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## THE LATE NEOLITHIC GOLD ORNAMENT FROM BENNEKOM

### II. *The Affiliations of the Bennekom Ornament*

(pls. VI–XI; figs. 12–15)

#### A. *Western Connections*

Two types of Western European ornaments have already been mentioned in connection with the Bennekom ornament: the neckrings or diadems of Arlon type, and the basket earrings of Western European form.

The gold ring from Arlon (pl. V; above, note 5), a stray find, has, unlike the Bennekom object, a bar which is round in cross-section, and much shorter terminal plates, without decoration. In form the closest parallel to the Arlon ring is the bronze ring from Yarnton in Oxfordshire, illustrated by Evans,<sup>1</sup> which was found in a grave 'near the head of a contracted skeleton' without further associations. Evans also cites a pair of similar rings of bronze from Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire. One of this pair is illustrated by Wilson<sup>2</sup> (fig. 12), who describes it as 'of very rude workmanship'. The size of the Lumphanan rings is 'abundantly sufficient to admit of their encircling the head'. About the circumstances of this find there is unfortunately no information; Wilson tells us only that 'they were found . . . about 300 yards from a large cairn . . . which popular tradition affirms to mark the spot where Macbeth fell by the hand of the Thane of Fife'.

Although the Yarnton ring was assigned by Evans to the Iron Age, the contrac-

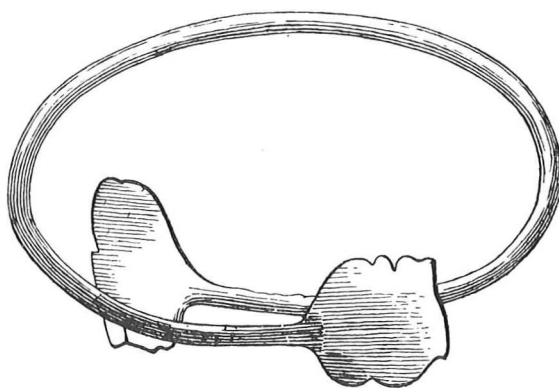


Fig. 12. Diadem or neckring from Lumphanan, Aberdeens. After Wilson.

ted inhumation which it accompanied might well suggest a Beaker burial. Several Beaker graves have been discovered at Yarnton, and many others in this Upper Thames region around Oxford.<sup>3</sup> Aberdeenshire is of course also an area of concentrated Beaker settlement.<sup>4</sup>

The short terminal plates of the rings from Arlon, Yarnton and Lumphanan resemble the terminals of many of the Irish gold lunulae, which is a further hint of an early date. It is interesting to notice in this connection that while the lunulae of Irish workmanship usually have short terminal plates, and never narrow elongated ones, we do find more elongated terminal plates on the three gold lunulae from Denmark — which, as Hardy<sup>5</sup> pointed out explicitly, are not of Irish workmanship — and on several of the copper or bronze lunulae from Hanover and Central Germany, which Hachmann<sup>6</sup> suggests are of Unětician workmanship. Basket earrings, to be discussed below, follow the same rule: short broad plates characterize those of Western European manufacture, and narrow elongated plates those of Unětician manufacture. Here we seem to have a consistent stylistic feature distinguishing eastern from western traditions in these types of ornaments. This is of importance for judging the provenance of the Arlon and Bennekom ornaments; while the Bennekom piece clearly shows an eastern tradition, the Arlon ring is evidently of Western European manufacture, and one naturally thinks of gold-rich Ireland as a possible place of manufacture, although close parallels have not been found in Ireland itself. The possibility of an Irish 'bar style' gold export to the Continent beginning at a comparatively early date is, however, supported by the two thin round-sectioned gold bracelets of a common Irish form found in Funnel-Beaker contexts at Himmelpforten, Kr. Stade, and Schwesing, Kr. Husum.<sup>7</sup>

As Glasbergen has already pointed out above (p. 56) the Western European gold basket earrings do not provide a good analogy for the form of the Bennekom ornament. Close examination has confirmed that the Bennekom ornament is a single object broken in two, and certainly not a pair of earrings. Furthermore, the gold earrings of Radley type have short broad plates, and the long tongue of the earrings is much thinner than the bar of the Bennekom ornament. On the other hand, there is a very striking resemblance between the *decoration* of the Bennekom ornament and that of some of the basket earrings.

While some examples of the Western European gold basket earrings are unornamented, most have decoration consisting of *pointillé*, impressed lines, or a combination of the two. The dots and lines show through on the reverse side; a feature which is of course natural to thin sheet-gold work, and is found also on the Irish Class I sun discs and the sheet-gold work associated with the Wessex Culture, and in copper or bronze on such ornaments as the basket earrings of Stublo type to be discussed below (fig. 13, 15). On the Irish Class I sun discs and on the Western gold basket earrings, and also on the Bennekom ornament, the lines are rather

irregular, contrasting with the accurately and precisely ruled lines found on typical Wessex Culture goldwork. In pattern and technique the ornamentation of the terminal plates of the Bennekom ornament may be compared with that found on basket earrings such as those from Radley, Berkshire (pl. IX; *Inventaria Archaeologica*, GB. 2), Kirkhaugh, Northumberland (*Arch. Aeliana* XIII, p. 210) and Orton, Morayshire (fig. 14). The use of short strokes at right angles to the marginal line of one of the Bennekom terminals is very closely matched on the Orton earrings. Indeed, one has the impression that the Bennekom object was actually ornamented by one of the craftsmen accustomed to making such earrings.

This close similarity in ornamentation provides a useful confirmation of the dating ascribed to the Bennekom ornament on the basis of its probable association with a Bell Beaker of Veluwe type. With a single puzzling exception, all the Western European gold basket earrings with datable associations fall within the period of the Bell Beakers and the Early Bronze Age: at Ermageira in Portugal with Palmella-Bell Beaker pottery;<sup>8</sup> at Radley and Kirkhaugh with British Beakers (see below, p. 67); at Orton from the same cairn as a gold lunula<sup>9</sup> (the association is not certain, but several authorities maintain that the probability of two burials with gold in the same cairn in Scotland at different times is exceedingly remote); at Rusilow in Poland (pl. X) with a burial of the Southeast Polish Barrow Grave Culture;<sup>10</sup> and at Wasosz in Poland with a Northern Unětice hoard.<sup>11</sup>

The only find outside Beaker—Early Bronze Age times is at Boltby Scar in Yorkshire, where a pair of gold basket earrings were found (according to verbal information from the excavator, Mr. George Willmot) on the old ground surface beneath the rampart of an Iron Age camp.<sup>12</sup> Typologically there is little to distinguish the Boltby Scar earrings from those found with Beakers, and their presence in such a context is therefore most puzzling. A survival of the type without change for a millenium seems rather improbable, and we may wonder whether the Boltby Scar earrings might not represent Iron Age loot from a robbed Beaker grave.

### B. *Eastern Connections*

A number of gold ornaments consisting of a thin, straight bar connecting two flattened, oar-shaped terminal plates, and which might be supposed to be related to the Bennekom ornament, have been found in Denmark and South Sweden.

In some ways the best parallel for the Bennekom ornament, though with some differences, is an unpublished gold object in the National Museum at Copenhagen, with the register number 21417 (pl. XI: *left*). The register says only that it was found in Skåne in South Sweden; its exact provenance is unknown. Its bar is rectangular in cross-section, like that of the Bennekom ornament, and it was apparently made in exactly the same way, by hammering together thin strips of gold – the

edge of such a strip can be detected on one side of the bar, peeling away from it slightly. But it differs from the Bennekom ornament in that it is shorter (length only 24 cm) and in that its two elongated terminal plates are of unequal width. The larger terminal is just under 7 cm long and 12 mm wide; the smaller is about 6.5 cm long but only 6 mm wide. Both terminals are parallel-sided, but with ends more rounded than the Bennekom ornament. Another difference is in the technique of ornamentation. The ornament from Skåne is decorated with thin incised lines, which do not show through on the reverse side. Both its terminal plates have three parallel incised lines down the centre of their long axis. The wider terminal also has three incised lines bordering the edges. The use for which this object was intended is obscure; it is too short for a diadem or neckring, but if rolled into bracelet form it would not be unlike the bracelets of Søndersø Holm type to be mentioned below.

Also in the Copenhagen collection are two other straight gold objects of approximately similar form, found in Denmark itself. One (register number 14711), from Lynderup in Skivum parish, Viborg Amt, North Jutland (pl. XI: *middle*) has terminal plates of equal size, which are oval in outline and without decoration, and joined by a thin bar which is flat on one face and faintly ridged on the other. The second, from Aasum parish, Odense Amt, on the island of Fyn (pl. XI: *right*) has slightly spoon-shaped oval terminal plates of greatly unequal size with a slight ridge down their centre, and a connecting-bar with subrectangular cross-section. All three of these gold objects are undated stray finds.

These ornaments are evidently closely related to a Danish series of gold bracelets and finger rings with overlapping ends, made from bars with expanded terminals of the same general form. Broholm illustrates one example of each type (*Danske Oldsager* IV, 297–8). Nine of the bracelets and nine finger-rings are known from Denmark; four of the bracelets are from Fyn and five from Jutland, while the finger-rings are mainly from Jutland. The bracelet from Søndersø Holm (Fyn) shown by Broholm (*Ibid.*, 298) is from one of two nearly identical pairs found together. Like the straight gold object from Skåne their terminals are of unequal size; their ornamentation, however, consists of raised ribs along the long axis of the plates. Other bracelets of the same general character (*e.g.* reg. no. CMVII, from a grave on Mols, Djursland, and B. 759, from a mound, and presumably a grave, on Sevel Heath near Holstebro in Northwest Jutland) have shorter, oval-shaped, undecorated terminal plates, resembling those of the finger-rings and the straight object from Lynderup.

There are so many features common to these three types — straight objects, bracelets and finger-rings — that it appears quite certain that they belong to a single family. Indeed, the straight objects may simply be straightened examples of the other types. To the present writer it appears very probable that the Bennekom

ornament is a close cousin to the ornament from Skåne, especially in view of the similarity in technique of manufacture, and in spite of the difference in size and the technique of ornamentation.

The bracelets and finger-rings are, however, assigned to Montelius VI — which would make them a full millennium later than the apparent date of the Bennekom ornament.

This chronological discrepancy is all the more puzzling because one finds in the northern sphere of the Unětice culture in Poland (including former German Silesia) a series of copper or bronze ornaments which appear to provide excellent prototypes for the form of the Scandinavian gold ornaments and the Oostereng object. These are the earrings (some may, as Seger suggests, really be bracelets) of Stublo and Zedlitz types. The resemblance of these to the Bennekom ornament has already been noticed by Van Giffen.<sup>13</sup>

These Polish earrings normally have only one expanded, elongated oval or oar-shaped terminal plate. The terminal may bear incised ornament, as at Schönfeld (Silesia ?)<sup>14</sup> (pl. VII) and Zedlitz<sup>15</sup> (pl. VIII) (the German names of these places, now in Polish territory, are here retained for convenience of reference) or one or more impressed ribs, as in the Stublo hoard in Volhynia<sup>16</sup> (fig. 13). These objects

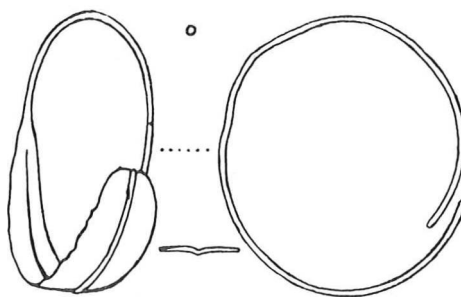


Fig. 13. Earring from the Stublo hoard.  
After Antoniewicz. C.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

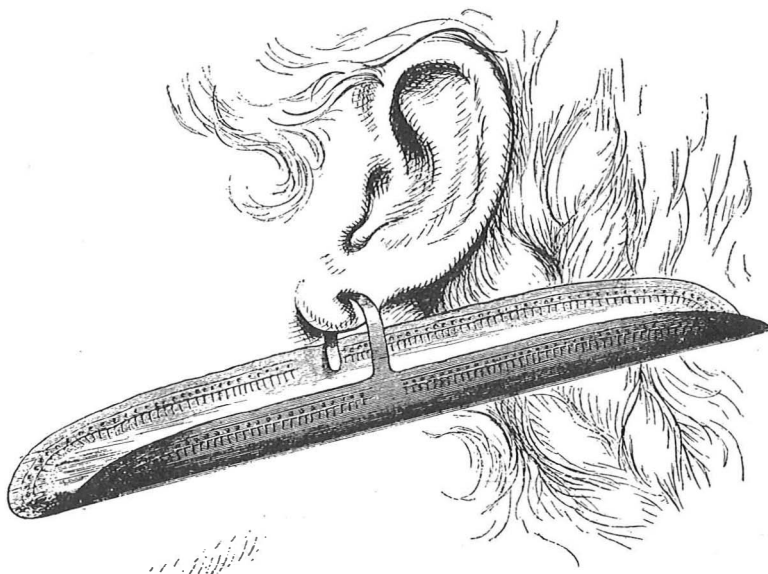


Fig. 14. Gold earring (one of a pair) from Orton. After Paton. Length  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches.

we have not been able to examine, but it is clear from Seger's illustration that at least one of the Schönfeld rings (pl. VII) has a second slightly expanded and ornamented terminal plate, thus giving it two terminals of unequal width, very much as with the ornament from Skåne and the bracelets of Søndersø Holm type. This very greatly strengthens the impression that the South Scandinavian ornaments are formally related to the Polish ones. Some at least of the Polish ornaments

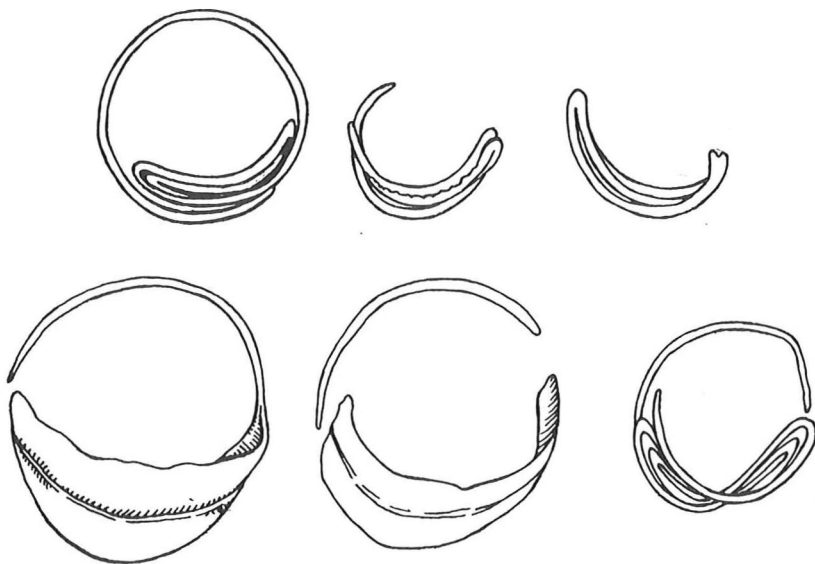


Fig. 15. Earrings from Periediwanic, Poland. After Antoniewicz. C.  $\frac{1}{5}$ .

are specifically identified by Seger as being made of hammered copper (*i.e.*, Zedlitz) so that the technique is also similar although the material is different.\*

The earrings of Stublo and Zedlitz types appear to be peculiar to the Northern Unětice sphere; they are not recorded from the older centres of the Unětice culture in Bohemia or Saxo-Thuringia. In the view of Antoniewicz they are sheet imitations of the bronze wire earrings of identical shape, which sometimes occur in the same finds (fig. 15).

The Unětice types of earrings and the Western European basket earrings are commonly regarded as derivatives of the more elaborate basket earrings known from early Troy. Presumably (since neither the wire nor the elongated-plate earrings appear in Western Europe) they are parallel developments, the Unetice

\* A gold basket earring is illustrated by Knapowska-Mikolajczykowa (*Fontes Arch. Posnanienses* VII, 1957, pp. 38-9, *Ryc.* 18) from Gniezno, pow. gnieznienski in Great Poland. It appears to be of the narrow Polish form, but the rough edges shown in the rather crude drawing suggest the possibility that it is a damaged specimen of the Western form (Note added in press).

types developing as the result of influences coming north by way of the Balkans and Central Europe, the Western European type coming via the Atlantic route. It is not entirely clear whether the Ermageira earrings represent a way-station on the route or an Irish export. The Uněťice smiths made their earrings either of wire (gold, copper or bronze) or of sheet copper or bronze, but apparently not of sheet gold, since the sheet gold earrings found in Poland, at Wasosz and Rusilow, are regarded both by Polish and British authorities as exports from the West.

Who, then, made the gold ornament found at Bennekom? Seemingly not a Uněťice smith, since no analogous gold objects are attributable to that culture (with the possible exception of the Gniezno earring mentioned above, p. 64 n). Quite possibly, an Irish gold-worker who had become acquainted with the East European forms of ornaments with oar-shaped ends.

A third possibility worthy of consideration is that the Bennekom ornament was made in South Scandinavia, the only province where gold objects of reasonably analogous form are known. Here we may recall the problem of the three gold lunulae found in Denmark. The simple edge-grooved decoration of the lunulae from Skovshøjrup and Fredensborg has analogies in Western Europe,<sup>18</sup> but not in Ireland. The elongated form of the terminals of these lunulae is without parallel in Western Europe, and the incised linear decoration on their terminals recalls, if anything, the ornamentation of the gold ornament with oar-shaped ends from Skåne and the Northern Uněťice earrings of Zedlitz type. The possibility therefore exists that the Danish lunulae were made in the North, though certainly of imported material, and perhaps by immigrant craftsmen. The case may be similar to that of the Pile axes, which, it is agreed,<sup>19</sup> are of local manufacture in imitation of imported forms, and the casting of which is likely to have been initiated by immigrant craftsmen.

Can the Scandinavian gold objects with oar-shaped ends and the related bracelets and finger-rings be grouped with the lunulae as the earliest products of the gold-worker's art in South Scandinavia? From the point of view of typology this suggestion appears thoroughly defensible, since the Scandinavian gold ornaments combine in a somewhat distinctive way features of form and workmanship known to be current in Western and Central Europe in the Early Bronze Age. Even the use of ribs as ornamentation on the bracelets of Søndersø Holm type can be placed in an early context: Hardy noted the appearance of incipient ribs on the Skovshøjrup and Fredensborg lunulae, where the metal has been forced up between the grooves; and we find fully developed longitudinal rib ornamentation on gold objects at least in Broholm's Period I (*Danske Oldsager* III, 52). On the other hand, there certainly was a revived fashion for ornaments, and especially neckrings, with expanded terminal plates at the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age (*cf. Danske Oldsager* IV, 274).

We can therefore only suggest that the Bennekom ornament and the the Northern Unětice earrings provide ground for a re-examination of the dating of the Scandinavian ornaments with oar-shaped ends. The final verification of their dating will, of course, depend on associated finds; but here the evidence fails us, for none of these Scandinavian gold ornaments, neither the straight objects nor the bracelets nor the finger-rings, have been found together with datable objects.<sup>20</sup>

### C. Comparative Chronology

The dating of the Bennekom gold ornament suggested by its probable association with a Bell Beaker of Veluwe type is confirmed both by its affinities with the Western European gold basket earrings and by its relation to the Northern Unětice earrings of Stublo and Zedlitz types.

The gold basket earrings, and with them the Bennekom ornament, appear to define an export horizon linking cultures widely scattered across Northern Europe. The surviving examples of these ornaments are not very numerous — apart from the Iberian ones there are two finds in Ireland, three in Britain, one in Belgium and two in Poland<sup>20a</sup> — and they need not have been made or used over a very long period. While in general gold ornaments may have a very long survival value, the thin basket earrings are fragile objects — the long thin tongue would be especially susceptible to damage — and they could not have enjoyed a long useful life.

This assumption admittedly involves discounting the Boltby Scar find, which taken at face value would give the gold basket earrings a lifetime of over a thousand years.

Apart from Boltby Scar, the latest association of the gold basket earrings is that at Wasosz in Poland,<sup>11</sup> in a hoard of the 'Northern Unětice' phase. The difficulty of assigning close dates to such hoards is well known; even when typologically sensitive objects such as metal-hilted daggers are present (as is not the case at Wasosz), Uenze was forced to conclude that '*Es ist eben unmöglich, eine Gliederung dieser Depotfunde der Nordaunjetitzer Kulturprovinz durchzuführen, da die Funde zu sehr miteinander verfilzt sind*'. But it is clear from the studies of the daggers by Uenze, Sandars and ApSimon<sup>21</sup> that the beginning of the Northern Unětice bronze industry must precede the establishment of the bronze industries associated with Wessex I and the Armorican Early Bronze Age; for the daggers characteristic of these two Western European Early Bronze Age cultures are provincial imitations of the Northern Unětice daggers of Uenze's Oder-Elbe type. Hence the beginning of Northern Unětice lies somewhere before 1550, the date assigned to the beginning of Wessex I on the basis of contacts with the Shaft-grave epoch of Mycenae.<sup>21a</sup> The lower limit of Northern Unětice is harder to determine; if Forssander<sup>21b</sup> in 1939 placed it as early as about 1500, de Navarro would



allow it to run on as late as about 1350, on the basis of contacts with the second phase of the Wessex Culture, again datable by Mediterranean connections.<sup>21c</sup>

The Northern Unëitice phase corresponds with an advanced stage of the Northern Late Neolithic in South Scandinavia. The grave of the Polish Barrow Grave Culture from Rusilow<sup>10</sup> near Skalat (pl. X) with a stone hammer-axe, hollow-based arrowheads, and a (broken) flint dagger corresponding to Late Neolithic types in the North, should belong to the same chronological period.

In Britain, the Beaker from the Radley grave (pl. IX), of Type B1ß as defined by Fox, with a pronounced moulding or collar at the rim, is regarded by Hawkes as late in the British series, and dated by him at about the time of, or a little earlier than, the beginning of the Wessex Culture. Its absolute date therefore falls at approximately 1550.

Of the Beaker from Kirkhaugh there is no published illustration. Its excavator described it as a 'Food Vessel', but Childe<sup>22</sup> later identified it as a Beaker with over-all cord ornamentation (his subtype B3). Beakers of this type are common in Britain, especially in the north and west, but occur occasionally even in Oxfordshire and Wessex. Many correspond closely, even in characteristic details such as the possession of a few lines of cord decoration on the interior of the rim, with Beakers in the Netherlands (Type 2<sup>11b</sup> in the Van der Waals classification) and the Rhine Valley, spreading to Northwest Germany (the 'Liblar type' of Gatermann,<sup>24</sup> the 'totalschnurverziert' type of Sangmeister,<sup>25</sup> followed by Struve<sup>26</sup>). Examples are also known in Brittany and South France, and one at least (a base-fragment apparently of the type) in northeast Spain.<sup>27</sup> Most authors regard the over-all cord-ornamented Beakers as a hybrid between Bell Beakers and Corded Ware, although Childe, developing a suggestion of Bremer, favours a British origin. Van der Waals finds that the all-over corded Beakers appear relatively early in the sequence in the Netherlands, not long after the earliest 'international' Bell Beakers; Sangmeister has the type running through his stages 1, 2 and 3 in the Rhine Valley, with some development, or devolution, of the form; his Stage 3 being at least partially contemporary with the Adlerberg Culture. Datable associations are everywhere rare. That some part of the lifetime of the over-all corded Beakers corresponds with the Upper Grave phase of the Jutland-Northwest German Single Grave culture has been shown by Struve,<sup>26</sup> on the basis of an association with a debased Single Grave battle-axe of Upper Grave type and with Grand Pressigny flint daggers. The Upper Grave phase corresponds with the end-phase of the Northern Middle Neolithic (MN IV according to Struve, MN V according to Becker<sup>28</sup>); in Struve's view the Upper Grave phase also overlaps the beginning of the Northern Late Neolithic. In Britain, a good B3 Beaker was stratigraphically earlier than a burial with an A Beaker at Cassington in Oxfordshire.<sup>29</sup> At Willerby Wold in Yorkshire a rather debased B3 Beaker, more or less comparable in form with the example chosen by

Sangmeister to illustrate his Stage 3, was later (on Greenwell's observation) than a deposit of four Irish bronze axes.<sup>30</sup> This appears to put the latest British B3 Beakers in the time of the Irish axe-and-halberd trade to the Netherlands, Saxo-Thuringia and South Scandinavia; the time of the Dieskau hoard, the Pile axes and the Northern Late Neolithic.<sup>31</sup>

The Bell Beakers of Veluwe type are shown by Van der Waals to represent the last stage of the Bell Beaker development in the Netherlands; their suggested lifetime is c. 1700–1500. A C<sup>14</sup> determination of  $3540 \pm 130$  Before Present was obtained from charcoal associated with a Veluwe Beaker in a barrow at Bennekom — not far from the find-spot of our Bennekom gold ornament and Veluwe Beaker — excavated by van Giffen;<sup>42</sup> although a sample from the contemporary timber circle gave a rather higher result ( $3865 \pm 180$ ). At Kalbeck, Kr. Kleve, a Veluwe Beaker was associated with a Single Grave battle-axe of type K4, assigned by Struve to the second half of the Upper Grave phase.<sup>33</sup> Other associations of Veluwe Beakers include hollow-based arrowheads; a degenerate type H battle-axe at Uddeler Meer;<sup>34</sup> and, at Buurtheide, Bennekom, Tumulus I, a crescentic amber bead of Kersten's Form 6, a rare type known in Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age contexts in Schleswig-Holstein.<sup>35</sup>

A fuller discussion of Beaker associations in the Netherlands is promised by Van der Waals and Glasbergen. Those here cited suggest that the Veluwe Beakers occupy a chronological position contemporary with late Beakers and early Wessex in Britain, the closing phase of the Middle Neolithic and early part of the Late Neolithic in the North and the beginning at least of Northern Unětice.

If the above-cited evidence falls short of proving that all the gold basket earrings in the northern part of Europe and the Bennekom ornament are exactly contemporary, it does show that they all occur in chronological phases in their respective areas which, on independent grounds, must overlap with one another in time; that the time of their overlap must be about the time of the beginning of the Wessex Culture, currently placed at about 1550; and that these gold ornaments can therefore reasonably be assumed to have had a short life, and contribute usefully to the cross-dating of the cultures with which they are associated.

*Conclusions:* The gold ornament from Bennekom appears to be a hybrid object. Its decoration is in the style of the Western European gold basket earrings, of late Beaker-Early Bronze Age date, current about 1550; but in form it is most immediately related to a series of gold ornaments found in South Scandinavia (assigned, however, to Montelius VI) and in turn to the elongated copper or bronze earrings of the Northern Uněticesphere. The Bennekom ornament may have been made by an Irish gold-worker or, it is somewhat tentatively suggested in view of the chronological difficulties, in South Scandinavia, where there is some ground for suspecting

the existence of a school of gold-working during the Northern Late Neolithic.

The affinities of the Bennekom ornament with the Western gold basket earrings and with the Unětice ornaments, as well as its probable association with a Bell Beaker of Veluwe type, seem to establish beyond reasonable doubt that it is an object which came to the Veluwe in the course of the Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age gold trade. It is contemporary with the gold basket earrings, which were traded as far afield as Poland, and possibly with such undated stray finds as the Moordorf sun disc and the Arlon neckring; it is also likely to be contemporary with the Irish axe-and-halberd trade to the Continent. The Bennekom ornament and the basket earrings appear to provide a useful trade horizon linking Beaker, Single Grave and Early Bronze Age cultures across Northern Europe.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Ann. Rep. U.L.I.A.*    *Annual Report of the University of London Institute of Archaeology Chron.*  
*E. S. A.*            *O. Montelius, Chronologie der ältesten Bronzezeit* (1900)  
*E. S. A.*            *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* (Helsinki)  
*J. M. D. V.*        *Jahresschrift für Mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte* (Halle)  
*J. S. T. L.*        *Jahresschrift für die Vorgeschichte der Sächsisch-Thüringischen Länder* (Halle)  
*N. N. U.*          *Nachrichten aus Niedersachsens Urgeschichte* (Hanover)  
*P. P. S.*          *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* (Cambridge)  
*P. S. A. S.*        *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh)  
*Real.*            *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*

#### REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> J. Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements* (1881), p. 380, fig. 470.
- <sup>2</sup> D. Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, 2nd ed., I (1863), pp. 473-4, fig. 98.
- <sup>3</sup> J. Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery*, I (1912), figs. 77, 79; E. T. Leeds, 'Beakers of the Upper Thames District', *Oxoniensia* III (1938), pp. 7 ff.
- <sup>4</sup> The possibility of the Yarnton and Lumphanan rings belonging to the Beaker period or the Early Bronze Age was also suggested by Professor Stuart Piggott, in correspondence with Glasbergen (1955). These finds have also been cited in connection with the Arlon and/or Bennekom ornaments by de Loë, Mariën and Van Giffen.
- <sup>5</sup> E. M. Hardy, 'Gold Lunulae from Denmark', *P. P. S.* III (1937), p. 465.
- <sup>6</sup> R. Hachmann, 'Ein frühbronzezeitlicher Halskragen aus der Altmark', *J. M. D. V.* XXXVIII (1954), pp. 92 ff.; cf. O. Kleemann, 'Feststellungen über eine europäische Lunulamode', *Germania* XXXI (1953), pp. 135 ff.
- <sup>7</sup> A. Cassau, *N. N. U.* VII (1933), p. 50, *Taf.* IIIb and Va, b; *N. N. U.* X (1936), pp. 22 ff. (Himmelpforten); H. Hinz, *Vorgeschichte des nordfriesischen Festlandes* (1954), pp. 190-1, *Abb.* 36a, *Taf.* 15:16 (Schwesing). Cf. E. C. R. Armstrong, *Cat. of Irish Gold Ornaments in the Collection of the Royal Irish Academy*, 2nd Ed. (1933), Pl. XVII.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ethnos* II (1942), p. 456; V. G. Childe, *Prehistoric Migrations in Europe* (1946), fig. 59.
- <sup>9</sup> N. Paton, *P. S. A. S.* VIII (1869), pp. 28 ff., fig. p. 30.
- <sup>10</sup> T. Sulimirski, *Man* 1948, p. 124. The writer is very grateful to Professor Sulimirski for the loan of his drawings and photograph of the Rusilow grave group, and for permission to reproduce the photograph here as Pl. VII.
- <sup>11</sup> Wasosz, pow. Szubinski, Wielkapolsce. J. Kostrewski, *Przegląd Arch.* II (1922), pp.

161 ff., fig. 29; Montelius, *Chron.*, p. 35 (giving inventory of the hoard). *Abb.* 84-5; illustrated in full by A. Knapowska-Mikolajczykowa in *Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses* VII, 1957, pp. 85-6, *Ryc.* 110-111.

<sup>12</sup> As yet unpublished; mentioned in British Museum *Later Prehistoric Antiquities of the British Isles* (1953), p. 34; B.M. reg. no. 1940/4-4/1, 2.

<sup>13</sup> A. E. van Giffen, *Gelre* LIV (1954), p. 22.

<sup>14</sup> H. Seger, *Altschlesien* I (1926), pp. 76 ff., *Taf.* 8; *Altschlesien* VI (1936), pp. 103-4.

<sup>15</sup> Formerly Kr. Steinau, later Kr. Lüben, in Lower Silesia; now pow. Lubin. Seger, *Altschlesien* I, pp. 78 ff., *Abb.* 44; *Altschlesien* VI, pp. 101 ff., *Abb.* 16. The Zedlitz earrings are specifically stated by Seger to be made of hammered copper; the earrings from the other finds are generally described as bronze in the literature, without indication as to whether hammered or cast.

<sup>16</sup> V. Antoniewicz, 'Der in Stublo in Wolhynien aufgefundene Bronzeschatz', *E.S.A.* IV (1929), pp. 135 ff. See also *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* XXV (1934), *Taf.* 2 (p. 191).

<sup>17</sup> H. C. Broholm, *Danmarks Bronzealder*, II, Pl. 2:6; Hardy, *P. P. S.* 1937, Pl. XXX: 1; the decoration on the terminals is illustrated by Montelius, *Chron.*, fig. 203.

<sup>18</sup> Gold lunulae with decoration consisting principally of grooves parallel with the edges, with end-panels absent or rudimentary:

Kerivoie (C. du N.), Brittany: Lantier, *Guide Illustré du Musée des Antiquités Nationales* (1948), fig. 21.

Schulenburg, Kr. Springe, Hanover: Ebert, *Real.*, VII, *Taf.* 213.

Fauvillers, Prov. Luxembourg, Belgium: Mariën, *Oud-België* (1952), fig. 171.

Coulter, Lanarks., Scotland: *P. S. A. S. L.*, p. 17, fig. 1.

Harlyn Bay, Cornwall: with (?) another lunula of Irish type (elaborately decorated in fine tracer technique) and a developed type of flat axe: Bullen, *Harlyn Bay and the Discoveries of its Prehistoric Remains* (1912), Pl. 22; R. A. Smith, *Antiquaries Journal* II (1922), pp. 93 ff., figs. 1-3.

Skovshøjrup, Fyn, Denmark: see note 17.

Fredensborg, Zealand, Denmark: Hardy, *P. P. S.* 1937, Pl. XXX: 3.

<sup>19</sup> J. E. Forssander, *Der ostskandinavische Norden während der ältesten Bronzezeit Europas* (1936); J. M. de Navarro, in *The Early Cultures of Northwest Europe* (Chadwick Memorial Studies, 1951).

<sup>20</sup> The records of the National Museum, Copenhagen, pertaining to these gold objects were examined by the writer, with the assistance of Dr. phil. O. Klindt-Jensen, in 1956, and later independently by Professor C. J. Becker, who kindly confirmed by letter that there is no record of these gold ornaments having been found either with datable associations or with cremated bones.

<sup>20a</sup> In addition to the associated finds of Western European gold basket earrings mentioned in this paper, the following examples are known in northwest Europe:

Ireland (no exact provenance); pair, undecorated: Armstrong, *op. cit.* (note 7), No. 348-9, pp. 38, 86, Pl. XVIII: 423-4.

Ireland, 'Dacomot', Co. Down; *pointillé* ornament: Armstrong, *ibid.*, No. 350, Pl. XVIII: 413.

Belgium, cave 'Trou del Heuve', Sinsin, Prov. Namur; pair, atypical (tongue at both ends; corrugated surface): most recently Mariën, *Oud-België* (1952), pp. 186, 192, 480, fig. 173.

Bronze earrings imitating the form of the Western European gold type were found at Cowlam, Yorks., Greenwell's Barrow LVIII (grave with contracted inhumation), British Museum, *Later Prehistoric Antiquities*, fig. 13:1, p. 34, and in the Migdale, Sutherland hoard (Early Bronze Age), Anderson, *P. S. A. S.* XXXV (1901), pp. 272-3, fig. 5. The bronze earrings from the Early Bronze Age hoard at Tinsdahl, Kr. Pinneberg (Montelius, *Chron.* *Abb.* 143) appear to resemble the Western European form, but their rows of *pointillé* ornamentation are not matched on the British bronze earrings.

<sup>21</sup> O. Uenze, *Die frühbronzezeitlichen triangulären Vollgriffdolche* (1938), esp. pp. 41 ff. (*Oder-Elbetypus*); N. K. Sanders, VI *Ann. Rep. U.L.I.A.* (1950), pp. 54 ff.; A. M. Ap Simon, X. *Ann. Rep. U.L.I.A.* (1954), pp. 48 ff.

<sup>21a</sup> ApSimon, *op. cit.*; cf. de Navarro, *op. cit.* (note 19).

<sup>21b</sup> Forssander, *Meddelanden Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum* 1939, p. 46.

<sup>21c</sup> De Navarro, *op. cit.* (note 19); cf. ApSimon, *op. cit.* (note 21); H. O'N. Hencken, 'Beitsch and Knossos', *P.P.S.* XVIII (1952), pp. 36 ff.; V. Milošević, 'Neue Bernsteinscheiber aus Griechenland', *Germania* XXXIII (1955), pp. 316 ff.; R. von Uslar, 'Der Goldbecher von Fritzdorf bei Bonn', same volume, pp. 319 ff.

<sup>22</sup> V. G. Childe, 'The Significance of Cord-ornamented Bell-beakers', *Homenaje a J. L. Santa-Olalla*, I (1946), pp. 196 ff.

<sup>23</sup> J. D. van der Waals and W. Glasbergen, 'Beaker Types and their Distribution in the Netherlands', *Palaeohistoria* IV (1955), pp. 28 ff.

<sup>24</sup> H. Gatermann, *Die Becherkultur in der Rheinprovinz* (1943).

<sup>25</sup> E. Sangmeister, *Die Glockenbecherkultur und die Becherkulturen* (1951), pp. 19 ff.

<sup>26</sup> K. W. Struve, *Die Einzelgrabkultur in Schleswig-Holstein und ihre kontinentalen Beziehungen* (1955); *Taf.* 36 shows the distribution of over-all corded Beakers in Germany (symbol S).

<sup>27</sup> A. del Castillo, *Actas de la IV Session Congresos Internacionales* (1956), fig. III:7; also F. Esteve Galvez in same volume, *Lam.* IV:4.

<sup>28</sup> C. J. Becker, *Acta Archaeologica* XXV (1954), pp. 123 ff.; chronological table fig. 36.

<sup>29</sup> J. S. P. Bradford, 'Excavations at Cassington, Oxon., 1947', *Oxonienisia* XVI (1951), pp. 1 ff., figs. 1, 2.

<sup>30</sup> Wold Farm Barrow CCXXXV; Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery*, I, Pl. XIII:151; cf. Megaw and Hardy's discussion of this important find, *P.P.S.* IV (1938), p. 283; axes illustrated in their fig. 12. One of the axes compares well with the Irish decorated axe in the Dieskau I (Saalkr.) hoard *J.S.T.L.* IV (1905), pp. 3 ff., esp. pp. 5-6, *Taf.* I:1; metal analysis *J.S.T.L.* XXIX (1938), pp. 174 ff., *Anal. Nr.* 17, pp. 179-9; and with a similarly decorated axe from Lumby Taarup, Fyn (Broholm, *Aarbøger* 1938, p. 68, fig. 4-6; *Danmarks Bronzealder*, I, p. 207), found with axes of Pile type.

That the Irish halberds found on the Continent are contemporary with the Irish decorated axes is strongly suggested by the remarkably close agreement in the distribution of these two types on the Continent as well as the association of a halberd of Irish form and an Irish axe in the Dieskau I hoard.

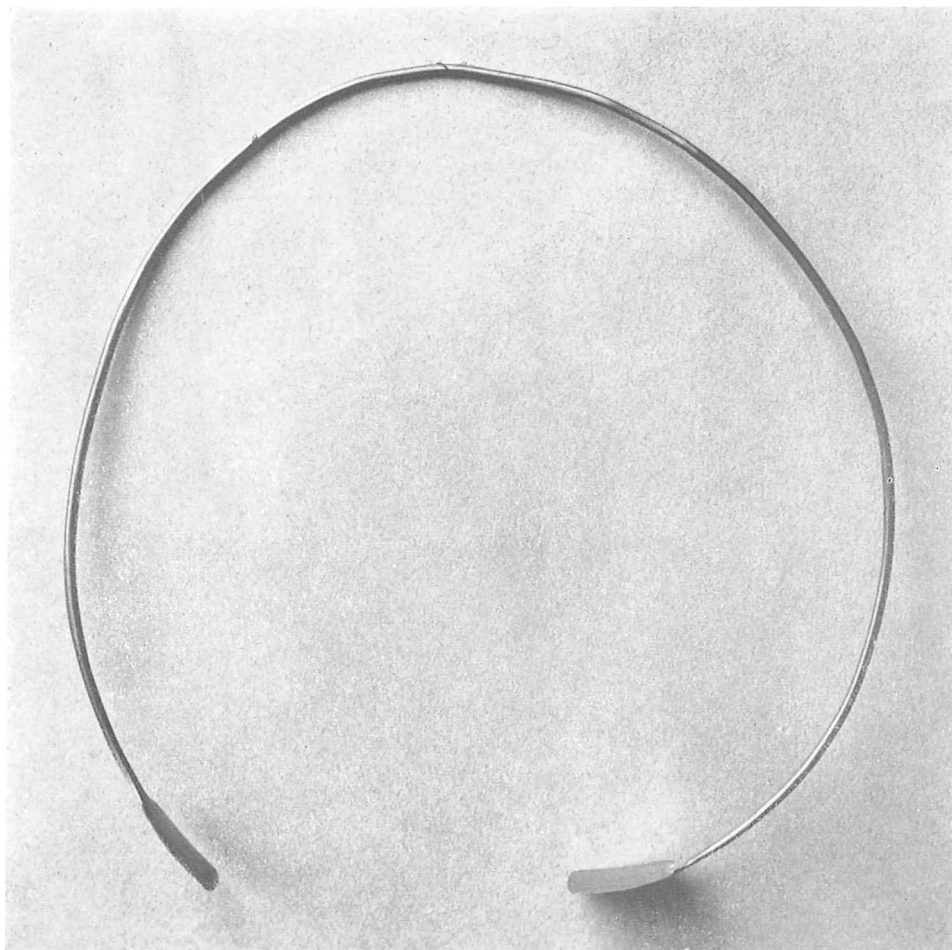
<sup>31</sup> Childe (*op. cit.*, note 22), who stresses the survival of the Beaker culture in Britain into his period IV (the period of the Wessex Early Bronze Age) calls attention to the possible association of a B3 Beaker with a crescentic jet necklace (normally belonging to the Early-Middle Bronze Age Food Vessel culture) at Law Park, St. Andrews, Aberdeenshire. But the original account (D. Hay Fleming, *P.S.A.S.* XLI, 1907, pp. 401 ff) shows that the stone cist was much disturbed, and the investigators were unable to establish that the Beaker and necklace, neither of which were *in situ*, really belonged to the same burial.

<sup>32</sup> A. E. van Giffen, 'Een meerperiodenheuvel, Tumulus I te Bennekom, Gem. Ede', *Gelre* LIV (1954), pp. 1 ff.; C<sup>14</sup> dates cited p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> R. Stampfuss, *Das Hügelgräberfeld Kalbeck, Kr. Kleve* (1943), pp. 62 ff., *Taf.* 9:1, 2; Struve, *op. cit.* (note 25), p. 130, *Taf.* 25:6.

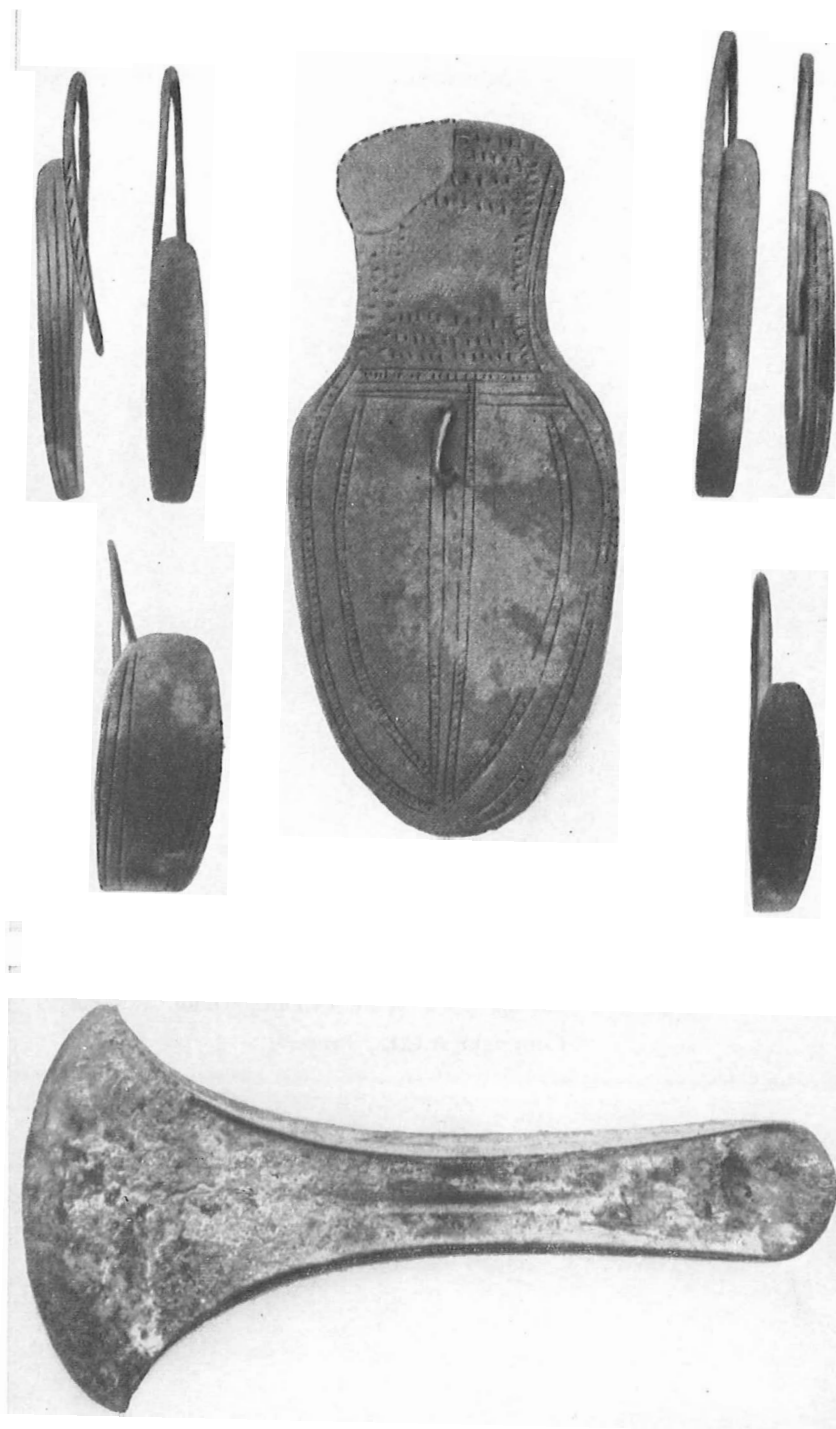
<sup>34</sup> Struve, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

<sup>35</sup> A. E. van Giffen, 'Tumuli-opgravingen in Gelderland 1935/36', *Gelre* XL (1937), pp. 2-4, *Afb.* 2, 5; for the bead type cf. K. Kersten, *Zur älteren nordischen Bronzezeit* (1936), pp. 42-3; fine example from Hohenasppe, *ibid.* *Taf.* IV:16. See also R. Hachmann, *Die Bronzezeit im westlichen Ostseegebiet* (1957), pp. 54-5, citing several examples in 'Sögel' womens graves.

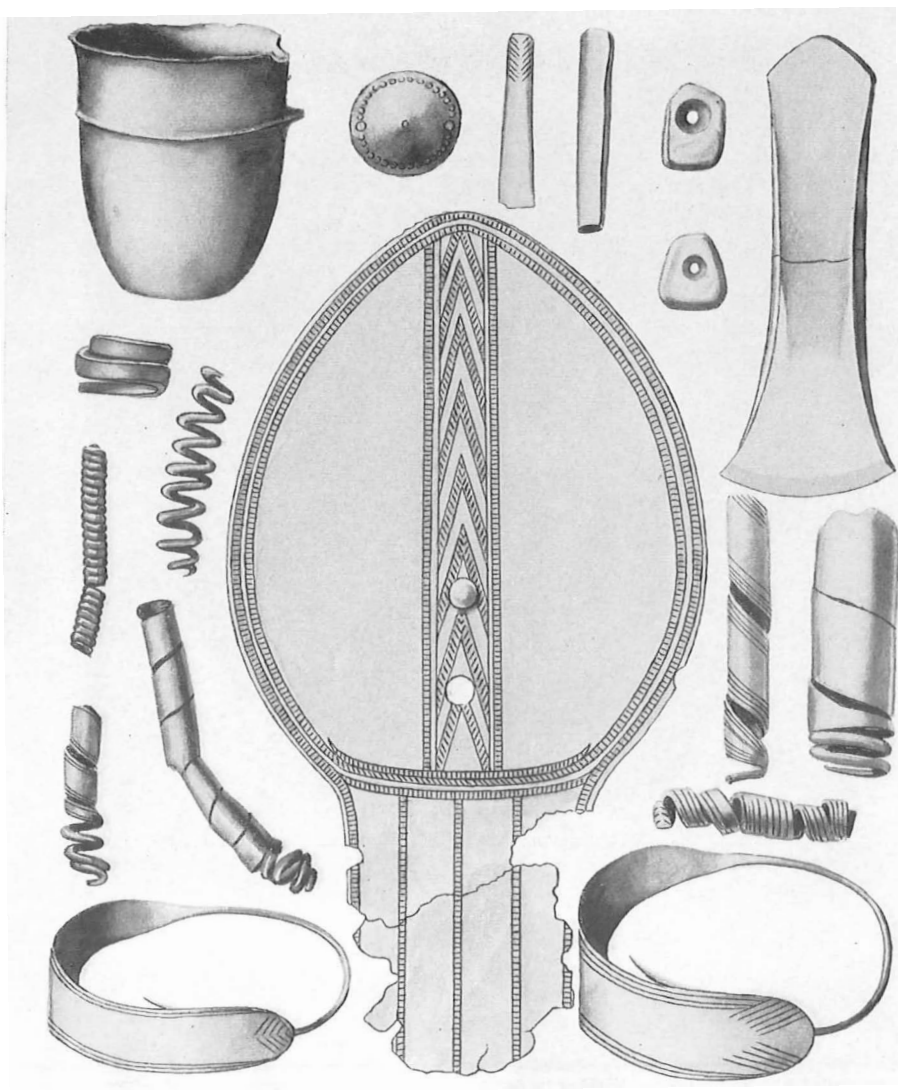


Gold diadem or neckring from Arlon, Belgium. Diam. 38.5 cm  
Copyright A.C.L., Brussels

PLATE VII



Hoard from Schönfeld (Silesia?) (after Seger). Scale c. 1:8



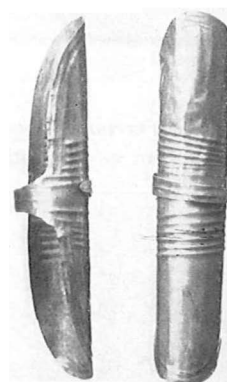
Hoard from Zedlitz (after Seger; redrawn by B. Kuitert from *Altschlesien* VI, Abb. 16).  
Scale pot c. 3:8; other objects c. 3:4 except 'shield' (centre), 1:1



PLATE IX



I

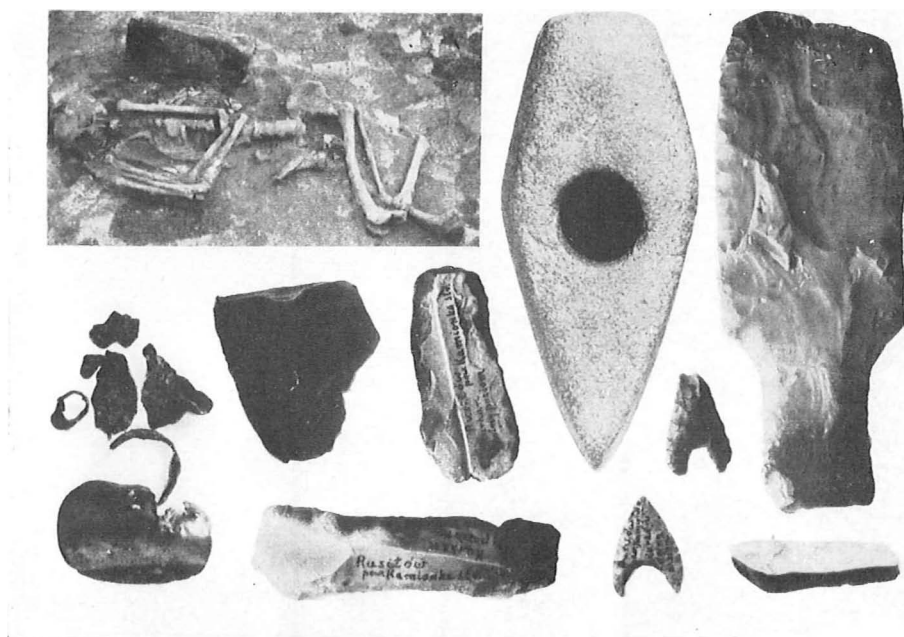


2

3

Grave Group from Radley, Berkshire. Scale Beaker 1:2, other objects 1:1

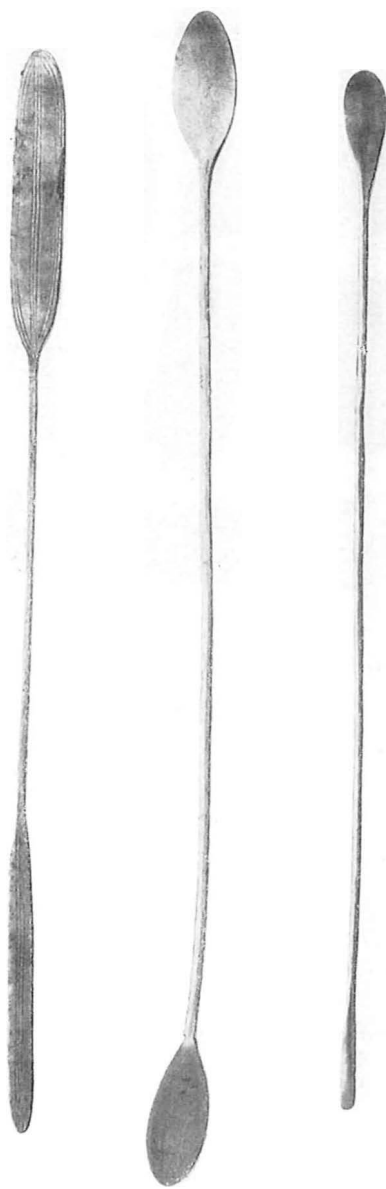
Copyright Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



Grave group from Rusilow, Poland. Courtesy Prof. T. Sulimirski

Scale : objects c. 1 : 2

PLATE XI



Gold ornaments from South Scandinavia. *Left* Skåne; *middle* Lyn-  
derup; *right* Lundegaard. Courtesy National Museum, Copenhagen.  
Scale 3 : 5