other regions, with single burial rites, to be therefore compared to the Yorkshire region especially, in order to see why this situation has occurred within the long and round mounds of the Yorkshire Wolds. Instead, Megaw & Simpson, chose to compare this unusual burial practice back to Wessex, rather than the other way round, when the Wolds region is distinctive in its own right. Certainly, in the previous section on southern Britain, northern Britain's sites were not used as comparisons (ibid.80-103). In fact, the only reference to any of northern Britain's sites, was a plan of Willerby Wold long barrow, but with no accompanying text (ibid.93). Apart from this reference, there are only two earlier references to the North Yorkshire Moors, which are included in Megaw & Simpson's text, from a purely environmental standpoint (ibid.14, 19). Yet, even when discussing the sites within the section on northern Britain, Megaw & Simpson chose to compare a ritual which was common practice in Yorkshire with the only site in southern England where a similar event had occurred. Had they wished to include this comparison, it would have been better placed within the southern Britain section, to link this unusual site to another area within Britain, where this was standard practice. Again, when commenting about Kilham's long barrow, the writers found two comparable structures in southern Britain, rather than dealing with the site in its own right (ibid.105). Even if the site needed to be compared, it could have been compared with some other sites within north-east Britain, rather than always referencing sites in southern Britain, particularly Wessex.

Yet, it's no wonder that current-day archaeologists feel the need to compare their sites to Stonehenge and /or Wessex, as Piggott used this technique to describe the building of the Lincolnshire Wolds long barrows: 'great long barrows as impressive as any in Wessex' (Piggott 1949, 78). Other writers successfully managed to describe some sites in their own right but then used comparisons with other sites or regions in other sections. Scarre, for example (2003, 82), mentioned Street House mortuary enclosure in its own right, discussing the deliberate destruction of the timber monument. Scarre then linked Street House, not with the Stonehenge area, but with other similar monuments in eastern England. However, he then used the standard Wessex and Orkney comparisons for the other outstanding Yorkshire monuments of Duggleby Howe and Thornborough. Scarre clearly admired Duggleby Howe round mound as 'the largest and most famous of the Neolithic round mounds'. Yet, he then felt the need to compare it to Orkney's famous round mound, as 'an arrangement reminiscent of Maes Howe' (ibid.86). In Scarre's discussion of the three Thornborough henges, in spite of their unique character and spectacular landscape, as well as the discoveries, through excavation, aerial photography and geophysics, of a long cursus and major pit alignment, and numerous other structures, Scarre felt the need to qualify their impressive presence in the landscape by comparison with Wessex (ibid.88). This is despite the fact that he referenced six Yorkshire henges, all nearby to one another and all of a similar large, twin-entranced type, he then compared these with only one other, 'otherwise known only at Dorchester-on-Thames'. A better comparison would have been with King Arthur's Round Table in Cumbria, which is a comparable henge, thought to have been constructed in order to link the two Neolithic groups and the routeway across the Pennines between them. Scarre also only referred to three

stone circles in Cumbria, Castlerigg, Long Meg and her Daughters and Swinside, despite the fact that there are over fifty extant megalithic monuments in the Lake District (ibid.93-4). Despite so few references from a region famed for its megalithic constructions, Scarre then discussed many more monuments within the counties of Dorset and Wiltshire, in spite of the fact that very few of those are actually made of lithic materials, but are rather mainly constructed of earth and/ or timber, and not stone. In effect, those locations with actual megalithic monuments and in numbers like those in Cornwall and Cumbria, should have been the locations with the most references in a book of a title such as this. Their sites should have been championed above others. However, it may be that monument size was the most important factor in the consideration of a monument as megalithic, which he translated as meaning 'extravagantly large slabs' (ibid.7). Scarre had also commented, about the recumbent stone circles of Scotland, 'indeed the description 'megalithic' may here be misleading, as few of the many stones involved are more than 2m (6.5ft) tall' (ibid.62). Certainly for Cumbria, the majority of stone circles would fail to have stones above two metres tall, in spite of their splendour and magnificent surroundings, and despite Megaw & Simpson stating that Cumbria contains eleven great stone circles (1979, 160). Nevertheless, Scarre's book was aimed at the general public and his description of Castlerigg stone circle, Cumbria, and accompanying photograph, do the site justice. Scarre also intentionally began his book with the Scottish region, in order to move the eye from southern Britain northwards (pers.comm.).

Pryor (2003)'s book was entitled *Britain BC* and also released commercially. It was written in a story-telling, jovial, chatty, easy-reading style, aimed more at his contemporary public than at an academic audience. Nevertheless, of only 902 specific site references within his book, 74% (668.5/902) related to central, south-eastern or south-western England, with less than five per cent directly relating to northern England's sites (Figure 91). Pryor has had much experience of digging in southern England and this would account for this geographical bias in his referencing. It is clear from his three maps, (ibid.2, 78, 228), that this is primarily a book about England (especially map FIG 13), and most especially, from the first (FIG 1) and third maps (FIG 44), that the majority of the references within the book refer to sites and areas in southern England. Pryor provided a 'Places to Visit' section at the end of the book, where he referenced specific sites worthy of a visit throughout the UK. However, for the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods, northern England is not mentioned at all. For the Neolithic (ibid.442-3), he referenced Woodhenge, the Avebury landscape, the Brú na Bóinne landscape and the Céide fields landscape in County Mayo. For the Bronze Age (ibid.444-5), he included Stonehenge, the Brenig Cairn Field, Dover Museum, Down Farm Museum, Salisbury, Flag Fen and the Great Orme mines. He also referred to the two multi-period regions of the Shetland Isles and Orkney (ibid.447-8).

In fact, throughout all the books studied, during the preparation for this thesis, and not just the fourteen books closely studied (see Bibliography), it is clear that there continues to be a huge fascination with the monument and landscape surrounding Stonehenge. While it cannot be denied that Stonehenge is an amazing and unparalleled structure, with its Neolithic and Early Bronze Age surrounding landscape. Being so unique, it is hardly a type-site for cross-comparison. As of 13/11/2014, if you put the words Stonehenge or Avebury into the Keyword search in the Durham University Library Catalogue, there are 94 books about Stonehenge, dating from 1655-2013 and 104 about Avebury. It is clear that other regions within Britain also deserve their important sites to be listed and encourage archaeologists to visit a vast array of monuments. In this way, a more holistic picture of the N/EBA monuments in all parts of Britain, as well as the North, could be more well-known and used as examples in future syntheses.

In Renfrew's *British Prehistory*, he was the book's editor and therefore not entirely responsible for the specific sites mentioned in the different chapters, by different authors, with their own agendas.

He commissioned Audrey Henshall to write about Scottish tombs and long mounds (1974, 137-165), so attempting to encourage a fairer distribution of information about British sites. However, he did not particularly include Wales in his work and much of the other discussion, edited by him, promoted Wessex over all other regions. However, as Renfrew was, at that time, Professor of Archaeology at Southampton University, this emphasis is, in some ways, understandable. Nevertheless, Renfrew's compilation had more references to Wiltshire, in the chapters studied, than to any other county, with the Orkneys gaining second-most and Northern Ireland, the third-most, entries (Figure 34). Smith, writing about 'The neolithic' in Chapter 3 (100-136), admitted that at the time of writing, there were only 150 radiocarbon dates available, and of those, three-fifths referenced southern England and one-fifth Ireland (1974, 100), i.e., hardly a fair distribution. Yet, the excuse made, Smith then spent the chapter mainly discussing Wessex, with a few comparisons elsewhere.

Bradley (2007, xv-xvi) wrote that he was keen to move away from the limited knowledge previously known about many regions and to embrace new excavation information. He wanted instead to consider known sites in relation to developments elsewhere during the same period (ibid.6). Although Bradley had good intentions, this study's results and analysis (Figure 104, Figure 106, Figure 109) show that his results are broadly similar to all the other authors. He spoke of change and diversity but his references favoured south-west England, northern Scotland and, to a lesser extent, north-west Wales. Avebury, Durrington Walls, Stonehenge and Woodhenge had 77 references between them, almost as many references as for the whole of Wales, including the north-west. This was not surprising, as Bradley has completed projects in southern England, specifically Cranborne Chase, and on Salisbury Plain. What was more surprising was the lack of references to other areas where Bradley has worked, and written ground-breaking books. North-west England was a focus of his stone-axe studies (Bradley & Edmonds 1993) and yet the whole region only gained 54 references, with only three mentions of the Great Langdale axe factory. The same was true for eastern Scotland, where Bradley had worked on both Clava Cairns (2000) and recumbent stone circles (2005). The results in this 2007 book failed to emphasise the region of north-eastern Scotland, with only 40 references in total (Appendix A). Bradley also did not reference the specific rock art sites of Northumberland or West Yorkshire (ibid.97), despite having completed a survey of both. In Ireland, the south-west was referenced more than other regions. In this respect, Bradley did break away from the usual patterns, which tend to hold a greater emphasis to Northern Ireland and especially to north-east ROI and the Boyne Valley.

Bradley, in order to re-divide Britain and Ireland and create 'A New Beginning' (ibid.27), devised a new way of mapping Britain and Ireland into twenty-six areas, 'sub-units of approximately the same size' (ibid.xvi). In concept, this was a very good idea as it helped to break away from the Highland and Lowland divisions of the past (Fox 1938), in order to embrace a new model, forward-thinking and positive way of looking at the Neolithic period in Britain. However, the actual placing of the letters A-Z on the map (Bradley 2007, 28) does not, in all cases, correspond with the listing of their locations (ibid.28-9). G, for example, is listed as Eastern and Central Scotland, but is actually below Berwick in England. I, listed as the English/ Scottish borderland, is at about Durham and Chester-le-Street in the County of Durham. K is meant to represent Northeast England and the Peak District but is actually placed below York, near to Pickering, and nowhere near to either of these locations. This affects where sites are perceived to be located. Bradley discussed Lismore Fields in the text, as being in northern England (ibid.39), when it is actually at High Peak, Derbyshire. This is confusing as High Peak is geographically in the middle of England.

As Bradley had made such an effort to reconfigure the areas of Britain and Ireland into these new zones, it was hoped, from this, that each area would be well represented within the text. However, as could be seen from the results (

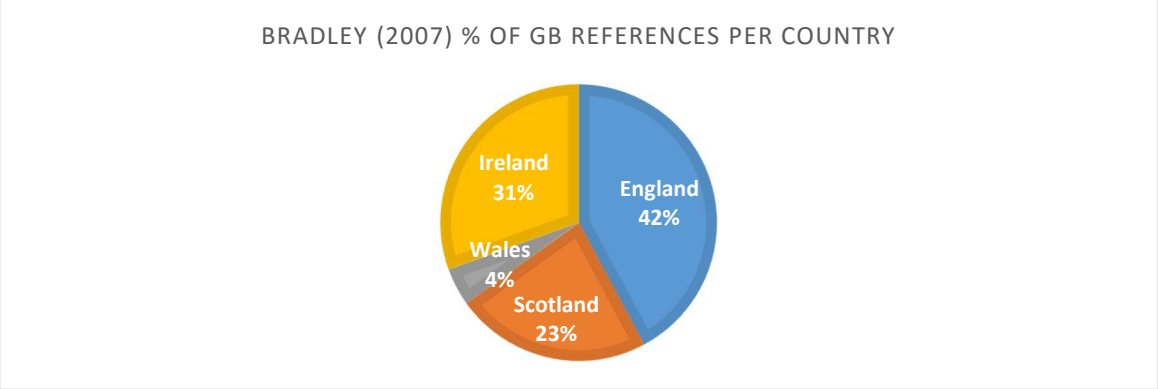


Figure 105, Figure 106, Figure 109), that this was unfortunately not the case. He named his third chapter, 'North and South' (ibid.88) and so, I had decided to complete an extra analysis of every reference within that chapter. The analysis noted every mention and divided these up into general country references, and then into the regions labelled North, South, East, West and Central for each country (Table 38, Figure 130, Figure 131).

CHART 1	General	North	South	East	West	Central
England	9	70	235	8	4	30
Scotland	17	136	15	5	36	7
Wales	5	26	4	1	0	0
Ireland	23	35	17	104	24	1

Table 38 - Bradley's 'North and South' site references per region

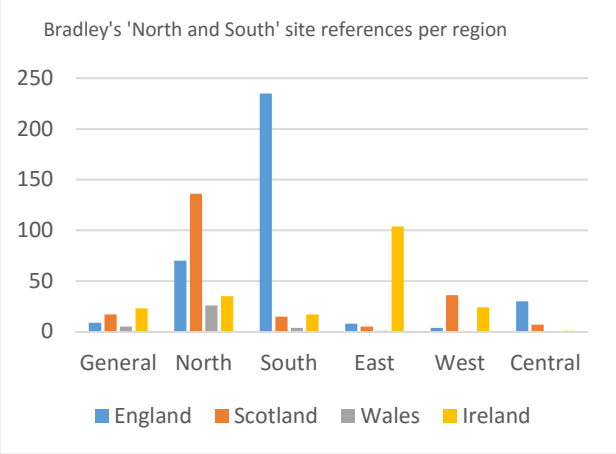


Figure 130 - Bradley's 'North and South' site references per region

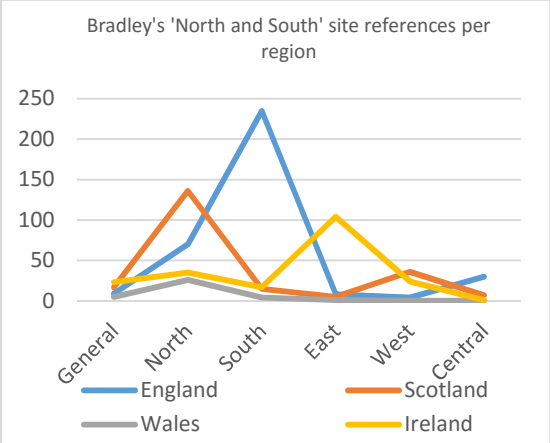


Figure 131 - Bradley's 'North and South' site references per region

As can be seen from the results, the south of England gained the most references, and a good proportion were allocated to northern Scotland, eastern Ireland and the north of England. Central and western regions generally did less well than the others (Figure 130) and Wales clearly had the least number of mentions (Table 38).

CHART 2	S England	N England	Scotland	Wales	Ireland	N Ireland

Pictures	4	0	3	1	3	0
Images/ Maps/ Drawings	21	6	11	2	14	2

Table 39 - Bradley's Image Totals per region for Chapter 3

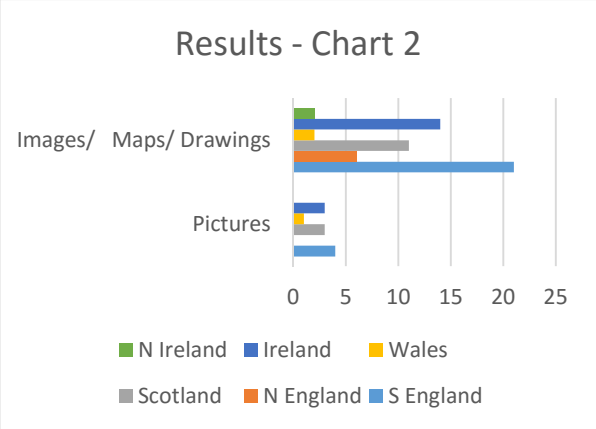


Figure 132 - Bradley's Image Totals per region for Chapter 3

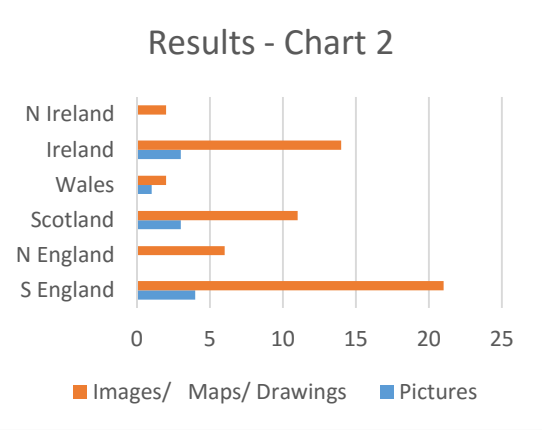


Figure 133 - Bradley's Image Totals per region for Chapter 3

Bradley also included some pictures, images, maps and drawings in this particular chapter, which were also logged according to country (Table 39, Figure 132, Figure 133). There were more images for southern England, than for any other region.

Parker Pearson's book, *Bronze Age Britain* (1993), covers both the British Neolithic and Bronze Ages. The book's emphasis is clearly on England, with 66% of references. Of those, 52% pertain to south-western England and only 6% of references referred to this thesis' study area (Appendix A). However, what is curious about this book is that the book is called Bronze Age Britain and was produced by English Heritage, yet there are double the references to Ireland (which is not referred to in the book's title), than there are to the whole of the north of England (i.e., 63 for northern England, versus 126 mentions for Ireland) (Table 16). All the pictures within the book, which are of sites in northern England, are aerial photographs (Table 15). Parker Pearson also included a 'Sites to Visit' section at the back of the book, naming a number of key sites worth visiting in Britain and Ireland (Table 14). Of the 171 extant sites mentioned, only 4 are mentioned for the whole of northern England and those are in Cumbria, leaving out the 4 counties of Yorkshire, plus the counties of Northumberland, Tyne and Wear, Durham, Cleveland, Lincolnshire, Lancashire, Merseyside and Cheshire! In fact, this compares with 50 sites mentioned for southern England, plus 55 for the island of Ireland, a country not included in definitions of Britain.

The focus on Wessex, and Wiltshire in particular, has increased exponentially over the last 80 years. Surprisingly, Fox focussed on a general discussion of the known information, only mentioning Wessex the same percentage of times as the six counties of northern England, in this study. Piggott published his book after the Second World War, when the fear of German invasion was very present in the minds of all and this certainly justified his comments about invasion (1949, 108-9) and his attitude that preceding groups of people had sometimes attempted to sneak in via the 'back door' (ibid.28, 114). Yet, Piggott also had the ability to widen his field of study through the inclusion of new aerial photography data as, by that time, many new sites had been identified. The Hawkes team, who also published after the Second World War, could have used many aerial photographs in their work too, but Jacquetta's restrictive life in Dorset was more the focus of the book, as there is a high proportion of references to sites within Wessex, and previously, from Cambridgeshire.

Clearly, Jacquetta also had data on the Yorkshire Wolds and so, unable to travel, could draw upon previous visits, excavations and work in those regions to pull together their text. This was reflected in their limited images, photographs, and bibliography.

Thomas' book wrote about the arrival of the Neolithic into southern England via people who arrived from the Continent of Europe. It is for this reason that the south-east and south-west of England gained the majority of references in his book (Figure 114, Figure 117). Using the publication, *Gathering Time* (Whittle *et al.* 2011) to provide the background evidence for this invasion theory into south-east England, Thomas based his book on the earliest Neolithic information available. Unfortunately, as Whittle, Bayliss and Healy's book is based on numerous radiocarbon dates from specific regions of England and Scotland, but which does not include any Early Neolithic monuments in northern England (other than those on the Isle of Man), the focus of this book is mainly southern-based. In fact, from Thomas (2013, 228), it is clear that only certain areas of Britain were selected for analysis. Nevertheless, Thomas did add in the suggestion that, as the southern Scottish Neolithic began independently from that in southern Britain, it may be that the lack of research and radiocarbon dates within the north of England, is actually masking the link between the two. Therefore, a major dating programme within northern England is clearly required, in order to test that viewpoint. With early dates for the Coupland enclosure in Northumberland (Passmore & Waddington 2012), the Street House monument (Vyner 1984) and for sites within the Yorkshire Wolds (Gibson & Bayliss 2010), further, refined radiocarbon dating will be required before any such suggestion can be proven. Thomas did acknowledge this point, adding, 'There will doubtless be other very early monuments so far unidentified elsewhere in Britain, but on the basis of the sample investigated to date one can hazard a guess that they will probably remain a minority of the whole' (ibid.316). Thomas recognised the lack of current radiocarbon dating in the north of England, 'Discussing the development of monumentality in Britain from the thirty-eighth century onwards is fraught with difficulty, for the accurate radiocarbon chronology is patchy, and all but non-existent in the case of the megalithic tombs in the north and west of Britain' (ibid.320). Finally, he commented, 'If we are to remain cautiously sceptical of typological dating…What follows is therefore mindful of the need to acquire many more high-precision radiocarbon dates from meaningful contexts in long barrows, long cairns, megalithic tombs, and cursus monuments, on a scale comparable with the impressive coverage that has recently been achieved for causewayed enclosures (Whittle, Healy, and Bayliss, 2011). Until this has been accomplished, discussion is necessarily somewhat provisional' (ibid.).

Forde-Johnston's account of Britain and Ireland contained 41% of referenced on English monuments (Figure 37). The south-west of England gained with 68% of England's references (Figure 39), more than anywhere else. In fact, 46% of English county references were solely about Wiltshire (Figure 42). Forde-Johnston (1976, 115-130) chose to reference sites in Dorset and Wiltshire in a separate section. On these few pages, he added an amazing 200 specific references to the main sites, with Stonehenge being referred to at least ten times on some pages, as each of its different features, for example, Aubrey holes, Sarsen circle, Bluestone horseshoe, were spoken about and named (with capitals) individually. This clearly skewed the overall number of references for the south-west of England (Figure 39). Forde-Johnston (ibid.135-6) spent much time, as mentioned above, discussing the Stonehenge landscape, 'the sanctity' of which was enhanced by the presence of Bronze Age barrow cemeteries. However, he did include the Yorkshire Wolds' Wharram Percy Barrow Cemetery of nine mounds, but failed to mention the linear alignments of barrows on top of the North Yorkshire Moors. Forde-Johnston's non-Wessex references, all on page 136, are of barrow groups of between five and eleven mounds, whereas, as can be seen on the map (Spratt & Harrison 1989, 33, Fig.4), there are many more barrows than this, in clear linear clusters, on the

North Yorkshire Moors, sometimes with over twenty barrows, having been identified in a linear arrangement. Forde-Johnston grouped areas of Britain together, for example, south and east England /Britain, and used examples from this geographical area to compare to other areas within Britain, such as, the north and west (1976, 29). Forde-Johnston referred to the thesis' study area in only 8% of mentions. Although he wrote about Yorkshire's henges (ibid.109-111), he failed to reference Cumbria's stone circles.

In the analysis of the total number of references for each English county, the Top Ten totals, led to some interesting outcomes, i.e., that the majority of these top ten English counties are coastal. This result is, possibly, enlightening, that is, that Neolithic and Early Bronze Age people chose coastal regions to live. Riverine and sea travel was more straightforward than over-land travel, which may have been difficult to navigate due to the lack of rivers, impenetrable forests and mountains; low-lying land was easier to till and, as Watson stated, the majority of the stone and timber circles and henges of northern England were deliberately located close to water sources (2014). There could, of course, be other explanations: that antiquarians and later archaeologists preferred to dig in coastal regions; or that these fourteen authors all referenced sites nearer to coasts (apart from those in Wiltshire) and specifically chose to reference those regions in their books. From the map below (Figure 134), it is clear, however, that modern-day populations do not predominantly live in coastal counties which might have necessitated more rescue archaeology, so uncovering more sites. However, there are more extant sites in remote areas of England, many of which are also coastal (Table 34).

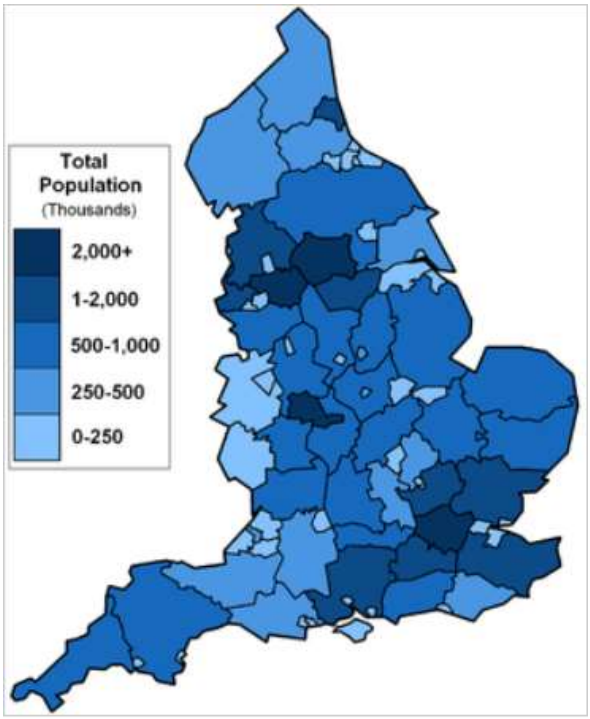


Figure 134 - Total Population per county (thousands of people)

Nevertheless, from this research, some issues have arisen, which were unexpected. I had thought that geographical region size might have affected the overall results, so when the north-west region of England gained the least references in England, this tallied with my viewpoints. In fact, north-west England is the smallest of the five English regions, also with the fewest counties, that is only five. From this reasoning, central England should have gained the most references, as it incorporates seventeen counties (Table 32), with nine for the north-east and fourteen each for the south-east and south-west regions. However, the south-west received the most references, not

central England. In fact, the majority of heavily referenced English counties are coastal, rather than land-locked (Table 34). Why should this have any bearing on archaeological interest? Nevertheless, the county with the most references, Wiltshire, is part of the land-locked group. Is Wiltshire a highly prized area to excavate and study because the monuments are deemed so much better than elsewhere? In a personal communication with Tim Darvill, he emphasised that the Wessex area is so useful because of the continuity of habitation through every period, which can actually be seen during excavation. This makes the region so appealing.

Yet, it is not necessary to excavate in these regions, in order to promote other places, such as those in northern England, as fine examples in literature. As with Thomas, above, prehistorians are already intimating these requests, but they just need to make them more precise, in order to help the future inclusion of whole areas of Britain in national discussions on the subject. Even a photograph or diagram, with a paragraph of text, would show the reader exactly how the site in northern England could compare to the site in the text previously discussed. This data is readily available on the World Wide Web, in journals and unpublished grey literature. These issues will be looked at in the Discussion, in order to identify how they might be remedied in future referencing in books on Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Britain.

6. Discussion

The results and analysis above, lead us into an in-depth discussion about how and why this current situation exists, in order to come to an understanding of the issues, and from this, to gain some conclusions and ideas for future research. However, before this discussion begins, it is essential to note that there is no suggestion that these books have been written to deliberately exclude regions of Britain. In fact, writers acknowledge an element of partiality in their work (Darvill 1987, 14), and recognise a disparity in the amount of data available from developer-funded excavations and the diminished flow of information between the commercial and the university and museum sectors (Bradley 2007, xv). However, Malone's concluding remarks about the contents of her book sum up this issue most succinctly (2001, 249). Despite the fact that 52 per cent of her references pertain to England, and of those, 52 per cent refer to south-western England, she stated in her book, 'Many of the most famous sites have been deliberately played down, since entire libraries exist to ponder on them, and instead lesser-known sites are discussed, in the hope that new generations of scholars and field workers will look more broadly across the vast canvas of the Neolithic'. Yet, Malone was not able to widen the geographical debate, despite a keen intention to do so. Bradley wrote that he intended his book to be a 'new synthesis', 'of the results of developer-funded fieldwork…standard academic literature…research excavations and…field surveys', focussing on landscapes, monuments and settlement patterns (2007, xvi). Yet, he too, provided a geographically-partial account, with the following areas being poorly represented in his research, namely north-west England; Wales; Northern Ireland; Scotland, apart from northern Scotland; and central, south-eastern and north-western ROI. This is a shame, as Bradley had written the start of his book in such a positive light. He had deliberately abandoned the highland and lowland zones model of map-making and had spent time creating a new mapping system, which divided up Britain and Ireland into twenty-six areas of 'sub-units of approximately the same size' (2007, xvi). One would have hoped, therefore, that with this effort, the result would be a geographically-equal spread of comments. However, as can be seen from the results above and from Figures 42, 43 & 46, this was unfortunately not the case. Bradley, nevertheless, had noticed the growing issue in archaeology, namely that the expansion of developer-funded archaeology had finally freed up prehistorians to be able at last 'to move beyond the small number of regions in which fieldwork had been concentrated for more than fifty years'. He accepted that prehistory in the past had been very limited and insular and he clearly wanted to address that inequality, by including material recovered from two decades of work (2007, xv-xvi). His foresight and intentions can be applauded.

There are, in fact, many occasions in these fourteen books where the landscape of northern England has been included and described, and a line drawing or photograph ascribed to emphasise its importance in the study of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in Britain. Unfortunately, certain chapters are printed in such a way that the photograph or line-drawing associated with that text is on a separate page, away from the discussion (Scarre 2007, 88-9; Malone 2001, 99-100, 118; Megaw & Simpson 1979, 160, 163), and referred to among other sites, so confusing the reader. The importance of a particular northern site might therefore be lost. Given the lack of emphasis towards the sites in northern England, this confusion is certainly something which could be addressed in future. Occasionally, sites in the south are compared favourably with northern sites, which is most welcome, as it is only by this positive attitude that the superlative sites in northern England might be visited, referenced and above all, remembered. A good example of this is Scarre's positive attitude towards Duggleby Howe (2007, 94), especially as Scarre's book was aimed at the wider public. On page 103, Scarre also compliments the three huge Thornborough henges, as 'neatly circular', compared to Avebury's henge, which he considers less regular in plan. It is true that the Thornborough complex, along with the other Swale-Ure henges within the A1 corridor, North

Yorkshire, form an impressive group of organised, aligned, circular structures, which span over twenty miles through the Yorkshire landscape.

The stone alignment at Boroughbridge, as well as multiple henges in the landscape and the position of the Thornborough henges, were clearly created with an idea of alignment, but whether this was lunar, solar or celestial, has yet to be ascertained (Figure 135).

Figure 135 - The Swale-Ure henge group – courtesy of http://thesalamanderstone.com/page18.htm

The reasoning behind this study was to investigate how fairly northern England was represented within these syntheses on the N/EBA archaeology of Britain, and whether neglect of northern England's structures can be demonstrated. This thesis has revealed that, despite a broad, open-minded and fair attitude towards an impartial portrayal of sites, the geographical reality is that the citations concentrated on, are far from evenly distributed. It will be shown that there are many factors which may have led to the current situation, each of which will be discussed below.

The origins of this emphasis and geographical bias lie in the past. Historical reasons may have played a part. Authors can only draw on the accumulated knowledge from the past and its archaeological literature. They clearly have no intention of deliberately leaving out sites in, for example, northern England. Nevertheless, this has created a geographical emphasis on the south-western sites of England, most particularly within Wessex (Jones 2011, 1). As has been discussed in the Literature Review, many of the earliest writers about prehistoric monuments were based in southern England. They had the time and the money to devote to archaeological endeavours and wrote about their findings. Their sites therefore featured more frequently in the early archaeological literature, than sites elsewhere in Britain, even though some antiquarians had visited northern sites. Stukeley, for example, discovered the north of England's Shap and Devil's Arrows landscapes during one route of at least ten visits to prehistoric structures around the UK. Pennant logged his findings too (1774). Pitt-Rivers, on the other hand, inherited land in Cranborne Chase, which is an area straddling Wiltshire, Dorset and Hampshire. As a superlative archaeologist of his time and a person greatly respected by his later peers, his excavations and their locations were very influential. Had he inherited land in Yorkshire, or elsewhere, this might have altered this Wessex-focussed emphasis in some way. Nevertheless, the early antiquarian activity in southern England led to a misleading impression that any monuments dug there must have been the first of their type anywhere in the UK (Bradley 2011, xv). Certainly, any later excavations were compared to these earlier digs, in an attempt to compare but not replace their importance. Bradley stated, 'Henge monuments were a northern invention in the past and a southern invention in the development of modern archaeology. The two perspectives have been hard to reconcile' (ibid. 184).

From the 1920s onwards, aerial photography and reconnaissance became popular (St. Joseph & Wilson 1976, in Stoddart 2000, 103), (Wessex from the Air was published in 1928). The region of

Wessex benefitted hugely because it had very prominent earthworks, such as well-preserved hill-forts like Maiden Castle and Danebury, which were easy to spot. Sites were also photographed because the earthworks were 'free of masking vegetation' (ibid.). However, while this argument is pertinent, there are many other regions within Britain, including many landscapes within the north of England, where this argument could also apply. The A1 corridor or the Wolds in Yorkshire, the Shap landscape in Cumbria or the Milfield Basin in Northumberland are equally exposed and have prominent earthworks, which are readily visible. From the early publications of *Antiquity* from 1927 onwards, Crawford, the editor, purported to be providing data about a wide variety of landscapes, when the aerial photographs within the articles actually only contained evidence from Wiltshire (ibid.1).

Yet, as far back as the 1930s, archaeologists had understood that there were some discrepancies in the data available within different parts of Britain. Fox realised that there were regional differences which had to be acknowledged, in the description of the landscape of Britain during prehistory, and described it in the only way he knew, that is, through geographical and topographical explanations. Hogg had also noticed a discrepancy, but in this case, with specific regard to northern England. He felt that sites there were being neglected, 'it is probable that all the labour ever expended on native sites in Northumberland does not exceed that devoted each year to the examination of prehistoric remains in such areas as Sussex or Wiltshire' (1943, 136). He commented that cairn cemeteries in Northumberland had not been noted, due to their 'paucity of relics', adding that this issue was more likely one of a lack of excavations in the region, as plenty of sites were awaiting further study (ibid.). He was, however, keen to see further analysis, as he believed the Northumbrian cairn cemeteries could be compared to those at Hirwaun in Glamorganshire (ibid.143). Much more analysis and cross-comparison of lesser known sites could clearly benefit the overall picture of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in many areas, not least the north of England. Barclay re-highlighted this issue, by providing examples of situations where archaeologists had discussed Britain, but were really only referencing England, and southern England, in particular (2004, 34). He discussed the 'luminosity' of Wessex and Orkney, wondering what might be the case if all N/EBA structures had survived. How different would the archaeological picture be now (ibid.34-5)?

After the Second World War, when Piggott had completed his book, he also questioned the partiality of the data available. However, he realised that there could never be a perfect reconstruction of the past, as the 'accident of survival' of archaeological data varies so greatly in different areas. The picture gained would, at best, inevitably be 'one-sided and limited'. Then, as now, Piggott accepted that it was the role of archaeologists to attempt to redress this imbalance (1949, 16, 21). Nevertheless, within Piggott's synthesis, some of his remarks are disparaging to a modern-day, politically-correct audience. Piggott commented about the arrival of the cultural innovations into northern and western regions, that these people were 'coming in by the back door, so to speak' (Piggott 1949, 28), 'a back door that so well might be a tradesmen's entrance!' (ibid.114). Piggott was very influential in the archaeological literature, so his ideas may have given the impression that the northern and western regions of Britain were secondary to those in the south, encouraging archaeologists to concentrate on southern sites. Whilst Piggott acknowledged that the 'Windmill Hill tribes' were 'ultimately of Yorkshire origin' (Piggott 1949, 87), he had also stated, of Yorkshire, that 'the region seems to have become something of a backwater, developing local peculiarities in isolation after the main force of the neolithic move had gone on beyond' (ibid.78). The 'local peculiarities' in question pertain to the Neolithic evidence that a flue had been created within some of the Yorkshire Wolds round and long mounds, as a type of pyre to burn the dead. This 'flue- or trench-cremation' was also referred to by Grinsell (1953, 217); as 'burned burials' by Ashbee (1984, 65); and later as 'crematoria' in both Neolithic round and long mounds

(Kinnes 1979, 58 & 1992, 84-5, respectively). Yet, this earlier interest has failed to encourage modern-day synthesis writers to highlight these Yorkshire sites, or for archaeologists to excavate in this area. This is despite the fact that Manby *et al.* concurred that this practice can be proven at several sites in the Yorkshire Wolds, with other sites requiring further investigation (2003, 44-6; Manby 1988, 44). Nevertheless, if northern England were seen as a backwater on the route northwards and westwards, then any funding for research into this area might be hard to obtain.

Northern sites were also sometimes written about as though they were deemed less important than similar monument type sites in the south. A good example is in the commentary about the 1952 survey and excavation of the Thornborough circles. This was completed, 'in an attempt to see how far their superficial resemblance to the 'Big Rings'…at Dorchester-on-Thames was real' (Thomas 1955, 425). After the survey, Thomas concluded that, 'Either the builders of Yorkshire sites evolved this sophisticated plan on their own, which seems unlikely, or else they brought it up from the south of England' from a 'pilgrimage to Stonehenge' (ibid.436).

Renfrew's 1974 compilation on British prehistory aimed to right some of these disparities. Burgess (1974, 165), after Fox (1938, 28, 33), attempted to understand the regional differences between the lowland and highland zones within Britain. However, his reference to the highland zone as 'alien', a region which, according to Burgess, included Yorkshire, was less than helpful in promoting positive regional difference. He was aware that certain areas were over-emphasised and others less so, 'That north Wales was already important in the early bronze age is obscured by the brilliance of Wessex, and artificial archaeological pre-occupation with this and other areas such as east Yorkshire' (1974, 197). It is interesting that he considered eastern Yorkshire to be part of this issue at that time, although it is unclear why he considered the pre-occupation as 'artificial'. As has been shown from this thesis' research, this situation has altered dramatically over the last forty years, and East Yorkshire is no longer regarded as 'over-emphasised'. In fact, Smith, writing in Renfrew in 1972 too, was aware that regions away from southern England were being treated differently from those in the south. It concerned her that, at the time of writing, there were 150 available radiocarbon dates for the Neolithic period in the British Isles. Yet, three-fifths of those pertained to southern England and one-fifth to Ireland. She added that, 'The few determinations that can be considered for northern England, Scotland and Wales permit useful, if sporadic, correlations with the two regions for which there are longer runs'. Forde-Johnston also demonstrated an interest in looking at variations of data throughout the UK. He discussed the difference between Bronze Age burials in the north and west of Britain, compared with those in the south and east. He realised that there was a stone and earth distinction, and argued this clearly, explaining that stone cairns were found in highland regions, whereas earthen barrows were found in lowland areas. However, he then referenced the two types of site unequally, allowing six pages of descriptions of lowland examples, but then only allocating one short paragraph for upland cairns, before moving swiftly on to burial types (1976, 133, 138-9). The issue of uneven data also arose, with regards to the knowledge about Early Neolithic agriculture in the UK. Megaw & Simpson commented that the most comprehensive picture of early farming derives from information gathered from southern and south-eastern Britain. They argued that the situation had arisen due to antiquarian excavations and the intensive archaeological research in the south over the last two hundred years. They also added that evidence for Neolithic agriculture is much more limited and scarce in the north and east of Britain, probably due to less archaeological fieldwork and to the issue of geological conditions, which might have destroyed or hidden any traces of settlement (1979, 79, 103). Megaw & Simpson looked at regional differences, with regards to Beaker distributions within Britain (1979, 186-7). They acknowledged regions of importance, areas which appeared by them to be 'focal…distinctive centres of beaker settlement, notably north-east Scotland, south-east Scotland and north-eastern

England, Yorkshire, East Anglia and Wessex'. Surprisingly, having mentioned these six regions of beaker settlement, they then only included drawings of artefacts recovered from Wiltshire locations and barrows (ibid.180, 184).

The social foundations of prehistoric Britain (Bradley 1984) was another of the books I could have studied but, through reading, I realised that it would neither alter nor add to this thesis. Bradley also acknowledged this, by stating that he had written solely about geographical areas in Britain where there was enough available data (1984, 4). He added that there was therefore an emphasis on southern England, due to the amount of fieldwork completed there over such a long period, but stressed that this did not mean that southern England was more important than any other region (ibid.). Nevertheless, Bradley clearly wished to emphasise links and some level of equality between regions. He identified eight 'core areas' (1984, 41) throughout Britain, in areas of above-average soil fertility, in order to work towards 'the *possibility* of a more rounded approach to prehistory' (ibid.157). One of these was the Yorkshire Wolds.

In fact, over the last eighty years, some parts of Britain have received more archaeological attention than the fieldwork and excavations completed in other regions, but this was mainly 'based on local demands at the time, not on a rational analysis of longer term need' (Hunter & Ralston 1999, 8). This situation did, however, create geographical partiality in the work carried out and in the overall distribution of data recovered. In the last twenty years, PPG16 has also influenced the national distribution of archaeological 'rescue' excavations, and therefore of grey literature pertaining to that fieldwork, with regions of higher population inevitably having more excavations than other regions. Definite population numbers for the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age are currently unknown. However, Malone commented that Neolithic settlement may have been especially dense in the East Anglian Brecklands, the Yorkshire Wolds, and the north Cotswolds (2001, 219). Darvill also discussed N/EBA population levels, stating that 'The southern English downlands were probably among the most densely populated areas at this time. Elsewhere efforts were probably commensurate with the available labour (1987, 94). Pollard added to this, by suggesting that Wessex and the East Anglian fen-edge were areas of 'more intensive occupation' than the landscapes of the Midlands or uplands (1997, 12).

We can, however, look at N/EBA monument totals, to try to gain some idea of past population levels. From the Results section, the Top Ten English counties have been graded and if all monuments are taken into consideration, Wiltshire comes first in England, with a thousand more barrows than any other county. Nevertheless, once the numbers of barrows and rock-art sites are removed, Cumbria, North Yorkshire and Northumberland all have more Neolithic and Early Bronze Age monuments than Wiltshire. These Top Ten totals for England have been logged from data within Pastscape, the Historic England website, http://www.pastscape.org.uk/. Despite this, these regions are less well-referenced in the fourteen books studied, than either Wessex or Orkney. Yet, the two regions of Wessex and Orkney are both unique (Stonehenge, within Wessex, is the largest, prehistoric, megalithic monument in Britain, and Orkney contains the remarkable survival of stone-built house structures and associated monuments) and very different from one another. Wessex is close to centres of high population, whereas the Orkney Islands are in a very remote part of Britain. However, other regions in Britain also have high densities of population, such as, southern Scotland, especially areas within fifty miles of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and south-east Wales around Cardiff and Swansea. Yet, these are among the most poorly referenced areas in Britain, within these fourteen books (Appendix A & E; Table 27). Cumbria, the North Yorkshire Moors and the Yorkshire Wolds are, instead, areas of current-day low population density and yet have numerous N/EBA monuments and are areas which require further investigation, in order to redress the geographical imbalance created by the last twenty or more years of rescue excavations. Cumbria has an

important Neolithic axe factory, numerous extant stone circles, henges, standing stones and long barrows, and North Yorkshire boasts cursuses, standing stones, henges, Bronze Age barrows, Neolithic round mounds and potential Bronze Age farming landscapes.

This focus could instead reflect early antiquarian excavation locations, previously mentioned. Once again, this theory works for Wessex but doesn't reflect the early activity in the Yorkshire Wolds. At some point in the last thirty years, the focus on the Yorkshire Wolds has been lost, with only six per cent of references for both North and East Yorkshire together, over the fourteen books studied, and far less bibliographic references made to articles and texts, which concentrate on the north of England (Figure 129). How has such an important region failed to continue to attract national attention? Having been described by Fox (1938, 28) and more specifically by Bradley (1984, 41) as a key Neolithic area in Britain, how and why has this interest waned so dramatically? This is an area with extraordinary and different Neolithic body disposal techniques from the rest of Britain (Manby *et al.* 2003, 44-6; Kinnes 1992, 84-5; Manby 1988, 44; Kinnes 1979, 58; Ashbee 1984, 65; Grinsell 1953, 217), as well as excellent organic preservation within some of its Bronze Age round barrows (Ashbee 1960, 73, 88-91, 93). To add to this, there has been a huge national neglect in the amount of attention paid to the rest of Yorkshire, its Moors, its Swale-Ure region and its Dales, along with the impressive N/EBA landscapes of Northumberland and Cumbria.

Bradley was concerned that it was monument survival which had influenced prehistoric archaeology, in particular, the area of Wessex. Yet, he added that, 'early excavations were devoted to standing monuments which survived in great numbers on the chalk of southern and north-eastern England because both regions had been used as grazing land' (2007, 153). Kinnes added that the location of many of the Salisbury Plain mounds, 'on military land', had also ensured their survival as upstanding remains, versus the 'mediaeval cultivation of the Yorkshire Wolds' (1992, 67). Grinsell had also commented about this, with a fairly negative commentary about the poor state of the Wolds' upstanding monuments, after over a century under the plough (1975, 214). This might have discouraged researchers from visiting the region. As far back as 1960, emphasis was laid on the importance of protecting monuments from ploughing, such as those in Wessex, Cornwall, East Anglia and Yorkshire (Ashbee 1960, 200).

However, 'remarkable preservation' is usually a factor which has allured many generations of archaeologists, either for above-ground monuments as in a comment made by Pollard about Orkney's N/EBA structures (1997, 12), or in the ease of digging hidden, below-ground structures on chalk (Darvill, pers.comm). For this reason, it is surprising that more recent excavations haven't taken place on the Yorkshire Wolds, as it still contains many upstanding monuments, such as Willy Howe, within a chalk landscape. Yet, Barber reiterated this issue, stating that in regions where there has been a long history of archaeological fieldwork and good site and artefact preservation, this long-documented history would actually attract more research, as the foundations were already there (1997, 77). Less well-blessed areas would instead suffer generalisation and might end up having their history rewritten based on sites elsewhere (e.g. Cumbrian henges in Bradley & Edmonds 1993). Nevertheless, Armit commented, of northern monuments, that a 'lack of later intensive agriculture has allowed many to survive as visible features in the landscape' (2003, 37). It is therefore not clear why the North has attracted so little recent focus. This might have an effect on future funding for this and other less studied or less-well known regions, and may also affect regions where there has been little archaeological progress for a hundred years. For regions, such as the Yorkshire Wolds, the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age could achieve as much attention as has been given to the Star Carr Mesolithic landscape, which is located just to the north of this area. The Star Carr landscape offers no upstanding remains (Milner *et al.* 2013, 6-7) and yet has provided archaeologists with world-famous excavation data (ibid.1).

Another major factor affecting early attitudes towards British prehistoric monuments, which should not be forgotten, was that of the Orient. Classical scholars believed that all ideas stemmed from the East and that once the Mediterranean had adopted such concepts, these cultural ideas were diffused northwards and westwards (Henshall 1974, 139). Thus, Scottish tombs were originally compared to those in southern and eastern Britain, and differences overlooked, rather than seeing those monuments as a distinct group in their own right. Piggott, too, believed that these burials formed part of a distinctive Wessex culture, and from that time onwards, they have assumed a prominent place in the prehistory of Britain (Darvill 1987, 99). There is an ongoing archaeological debate in Britain, regarding the status of northern England within Neolithic and Early Bronze Age developments in Northern Europe. Since Caesar's arrival in Britain, its people have been referred to as 'barbarian', particularly those from the north (Mellor 1993, 11-15). Maybe this is a prime reason why we do not emphasise pre-Roman sites in northern England. Are we still bound to these classical ideas in the modern era? We cannot say that there is a lack of interest in this period, given recent publications (discussed in the Regional Literature Review, above) and public interest in sites such as Castlerigg stone circle, Cumbria. Nevertheless, as that particular site is signposted off a main route through the Lake District, this must help its visitor numbers. However, from Fox (1938, 13) onwards, there have been a succession of archaeological viewpoints which emphasised that the British Neolithic culture originated overseas and was not home-created (Piggott 1949, 63). 'The invasion coast is that of the Lowland Zone' (Piggott 1949, 63), that is, the south and east coasts of England (Fox 1938, 33). From these early books, a distinction was therefore made between the south-east and north-west of Britain, whether this was clearly outlined or not (Fox 1938, 27-8, Map B; Forde-Johnston 1976, 29). This distinction led to an attitude still held today (e.g. Thomas 2013) that invasion into southern Britain's Lowland Zone (Piggott 1949, 108-9, 114), by more technologically-advanced groups, led to a wave of more knowledgeable, cultured groups in the south, who slowly disseminated this information into the north and west of Britain (ibid.28), with neolithic manufacturing areas in the north and west, and purchasing centres in the south (ibid.107). More recently, Sheridan and Thomas have rekindled this argument. Sheridan, who has developed the discussion far further than either Elgee (1933, 59) or Smith (1974, 100-1), has shown that from Neolithic pottery sherd assemblages, she could identify four routeways from modern-day northern France to Britain and Ireland (2010, 91-3, including Fig. 9.1), namely 1) from the Loire region of France to south-west Ireland (Ferriter's Cove); 2) from southern Brittany to the Atlantic coast of Britain, including Wales, the Isle of Man, western Scotland and North Ireland; 3) from northern France to multiple locations in southern and eastern Britain, and via the Great Glen, to south-west Scotland and Ireland (known as the 'Carinated Bowl' routeway); and 4) from the current-day Cherbourg region to south-western England. On the other hand, Thomas has demonstrated that there were continued contacts between Britain's southern coast and the Continent from the end of the Mesolithic into the Neolithic periods, with a timelapse of three centuries before the north and west of Britain adopted these new lifeways (2013, 425). A great amount of radiocarbon dating has been achieved in southern England and northern Scotland, especially thanks to the recent publication, *Gathering Time,* which was published in 2011. Thomas (2013) and Pryor (2014, 75) used the radiocarbon dates from this study as a basis for their discussions. Therefore, to further add to both Thomas and Sheridan's debates, in particular, much more detailed radiocarbon analyses from the rest of Britain need to be completed, in order to place all Early Neolithic sites, such as those in northern England (e.g. Petts & Gerrard 2006, 26; Manby *et al.* 2003, 43), within the overall archaeological debate. This would provide a more coherent and comprehensive picture of how the distribution of Neolithic ideas and artefacts occurred. Historically, Smith (1974, 106) had considered Grimston-Lyle's Hill-style pottery to be part of the earliest onset of the Neolithic. Since then, there have been early radiocarbon dates assigned to North Gill, on Glaisdale Moor, on the North Yorkshire Moors (Innes & Simmons 2000, 156, 162; Simmons & Innes 1988); to the early Neolithic round and

long barrows on the Yorkshire Wolds (Gibson & Bayliss 2010, 101); and to the Coupland enclosure in the Milfield Basin (Waddington 2001, 4). With a more extensive investigation into northern England, these outliers might be proven to be more significant than previously thought.

Clearly, as prehistorians, we must aim, in the modern era, to move beyond the broad oversimplifications which threaten to homogenise the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age people within Britain. Renfrew observed this situation, with regards to 'concepts such as 'Neolithic Man' or 'Bronze Age Man', as if all men lived alike in each of these epochs' (1974, 5), but it is clear from this study that this issue is far from being resolved. Many interpretations of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods have been modelled around sites in southern Britain, and then 'applied indiscriminately as a model for the whole of Britain and Ireland' (Sheridan 2003, 3). Yet, it is clear that 'there is no uniform 'British' Neolithic' (Barclay 2001, 12). Over the last fifteen years, this issue has been accepted and has begun to be tackled through mediums such as the Neolithic Studies Group and Theoretical Archaeology Group conferences and through books such as Brophy & Barclay (2009) and Jones & Kirkham (2011), where diversity is applauded. Nevertheless, more needs to be done in order to redress this geographical imbalance. However, caution must be taken as Jones commented that despite the growth of regional studies throughout the UK, many current regional studies are actually devoted to areas around Wessex (Jones 2011, 1-2).

Writers, of the books studied for this thesis, have sometimes failed to take advantage of an opportunity to promote other regions within Britain. In a discussion about the continued use of causewayed enclosures in southern Britain and particularly Wessex, Megaw & Simpson (1979, 159) failed to go into details about the early henges of the Midlands and northern England, which appeared, according to them, half a millennium before henges in the south. In fact, they instead used this point to re-emphasise the southern causewayed enclosures' importance, rather than to promote earlier monuments further north. In fact, writers have tended to exacerbate the emphasis on Stonehenge and Avebury within their books, by deliberately creating special space in their books for these two sites and their surrounding landscapes. Everyone cannot but agree that these two sites are magnificent in their own right, but this constant focus on sites in Wiltshire is detrimental to other areas of Britain, especially when a publication is entitled a study of Britain. While Darvill (1987, 14) merely praises Stonehenge, Scarre (2003) makes the priorities for his book abundantly clear, in three ways, due to the fact that his book was originally intended for French audiences (pers.comm.). He wrote a specific chapter on each of Scotland and Ireland. He then grouped the majority of England and all of Wales into a shared chapter together and finally, gave the sites of Stonehenge and Avebury a chapter all to themselves. Bradley also stated, 'It may seem unusual to devote so much space to the archaeology of Ireland and Scotland, when some of the most famous monuments of the Later Neolithic are in southern Britain, but it seems impossible to understand them in terms of local developments' (2007, 122). Since Bradley's book is called 'The Prehistory of Britain and Ireland', and not that of southern Britain, his explanation seems unnecessary.

Writers, as has also been noted in this study, seem to compare the N/EBA sites in northern England to sites they believe to be comparable in Wessex or Orkney, with Wessex models dominating discussions of English, or indeed, British Neolithic monuments, as Gibson & Bayliss noted (2010, 98). Archaeologists may mention the brilliance or importance of a site, and then feel the need to compare it to one of the better known sites in southern Britain, in order to ensure credence. For example, Scarre discussed Duggleby Howe Neolithic mound and its comparison to Maes Howe in Orkney, or the Thornborough henges, which were likened to those at Dorchester (2007, 86-8). While comparisons are necessary, it would be favourable, in order to produce a more comprehensive look at the Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages in Britain, to sometimes compare sites to somewhere other than Wessex, in order to broaden the archaeological debate. That way,

undergraduates and the general public, who may be reading these books, might gain a greater knowledge of the wealth of N/EBA sites within the whole of Britain. In the case of Thornborough, a different comparison could have been another site in northern England, i.e., that of King Arthur's Round Table, in the north of Cumbria, which is another Class II henge with similar dimensions to those in the A1 corridor. Even when an area is famed for its prehistoric structures, it might be compared to Wessex, rather than appreciating the structures in their own right. An example of this, is Burl's comment in the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, about the Rudston and Devil's Arrows standing stones, which he compared to the area of Stonehenge, rather than merely championing them as exceptional monuments in specific areas where stone is rare (1991, 17). Kinnes *et al.* also wrote favourably about Rudston in East Yorkshire, with their comment, The 'extraordinary Rudston…complex' with its 'almost profligate expenditure of prime agricultural land in monument siting' (1983, 104). However, the authors, after this favourable explanation of Rudston, then felt the need to compare these four cursuses, with associated henge and standing stone (the largest in Britain), to two sites in Wiltshire. The group of monuments, placed as it is within the Gypsey Race Valley, with numerous other nationally-important N/EBA communal structures within its landscape, do not need comparison. They are unique, and iconic (Gibson & Bayliss 2010, 72). Cumbrian henge monuments, on the other hand, have been discussed on the basis of radiocarbon dates from southern England (Bradley & Edmonds 1993, 202), rather than from their own sampled data.

Archaeologists, such as Richards (2013) and Russell (2002), also frequently promoted the monuments of Wessex within their work. Richards, in his book about the great stone circles of the North, referenced Avebury on line 6 of the introduction (2013, 2) and then made numerous other references to megalithic monuments in south-west England (ibid.1-31), despite the fact that there have been numerous excavations of stone circles and N/EBA monuments in northern Britain, which he might have drawn on instead. Russell provided a study of Neolithic monuments in his book, *Monuments of the British Neolithic*, which he had based on the source material he had gathered during his doctoral thesis about the monuments of southern England (2002, 11). In fact, Russell promoted Wessex over other regions in his book, stating that, 'The pre-mound timber buildings that have taken pre-eminent place in the archaeological literature are, perhaps unsurprisingly, those from the Wessex heartland…but other sites certainly exist' (2002, 54). Surely, the most-known monuments are only so because they are more frequently referred to, rather than other timber structures. In Russell's 'other sites' list, he referenced thirteen further structures, of which five were in Yorkshire, one in Cleveland, Cumbria and Dumfries and Galloway, correspondingly. It is a shame that he did not provide further information on these geographically-close monuments, as they may have further added to a more comprehensive picture of the Neolithic in Britain. Russell did discuss seven other north-eastern sites, with some plans (ibid.58-61). These are Aldro 88 & 94, Cowlam 277, Callis Wold, and Garton Slack 80 & 81 (all in Yorkshire); and Copt Hill (Tyne and Wear) (ibid.58-61). Summing up, he referenced fifteen sites in northern England and south-west Scotland, in total. In fact, these references are very important, as the majority of these sites had not been referenced within the fourteen books on Britain either. Both the Wessex and Yorkshire mounds are of equal importance within the archaeological literature. Kinnes highlighted the Yorkshire Wolds as the location of the most prolific concentration of Neolithic round barrows in Britain, and second, after Wessex, in the regional concentrations of British Neolithic long barrows (1992, 8-19). Nevertheless, rather than accepting this, Kinnes tried to excuse the high totals from East Yorkshire, stating some mis-identification of sites in earlier excavations (1979, 45). However, he did acknowledge that 'modern excavation…has affirmed the existence of genuine sites' (ibid.46). On the other hand, Harding actually emphasised that the long and round barrows in Eastern Yorkshire challenge the long-held view that long and round barrows had opposing 'collective' and 'individual' burial rites, with different treatments of the human body. This is because, in North and Eastern

Yorkshire, this distinction is not so clear cut (1996, 67), as there are both types of burial tradition operating within the same area. Bradley had also discussed the relationship between Later Neolithic single burials and henge monuments, and the Neolithic round barrows in Wessex and the Yorkshire Wolds. He added that the Yorkshire Wolds' sites contain 'the highest proportion of Neolithic single burials' within Britain, and found the contrast between Wessex and the Wolds 'striking'. He then discussed sites within the Wolds, north-east Scotland, Wessex and the Orkneys (1984, 78), although it is clear from his discussion that further work will be needed to understand the unique qualities of burial tradition within the round and long mounds of the Yorkshire Wolds.

Many scholars, such as Thomas, have conducted fieldwork surveys within northern Britain. This has led to valuable regional data, which can be regularly referenced in their work, such as Thomas' inclusion of his work in south-west Scotland within his book about the origins of the British Neolithic (2013, 338-343). Fieldwork in previously-unstudied landscapes can also lead to discoveries of national importance. Bradley and Edmonds' discovered a complex axe factory site at Great Langdale in the Lake District (1993). More recently, Alex Gibson has discovered a neolithic house, close to the mortuary enclosure of Yarnbury, above the town of Grassington in North Yorkshire (pers.comm.). Yarnbury itself was thought to be an upland henge, until Gibson excavated it in 2014.

Other sites in northern England were referenced within the text, but written within a list of southern examples, such as Stoddart's discussion of spectacular sites, namely Glastonbury, Star Carr and Danebury (2000, 374). Without specific information about the location of each individual site, it could be assumed that all these sites are within the same regional area. It would have added to Star Carr's importance, as a Yorkshire site, as well as being one of the most prominent Mesolithic sites in Britain, had Stoddart placed Star Carr within its own geographical area. There has also been a situation where the description of a particular site in northern England does not do justice to its magnificence. Malone commented that the Thornborough henges 'show as dramatic cropmarks and survive as low earthworks' (2001, 198). Yet, Harding *et al.* commented in 2013, that the 'henges themselves survive…as extremely impressive earthworks' (2013, 43), with the northern and central henges having surviving banks of up to three metres high and twenty metres wide. The northern henge also has a considerable ditch, 2.2-2.6 metres deep, with a width of 18-20 metres (ibid.43-44). Darvill had commented about the importance and wealth of the Wessex graves, as compared to those in the rest of the UK, 'in other parts of Britain rich graves appear to represent short-lived access to wealth in otherwise rather impoverished communities' (1987, 100). This is perhaps another reason that the Wessex burials have been more publicised than those in other areas, such as the Yorkshire Wolds, where there are also exceptional graves. However, it might have been pertinent to add that what is seen in a grave is what has survived. Organic materials, including bone and antler, but also any perishable items, such as material, basketry etc., are rarely preserved, but were surely of great importance to the N/EBA people. A study of the organic finds from the Yorkshire barrows of Kellythorpe, Gristhorpe timber-coffin burial, Loose Howe canoe burial, among others, might provide further information about this. Secondly, it is a modern-day opinion that the items found in the graves were representative of wealth and status. We fail to know how the N/EBA people felt about the items in their possession. All else is speculation. The items taken away with them, or the organic items lost in most cases, may have been worth far more to the N/EBA people than their trinkets. A third suggestion is that we cannot know what was placed in water or taken into an upland landscape for deposition, rather than being placed in a grave. Perhaps, for some, the offering was the important aspect, rather than the evidence of conspicuous consumption. Darvill went on to add, 'Jet bead necklaces, splendid as they are, may simply be imitations of the more valued amber versions or gold lunulae' (ibid.). It is difficult to place such a value on an item, without any further proof. As jet has electro-magnetic properties, and must have been rare in the Neolithic

and Early Bronze Age, as it can only be sought from one region within Britain, that is, Whitby, North Yorkshire, then there is no reason to suggest it was not as highly prized as any other rare, luminous material and treated with special significance. It is useful to use this particular issue as an example. With much more fieldwork completed in the Wessex region than in other parts of Britain, this has led to a geographical inequity in the results and analysis of specific type-sites. In order to resolve such a complex issue, a comparable amount of time and effort would be required to further investigate rich graves elsewhere in the UK, so that a more accurate comparison with the Wessex graves can be sought. Through this, a wider debate can be achieved. Perspectives can be broadened, which will ultimately benefit future syntheses on the British Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods. Students, reading these books, might also be encouraged to consider investigating, in this case, the rich burials in other regions, in order to bring those results to further enrich the archaeological debate.

This general neglect of, or referencing to, the prominent sites in northern England, does not give these sites their intrinsic value and instead, by underplaying their significance, it implies that northern England's N/EBA sites have less importance within the overall archaeological debate. This has concerned many archaeologists who work there. Some archaeologists clearly feel an element of regret about this issue, either stemming from their own work, or in general, about a particular site or region, which they feel, deserves more national acclaim. Frodsham even edited two combined Northern Archaeology journals, in order to emphasise that he felt that northern England's sites were abandoned in '*The Neolithic in No Man's Land*' (1996). Harding was concerned that the Thornborough complex and neighbouring henges and stone row in North Yorkshire were neglected from national references in published overviews of the British Neolithic (Harding 2013, 1). He felt that this was due to their location 'in an often ignored part of the British Isles', a long way from Wessex or Orkney (ibid.2). Within these fourteen books, it was noticed that the geographical area of northern England, chosen for this study, was often less mentioned, when compared with the references to the rest of Britain (and Ireland, where applicable) (Figure 126, Figure 127). It was also totally overshadowed by other specific areas. This neglect was demonstrated in the results from other regions throughout Britain, and not solely for northern England, for example, Wales, southern Scotland or Hampshire. This shows a greater need for more referencing of the variety of sites found in counties and regions, other than Wiltshire, whose sites are constantly quoted. Even Bradley, who has worked so hard to provide variety in his writing, commented that, 'These examples have been taken from English archaeology, but similar trends have been identified by field survey in other areas.' (2007, 171). He was nevertheless aware of the differences between what he had written and the overall information available.

As can be seen, there are always positive pointers to take from any thesis and these should be encouraged. Pryor's comment in *Home* can be adapted to fit this thesis, that is, that in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, there were 'very few distinctively large…buildings' and the roles of rulers in the past are therefore overemphasised (2014, xxi-xxii). In the same way, although we can, of course, mention some of the most impressive monuments in Britain, such as Duggleby Howe, Rudston or indeed the Thornborough henges, all in Yorkshire, we must be careful not to neglect the smaller henges and stone circles of the North Yorkshire Moors and Yorkshire Wolds; nor the Neolithic long and round barrows, or large clusters of Bronze Age round barrows which existed within this time period either. In fact, it is through these more 'ordinary' monuments that we can picture true N/EBA life, as the people lived among these monuments and saw them every day. An example of this is the Neolithic rectangular building on the same plateau as the Yarnbury mortuary enclosure, near Grassington (Alex Gibson, pers.comm.). This new upland Neolithic house would not have been uncovered, had Gibson not elected to survey and excavate the Yarnbury landscape.

This shows that when opportunities are taken, and funding is provided, the new findings and results can add to the richness of the archaeological record and to future research and national literature. This is very important, as it had been previously noted that there was still very little evidence of Neolithic agricultural or habitation activity within northern England in 2002, as the monuments did not seem to be associated with any other features (Quartermaine 2002, 31). Megaw & Simpson had also noticed this, adding that settlements may not have been found because they might not have been situated with the monuments, which are so often on higher land, but rather in valley bottoms, which are now covered by many feet of sediment and hill-wash (1979, 108). This may be the situation, in some cases, which might be further complicated as valleys often contain woodland, which would have been of practical use to the Neolithic people, but the post-holes or bedding trenches of timber buildings only show up as ephemeral traces in modern surveys.

There are clearly practical reasons why archaeologists have permitted this situation to continue for so long. Time and funding are always the most important issues. It is ultimately much cheaper, more efficient and time-saving to re-use data, thoughts and material which has already been gathered, by colleagues with whom one is familiar, rather than to approach and support new data and evidence. Another option would be to enter the field oneself and chance either not getting the permission to investigate a site, or, even worse, dig at a site and not find anything datable or diagnostic. With far more emphasis on excavation and masses of research knowledge in the south of Britain, this imbalance may continue to exist. This is where the most reliable radiocarbon dates have been gathered (Whittle *et al*. 2011); where huge research projects have been completed, such as the Thames River Valley project or the Stonehenge Landscape Project; and where a good proportion of prominent universities and their professors and students are surveying and excavating. Some regions are, though, well researched and demonstrate what can be achieved with time and money. As Malone noted, there are now regions in Britain and Ireland where there is enough knowledge to be able to 'begin to pose searching questions about the period and its communities' (2001, 259). It is true that we are starting to understand the Neolithic period. Yet, there is much work still to be achieved, especially in the north of England. To add to this, Bradley (2007, xv) commented that 'the amount of good quality fieldwork is on the increase', with increased funds available for more detailed analysis of results than was ever available before. 'Work is now being undertaken…often in regions where little had been attempted before' (ibid.). All these are positive signs.

This research has revealed a huge geographical emphasis on certain areas of Britain, to the exclusion of others in the writing of general books on the Neolithic and Bronze Age in archaeology. This would be a grave situation indeed, were the authors themselves deliberately focussing on some areas and omitting other regions. However, it is clear that, even from the earlier works (for example, Piggott 1949), these archaeologists acknowledged this disparity and, in their own mind, were keen to challenge the imbalance. Nevertheless, as has been recently said about Neolithic Scotland but could have been stated for many regions in the UK, there are numerous N/EBA landscapes which have been 'very much at the back of the chorus' (Clarke 2004, 45). Yet, these authors are attempting to produce a book which fairly covers the whole of Britain. As with the distribution maps for each of the books, superficially the whole of Britain is covered, and yet, this study has revealed that there is actually an overwhelming geographical imbalance in each book. With a major emphasis on southern Britain and Orkney, an undergraduate might subconsciously accept the importance of these two areas over any other Britain may offer. This might affect future fieldwork choices or perhaps their choice of subject for a doctorate in archaeology. Also, if past syntheses have been unintentionally geographically-biased, then undergraduate students might even gain the wrong impression about the distribution of N/EBA monuments, artefacts and

settlements throughout Britain. They may, therefore, conclude that there are few worthy sites within the north of England to investigate and that the majority of sites within the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age were sited within southern Britain.

It can be seen from this study that a certain amount of imbalance, geographical or otherwise, is, nevertheless, accepted as inevitable. Darvill, Thomas and Russell all acknowledged their inability to provide a completely fair and impartial picture of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age prehistory of Britain. Darvill even asked to be excused (1987, 14), and his self-awareness is to be commended. He made an excellent point, by demonstrating that all writers are bound by their own experiences, by the requirements of their commission and by the audience to whom they are writing. Therefore, there will be an unavoidable bias in all written work. Authors can also have a particular agenda, when writing a book about the British Neolithic or Early Bronze Age periods, which may inadvertently affect the geographical partiality of the contents. In his book, Thomas argued, and this could be a good reason for an author's poor national coverage within their books, 'The intention will not be to provide comprehensive coverage so much as to demonstrate the variability of Neolithic ways of life' (2013, 6). Russell concurred with this viewpoint, adding that his work may therefore appear 'overly selective' (2002, 17). Darvill, too, acknowledged the partiality of his work (1987, 14). Thomas, Darvill and Russell are to be applauded, as they avoided ambiguity and explained this point clearly. Other authors may have concentrated on particular monuments or regions, so creating an imbalance in their books, such as Forde-Johnston's focus on the tombs in the Orkney Islands (1976, 87-94). Thomas also recognised that writers away from southern England may not see 'core' and 'peripheral' locations, in the same way as those living and working in the south, adding in comments about nationalism (2013, 158). These two points excellently sum up the situation found in this thesis. Senior British archaeologists have read and excavated widely and have used the sum of their knowledge within the books they have written. Yet, these works have turned out to be geographically partial, as core and periphery concepts are so dependent on a person's particular thought processes. The number of references for Wiltshire is overwhelming, but at the same time, English archaeologists do not do justice to their own particular regions either. Away from Wiltshire, there are clear indications from my research that most of the rest of England could also be referred to as 'fringe' areas, occasionally mentioned but nothing compared with the number of references to the Wiltshire sites. It is clear that even Hampshire could be referred to as peripheral. With only seventy references within the fourteen books, it came twenty-third in the county totals for England, and faired very poorly against Wiltshire and Dorset (with 2473.5 and 600.5 mentions, respectively) (Figure 124). It also came far below the counties of North and East Yorkshire. North Yorkshire came sixth, with 290 mentions and East Yorkshire thirteenth, with 189 references. Yorkshire, as a general mention, also gained 114 references. So, although my study has focussed on northern England, it has also highlighted many other marginalised areas, which would also benefit from further referencing (Figure 126).

It is clear from the books studied that this geographical partiality has not been done deliberately to avoid or exclude certain areas within Britain. Hopefully, this study will help writers to become more aware of their responsibility to all of Britain's regions in their subsequent works and to put measures in place to improve the geographical diversity of their writing. Even though Renfrew (1974), Forde-Johnston (1976) and Malone (2001) (Appendix A) mentioned numerous sites throughout Britain within their texts, and in fact frequently referenced sites not mentioned in any other of the fourteen syntheses, they only managed to mention these sites once or twice. As this did not alter their overall percentages of references to areas within Britain, this issue needs to be recognised and somehow, an alternate and more diverse regional emphasis needs to be considered, in order to create a more geographically varied account of prehistory. Archaeologists

are always interested in furthering their own knowledge and in finding new comparisons with the data they themselves have uncovered. This study will, therefore, allow archaeologists to see how geographically partial these previous accounts have been and how much emphasis had actually been placed on certain regions. It will also illuminate those areas that have been marginalised or neglected, as a result. Even though the GIS distribution maps for each book represented a fairly uniform and thorough distribution of English site references (Figure 10; Figure 17; Figure 25; Figure 33; Figure 41; Figure 49; Figure 57; Figure 67; Figure 75; Figure 84; Figure 92; Figure 100; Figure 108; Figure 116), it is clear that, when the totals for all fourteen books are combined, the resulting Google Earth map tells a very different story (Figure 123). It is hoped that this awareness will encourage more details about and images of neglected areas to be included in future syntheses of this type, including the wealth of sites in northern England. To further the pursuit of archaeology, through a better understanding of the interrelationships between sites within all regions of Britain, current research needs to include marginalised areas, to better understand the current constraints. It is only 'through the analysis of performance and process' that such change can occur and that the 'granted…prior, and fixed' can be examined (Meirion Jones 2012, 18). So, areas with similar developments can be linked, anomalies can be sought and explained and a more holistic picture of the variety of life in Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Britain will be achieved.

In general, we the UK seem to be a society unaware of its history (Davies 1999, xxvi) (and certainly its pre-Roman prehistory). From my results and analysis of the fourteen texts, there may be many archaeologists around the UK who are surprised by my findings about which sites have, or have not been, included in these national textbooks, and how often. Certainly, archaeologists in the future will need to pay more attention to regional examples, including those in northern England. As Davies commented, books on British prehistory need to be written using a more deliberate framework, that is, 'to pay due respect' to all regions 'to the detriment of none' (1999, xl). The previous focus on certain regions over others has affected the writing of the prehistory of all parts of the UK (Barclay 2004, 41). Regional narratives within national studies, such as published Theoretical Archaeology Group or Neolithic Studies Group events, are to be encouraged, as they openly demonstrate the variety of work being completed around the UK and offer explanations for the narratives that they have uncovered within their own particular regions. This regional diversity highlights new situations, dispels myths, and can alter long-held assumptions regarding regional sequences. Yet, it is more than just a mapping project or a myopic localised search (Jones 2011, 2-3). While it is important to allow each region to display and rejoice in its own individuality, regarding location, age and monument structure, it is the ultimate gathering together of these unique aspects of each of these Neolithic and Early Bronze Age regions throughout the whole of Britain. New links, similarities and differences can then be sought, without constant recourse to what might or might not have happened in certain key areas within the past, and the process can be a positive, rather than negative one.

In fact, there are many reasons to champion the work which has gone into the landscapes of northern England over the last twenty years. Petts & Gerrard (2006, 1) edited a thorough synthesis of 'the rich archaeological…record' of north-east England, whilst Manby *et al.* (2003, x) completed a similar study of the archaeology of Yorkshire, in order to highlight the county's 'great diversity and richness' and the upland survival of its prehistoric monuments and landscapes. Alex Gibson has surveyed and excavated Yarnbury enclosure above the town of Grassington, North Yorkshire (pers.comm). Loveday (2009) and Gibson & Bayliss (2010) have also completed research within the Yorkshire Wolds landscape. Harding (2013) has recently published his excavations at Thornborough in North Yorkshire. The lowland river valley of the Milfield Basin, between the Till and Tweed rivers, has undergone intensive archaeological research over the last fifteen years, hugely widening the

Neolithic and Bronze Age knowledge there (Passmore & Waddington 2009, 2012). On the other side of Britain at a similar latitude, new data has been derived from Julian Thomas' excavations in south-west Scotland (Thomas 2007). Further south, Clare (1999, 2009), Watson & Bradley (2009) and Evans (2008) have been investigating the N/EBA landscapes of the Lake District, and Frodsham has completed the first modern-day excavation of a Cumbrian stone circle, with the first (hopefully, of many) excavations at Long Meg and her Daughters, the results of which are keenly awaited. The heather and overwhelming vegetation around the concentric stone circle at Birkrigg Common in southern Cumbria has latterly been removed by volunteers, so revealing the complex nature of the stone arrangement. Archaeologists working in this region, through these recent investigations, have acquired many new datasets and radiocarbon dates for comparison with sites elsewhere in Britain. Their knowledge provides a taster of what might be available, were more investigations undertaken in northern England.

7. Further Research and Conclusions

This study was designed to look particularly at the neglect of northern England's structures and sites, connected to the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods, within the archaeological prehistory of Britain. The statistics found by this study, through the compilation of data from the fourteen books mentioned above, has shown that both northern England as well as other areas around Britain, have been neglected within the plethora of archaeological literature available. These fourteen books have been taken as a representative sample of the literature written about the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods in Britain.

This thesis has taken every single reference to any mention of a site, region, county or country location within the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods of Britain. All references have been logged and the totals tallied. This has identified major issues within the national and regional archaeological literature of Britain today. The results and subsequent analysis have shown that these books have inadvertently focussed on specific, key regions within Britain, to the exclusion of others. South-west England and northern Scotland, in total, from the fourteen books, had more than double the references than for any other region, with 5050 and 2645 references, correspondingly. This pattern was also matched in the overall country totals for all books, with England gaining the most references, followed by Scotland, Ireland and then Wales (9675; 3996; 2035; 822, respectively) (Table 26). The emphasis on Wessex and Orkney, among other core areas (Bradley 1984, 41), has been reiterated time and time again, generally by archaeologists writing away from these 'luminous centres' (Barclay 2004, 35). In fact, the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of northern England has frequently been overlooked in national and regional accounts on prehistory, for example, Bender (ed.) (1993); Barclay & Harding (eds.) (1999), notwithstanding these fourteen books studied for this thesis.

From the 1930s onwards, archaeologists writing nationally, have been aware of an unevenness in the written representation of regional structures and sites within Britain. They have logged their concerns and made attempts to rectify the situation within their work (Bradley 2007; Malone 2001; Darvill 1987; Piggott 1949). However, archaeologists working within these marginalised areas, such as northern England, have found it much more challenging, especially when the landscape they are studying, fails to be evenly represented in literature about that same period. Harding felt this most keenly about the Thornborough henge complex, which he stated were once 'described as 'one of the most important monuments of its kind in Europe'', yet 'subsequently failed to attract the attention of others'...'rarely getting a mention in published overviews of the British Neolithic' (2013, 1).

Over the last eighty years, the focus seems to have changed from an interest in a comprehensive picture of the Britain's Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods, to a focus on specific sites, such as those in Wiltshire. Thomas (2013, 218) discussed Whittle, Bayliss and Healy's recent work (2011) on the Early Neolithic transition in Britain, stating that, 'One immediate point of concern here is that all of the long mound sites that were initially subjected to intensive chronological analysis were located in the south of England, while causewayed enclosures are in any case a predominantly southern British structural tradition' (2013, 218). Thomas (2013) and Pryor (2014) both predominantly used the results from *Gathering Time*, to provide exact data about the start of the Neolithic in Britain, yet based on results mainly from southern England. If other areas have been omitted from recent radiocarbon dating results, this may constrain archaeologists, as it is difficult to show a broad, holistic picture of Britain, and confirm interrelationships between sites and regions, unless more data from the midlands northwards, is included within the current debate. An example of this is the start of the Neolithic in Britain, where the chronological patterning of change

is hampered by voids in the data accumulation process. Whole areas of world archaeology cannot be written off, just because some areas are more difficult to date than others. It is true that the issues regarding bone survival constrain dating techniques, such as radiocarbon dating and Bayesian analysis, in the landscapes of northern and western Britain, but surely the challenge is, therefore, to uncover new ways to date sites and monuments, within these acid-rich regions. With a fuller and more balanced coverage of Britain, new patterns may emerge to challenge the current theories regarding the onset of the Neolithic.

Funding for large-scale projects is so dependent upon the perceived value or status of the particular region of interest. Thomas added to this, by noting that Mesolithic and Neolithic research funding derives from 'largely separate research communities' with 'different investigative agendas', operating within 'different funding environments' (2013, 220). This demonstrates that there are such differences in the research being completed between the north and the south of England.

Waddington stated that there have been attempts by archaeologists in the past to over-generalise, or to make assumptions about the available evidence, in order to fit it into one theory or another (1997, 21). Yet, every element of past cultures potentially has its own story (Thomas 1999, 221). Post-processual archaeology has, in many ways, managed to promote the individual in each case (Ingold 2000, 139; Barrett 1994, 4) and thus the individuality of every site, each unique in its own way. Nevertheless, the overall homogeneity of many sites can be overlooked in this attempt to see the individual, although often with little tangible evidence. As a chosen landscape is studied, it is clear that the remaining palimpsest of data is an amalgamation of numerous past events, each unique in any given landscape. So, the data gained from digging a site in northern England, will be different from information gathered elsewhere. It may be more challenging, as unlike the organic remains which are rarely present during any N/EBA excavation, the acidic soils of northern and western Britain mean that even bone artefacts are lost from the archaeological record. The Yorkshire Wolds region has the best preservation of grave goods within northern England, sited as it is within a chalk landscape which easily shows up pits and grave cuts. The area also boasts many barrows with surviving organic material, such as the Loose Howe canoe inhumation in Yorkshire, where the entire burial was preserved within a canoe full of water (Ashbee 1960, 90-1). Yet, any site has its own reward. The people constructing a pit alignment, for example, were concentrating on the 'single-period planned project' (ibid.22), rather than considering what we might see 5,000 years later. Those monuments were not constructed in the abstract but rather, 'they arose from the physical engagement by which people made sense of their world' (Barrett 1994a, 119). Therefore, although pit alignments can be considered as part of the bounding of space of broader, more complex Later Neolithic ritual landscapes (Waddington 1997 28, 25), their individual construction events also each tell their own story of control and segregation. Using timber rather than earth or stone for this alignment is, most likely, primarily indicative of resources available, in this case, within the Milfield Basin, rather than to dictate the importance of the monument (Watson 2014, 52). People in the past constructed order within their society through the repetition of the similar within their culturally-chosen dimensions (Hodder 1987, 7). So, looking at similarities and differences within a particular landscape, or group of landscapes, as in northern England, might provide 'clues' about the 'relatedness' of the various structures (Ingold 2000, 139).

Although I have tried to look at northern England from a positive perspective, and although my arguments may have highlighted some issues regarding geographical omissions, this thesis has tried to expose gaps in, what ought to be, comprehensive studies of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age British archaeology. Even though my statistics have illuminated a lack of emphasis on the archaeology of northern England, it would be easy to create a different study, from these results, about any other region or area of Britain, e.g. Hampshire, Wales or Shetland, to name but three of

the less-well represented regions, all of which border areas with many more references. These results could also be used to show how other sites have been marginalised in the texts studied, so highlighting many further areas for future research, all over Britain. This would create a much more holistic picture and so books could truly be called the prehistory of Britain.

However, it has not been my intention to downgrade other studies. Much of the completed work on southern England (and Wessex) is excellent. The in-depth studies and the landscape surveys, especially around Stonehenge, are impressive and worthy. There have also been many large-scale projects on the Orkneys, some of which are still on-going, such as the Ness of Brodgar project. 'Indeed, a disproportionate amount of research has been done…compared with most areas of the British Isles, and thus a rich record of data and ideas is available' (Malone 2001, 141). Such detailed studies would be welcomed in many other regions around the UK. Eleven years ago, Sheridan had uncovered a confusing picture of Scottish Food Vessel chronology and called at that time, for a 'nationwide *corpus*' of dating to build 'a finer-grained picture of regional and chronological developments', in order to uncover the significance of Irish and Yorkshire links with Scottish sites (2004, 262). Whittle noted that 'Northern areas have been relatively neglected in terms of major research projects', adding that fieldwork was concentrated in southern parts of Britain, where large-scale excavations of long duration were carried out. He believed that there was a bias, which was created by the assumptions and perceptions of the time, as much as by the archaeological richness of the south (Whittle 1999, 61-2). Nevertheless, the north of England may have just as many rich archaeological landscapes and discoveries could be numerous, if the time and resources were put into investigating the below-ground situation in many regions. Neolithic and Early Bronze Age sites may be buried under riverine silts and peat deposits, or hidden by intensive agriculture or forestry, awaiting discovery through LiDAR and fieldwork. Many monuments east of the Pennines were constructed of wood, meaning that, once identified, large-scale, open excavations would be required, to reveal the nature of these structures, providing an ideal opportunity for future undergraduate fieldwork projects. Added to this, as only about twenty per cent of stone circles in Britain have been archaeologically excavated, many more timber settings may have preceded the later stone landscapes in north-west England (Malone 2001, 176-7), as at Oddendale. However, funding for research is always the issue and the landscape has to be perceived to be of value, when research grants are provided. Waddington and Passmore noted that as there have been so few major housing or road improvement projects in Northumberland, this had severely impacted on the funding available within their region (2012, 176).

Yet, as we have seen, archaeologists are achieving impressive, if occasionally controversial (see Coupland radiocarbon dates in Regional Literature Review), results for sites in northern England. This is without an expectation of and despite a lack of national acclaim. Great work is being done but, as Gibson & Bayliss stated of the Great Wold Valley in North and East Yorkshire (2010, 101), so much more work is required in this area in order to match the concentration of dating achieved in southern England. The whole of northern England has a huge amount of N/EBA potential which is not being uncovered, due to the lack of rescue excavations in the region. There is also no overall synthesis of knowledge on both sides of the Pennines. Yet, there are archaeologists doing amazingly, detailed work on specific landscapes throughout northern England, for example, Frodsham at Long Meg and her Daughters stone circle in Cumbria, and Passmore and Waddington at the henge complexes within the Milfield Basin in Northumberland (2012, 2009). Yet, there are so many henges within the A1 corridor just to the east of the Pennines, that these monuments might hold the key to unlock this information. This is especially true as the lack of an overall chronology, for monuments, landscapes and settlements means that 'we still have no idea how the creation and operation of major monuments was related to the movement of people about the

landscape. Still less…whether these sites played a role in structuring these patterns of exchange' (Bradley 2002, 40). Even when a chance arose in the recent past to dig at Castlerigg stone circle, there was not enough support for such an excavation to go ahead (ibid.41). Surely, in the aftermath of all the work in and around Stonehenge, it is time to expand our knowledge of places further north and west within Britain. Frodsham's excavation at Long Meg may provide significant new data about the Neolithic period in northern England, and further research at other locations, such as Swinside, Oddendale or Gunnerkeld stone circles might provide information, which can be compared with research data from other regions around Britain, so challenging current knowledge. The stone circles of Cumbria represent a group of monuments which have not been properly incorporated into national syntheses. Many, larger monuments are thought to be extremely early in date, possibly the earliest in Britain (Burl 2000, 104), and their locations around the prominent Great Langdale axe factory, needs further consideration. Certainly, there are many sites within Cumbria where the stones from the circle were removed or blown-up over a hundred years ago, and whose sites have since been ploughed. Those fields may reveal much data, without any damage to an upstanding monument. For example, there were three smaller stone circles, located relatively near to one another in the Lake District's south-west region, that is, Annaside, Hall Foss and Kirkstones circles. Other important examples are the much larger Grey Yauds or Penruddock stone circles, which were once situated in north/north-east Cumbria. Clare pointed out that for Cumbria itself, there is a 'relative dearth of excavated sites and even fewer radiocarbon dates' (2009, 79). This is a point, which had been mentioned by Hingley (2002, 46), who added that northern England 'has been neglected in comparison to some other areas of Britain' (ibid.). The potential dating of Cumbrian stone circles may contribute to the overall debate regarding the start of the British Neolithic and the relationship between Cumbrian stone circles (and henges) and the Great Langdale axe factory.

As a different example of a potential future research opportunity, the four-poster monuments in Northumberland are of an unusual type. They are made up of four small-ish, square stones deliberately placed in a North, South, East, West alignment (Burl 1988a, 66-7). They are often close to upland trackways, for example, Goatstones Four-Poster; or in plain sight of water, such as, Whinny Hill Four-Poster, found between Brownridge and Coalhouses Burn. They are always deliberately placed to dominate their particular upland zone (Watson 2014). Despite their low stones, they are enigmatic (Burl 1988a, 66-7), a puzzle awaiting a solution!

It might be said that it is incumbent upon geographically-local universities to lead the way in investigating the prehistoric landscapes within their area. Local universities may focus solely on their local region's 'other period' landscapes, rather than the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods, failing to take advantage of the wealth of local N/EBA sites and landscapes available to them. It is hoped that this study will illuminate the situation and encourage any universities and local archaeological societies, who have been focussing their efforts on other landscape- and monument-types, to also investigate the N/EBA structures of northern England. This can only improve the perceived national value and status of these landscapes.

My thesis has gone to many lengths to challenge the status quo, by providing new thoughts for consideration. I am hopeful that these discussion points will open up the debate and that these issues will start to be looked at from a wider, less southern-England-focussed perspective. It is no longer enough, now, to say that a book is written about Britain when it is mostly about southern England. In fact, we need to 'alter the questions and change our mindset', in order 'to generate, develop and discuss alternatives' (Russell 2002, 23). A new dialogue is needed. This study can generate discourse about the importance of enhancing the picture of British Neolithic and Early Bronze Age archaeology. So much work has already been completed and yet, so much is waiting to

be done, in order to gain a holistic picture of N/EBA Britain, rather than a geographically partial view.

So far, within national syntheses about N/EBA Britain, there has been an incomplete view of the available data and monuments in different regions. This has been a coherent but not a comprehensive picture, with an overwhelming number of references to certain sites, counties and regions, and a huge deficit in the data mentioned about others. Also, it is unfortunate that the representation of Britain through maps can frequently be marred by incompleteness. There are unfortunate occasions when maps are used, which only present a partial amount of data about Britain. Forde-Johnston, for example, produced a map, which purported to be of southern Britain, which was clearly a map of southern England, referencing only sites southwards of a line from the Wash to the Severn (1976, 62). Current-day authors have also been constrained by the data available to them (e.g., Darvill 1987, 72). In Darvill's case, data for his five maps was 'limited' and only data from midland England and Wales southwards could be shown. More therefore needs to be done, in order to provide easier access to recent, up-to-date and reliable data from regional studies, so enabling archaeologists to easily add more statistical variety to their work. Sites also need to be correctly placed within geographical maps of and writing about Britain. It was noted within the fourteen books, that each time a place in Wiltshire was mentioned, its county was also referenced, sometimes along with its distance from key monuments, such as Stonehenge or Avebury (for example, Malone 2001, 84). This led to an overwhelming number of references to these two sites, which were frequently cited, even though they weren't being discussed on that page. It also would be helpful if, when archaeologists were referencing a place, there could be a standardised regional pattern (Davies 1999, xxvii), so that when, for example, the north of England is mentioned, the site is within that region and not the midlands (Bradley 2007, 39).

Therefore, as can be seen from my results, the image created from these fourteen books favours the archaeology of south-west England, over all other British counties within the books' overall totals (Appendix A, Figure 123). Apart from Piggott's references to northern Scotland, south-west England was the most referenced region in all books (Table 27). Wiltshire, already within south-west England, had far more references than any other county in England (Table 30, Table 31). It also has the largest overall total for any county in this study (Table 26). Scotland was the second-most referenced country, with northern Scotland gaining the lion's share of all those references. The north-east of England came fifth in the total number of references made, after central and south-eastern England. However, Wales fared worse and its' sites and landscapes need greater inclusion in any future syntheses of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age archaeology of Britain. This thesis' study area has a huge number of N/EBA structures, as compared with the Pastscape totals for the whole of England (Table 31, Table 32). In fact, once barrows and rock art are excluded from the totals, three of the north of England's counties: Cumbria; North Yorkshire; and Northumberland; are included numerically in the top five English counties, with Wiltshire gaining sixth position.

This study has proven that a great deal of emphasis has been placed by scholars on Wessex, and on Wiltshire in particular, when giving examples of the Neolithic and Early Bronze age archaeology of Britain. As the maps show (Appendix A), too much focus seems to be centred on these areas. Although we cannot know how many people were living in certain areas, during the Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages, we can assume from monument concentrations, that many regions in northern England were 'heavily' populated (in N/EBA terms) during these periods, even though today, they are sparsely populated. Cumbria has at least seventy stone circles and henges, as well as numerous burial mounds, long barrows and cairns, and a major Neolithic stone axe factory, whose stone tools have appeared all over Britain. With many large stone circles, which Burl (2000, 104) believed were the earliest stone circles in Britain (ibid.) and two impressive henges, as well as a variety of complex

N/EBA landscapes, it is an ideal time to focus on the Lake District region. Tom Clare (2009, 78) placed Cumbria at the heart of Britain, in a location ideally suited to command links with Europe via the Atlantic sea-ways and central to N/EBA events.

Many regions described in this thesis are no more than a modern-day geographical description (Clarke 2004, 45). Boundaries were not as today and people moved between places for trade, ceremony and livelihood. In Barclay's analysis of the current henge situation in Scotland, he chose to include those henges in northern Northumberland on his two maps, sensibly avoiding a line marked on a map demarcating the geographical boundary between England and Scotland (2005, 84-5). The later Till-Tweed studies would also follow this pattern (Passmore & Waddington 2009, 2012). In fact, it has been seen in this dissertation that more problems than solutions are created when geographical boundaries dictate the data-set. Any region with imposed 'homogeneity' needs further research, as these regional perspectives are relatively modern constructs (Clarke 2004, 45). If we consider that sea- and river-going vessels and routeways dominated the archaeological narrative 5,000 years ago, then we might realise that local to us, may have been impenetrable woodland to N/EBA people, and our view of local may actually be creating distortions in the data, preventing us from seeing the bigger picture.

As has happened with Scottish Neolithic studies since 1976, northern England's sites, structures and landscapes now need to be emphasised, especially as some match the best-known British examples. It is time for the north of England to undergo its 'maturation' phase (Brophy 2005, 2), to move from being perceived as peripheral in the British Isles, to being home to centres of innovation. Certainly, the early dates from the henges within the Till-Tweed studies (Passmore & Waddington 2009, 2012) and the round barrows of the Yorkshire Wolds (Gibson & Bayliss 2010) demand further focus and investigation, in order to look more closely at the temporal relationships between the different structures within those regions. The landscapes of northern England are not a 'derivative' of the Neolithic period in southern England (Brophy 2005, 2) and the concept of what is normal needs to be re-thought.

There are three major landscapes in northern England, which are in urgent need of further enquiry. These are the Shap landscape in Cumbria, the Yorkshire Wolds and A1 Corridor landscapes in Yorkshire. Bradley considers the Yorkshire Wolds landscape as 'impressive' (2007, 166) and in fact, over twenty years ago, Bradley and Edmonds (1993, 202) were calling for a campaign of fieldwork in the Cumbrian lowlands, which seems to have largely been ignored. Yet, these three landscapes exist within their own wider environments, and in their own way, each of these landscapes has huge potential for investigation. They are regions of complex Neolithic and Early Bronze Age monuments, with cursuses or avenues, standing stones, stone circles or henges, long or round mounds, and ring cairns or barrows. As in the Stonehenge region, people clearly found these particular landscapes special, whether for ceremonial or sacred reasons. They chose to accumulate many different types of monument within the same area and to continue to commemorate events within each, over thousands of years. A detailed current-day investigation into these monumental landscapes would provide contrasting data, which might help to alter perceptions and shed further light on other complex landscapes throughout Britain. As Brophy commented (2005, 2), regarding Scottish Neolithic monuments, archaeological discourse about the variety of monuments found in Britain can liberate us. Yet, to continue in the current vein of comparison with supposed 'core' regions, can be very limiting and constraining. It would be much more sensible to look at the relationships of monuments within their wider landscapes, as Waddington did in his study of Neolithic enclosures in northern England (2001). His analysis revealed that these enclosures were much more complex than the standardised southern examples, depending on the land topography and altitude, construction materials and location employed (ibid.8-10). Watson recently looked at

the 157 N/EBA circular, ceremonial monuments of northern England (2014). This study was a unique opportunity to study sites in a holistic fashion, to look at similarities and differences within a phenomenological framework. Yet, once again, location proved paramount for the circle builders, particularly in association with water (ibid.46-9).

The Shap complex ritual landscape in Cumbria has already been identified above as having eighteen known monuments and monoliths over a 35km² area. These include regular and concentric stone circles, a stone avenue, a long barrow, a timber circle and ring-cairns, all within a three-mile radius from the current Shap centre. Stukeley had considered it a remarkable landscape, with numerous N/EBA monuments, all geographically close to one another (1776, 42). Yet, no modern assessment has been made of this incredible cluster of monuments and they fail to be even mentioned in most studies of N/EBA Britain. In fact, the last comprehensive study of the Shap landscape and its avenue was completed by Tom Clare in 1972 (TCWAAS 1978, 78) and published in 1978. That his work has not attracted more serious attention over the last forty years is surprising! In it, he detailed the alignment of 26 stones or portions thereof which, at that time, remained in the Shap landscape, and which roughly followed a line north-west to south-east, with a sharp turn three-quarters of the way along to the north-west. Having found Oddendale timber circle through quarrying and the Shap Avenue through sheer hard work and determination, this indicates that the surrounding landscape has much more to offer. This is especially true as Oddendale's concentric-ringed timber circle was made permanent with the also-concentric-ringed stone circle merely a kilometre away from it. This is northern England's only known example of the Parker Pearson & Ramilisonina 'timber for the living', 'stones for the ancestors' (1998, 308, 320) lithicisation concept within a single landscape and therefore 'system' (Parker Pearson 2012, 10). If there are parallels between Oddendale's timber and stone concentric circles, then further analysis may prove or disprove the theory that, as the stone circle incorporated very low-lying stones, the wood for the timber circle might have been cut off at a low-level too (Watson 2014, 51)? With modern-day Geophysics and GPR techniques, this landscape could be proven to have major N/EBA potential. Surely, a re-assessment of the terrain data and a major programme of study within this complex environment is long overdue. Through the consolidation of currently-known monuments and an investigation beneath the surface, between the different sites, with field-walking, geophysics and trial trenching where possible, a chronology for the entire landscape may be ascertained and numerous questions answered as to why this Shap region has such a concentration of monuments. There is only one example of a typically Bronze Age structure within this valley, that of the Skellaw Hill barrow, which is located within the vicinity of the avenue (Clare 1978, 6). However, it is possible that the later Neolithic people had moved eastwards onto the uplands by the Bronze Age, as there are numerous barrows on higher land, many close to the Oddendale concentric stone circle. Further assessment and analysis of the entire landscape is needed to come to any conclusions about this superlative region.

The Yorkshire Wolds landscape is also intriguing. It contains four cursuses which centre on a huge monolith, numerous Neolithic round and long barrows, henges and Bronze Age barrows. It is a chalk landscape of rolling hills and valleys, with the North Sea never more than twenty miles to the East. The area is easily accessible via the Derwent, the Hull or the Gypsey Race rivers, with further access from the sea at the accessible, sandy bays, where now exist the towns of Scarborough, Filey and Bridlington. Fox had postulated a potential coastal trading route, for the N/EBA groups living in the Wolds, after the finds of the four North Ferriby EBA boats (1938, 64). Yet, little further research has been done to look at this hypothesis. The region was of great interest to antiquarians and has had some more recent attention (Kinnes *et al.* 1983, 105) but, until the Gibson and Bayliss analysis (2010), the Valley had not been the recipient of a locally-focussed monuments project within the modern era, despite the interest in the region from Manby *et al.* (2003). This is surprising, given

that the region has such favourable soil conditions and good skeletal preservation (Mizoguchi 1993, 224). Catherine Stoertz felt that future studies of the Wolds might seek to 'integrate the information presented…with aerial reconnaissance…transcriptions of cropmarks and soilmarks and…fieldwork'. This would refine site classifications, confirm interpretations and assess the condition of surviving features and those levelled by the plough (1997, 84). Now, as in other chalk landscapes around Britain, the round mounds, cursuses, henges, long mounds and Bronze Age barrows need to be included in a holistic study of this fascinating landscape. In fact, a detailed radiocarbon study in the style of *Gathering Time* (2011) is crucial for this region (Gibson & Bayliss 2010, 101), in order for chronologies of a similar resolution to be completed. This will provide hard evidence from which further discussions about northern England's place within the wider Neolithic context of Britain can be commenced.

The A1 corridor also has a similar, complex Neolithic and Early Bronze Age landscape. However, it is different from the other two landscapes. Harding (2013) has just completed a major study of the Thornborough monument complex, with topographical surveys, photographic evidence, fieldwalking, geophysical and magnetometry surveys, test-pitting, excavation and radiocarbon dating samples. Added to the excavations further south at Ferrybridge, where two timber circles were identified outside a major henge monument, this wealth of new data could be further exploited. It would be the ideal time to use the information as a springboard to research the other henges and alignments within the same riverine landscape. These henges and monuments are grouped along a twenty-four mile stretch of prime agricultural land within the A1 corridor. In fact, three of these N/EBA monuments are virtually identical henges. One of these, Hutton Moor, is in a completely open and accessible landscape and the monument survives above ground. It can be located via a minor valley, which runs from the road to the henge, and looks like it could have been a routeway up to the henge in Neolithic times. This, among other monuments within northern England, is a prime monument and location for further research, as it is a 'perfect' example of a Neolithic henge, which has merely weathered over time.

These amazing landscapes have so much to offer. They have important, upstanding monuments that should be included in national commentary. However, this contribution is limited by an absence of sufficient modern excavation and analysis. In minor excavations of Bronze Age monuments within both Cumbria and Cleveland (Gibson 1998, 40, 58; Vyner 1984, 193), important Neolithic timber monuments were uncovered beneath the later barrows. With 1,570 Bronze Age barrows in North Yorkshire and a further 83 in Redcar and Cleveland (Appendix D), in both extant and denuded forms, it is thrilling to imagine how many other early monuments might be uncovered by a formalised landscape survey using GPR and other ground-penetrating techniques. Surely, an overarching study of these three landscapes is long overdue, especially when there have been many areas in southern England, which have already benefitted from such expensive and time-consuming landscape projects (Pryor 2014, 164, 166). In fact, rural areas of northern England have a good chance of yielding good structure preservation, especially if those locations which, like Yarnbury, have avoided deep ploughing techniques (Alex Gibson, pers.comm.). While it is important that regional analyses have focussed on different areas within northern England, it is also crucial to see the bigger picture. Just as there is a keen emphasis not to regard N/EBA Britain as 'a self-contained field of study' (Bradley & Edmonds 1993, 20; Thomas 2013, 2), the north of England needs to be discussed within the parameters of the N/EBA activities within the whole of Britain.

Bradley commented that future research is a priority, in order to ascertain why different practices were followed within the different regions of Britain, and 'to explore the wider significance of these distinctions' (2007, 166). He also added that there are frustrations for an overall synthesis, if there are unanswered questions about northern archaeology (2002, 37). From this thesis, prehistorians

can see that the issues raised are significant. A wider range of examples needs to be used, so that Neolithic and Early Bronze Age books on Britain are comprehensive. Northern England's regional information should be made easily available to national archaeologists. To this end, a regional gazetteer is required, detailing the latest radiocarbon dates from this region. This will need to be placed online, in an easy-to-read format, and frequently updated, in order for national archaeologists to have a ready reckoner for cross-comparison. It is incumbent upon me to champion the attributes of northern England, in general, and of this thesis' region in particular. In the future, other archaeologists may add to this data, by compiling regional information about other, specific areas. In time, hopefully, all areas around the UK will be targeted, and a rounded picture of all data can be compiled.

This study has tried to show that there has been a literary neglect, in archaeological examples from the wealth of N/EBA sites within northern England. This has created a geographical imbalance, which needs to be addressed. Nevertheless, many regions have been underrepresented in these fourteen books. It is therefore hoped that this will encourage archaeologists to use a wider group of examples within their writing. Then, future students and archaeologists will then be able to recognise fine examples of particular N/EBA structures within their own areas, as well as in the wider landscape and will be able to form cross-comparisons with data from other regions. This will enrich all arguments and will encourage the knowledge and preservation of our Neolithic and Early Bronze Age landscapes. This is valuable to our heritage, as it provides a future resource for the research and development of techniques. In time, certain sites could be allocated, to provide the general public with visitable monuments, which will in turn enable them to recognise the rich diversity within their own regions. This will, in turn, help to protect and preserve monuments within the landscape of northern England, as many might deteriorate, should they be neglected and forgotten. A simple signboard might suffice, to allow a visitor to understand both the age and importance of such a monument.

As has been said in the above Discussion, it would be less constraining if syntheses of Britain provided an evenly written commentary on the distribution of sites throughout Britain, rather than a geographically partial account, which references south-west England and northern Scotland's monuments over all others. Hopefully, this thesis will have clearly identified those regions which have been neglected in Britain and measures can be put into place to feature the examples mentioned. This will provide a wide, open, holistic and comprehensive picture of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages in studies named archaeology of Britain.

8. Bibliography

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