Life with the stones: monuments, fields, settlement and social practice. Revealing the hidden Neolithic-Early Bronze Age landscapes of Exmoor, SW Britain.

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Abstract

Title: Life with the stones: monuments, fields, settlement and social practice. Revealing the hidden Neolithic-Early Bronze Age landscapes of Exmoor, SW Britain.

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This thesis characterizes and interprets the nature of Exmoor's late 3rd and early 2nd millennium BC landscapes, including an unusual array of 'minilithic' stone configurations. It develops a new theoretical framework using an ontology of assemblages, the concept of affectivity and perspectives on miniaturisation and scale, adopting a Deleuzian understanding of materiality. This promotes an exploration of the processes which led to the appearance, use and dispersal of archaeological entities as assemblages. It includes all forms of people's interactions with materials, monuments, material culture (lithics) and landscapes; questioning the value of classificatory approaches and studying such themes as monumentality in isolation.

The first detailed study of the lithic collections explores how the ontological significance of stone developed over millennia, leading to the emergence of upright stone configurations in the landscape. A detailed synthesis of the available archaeological evidence from excavation, survey, HER and museum datasets is then presented focusing on three case study zones, with entirely new interpretations developed for key sites at multiple scales. It then goes on to explore their wider relationships in terms of chronology, spatial placement, archaeological and landscape context. This is achieved through GIS analysis, original fieldwork (field visits, surveys, geophysics and excavation) and the synthesis and re-interpretation of secondary and archive data.

The wider context of Exmoor is then briefly assessed, particularly drawing on evidence from Bodmin Moor. Tendencies to dismiss Exmoor as a poorer relation of such regions is challenged. Exmoor's monuments challenge thinking on monumentality, particularly regarding the establishment of authority, through the choreography of space, movement and visibility. The miniliths had distinct affective qualities, with a unique capacity for frequent reconfiguration, quite different from megalithic sites elsewhere; yet many of the same practices are apparent. On Exmoor however, what people were doing with these practices was wholly different.

Acknowledgements

Undertaking and especially writing a PhD thesis is an enormous challenge, and this project would simply not have been possible without the help, support and encouragement of a great number of people. First I would like to thank my parents, family, and friends for always supporting my obsession with archaeology and decision to follow a more challenging and non-traditional career path! Special thanks must go to Eric Tourigny, Charlotte Black, Dennis Sami, Paul Dickinson, Damjan Krsmanovic and Andrew Bell for their time and efforts in helping with the fieldwork and for putting up with the worst of the rain, cold and mist that Exmoor could throw at them.

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Finally, apologies to anyone I have missed out, your contribution was nonetheless appreciated.

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List of abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used within this thesis:

ATP - Refers to Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. 2013. *A Thousand Plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia*. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

BA - Bronze Age

CRAAGS - Committee for Rescue Archaeology in Avon, Gloucestershire and Somerset.

DDHER - Devon and Dartmoor Historic Environment Record

DEM - Digital Elevation Model

EBA - Early Bronze Age

EN - Early Neolithic

ENP - Exmoor National Park

ENPA - Exmoor National Park Authority

ENPHER - Exmoor National Park Historic Environment Record

HER - Historic environment record

LBA - Late Bronze Age

LiDAR - Light detection and ranging. See Crutchley, S. and Crow, P. 2009. *The Light Fantastic: Using Airborne Laser Scanning in Archaeological Survey.* Swindon: English Heritage. Page 3.

LN - Late Neolithic

LN/EBA - Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age

MBA - Middle Bronze Age

MBND - Museum of Barnstaple and North Devon

Neo - Neolithic

RCHME - The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. Later known as English Heritage and now Heritage England.

SVF - Sky-View Factor analysis. See Kokalj, Ž., Zakšek, K. and Oštir, K. 2011. Application of sky-view factor for the visualisation of historic landscape features in lidar-derived relief models. *Antiquity* 85: 263-273.

TPQ - *Terminus post quem.* 'Time after which'. See Darvill, T. 2002. *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Archaeology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Page 425.

Chapter 1 Introduction to Exmoor and research aims

Exmoor National Park is home to a wealth of extensive but fragmentary evidence of the people who lived, farmed and buried their dead during the late 3rd and early 2nd millennium BC. Despite the potentially unique nature of Exmoor's landscapes and archaeological record, it has received little sustained attention in previous studies. In this chapter, the scope and significance of this project will be introduced, along with the research context, questions and aims. It concludes with a brief introduction to the geology and climate of Exmoor, and an explanation of the structure of this thesis.

1.1 Project rationale

This thesis seeks to address this imbalance, producing for the first time a detailed synthesis of Exmoor’s Neolithic and Bronze Age archaeological record. As such, it forms the basis of an interpretative narrative for three case study areas within Exmoor National Park (ENP). It makes a significant contribution towards key debates within British prehistory, including the nature and impact of monumentality, along with the significance of scale and notions of materiality. To achieve this a detailed synthesis and interpretation is presented of previously collected data from excavations and surveys, supported by original fieldwork at key sites and the analysis of lithic collections held by local museums. In addition various other datasets have been utilised including geophysical surveys, grey literature, LiDAR data and insights from existing and ongoing palaeoenvironmental research. The latter is especially important, with environmental sequences from upland mires providing the most accurately dated picture of episodes of human influence in vegetation disturbance through clearance and farming (Fyfe *et al.* 2003a,b; Fyfe 2012). Although this is drawn upon in the discussion where necessary, it is beyond the scope of this study to consider this data in detail. A relational approach to the study of Exmoor’s prehistoric landscapes forms the driving theme throughout this work, using a theoretical framework based in assemblage theory to shed light on a number of important questions. These include the relationship between people and landscape; the rationale behind monument construction and function, along with the development of landscapes with farms, fields and clearance structures. Finally, this research outlines a number of wider implications for current approaches to monumentality in prehistory, as well as providing a case study in the importance of understanding regional social imperatives in the Neolithic and Bronze Age.

1.2 Previous approaches - research context

Exmoor has been ignored by major narratives of British prehistory, largely considered an inferior cousin to the more studied areas of the south west such as Bodmin Moor and Dartmoor. However, a small but nonetheless important body of research has occurred over the last century. This has highlighted a regionally distinct group of stone settings as a potentially unique aspect of its archaeological record. Such works were confined to limited surveys of Exmoor's stone monuments carried out in the early 20th century (Chanter and Worth 1905 & 1906; Gray 1906, 1928 & 1931a), along with two subsequent but very short overviews (Eardley-Wilmot 1983; Whybrow 1970). In addition, a small number of targeted excavations have taken place with recent excavation focused on areas such as Lanacombe, and other small excavations and surveys carried out by the University of Leicester and Exmoor National Park Authority (e.g. Quinnell 1997; Green 2009a&b; Gillings *et al.* 2010; Gillings 2013). There is an urgent need for a major synthesis of this data to generate a coherent understanding of the period on Exmoor.

The only two previous major studies of the archaeology of the area provided generalised overviews of the archaeological record (Grinsell 1970; Riley and Wilson-North 2001). Both these works highlighted the fact that the prehistory of Exmoor is not well understood; there is a need for extensive fieldwork and excavation to clarify the many gaps apparent in our understanding. Particularly notable is a lack of absolute dates for the whole archaeological record on Exmoor, especially during the Neolithic and Bronze Age (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 182). This is due to a lack of fieldwork, and the highly acidic soil conditions which mean suitable material for dating survives only rarely. Previous approaches to the stone monuments of Exmoor have tended to focus entirely on the stone arrangements themselves and their geometric shape, a trend continued by the surveys of lithic monuments carried out by the former RCHME (Chanter and Worth 1905 & 1906; Gray 1906, 1928, 1931a; Quinnell and Dunn 1992). This was because the latter survey was primarily concerned with recording the location of the monuments, their extent and condition. Consideration of such monuments as abstract geometric arrangements of stones is limiting (e.g. Chanter and Worth 1905 & 1906). An enhanced understanding of Exmoor's monuments will be gained by detailed consideration of all the aspects which define their character. This includes their landscape setting, the processes which led to their construction, the nature and significance of their material forms, and their relationships to other entities such as habitation areas, fields, clearance structures, and funerary monuments.

The research is timely for several reasons. First, a considerable amount of new data has been generated recently which has the potential to shed light on Exmoor's later prehistory. This includes new environmental data, LiDAR survey of the moor and recent excavation and geophysics results (e.g. Fyfe 2012; Gillings and Taylor 2012; Gillings 2013). Second, the Exmoor Mires Project has been commissioning archaeological fieldwork and research to mitigate against any negative impacts on the historic environment caused by mire restoration (through blocking previous drainage works) (Bray 2012). This has been generating new data to enhance our understanding of the Neolithic and Bronze Age archaeology of ENP. Finally, Exmoor's stone monuments especially are an especially fragile resource, vulnerable to destruction by vandalism, the use of vehicles, and livestock using upright stones as rubbing posts (Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 4). This then adds an additional imperative to enhancing our understanding of Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes.

1.3 Research questions and aims

This thesis examines four specific research questions, as well as several broader themes within later British prehistory. Together these provide a coherent framework to develop a detailed understanding of Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes. The four main research questions are shown in table 1.1. The key theme throughout this project is to understand the development of Exmoor's later Neolithic, Early-Middle Bronze Age landscapes, focusing on the phenomenon of stone monument construction and monumentality. The roles these structures played within social discourse and wider activities in the landscape, along with developing specific interpretations of their meaning and significance are key considerations. The results and outcomes of exploring Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes have wider implications, contributing to a number of key debates in prehistory which are explored in chapters ten and eleven. Three main themes will structure the discussion throughout this work, focusing on monumentality and the wider context of Exmoor's stone monuments (table 1.2). Although the inherent restrictions of the thesis have prevented detailed consideration here these in turn have the potential to inform wider debates (listed in italics, table 1.2).

Table 1.1: Research questions.

Number	Research questions
1)	Explore in detail the reasons for the very different character of the lithic monuments on Exmoor, and interrogate the rationale behind their construction, use and abandonment.
2)	Investigate the spatial and chronological relationship on Exmoor between the stone monuments and smaller scale structures, such as cairns, stone spreads, linear boundaries, activity areas, house structures and cairns.
3)	Interrogate in detail the landscape context of Exmoor's stone monuments. This includes topographic, environmental and artefactual evidence (lithic finds).
4)	Analyse the relationship between Exmoor's stone settings and more conventional megalithic monuments on other upland areas of the south west and more broadly. Investigate the reasons for these differences

Table 1.2: Wider themes and debates.

Number	Broader themes
1)	Interrogate the phenomenon of raising small standing stones, and consider in broader perspective the issue of monumentality around 2000 BC.
2)	Explore the influence of monuments and geology on landscape development, considering how such features were perceived in social discourse.
3)	Consider the potential of Exmoor to challenge current views of the construction and use of monuments, along with their relationship to upland settlement and land allotment systems in SW Britain.
4)	*Determine key similarities or differences from the developmental history of other areas of the south west, particularly Dartmoor, Bodmin Moor and the south west more generally. Investigate the reasons for these differences.*
5)	*Examine the placement of Exmoor within the wider Neolithic-Bronze Age transition in the UK. Critically evaluate the idea that Exmoor is interpreted as a cultural backwater that is peripheral and isolated to social change (i.e. Tilley 2010).*

1.4 Exmoor National Park – The region and case study areas

1.4.1 Geology, topography and soils

Exmoor is a regionally distinct upland area of the United Kingdom's south west peninsula[1], defined topographically by deep narrow coombes, rolling flat topped hills and high plateaus (figure 1.1). Quite different from the granite dominated landscapes of Dartmoor, Exmoor could best be described as a world of miniature upland, coombe and plateau with a spectacular rocky coastline of high cliffs. The topography of Exmoor is defined by several major ridges which run broadly east west, the Southern Escarpment, the Central Ridge which incorporates the highest ground, such as The Chains (486m) and Dunkery Beacon (519m), and the Northern Ridge forming the coastline (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 3; Tilley 2010: 293; Hegarty and Wilson-North 2014: 1-4). The climate is harsh and winters can be severe with very high levels of rainfall in elevated areas such as The Chains, and the weather conditions are rapidly changeable, with dense moor mists that can rapidly reduce visibility to almost nothing (Tilley 2010: 296-299). The underlying bedrock belongs to the Devonian era, with

[1] See Pearce 1981: 17-18 for an overview of the topography and geology of the peninsula.

varying sandstones, limestone's and slates bisecting the area of ENP (figure 1.2; See Grinsell 1970: 11-12; Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 3; Tilley 2010: 293; Hegarty and Wilson-North 2014: 3-4). This is significant because it means that large scale stone blocks and boulders were not readily available in any abundance for the construction of sites in prehistory. In this sense the area is quite different to Bodmin Moor and Dartmoor, whose granite geology provides ample large stone blocks and dense stone clitter spreads (Tilley 2010: 351-352; Newman 2011: 4-6; Riley and Wilson-North: 42; Hegarty and Wilson-North 2014: 1). The remaining areas of open moorland are covered in blanket peat or half-bog like soils that are highly acidic, and deeper peat is present in bogs and mires around the upper reaches of the valleys on the high ground (Curtis 1971: 41; Riley and Wilson-North: 22; Gillings *et al.* 2010: 44; Tilley 2010: 295). The geology of Exmoor is therefore one factor which has significantly influenced the character of the archaeological record in the region, something which is discussed in answering RQ 1.

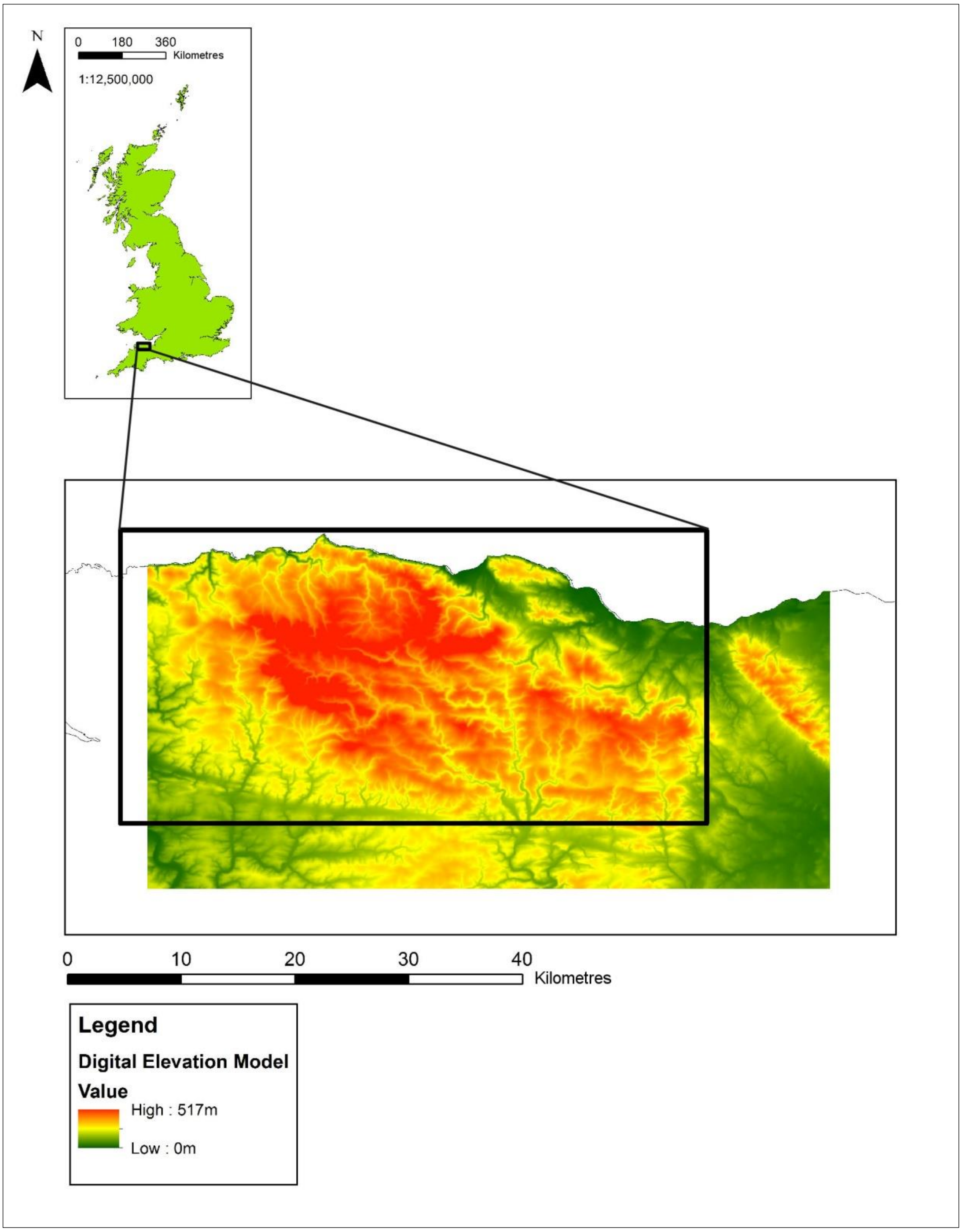

Figure 1.1: Composite map showing a DEM (digital elevation model) of Exmoor's topography and location within the UK. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

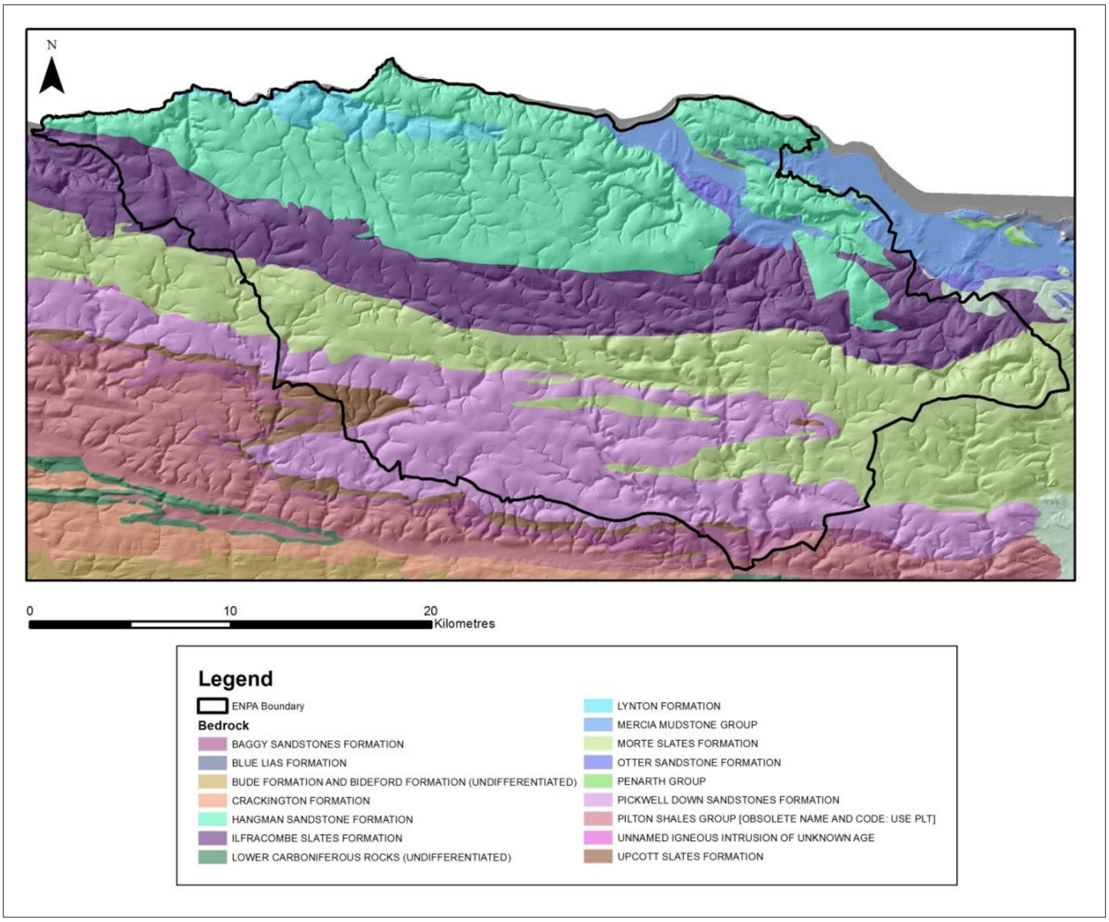

Figure 1.2: Map showing Exmoor's geology. Figure produced by the author using data from British Geological Survey and Ordnance Survey. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An British Geological Survey and Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

1.4.2 Definition of study region and case study areas

This study uses the modern administrative boundary of Exmoor National Park to define the overall geographic extent of the project (figure 1.3). The study of lithic collections examines material from within this area generally although the edges were treated as permeable, with some assemblages which were just outside this boundary included as it made little sense to exclude them simply because of this arbitrary modern boundary. The majority of the work presented focuses on the detailed analysis of three case study areas, located in the higher upland areas which predominantly consist of open moorland (figure 1.3). In the present these areas are open landscapes largely devoid of trees, covered with large expanses of dense moorland vegetation, including purple moor grass (*Molina caerulea*) and heather, with soft rushes, deer sedge, whortleberry and rare, isolated areas of finer short grasses (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 5; Gillings *et al*. 2010: 305). However, these areas were likely more wooded in prehistory, with significant areas of woodland still surviving on Exmoor in the Early Bronze Age, whilst the highest areas were largely defined by open grassland (Fyfe 2012: 2768-2771). These areas are where the majority of the surviving evidence of the Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes can be found as upstanding field monuments. Further details regarding their selection and extent is presented in chapter five.

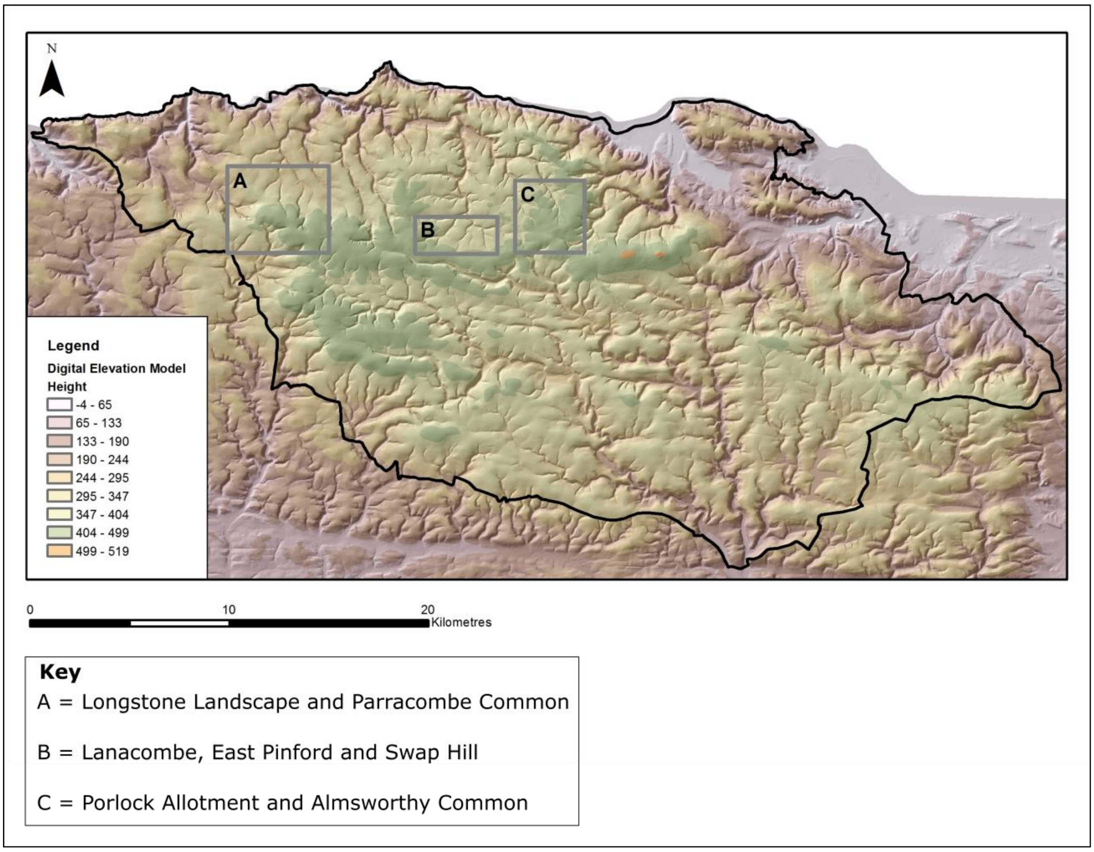

Figure 1.3: Topography of Exmoor showing the present ENPA boundary and the study areas. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

1.5 Conclusion and the structure of this thesis

This chapter has briefly outlined the scope and rationale behind this research project, providing a brief overview of the aims, research questions and a justification of why this work is needed. In chapter two I will set out the research context, and the nature of the problem. This gives an overview of previous research pertinent to the Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes on Exmoor to highlight in detail the present state of knowledge and the gaps in understanding that this thesis attempts to address. Chapters three and four outline the theoretical framework, based in assemblage theory, and chapter five conducts an overview of the present chronological understanding and outlines the methodology employed. The data chapters are structured by scale, beginning with the smallest material evidence, the lithic collections (chapter six), before examining the monuments and landscapes in chapters seven to nine. The discussion in chapter ten focuses on drawing together the themes discussed in the data chapters, summarising the results and highlighting the original contribution to knowledge that this thesis assembles. The final chapter examines the contribution this study makes to understanding Exmoor and wider debates on monumentality, and offers some critical reflections on the methods and results of this project, along with outlining some priority areas for future research.

Chapter 2 Reviewing Exmoor and defining the problem - a history of previous research

This review will cover previous research, both published and unpublished, focusing on the Neolithic and Bronze Age on Exmoor. The intent is to review the current state of knowledge, and highlight gaps in understanding, defining the context of this research and outlining the nature of the problems it seeks to address. To achieve this, a partly thematic and chronological approach has been used to structure this chapter.

2.1 Introduction - Later Prehistoric Exmoor

Exmoor is home to an unusual array of regionally distinct prehistoric stone settings, which comprise arrangements of upright stones set in various geometric and non-geometric forms such a parallelograms (rectangular), triangles, quadrilaterals (or quincunx's) and vague linear groups. More familiar features are also present, such as single and paired standing stones, circles and rows, which occur in many parts of Britain and Ireland (see Williams 1988; Burl 2000 and 1993; Scarre 2007). There was a concerted and almost exclusive focus on the use of very small stones to construct these features on Exmoor, typically 0.5 or less (e.g. 20-40cm) in height (See Riley and Wilson North 2001: 23; Gillings *et al.* 2010; Tilley 2010: 309; Gillings 2015b&c). These small monuments blend into the landscape in a way that large megalithic constructions do not, today they are often hidden amongst the moorland vegetation and have no real visibility from any distance. The issue of their contemporary environmental context remains open to debate, for example as to whether they sat within largely open or closed (e.g. wooded) vegetation regimes, or if the stones were kept clear of vegetation and managed in any way. The previous palaeoenvironmental research is briefly outlined in section 2.6. Such is the diminutive stature of Exmoor's stone settings they are very difficult to locate even with modern GPS equipment. People can easily pass through or within a few metres of the sites entirely unaware of the presence of small artificially set stones, which can be difficult to distinguish from natural outcrops (figure 2.1). The small size of the stones implies the dynamics of their emergence and construction was potentially wholly different, not requiring the large groups of people, significant lengths of time and levels of technological innovation needed to move and raise massive boulders; instead a few people or an individual may have constructed a setting in a matter of a few hours (cf. Tilley 2010: 309, 339). This might also imply the element of risk associated with massive boulders being physically moved, in terms of death or injury through losing control of this movement was absent, although of course, the risk may have been evident in other ways; for example, through the disturbance of a dangerous material at the wrong time, or failure to carry out the correct measures to guard against potent substances or forces (see Richards 2013: 9-18).

Figure 2.1: View across Swap Hill Stone Setting. The Blue circles mark stones A, B and C. The top of stone D is visible in the foreground. Figure produced by the author from a photograph taken by the fieldwork team.

The stone settings on Exmoor are not precisely dated at present, although they have generally been assigned to the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age period as part of the much wider phenomenon of raising standing stones and building megalithic monuments that is evident across Britain at this time (See Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 23; Bradley 1993 and 1998; Scarre 2007; Gillings et al. 2010). On Exmoor the settings are sometimes associated with small and insubstantial cairns, 0.1-0.5m or less in height and between circa 1-6m in diameter, which frequently lack a significant surface signature (see Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 24; Gillings 2013: 44-51; Tilley

2010: 332). Recently a group of stone settings at Lanacombe have been revealed to sit within complex wider landscapes of features, including an ephemeral Late Early-Early Middle Bronze Age rectilinear field system, defined by small cairns, stone spreads and timber posts (Gillings 2013). Gillings *et al.* had previously noted the possibility that the settings could relate directly to the Middle Bronze Age fieldsystems, whether contemporaneous, pre or post dating them (2010: 315). Although the settings precise relationship to the former remains unknown; the upright stone monuments on Exmoor have no direct dating evidence (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 23). In addition to the lithic monuments, a wide variety of both large and small barrows and cairns are present within Exmoor's landscape. More substantial (in comparison to the Lanacombe evidence) fieldsystems and settlements of probable Middle and Later Bronze Age date are also present, although the evidence of land allotment and settlement in the Bronze Age on Exmoor is nothing like on the scale or extent of such features known on Dartmoor at this time (for Exmoor see Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 40-54; for Dartmoor see Fleming 1988 and 2007; Butler 1997; Newman 2011: chapter 3).

As noted in chapter one, Exmoor has never received the same research focus and interest as areas such as Bodmin Moor and Dartmoor. This is largely due to the very different scale and character of the stone monuments, described as 'minilithic' by Burl (1993: 88). The utilised stones being small and very difficult to locate in the field, typically less than 0.5m in height (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 23). They can be easily hidden by either vegetation or the expansion of the peat. Their limited visual prominence in some ways explains the lack of any sustained research focus on understanding the stone monuments and on the later prehistory of Exmoor in general. However, the very different character of Exmoor's later prehistory surely makes it a priority to produce a detailed understanding of the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age period for the region. This is necessary to ensure that this difference is acknowledged and incorporated in debates surrounding both the Neolithic-Bronze Age and Early-Middle Bronze Age transition in the South West, and more generally. In contrast to the small stone monuments, Exmoor also has a dense concentration of barrows and cairns, some of which rival any other landscape in the British Isles in terms of scale. A number are large and impressive, and often sit in striking locations silhouetted against the skyline when viewed from coombes (e.g. the Chapman Barrows at Challacombe Common and Robin and Joaney How, on Dunkery Ridge; Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 32-40). They exhibit considerable variety in form, with a distinctive class of small cairns, or lesser cairns functioning as clearance or boundary features rather than burial monuments, identified only recently and with many probably lying undiscovered (Gillings 2013: 44).

2.2 Exmoor's rude stone monuments - the early 20th century

A number of triangular, circular and quadrilateral groups of upright stones were noted and discussed by early antiquarians from the 17th to the late 19th century (e.g. Camden 1701 [1607]: 38; Polwhele 1793: 62-63; See Chanter and Worth 1905: 376-382 for a summary). However, the first serious attempts to survey and classify the stone monuments did not occur until the early 20th century (Chanter and Worth 1905 and 1906; Gray 1906). The lack of previous attention paid to Exmoor's archaeology was cited as one reason behind Chanter and Worth's investigations after attempts at opening barrows had highlighted that the stone monuments deserved more detailed focus (1905: 375).

Chanter and Worth grouped the stone monuments into classes based on their geometric shape, inheriting the terms from previous antiquarian descriptions (1905 and 1906; see table 2.1). Rows and circles were already in common use as terms, and triangles were considered self-explanatory (Chanter and Worth 1905: 388). For example, parallelograms were described to consist of nine stones, arranged in three rows of three (Chanter and Worth 1906: 542). The existence of combined categories such as triangle and quadrilateral, suggests categories were combined or invented to accommodate arrangements which did not fit the classification (ibid: 392). In the second half of their publication, they resorted to an 'unclassed' group, which demonstrates the limitations of their geometric classification scheme, and that not all of Exmoor's stone monuments exhibit any clear geometric pattern (Chanter and Worth 1906: 546). The authors later proposed that double rows of three stones be included in parallelograms, showing there was considerable ambiguity about the classification of individual sites (Chanter and Worth 1906: 542). Reviewing their survey plans, it is clear that many of the monuments do not fit well into such rigidly defined geometric patterns. In later work by Gray, the stone setting on Almsworthy common was planned showing two concentric oval's with a central circle, forcing the stones to fit an expected pattern (1931a: plate XV). This is probably the influence of Gray's previous work surveying the stone circles on Withypool Hill and Porlock Allotment (Gray 1928 and 1906). But the key point is that a total conviction existed in the view that an expected geometric motif would be found, which was present by design.

Table 2.1: Chanter and Worth's geometric classification scheme. Information from Chanter and Worth 1905 and 1906.

Type	Description
Quadrilaterals	Four stones on the circumference of an imagined circle forming a rectangle, with a fifth stone placed at the intersection of the diagonals, the centre of the imagined circle (1905: 388). A setting on Furzehill Common, over Hoaroak Water, was described as a quadrilateral and a triangle (1905: 393 plate V).
L shaped	A single stone placed either side of a row of three (1905: 395).
Parallelograms	Nine stones, not necessarily forming right angles and a central stone at the intersection of both diameters and diagonals (1905: 388). Comprises three rows of three stones (Chanter and Worth 1906: 542). Later concluded double rows of three stones should be included (Chanter and Worth 1906: 542).
Rows	Not specifically defined, already well known (see Chanter and Worth 1905: 387-388). They describe single, double and triple rows (Chanter and Worth 1905: 394-397 and 1906: 544-546).
Circles	Not specifically defined, already well known (see Chanter and Worth 1905: 387-388)
Triangles	Not specifically defined, considered self descriptive (see Chanter and Worth 1905: 388)
Triangle and quadrilateral	Invented for the setting at Woodbarrow Hangings, which Chanter and Worth represent as a quadrilateral with a triangle on the south east side (1905: 392, plate IV fig 1).
Parallelogram and triangle	A setting on Furzehill Common, over Hoaroak Water, was described as a quadrilateral and a triangle (1905: 393, plate V).
Unclassed	Adopted in the second paper published in 1906 (Chanter and Worth: 1906: 546).

Chanter and Worth undertook surveys, presenting plans and descriptions of the monuments they visited, as well as tentative reconstructions of known but destroyed sites (Chanter and Worth 1905: 385, 392). No attempt was made at ascribing a function to any of the stone monuments. It was however noted that the monuments of Exmoor were unlike those on Dartmoor or in Cornwall, and that the associated barrows indicated a Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age date (ibid 1906: 549). The focus on the geometric forms of the settings and other stone monuments, as abstract shapes devoid of any wider landscape context, would prove to be the defining thread in the limited attempts to study the monuments. The final point to highlight from the early 20th century work, was the recognition that the stone monuments were being extensively damaged and in some cases totally destroyed (see Chanter and Worth 1905). Chanter and Worth remarked that what survived was only a remnant of a former wealth, that was in danger of disappearance altogether (ibid: 376). The practice of enclosure and clearance for agriculture had caused extensive destruction in the 19th century (ibid 376). Due to a lack of large surface stones on Exmoor generally, prehistoric remains were pillaged as a convenient source of material for field drains and gate posts, as well as for mending roads (ibid: 376; Chanter and Worth 1906: 552).

2.3 The 1970's – Whybrow and Grinsell

It was not until the 1970's that a more complete overview of Exmoor's prehistoric archaeology begun to emerge. Charles Whybrow, who retired to Exmoor, published a very short but helpful overview of Exmoor's archaeology, '*Antiquaries Exmoor'* (1970). Whybrow's writing was very much influenced by earlier antiquarian traditions, and he considered himself a walking antiquary (1970: 5). This account is largely descriptive, and focuses mostly on the Beaker and Bronze Age period, discussing the barrow types and stone monuments briefly (ibid: 8-16). No attempt is made to explain any of the stone monuments, although they are ascribed some religious significance (ibid: 13). Whybrow's antiquarian approach is highlighted by his comment that the mystery of Exmoor's stone monuments is buried as deeply as the unknown language of their builders (ibid: 13). The idea that Exmoor's monuments are unspectacular and thus less impressive compared to those on Dartmoor also recurs (ibid: 5), echoing the earlier 20th century publications (e.g. Chanter and Worth 1905: 389 & 1906: 549-50). This tendency to see Exmoor as an inferior Dartmoor, or to always draw comparisons with

Dartmoor is a recurring theme throughout much previous research and remains a predominant view. Exmoor tends to be either ignored in overviews of the southwest, or mentioned only briefly in passing (e.g. Pollard and Healy 2008: 78, 81, 95, 97; Pearce 1981: chapters one to three).

The first major overview of Exmoor's archaeology was undertaken by L.V. Grinsell (1970). This book devoted four chapters to the Neolithic and Bronze Age, but highlighted that the archaeology of this period was very poorly understood. This is reflected in the fact the work covers a very wide geographic area, from Great Torrington to Taunton, and often discuses evidence from the surrounding areas in more detail than evidence from Exmoor itself (Grinsell 1970: 11). This is especially the case regarding Bronze Age metalwork and material culture although the limited evidence from Exmoor perhaps necessitated Grinsell looking beyond the upland (see ibid: 28-34). This did however fulfil the very useful aim of putting the limited data for Exmoor in a wider local context for the first time. At that time, as now, the field evidence of the Neolithic was scarce and the discussion is limited mostly to diagnostic lithic finds, with the exception of the putative remnants of a long barrow at Battle Gore, Williton[2], and a possible henge or disc barrow on Parracombe Common (Grinsell 1970: 25-26). Grinsell highlighted the need for excavation at the latter site to resolve the issue, although no such investigation has ever taken place (ibid: 26).

Grinsell makes several important interpretations based on studying the distribution of lithic finds, noting that the stone and flint axe heads are mostly found around the fringes of greater Exmoor (ibid: 22). Work on the petrology of these implements suggested some of the stone axes could originate from sources in Cornwall, whilst polished flint axes are suggested to have come from south Devon or Wessex given the lack of local flint sources on Exmoor (ibid: 23). The overall distribution was argued to indicate movement into greater Exmoor from the coast and the Somerset levels, by

[2] This site lies just to the east of Exmoor in Somerset, and is best interpreted following Riley as a poorly preserved portal dolmen (2006: 23-24).

travel along the various rivers (ibid: 23). The distribution of arrowheads is argued to support this interpretation, with the absence of arrowheads from the central massif not to be entirely explained due to a lack of flint collectors in that area (ibid 24). In contrast, concentrations between Porlock and Minehead, the coast around Watchet, and the Milverton-Bathealton area on the southern fringe of the Brendon Hills are acknowledged to reflect local archaeologists and collectors being active in these areas (ibid: 23). The focus of Neolithic settlement was argued to have been in the valley between the Brendon and Quantock Hills rather than on Exmoor's rugged uplands (ibid: 27).

Grinsell's discussion of the Bronze Age covers metalwork finds from the surrounding area, with a few from Exmoor itself mentioned in passing (1970: 28-34). This highlights a key problem with Exmoor's Early Bronze Age archaeology, in that the results of opening only a tiny portion of Exmoor's barrows are actually known (Grinsell 1970: 30). This is despite the fact that the vast majority of Exmoor's barrows show clear signs of crude early excavations, such as collapsed hollows in the centre or trenches dug through them. No major barrows have been subjected to modern excavations (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 34). Grinsell gives a detailed but largely descriptive account of the varied forms of barrow and cairn types, and the results of the few known prior excavations and finds, with a topographical overview of their locations and spatial layout within groups (1970: Chapter 5).

Grinsell's discussion of the stone monuments was largely a descriptive overview, however, some useful observations were made (1970: chapter 4). For example, criticism was made of Gray's interpretation of the remains on Almsworthy common as a stone circle, this being highlighted as an anomaly (1931a; Grinsell 1970: 41; see section 2.2). With regard to the stone rows, Grinsell argued that an association between stone rows and barrows was not convincing on Exmoor, in contrast to Dartmoor (ibid: 43). The stone settings are only briefly covered with reference to Chanter and Worth's geometric forms, but the scarcity of such monuments from anywhere else in Britain is highlighted (1905 & 1906; Grinsell 1970: 46-47; See section 2.2). No attempt at interpretation is made, although they are recommended as a priority for future research and excavation, with a date of anywhere between the 3rd millennium BC and the 19th century noted as a possibility (Grinsell 1970: 46-47). Standing stones, especially those in the vicinity of barrows, were considered to be Bronze Age, whilst the possibility that any could be Neolithic was discounted (Grinsell 1970: 47). This was largely based on the lack of Neolithic remains then known on Exmoor, although no dating evidence is associated with any of them (ibid: 47). Finally, Grinsell highlights the problems of identifying prehistoric standing stones from those erected more recently as rubbing posts for livestock (ibid: 38, 49).

Finally, settlement evidence was very limited at this time, and Grinsell was dismissive of several previous identifications of hut circles (1970: 50-51). Most of the spurious hut-circles identified by Chanter were inspected and found to be round barrows, natural stone groupings, clearance heaps or ruined cairns (ibid: 50-51). This highlights a complete contrast with other areas such as Dartmoor which has extensive settlement remains, with around four thousand hut circles (Butler 1997: 116, 141; Newman 2011: chapter 3). Whilst later work has revealed more settlement evidence (see section 2.4), this is a strong indication that it may be unhelpful to draw comparisons between Dartmoor and Exmoor.

Despite the publication of these works highlighting the potential of Exmoor and the unique nature of the stone settings, they had little wider impact and did not succeed in encouraging more extensive and sustained research into Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes.

2.4 Aerial reconnaissance and field survey – The 1980s and 1990s

The application of aerial reconnaissance and photographic transcription, as well as increased field survey, had a huge impact in greatly increasing the evidence for settlement and fieldsystems on Exmoor (see Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 40). This led to new discoveries of extensive field systems, with the late prehistoric fieldsystems at Hoar Moor and Codsend Moors recognised and surveyed for the first time (Pattison and Sainsbury 1989). The CRAAGS's aerial survey identified a variety of prehistoric sites which were subsequently confirmed by fieldwork. This included several pounds and hut circles on Porlock Allotment, a field system at Great Hill, a hut circle with boundary banks at Honeycombe Hill, Luccombe, and a banked enclosure and hut circle on Almsworthy Common (McDonnell 1980: 116-119). A field system and settlement were also subsequently identified at Honeycombe Hill (Preece 1993: 130). This led to the suggestion large scale land allotment similar to that seen on Dartmoor took place on Exmoor, perhaps based on the individual farmstead (Preece 1993: 131-132).

The first attempts at investigating the enigmatic stone settings began in this period, with a small excavation undertaken at Westermill setting to identify the stone socket and re-erect a displaced stone (Burrow and McDonnell 1982 unpublished). Unfortunately no further features or artefacts were recovered (ibid 1982). Subsequent attempts at cataloguing and clarifying all known stone monuments took place, with sixty two sites being identified by Fowler (1988). A major project was undertaken by RCHME[3] between 1988 and 1992 to identify and fully record all known sites and produce detailed survey plans of each (Quinnell and Dunn 1992). The intention behind this was to clarify the location and condition of the sites to allow their proper management and conservation (ibid: 1). The work highlighted an all too familiar theme with Exmoor's stone monuments, estimating that as many as one tenth of recorded monuments had been completely destroyed in the 20th century, such damage being attributed to land improvement, military activity, vehicles and sheep (ibid: 4). Whilst this survey was crucial for definitive identification and removing spurious sites, it

[3] The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. Now Known as Heritage England.

inevitably focused exclusively on recording the forms of the stone settings and defining their extent, staying rigidly within the previously established interpretative frameworks (see section 2.2). Although it was not the intension for these surveys to do otherwise, this continued the long tradition of not considering the monuments in a wider landscape context.

The first to break with this was Eardley-Wilmot, who identified a number of places where barrows, mounds, standing stones and settings seemed to occur together and have wider relationships to the landscape (1983: 23). For example, the areas around the Chapman Barrows, Five Barrows, and the Portford side of Withypool Hill (ibid: 23). She also noted a number of interesting associations and possible relationships, including an association between standing stones, stream heads and springs (1983: 43-50). For example, near the Chapman Barrows, the Longstone was not located on the ridge but within a saddle in a shallow bog at the source of the River Bray, on the spring line (ibid: 23). Eardley-Wilmot highlighted that the ridge was of considerable importance, and speculated that this significance was drawn from the springs (ibid: 23). Further, an embanked space, described as being shaped like a long blunt wedge, measuring some twenty seven paces in length and ten wide, was identified not far from the Long Stone as a possible Neolithic feature (ibid: 23). The occurrence of barrows along the ridge, a quincunx and two other settings, and two small mounds within a mile of the Long Stone was said to highlight the area's importance (ibid: 24). She also noted that the possible henge site at Woolhanger, Parracombe, located about a mile to the north of the Chapman Barrows, was the only recognised Neolithic monument on Exmoor (ibid: 28). With regard to Exmoor's two known stone circle's at Porlock and Withypool Hill, both were noted as being close to stream heads and possible ancient ridgeways (ibid: 28). Eardley-Wilmot led a detailed field investigation of the re-discovered White Ladder stone row, conducting survey work, recording and description of the wider features in the area (Eardley-Wilmot unpublished). In discussing the major barrow cemetery known as Five Barrows, she attempted to place the White Ladder stone row (re-discovered in 1975) into a landscape context (1983: 24-25).

With regard to Exmoor's stone settings, Eardley-Wilmot was dismissive of comparisons with Scottish four-poster monuments (1983: 35). These were rectangles or squares with stones on the corners, containing a cremation urn in the centre (ibid: 34). This was argued not to fit with three or four row settings, which had little space and no dominant position within the frame (ibid: 35). Eardley-Wilmot considered the settings to have no consistent orientation, but argued they often point along a ridge or flank, or straight up and down the slope, being situated above coombes (Ibid: 35). Some occur in groups, and it was noted that people at the settings could have been observed from an opposite hillside (ibid: 35). Eardley-Wilmot's speculation about their possible function highlights that understanding of the settings had developed only very slightly since the work of Chanter and Worth (1905 & 1906). Indeed, Eardley-Wilmot argues that they could have been for religious or secular purposes, and that excavation of multiple sites was needed (1983: 35, 50). This publication, whilst short, demonstrated how crucial it was to consider the surviving monuments in a landscape context.

Even as late as the 1990's very little excavation had been carried out. This highlights a major reason for the lack of any basic understanding of Exmoor's later prehistory. The remoteness of Exmoor from any major population centre and the subtle and less visible character of the field archaeology meant that it effectively escaped attention. The results of two earlier excavations were published at this time, a cairn on Bratton Down that was excavated by Whybrow in the 1970's and a ring cairn at Shallowmead (Quinnell 1997). The excavation of Shallowmead revealed a complicated structure with a subtle signature of activity conducted within it (Quinnell 1997). Crucially the latter work produced a radiocarbon date of 1501-1187 BC, from soil covered by the entrance stones, and finds included pottery, flints and whetstones (Quinnell 1997: 23, 25; see chapter 5). To date this is one of the few modern excavations, and highlights the huge potential of Exmoor's upstanding remains to reveal crucial information about later prehistoric lifeways.

2.5 The last decades – Modern excavations and *The Field Archaeology of Exmoor* (2001)

The 21st century has seen a growing interest in the archaeology of Exmoor, and for the first time a greater and sustained emphasis of study, although this has lacked the scale and extent of the concerted research and fieldwork projects undertaken on Bodmin Moor, especially at Leskernick, but also at Roughtor, and Dartmoor at Shovel Down, Tottiford Resevoir, Cut Hill and Bellever Tor (e.g. Herring and Rose 2001; Tilley *et al*. 2000; Johnston *et al.* unpublished; Brück *et al.* unpublished a&b; Johnston 2005; Thompson 2007; Bender *et al*. 2007; Wickstead 2008; Fyfe *et al.* 2008; Hughes 2009; Fyfe and Greaves 2010; Hall 2011; Newman 2011; Fleming 2011; Carnes 2014). A major project undertaken by the former RCHME, aimed to examine all periods of the national parks archaeology, focusing on field monuments and earthwork survey, which culminated in a publication which remains the regions key reference work (Riley and Wilson-North 2001). A driving ethos behind the volume was to change the view of Exmoor as a poorer cousin of landscapes like Bodmin and Dartmoor, to being an equal, if very different, partner (ibid xii). The work made a great deal of new information available to a wider audience for the first time, particularly the antiquarian and early 20th century research, and the drastic increase in evidence for field systems and settlement structures that had occurred since Grinsell's overview (1970). It also highlighted major weaknesses in basic understanding, the largest of which being a total lack of an absolute chronology (Riley and Wilson North 2001: 20). The gazetteer of dates highlights this; only four dates then existed for Exmoor's prehistory, with just thirteen in total across all periods (Riley and Wilson North 2001: 182). This study highlighted that the field monuments could only be broadly dated by analogy with other regions, and that there are no large pottery assemblages to compare with well dated ones from elsewhere (ibid: 20). It also highlighted that no excavations of Exmoor's prehistoric field systems or hut circles had then been attempted, and no artefacts were known to be associated with them (ibid: 21).

As an overview of all periods the 2001 volume could not attempt a detailed analysis or interpretation of Exmoor's later prehistory exclusively. It did however build on Eardley-Wilmot's work to consider the prehistoric remains in a wider landscape context, highlighting the need for a detailed synthetic study of the earliest prehistoric landscapes (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 23; see table 2.2). The unique and local distinctiveness of Exmoor's stone settings was stressed rendering comparisons to elsewhere unhelpful (ibid: 23). For the first time the potential importance of the settings in understanding the beginnings of settled communities on Exmoor was also acknowledged (ibid: 23). A number of important and detailed observations were made regarding the siting and distribution of the stone monuments (table 2.2); most importantly that they are limited to the western half of Exmoor, outside the limits of Medieval and later agricultural improvement and are concentrated within the area of the former Royal Forest of Exmoor (ibid: 24). Their distribution was thus argued not to be a reliable indicator of their former extent (ibid: 24). This observation gives an impression of how much may have been lost through agricultural improvement. In terms of siting, the settings are concentrated around the headwaters of valleys, and occupy crest positions on spur edges overlooking minor tributaries of the major valleys (ibid: 24). A strong relationship between stone settings and small cairns was noted, with many having a cairn less than 6m in diameter adjacent to them (ibid 24). The proximity of settings to many of the prehistoric settlements and their extensive number (57 at the time) were used to suggest they played a greater role in the day to day life of the communities than the rarer stone rows or circles, although it was stressed that their contemporaneity was not known (ibid: 24).

Table 2.2: Observed trends in the siting and distribution of monuments from previous research. Sources of data are indicated in the table.

Type	Distribution and siting characteristics
Large barrows and cairns	• Concentrations on ridges and summits, not continuous, linear and non-linear groups, isolated sites, some on hillslopes or lower elevations, some use of dramatic/distinctive locations, false crests, and some associated with long stone rows (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 24, 32-34, 40).
Small cairns	• Less prominent locations, some associated with stone settings (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 32-34). • Form part of coaxial field boundaries at Lanacombe II and can exhibit a complex or simple structure (2013: 63)

Type	Distribution and siting characteristics
Stone spreads	• Occur in the vicinity of some settings such as at Lanacombe, where they are part of subtle field boundaries and define a small activity structure, adjacent to the settings (see Gillings 2013).
Stone settings	• No consistent orientations, but they point along ridges or up/down slopes, can occur in groups and in locations were people at them would be visible from the opposing hillside (Eardley-Wilmot 1983: 35). • Concentrations around valley headwaters, crest locations/ends of spurs, overlooking tributary streams, many have cairns <6m diameter adjacent to them, often close to prehistoric settlements/farms (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 24, 31). • Positioned on high ground but not the highest ridges, above coombe heads (Tilley 2010: 335). • Some settings located in distinct bands of underlying geology, corresponding to shallowly buried outcropping rock and subtle clitter spreads (Gillings *et al.* 2010: 314). • At Lanacombe, stone settings have a possible relationship to an embryonic field system of cairns, stone spreads and timber stakes which occurs adjacent too and between them (see Gillings 2013)
Standing stones (single/paired)	• Possible association between standing stones and stream heads or springs (Eardley-Wilmot 1983: 43-50). • Some situated overlooking coombe heads, others in less distinctive locations (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 30).
Stone Rows	• Longer rows associated with major barrows/barrow groups, with some short rows near to field systems (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 24). • Madacombe leads out of a valley onto the higher ground and is possibly associated with major barrows/cairns, rows occupy ridges or traverse slopes (ibid: 24, 54).
Stone Circles	• Both previously noted as close to stream heads or more speculatively, ancient ridgeways (Eardley-Wilmot 1983: 28). • Withypool circle is an isolated feature on a north facing slope, Porlock circle is adjacent to a cairn and stone row (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 24).
House platforms/hut circles and field systems	• Focus on unimproved central area of ENP, some on enclosed/improved ground, in single or small groups, often associated with field banks and complex field systems, with entrances facing away from prevailing weather (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 40-42, 44). • Platforms/ huts often at the edge or just outside field systems (ibid: 46). • On Porlock Allotment and Honeycombe Hill, huts cluster on south or west facing slopes (ibid: 52-53).
Enclosures	• Some associated with field systems, some also contain house platforms/hut circles (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 47).
Field banks	• Across central Exmoor between 300m and 420m altitudes, sometimes isolated or in association with hut circles (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 43).
Complex field systems	• Larger scale systems concentrated on central moorland areas, with outliers to the west of ENP, with a concentration to the south of the Dunkery massif (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 43) • For Porlock Allotment and Honeycombe Hill, the systems never extended beyond the spur on which they were built (ibid: 54).

Interestingly no direct association was thought to exist between rows and settings, or between major barrows and settings, with some stone rows located on ridges or transverse slopes leading to ridges with cairns and barrows (ibid 24). This perhaps offered a hint of a relative chronology, in that some of the stone rows could postdate the major barrows and cairns. It also contradicted Grinsell's earlier statement that any association between barrows and stone rows was not convincing (Grinsell 1970: 43;

see section 2.3). The fact long stone rows all lead to ridges with major barrows, was used to suggest the latter could be prestige barrows that predate the rest (ibid 34). Some barrows are highlighted as being sited at dramatic locations close to steep valley heads (ibid 34). But, the precise chronological relationships between the stone settings, stone circles and other features such as cairns, barrows, field structures and settlements were entirely undefined and dating relied on drawing analogy with other landscapes[4] (see Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 20-21). It was also emphasised that archetypal Neolithic monuments, such as long barrows and henges do not occur on Exmoor, with the possible henge near Woolhanger Farm interpreted as a tree ring enclosure dating from the late 18th to the early 19th century (ibid 34)[5].

A crucial step forward occurred in *The Field archaeology of Exmoor*, in carrying out the first coherent overview of the evidence for settlement and field systems (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 40-54). With the introduction of aerial reconnaissance and increased fieldwork since Grinsell's book (1970), there were now ten known field systems, twenty fragmentary field banks, and forty five hut circles or house platforms (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 45). This confirmed the earlier suggestion of Preece that some form of large scale land allotment occurred on Exmoor in the 2nd Millennium BC (1993) although the intensity and scale of settlement was very different to Dartmoor and Bodmin (Riley and Wilson North 2001: 42). The distribution and limited number was explained by their destruction through later agriculture and the underlying geology, that a lack of free stone meant houses were likely built of perishable materials, with fields marked by hedges or timber (ibid: 42). Fragmentary field banks were recognised as occurring both in isolation and in association with hut circles, whilst most of the hut circles were noted in association with field systems (ibid: 43). The first glimpse of the relationship between settlement and fields was highlighted,

[4] There is an irony here that arguments implying Exmoor was distinctive and could not be understood through analogy to other landscapes was supported by precisely such comparisons.

[5] There is a pressing need to establish the true form of the latter by excavation, given the almost total lack of certain Neolithic remains. The lack of fieldwork and excavation hampers any attempt to understand how the traditions of monument construction, field clearance and settlement patterns evolved at present.

with hut circles situated either just outside or on the edge of cohesive (i.e. coaxial, complex and regular) field systems (ibid 46). Whilst this work remains crucially important, there is a great need for fieldwork to investigate proposed relationships and for a detailed synthetic study of the development of Exmoor's later prehistoric landscapes.

'The Minilith's of Exmoor Project' was the first sustained attempt to directly investigate the stone settings and their surrounding context, carried out by Leicester and Bristol Universities along with the ENPA (Exmoor National Park Authority) (Gillings *et al.* 2010). This used geophysical survey to investigate the Lanacombe I,II & III, Toms Hill and East Pinford settings. Excavation of two stone holes (Lanacombe I stone C, Lanacombe II stone H) was carried out prior to restoration of recently fallen stones, revealing careful and varied techniques in erecting the stones (ibid: 309-314). The potential of associated miniature architectures was noted, including a setting of flat stones adjacent to the Lanacombe I stonehole for stone H (ibid: 310). The possibility was suggested that individual stones may have been a focus for deposition, with an exceptional piece of flaked quartz being recovered from a position that was originally set against the western end of Lanacombe I stone H (ibid: 310, 314). Three major observations were highlighted by the use of geophysical survey. Firstly that each setting corresponded to an area of distinctive underlying geology e.g. clitter bands or downslope outcrops of stone, or other geological anomalies (ibid: 314). This was a significant finding, as it demonstrated the geology was the more determinant factor of the arrangement, rather than any attempt at creating a rigid geometric form (ibid: 43). Secondly that these distinctive bands of high resistance geology today support very localised areas of distinctively different vegetation types, which are clearly visible, as isolated areas of lush green, short cropped grass amongst the largely ubiquitous purple moor grass (ibid: 305, 313). The possibility was therefore suggested that these areas could also have supported distinctive areas of vegetation in the past (ibid: 313). However given the changes in land use and environmental conditions over time, the distinctive geology was seen as a more likely candidate (ibid: 313).

The third and most important discovery was that at Lanacombe II & III adjacent features were detected, suggesting the presence of a rectilinear field system at Lanacombe II, and a possible ring cairn or hut circle at Lanacombe III (Gillings *et al*. 2010: 313). This highlighted how extensive but subtle traces of prehistoric structures and land use existed within the unenclosed moorland, that were wholly invisible to traditional field survey which has been the dominant tradition on Exmoor to the present day. Gillings *et al.* did not offer any detailed single interpretation of the stone settings, instead suggesting a range of potentially useful concepts that might be helpful in understanding them, such as marking and framing features or events (ibid: 315). They also used ethnographic evidence to draw a structural analogy with small monuments, comprising mounds with stone settings of Bronze Age and Early Iron Age date, built by the nomadic pastoralist Khirigsuurs in Mongolia as gathering locales (ibid: 315; see Wright 2007). They also stressed the need to consider the settings on an individual basis, and not to let assumptions of geometric regularity uncritically drive the characterisation and identification of these sites (Gillings *et al.* 2010: 314).

Subsequent excavation proved the existence of the features revealed by the geophysics. The semi-circular feature at Lanacombe III comprised an arc of loose stone, which supported a post and stake built structure, including the use of notched stones as post supports (Gillings 2013: 59, 64). The use of stones, as post triggers, such as F100 at Lanacombe II raised the interesting possibility that some of Exmoor's stone monuments could have had a timber element, because the same technology of triggers was used in the construction of upright wooden stakes and upright stones (ibid: 55-56). Therefore, it was stressed that isolated triggers could not be uncritically assumed to be former standing stone locations, although in this case, F100 appeared to form part of a field boundary system (Gillings 2013: 43, 55-56). Within the Lanacombe III stone arc a compacted surface could have been deliberately constructed, or be a result of trampling, with a concentration of tools around and in a hollow at the southern end (ibid: 64). The occurrence of a flint tool, set upright amongst an upright cluster of stones, demonstrates the well preserved nature of the site, despite the very shallow burial (ibid: 64). A layer of soil rich in charcoal sealed the underlying surface and flint artefacts, although the source for the burning could not be located (ibid: 64). The structure was thought to have had a single phase of use which was short lived, and appeared similar to the circumstantial settlements identified by Ainsworth in the Peak District, showing little resemblance to more substantial hut circles (ibid: 64-65; 2001). Some similarities were also noted with the Shallowmead ring cairn, in that both had a break in their arc to the south, although the Shallowmead structure was much more substantial (ibid: 65; Quinnell 1997: 19, 21). A similar circular anomaly with a break was also detected by geophysical survey at Lanacombe IV (Gillings and Taylor 2011a: 32-33). The acidic ground conditions (preventing significant survival of bone) and lack of artefactual finds meant dating had to rely on charcoal fragments from bulk environmental sampling, providing at best *terminus post quem's* (TPQ's) for the activity on the site (Gillings 2013: 50-51). This indicated a possible date for the structure of the 18th-17th centuries BC, with prior activity in the area, and the sealing deposit of charcoal rich soil dating from the late 17th to the early 15th centuries BC marking the end of activity (ibid: 62). However, the only confident interpretation was a TPQ in the range 1604-1433 BC (ibid: 62).

At Lanacombe II excavation revealed two distinct phases of cairn creation, the first comprising the emergence of the primary structures; the second seemed to indicate a subsequent phase of clearance and accumulation (Gillings 2013: 63). Although the same inherent limitations occur with dating charcoal from bulk samples. Cairns one and two were revealed to have a complex and formal structure which belied their diminutive size (ibid: 44-51, 65). Cairn one was created by vertical layering of sandstone slabs, resulting in an irregular internal void with a square shape and core (ibid: 44). The piling of sandstone chunks at either end created a boat shaped structure (ibid: 44). Cairn two had a central stone cist defined by orthostats and a sloping stone, supported by substantial sandstone blocks (ibid: 47). A revetment on the southern side, was formed by rectangular blocks angled inwards defining a perimeter, with the area between filled up to the core with sandstone blocks and probable turf remnants (blocks of clean sticky soil) (ibid: 47-49). The evidence suggested an elongated oval cairn, sharing a long axis with cairn one, which was subsequently enlarged with loose sandstone resulting in a circular final form (ibid: 49). The dating of charcoal from bulk samples at Cairn two did not correspond with the stratigraphic sequence well, and indicated loose TPQ's only, whilst no datable material was recovered from cairn one (ibid: 50-51). This indicated a possible construction date around the Early to Middle Bronze Age transition (1599-1429 cal BC) (ibid: 51). Pre-cairn clearance activity was indicated by burning in the Early Bronze Age (1753-1619 cal BC) (ibid: 51). Charcoal from the cairn two cist fill dated to 2459-2155 cal BC, suggested burning at the end of the Neolithic, indicating that the cist fill incorporated elements of an older Neolithic soil (ibid: 51). The linear features excavated at Lanacombe II were revealed to be fragments of a coaxial field system, defined by cairns, wooden posts, stone alignments and unstructured linear stone spreads, partly created by the spreading of a third cairn, lacking any of the structural features of the other two (ibid: 62-64).

The results of the excavations at Lanacombe described above have huge implications for the only recent attempt to interpret the specific use and function of Exmoor's stone settings. Tilley recently proposed that the settings marked ideal locales to view the movements of game and red deer (2010: 335). Their positions at coombe heads on high parts of the moor, but not the highest ridge tops, suggesting they were locations to look out from, which were not intended to be identifiable from any distance (Tilley 2010: 334). The stones were too small to actively conceal people, but marked places from which it was good to hunt, at particular seasons and times of the year, according to the wind direction (ibid: 338). The geometric shapes of the settings were argued to be metaphorical representations of the members of the hunting party and social relationships within it (ibid: 338-339). Further analogy was drawn between the geometric forms of stag antlers, with points branching off at intervals in different directions, and the geometric arrangements of stones placed up and down the hill slopes (ibid: 344). It was argued such shapes might be stylised representations of stag antlers (ibid 344). The branching structure of the stream valley systems were also said to resemble stag antlers, with the placement of settings overlooking them relating to the ancestral form and significance of stags embodied in the landscape (ibid: 344-346). Tilley's interpretation was the first detailed explanation of their significance and it is thought provoking through the way it incorporates different aspects of what makes Exmoor so distinctive: the stone monuments and open landscapes; the climate; topography and flowing streams; the stags and large deer herds (cf. Gillings 2015b: 89-90). But there is also a strong sense that this interpretation is heavily coloured by the landscape as it is today, an isolated, empty and windswept place in which the settings are located in apparent isolation (Gillings 2015b: 90)[6].

The extent of surrounding activity revealed at Lanacombe, suggesting at least seasonal activity with the construction of boundaries and field systems, contradicts Tilley's impression of Exmoor as a wild wilderness (2010: 296-299; see Gillings 2013 and 2015b: 97-98). If such activity was found to be widespread at other sites, the settings might not have been totally isolated as features within empty and wild valleys. Geophysics at Furzehill Common I setting, for example, indicated the presence of adjacent features that were similar to those at Lanacombe III (Gillings and Taylor 2011b: 5-7). Tilley's account also over emphasises the 'wild' impression of Exmoor's weather to such an extent that anyone reading the work unfamiliar with the National Park might question why anyone would want to live there at all, even today (2010: 297-299; Gillings 2015b: 90, 97-98). The evidence of cultivation or clearance from palaeoenvironmental data are also downplayed, whilst the extent of woodland cover is emphasised (see Tilley 2010: 335-336). The evidence for settlement and field systems are dismissed as insignificant, continuing the long trend of interpreting Exmoor as inferior through comparison to the evidence on Dartmoor and Bodmin Moor (ibid: 337). Whilst at present it is not possible to date any of the settings directly, and contemporaneity with surrounding activity is not conclusively provable, the fact the settings might be convenient deer viewing spots is likely coincidental. Indeed, more recent work by Gillings has suggested this might well be the case (Gillings 2015b; see chapter ten). The fact that the earliest clearance structures and fields are invisible to

[6] See Gillings 2015b: 89-98 for a detailed summary, discussion and critique of Tilley's phenomenological interpretation of Exmoor's stone settings. This is discussed in more detail in chapter ten.

traditional field survey (e.g. walkover) and aerial reconnaissance has created the misleading impression of an empty landscape excepting the stone monuments and barrows, with only later field systems and house structures visible. The application of remote sensing, in the form of geophysical survey has demonstrated this assumption needs to be questioned (see Gillings *et al.* 2010).

This first real attempt at a detailed and specific interpretation of the stone settings, along with the multitude of recent new discoveries from survey and small excavations at sites such as Lanacombe and Furzehill Common, concludes the discussion of the state of knowledge regarding Exmoor’s stone monuments when this project began. The understanding of the other forms of stone monuments on Exmoor, the rows, circles and individual standing stones (sometimes paired) had not really progressed beyond what was known in Riley and Wilson-North’s review (2001). The only exception was Porlock stone circle, which was subject to a geophysical survey in 2011 (Gillings and Taylor 2012). This revealed a series of sub-rectangular high resistance anomalies, radiating from the circle like petals (ibid: 198). The size, shape and resistance signatures are similar to the possible mortuary enclosure on Challacombe Common which was subject to a resistivity survey in 2009, but need ground testing by excavation to identify what they represent (see Pullen 2009). Table 2.3 summarises a few other recent developments (e.g. Riley 2007 and 2009).

Table 2.3: A summary of key recent developments in studying Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes. Information from Riley 2007 & 2009, Pullen, Green 2009a&b, Bray 2012

Date (of publication or report)	Summary of recent developments
2007	A new stone row at Warcombe Water and a new stone setting on Trout Hill were recorded, highlighting the great potential on Exmoor for new discoveries to be made (see Riley 2007).
2009	A possible mortuary enclosure near the Long Stone at Challacombe was subjected to detailed earthwork and geophysical survey and a non-invasive interpretation offered, but only an excavation can confirm the character, date and purpose of this unusual site (see Pullen 2009).
2009	The Codsend and Hoar Moor field systems have been subject to a detailed landscape study and survey (see Riley 2009), however no excavation has taken place to test the proposed relationships and sequence of development.

Date (of publication or report)	Summary of recent developments
2009	Excavations were conducted at the hillslope enclosure at Holworthy Farm between 2003 and 2005, revealing Bronze Age and Iron Age activity with a multiple phase round rouse, enclosure and other features (Green 2009a&b; see chapter five). Prior to this study, this was the only recent, large scale sustained excavation within Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes. It remains the only Bronze Age settlement to have been investigated by excavation.
2012 (to date)	The Exmoor Mires Project has been commissioning archaeological fieldwork in order to mitigate any negative impacts on the historic environment, of carrying out upland mire restoration through the blocking of drainage ditches (see Bray 2012). This has provided a wealth of new data regarding Exmoor's prehistory, and has helped to drive forward the current improved research focus on Exmoor’s prehistoric landscapes since the beginning of the new millennium.

2.6 Palaeoenvironmental research

Palaeoenvironment studies on Exmoor have taken place since the 1970's, with a more concerted focus over recent years. The palaeoenvironmental record provides the only well dated evidence for the chronology of human activity on Exmoor (Merryfield and Moor 1974; Francis 1986; Francis and Slater 1990; Francis and Slater 1992; Fyfe *et al.* 2003a&b; Fyfe 2006; Davies 2011 unpublished; Fyfe and Davies 2011; Fyfe 2012). Most of the previous work on Exmoor has comprised pollen analysis, although other environmental proxies have also been used, for example, testate amoebae, plant macrofossils and diatoms (Straker and Crabtree 1995: 43; Adams and Fyfe 2009: 43-45). Merryfield and Moore first studied a peat monolith from the Chains, identifying human disturbance in basal peats that may have occurred in the Neolithic (1974: 439). They favoured woodland grazing at a time of climatic and soil stress, in explaining the onset of peat formation on Exmoor (Merryfield and Moor 1974: 441). Hoar Moor and Codsend Moor, both of which have extensive field systems, where the subject of coring and pollen analysis (Francis 1986; Francis and Slater 1990; Francis and Slater 1992). Pollen zone HMA1 at Hoar Moor was characterised by low level human interference and tree pollen maintaining high relative values, dating from 4760 to 1640 BC (Francis and Slater 1990: 18). Possible local human interference was indicated by a drop in hazelnut pollen in HMA1a c. 4760 – 3180 BC, explained as a possible result of livestock browsing (ibid: 18). Although elm was less important in the local pollen zone, a decline was observed (interpolated to c.3450 BC), along with an allegedly concurrent decline in lime (ibid: 18). Both these species provide good fodder, and livestock was again the explanation given (ibid: 18). No evidence of cereal pollen or arable indicators was observed from the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition to the beaker period (ibid: 18). Exmoor's utilisation in the Neolithic was argued to have been for livestock browsing during the warmer months, with an influx of herders and domesticated animals from further west (Barnstaple Bay area), the valley between the Quantock and Brendon Hills, and the Somerset levels (ibid: 19).

Exmoor benefits from the close spatial juxtaposition of small mires and archaeological sites which can provide local vegetation histories, and Fyfe's recent study of the Seta and Five Barrow groups (including the White Ladder stone row) highlighted the potential for building an understanding of the wider landscapes around the monuments (Fyfe 2012: 2). Here the environmental data from Commerslade and North Twitchen Springs, demonstrated a semi open early Bronze Age landscape, with significant levels of localised woodland (ibid: 5). Whilst Commerslade was more wooded than North Twitchen Springs, the latter being closer to the Seta barrow group (ibid: 5). This suggested the barrows were located in the most open area of the landscape, but that significant levels of woodland were still present (ibid: 5). This research demonstrated the importance of understanding local vegetation conditions when considering the interpretation of monuments, as this could radically alter the types of practice present (ibid: 1). Fyfe argued there has been an implicit assumption that barrows were constructed in open landscapes making them highly visible, described as the 'landscape openness' hypothesis (ibid: 1; see Dreibrodt *et al.* 2009). However it is not clear if active vegetation management took place, or restructuring to create a certain type of landscape context for the monuments (Fyfe 2012: 1). Fyfe argued that a change in open ground vegetation at North Twitchen Springs, at 1980 cal BC, with an increase in indicators of improved ground and a reduction in heath, could represent such activity (2012: 8). This was characterised as a distinct phase of land improvement lasting 100 years, ending at 1890 cal BC (ibid: 8). However the lack of dating evidence from any of the barrows at present precludes being able to confirm any temporal relationships between changes in vegetation regimes and the use or construction of the barrows. Fyfe concluded there was no clear blueprint for the context of Early Bronze Age barrows within the landscape, and they did not have to be built in an open landscape (2012: 8). It should be noted that no detailed palaeoenvironmental reconstructions of the immediate surroundings of any other specific stone monuments on Exmoor have been undertaken, a key limitation here being the need for very close spatial proximity of sites and mires which contain pollen sequences that have the required chronological depth.

Recent work has also considered the spatial extent of human induced vegetation change, and developed an overview of Exmoor's vegetation development (Fyfe *et al.* 2003a; Fyfe and Davies 2011). Fyfe *et al.* used three spring mire sites on Molland Common to reconstruct local vegetation histories around each site, the comparison of which highlighted the spatial scale of variation in vegetation patterns around the edge of the upland (2003a: 215). There was no evidence at Long Breach of a human impact on vegetation in the Later Mesolithic, or for the use of fire in management or creation of open heathland (ibid: 226-227). There is however a distinct change at the beginning of the Neolithic shortly before 3640-3360 BC, marked by a short decline in dominant oak-hazel woodland with a permanent elm decline at the end of a clearance episode (ibid: 227). The clearance may have lasted between 50 and 200 years followed by a recovery of the oak-hazel woodland (ibid: 227). Post-dating the latter recovery, disturbance occurs in the Neolithic at 3640-3360 BC with a shift from heather to grass dominated heath, associated with significant levels of burning (ibid: 227-228). If the burning is deliberate, it may reflect management and maintenance of upland grazing on Molland Common (ibid 227-228). At the beginning of the Bronze Age evidence from Gourte Mires indicates woodland reduction at 2120-1730 BC, an increase in heather heath, and a reduction in charcoal levels present (ibid: 2280). The lack of significant vegetation change at nearby Long Breach at this time, allowed an estimate of the spatial extent of disturbance and the source area of Gourte Mires, placed at less than 500m (ibid: 228). Why clearance occurred at one site rather than both is not clear, and no field evidence exists for field systems in this area (ibid: 228). Patchy clearance was explained as the result of utilising different areas in different ways (ibid: 228).

The variability of local vegetation histories is key in understanding Exmoor's prehistoric landscapes, something which Fyfe and Davies overview highlights (2011). Blanket peat sequences in upland areas suggest largely open grassy landscapes in the Neolithic, whilst other areas such as Landacre Bridge and Brightworthy showed little evidence of woodland disturbance on the valley floor or sides with some open areas (Badger 2000; Fyfe *et al.* 2003b; Fyfe and Davies 2011: 18). In general the high uplands were more open, whilst valleys remained wooded (Fyfe and Davies 2011: 18). During the Bronze Age grassland expansion occurred, whilst woodland cover was further reduced on the high uplands (ibid: 18). Clearance continued at the heads of coombes, with pollen evidence and clearance cairns suggesting a re-organisation of the landscape at Hoccombe Combe (ibid: 18). Any evidence of cereal cultivation is very limited, and pollen assemblages suggest pastoral land use was dominant (ibid: 18-19). The present palaeoenvironmental evidence on Exmoor therefore suggests that pastoralism was the major focus of subsistence regimes during later prehistory on Exmoor. Finally, it remains here to note that it was decided not to undertake any analysis of the palaeoenvironmental data as part of this study, instead drawing upon the implications of this evidence where necessary. This is because of a present lack of detailed palaeoenvironmental reconstructions which focus on the immediate environment of Exmoor's stone monuments (as yet none being suitably close to well dated palaeoenvironmental sequences) and the lack of absolute dating evidence for the majority of Exmoor's monuments (see chapter 5). The latter especially makes it very difficult to examine any specific relationships between these disparate strands of evidence. The complexity of the palaeoenvironmental data also precluded being able to examine it in sufficient detail; it was clear that this area needs a dedicated specialist study, far beyond what could have been achieved within the present project. It was also clear that Exmoor's archaeological record needed more extensive analysis, especially with regard to existing artefactual collections, and it was decided therefore to focus on undertaking a detailed study of Exmoor's lithic collections.

2.7 Concluding thoughts

In conclusion, this chapter has highlighted a number of key themes, limitations in previous understandings, and a number of problems within previous research on Exmoor which this study will attempt to address. These are summarised in table 2.4.

Table 2.4: Summary of key themes and issues raised in chapter 2.

Problem	Explanation
• **Lack of interest**	Exmoor was largely, but not entirely ignored by antiquarians and early archaeologists; a minor interest did not occur until the early 20th century. This focused entirely on the forms and geometric shapes of the stone monuments, predicated on the assumption they were the result of intentional, preconceived geometric designs. There was no interest in landscape context.
• **Persistence of antiquarian tradition**	The antiquarian tradition persisted on Exmoor with the dominant research paradigm embodied by Whybrow's concept of the 'walking antiquary' (1970) until the 1980's (e.g. Eardley-Wilmot 1983).
• **Damage and destruction**	Exmoor's prehistoric monuments suffered greatly in the 19th century due to the enclosure and improvement programmes and a need for stone as a raw material (See Orwin and Sellick 1970; Orwin, Sellick and Bonham-Carter 1997; Hegarty and Wilson-North 2014). Destruction and damage continued throughout 20th century, remaining a constant problem to date (see Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 4; Blackmore 2002; Dray 2003; Teage 2006; Pearce 2012)
• **Lack of visibility of remains**	Previous interest has focused more on landscapes with large architecturally impressive or highly visible prehistoric monuments such as Dartmoor and Bodmin Moor. Exmoor's small monuments were ignored, their small size and lack of visibility apparently rendering them less important.
• **Exmoor seen as inferior**	Exmoor is typically viewed as inferior to Dartmoor and Bodmin in terms of prehistoric remains and is often compared to them to demonstrate Exmoor's lack of importance or unimpressive remains.
• **Focus on recognition and description**	Uniqueness of Exmoor's settings was highlighted repeatedly throughout the 20th century by Chanter and Worth (1906: 549), Grinsell (1970: 47), Eardley-Wilmot (1983: 34) and Riley and Wilson North (2001: 23). However Exmoor continues to be ignored in wider overviews of the southwest, or treated only briefly in passing (e.g. Pearce 1981: chapters one to three; Pollard and Healy 2008).
• **Limited interpretation**	Critical potential relationships between stone monuments and geology were not recognised until the 21st century through the application of remote sensing (see Gillings *et al.* 2010).
• **Very little modern excavation**	There are still no major continuing large scale excavation projects in the 21st century targeting Neolithic and Bronze Age remains, the sustained excavations at Holworthy Farm being the sole exception and the only extensive recent excavation (Green 2009a&b).
• **Reliance on field reconnaissance**	The application of new methodologies such as aerial reconnaissance and intensive field survey had a big impact in revealing more evidence of settlement and field systems.

Overall this chapter has shown that a major synthetic study of Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes is needed, which is the primary aim of this thesis. A lack of detailed study and interpretation is the primary reason why the evidence from Exmoor is rarely discussed or considered in wider debates. Further there are significant limitations within the previous interpretative frameworks. For example in assuming that a geometric design rationale existed, in simply assigning the stone monuments a general ritual or ceremonial purpose, or within Tilley's phenomenological perspective which appears too heavily influenced by the character of the landscape in the present (see 2010: chapter seven). In the next chapters, a different theoretical perspective based on assemblages is outlined, in order to build wholly new understandings and specific interpretations.

Chapter 3 Assemblage theory and the potential of a relational approach in archaeology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter the theoretical framework underpinning this thesis is outlined. My position is drawn from Deleuze and Guattari's ideas on assemblage theory (2013), further informed by DeLanda's re-appraisal of their work (2002 & 2006) and the increasing use of assemblage theory in archaeology (e.g. Normark 2008, 2009, 2010; Conneller 2011; Harrison 2011; Olsen *et al.* 2012; Lucas 2012; Jones 2012; Fowler 2013; Creese 2013; Harris 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2016a&b; Hamilakis 2014; Cobb and Croucher 2014; Crellin 2014). Following this I will incorporate ideas from research into materiality, experience and miniaturisation in chapter 4, explaining how I connect different theoretical positions and respond to the issues such a 'bricolage' approach brings. For example, an underlying theme will be the tension that emerges in deciding whether to see things as fixed and static (defined by a set of essential characteristics, or essences) or as dynamic and relational entities. Throughout I explain how these ideas will be applied in undertaking a detailed synthesis, analysis and interpretation of Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes. This theoretical framework informs critically both the methods applied to the varied sources of data (from previous work, publications, the ENP HER, unpublished material, original fieldwork, lithics and GIS analysis) and their interpretation. The approach seeks to fold the theory and method of this study together to facilitate a coherent and detailed study of Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes across multiple entities, temporalities and scales. Firstly, I must justify the approach I have chosen.

3.2 Why use assemblage theory?

It is hoped that assemblage theory can both challenge and build on current orthodoxies in understanding Exmoor and more broadly. In chapter 2 I identified two major orthodoxies in current understandings of the prehistory of Exmoor National Park by reviewing the current state of knowledge. The first is the result of limited and dispersed efforts at recording and classifying the kind of remains which survive there throughout the 20th century. It consists of a list (metaphorically speaking[7]) of archaeological sites which have been classified into types, based on possession of a set of distinct characteristics (e.g. a barrow might include: a circular mound, cist, burials, an encircling ditch, kerb stones and quarry pits etc). Through its synthesis and assembly, this dispersed list of archaeological information and their type classifications today forms the basis of the ENP Historic Environment Record.

The second orthodoxy in current understandings emerges from the fact that to date there has been only a single detailed and sustained attempt to interpret the overall character of the landscapes, which consists of a phenomenological interpretation by Tilley (2010: 293-347; see chapters two and ten for review and critique). I intend to argue that using a framework based in assemblage theory can provide a way to overcome limitations inherent in both of these tendencies, i.e. towards typology and classification in lieu of interpretation and an emphasis upon phenomenological interpretative frameworks. This chapter will demonstrate how the framework followed in this thesis can provide alternative and new ways of understanding Exmoor, as well as challenging wider orthodoxies that surround interpretations of monumentality. In the following section, I begin by defining the notion of assemblages according to Deleuze and Guattari (2013).

3.3 Understanding Assemblages

3.3.1 Deleuze and Guattari

According to philosopher Giles Deleuze and psychoanalyst Felix Guattari the driving force behind their project was to outline a process which challenges all previous

[7] This is not a single physical list, but a collection of dispersed sources, in various notes, maps and documents in the ENP HER and in publications from 1905 to the present (e.g. Chanter and worth 1905 and 1906; Grinsell 1970; Fowler 1988; Riley and Wilson-North 2001; Gillings 2010).

models of the nature of being, things and social formations, which, they argued, rest on problematic dualisms (2013: 21). These they regard as the enemy or the 'furniture' that must always be moved (2013: 21). In their work it is posited that all things consist of lines of articulation (or strata) and territories (ibid: 2). Things are also made up of movements, of deterritorialisation and destratification which are characterized as lines of flight (ibid: 2). Phenomena such as slowness or acceleration, viscosity or rupture are caused by flows along these lines (ibid: 2). In Deleuzian thought all of these different components make up an assemblage (ibid: 2). The production of a new assemblage is referred to as a becoming (see Bonta and Protevi 2004: 59; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 9). Assemblages are also referred to as haecceities, meaning thisness, any individual degree and intensity which can join others to form another individual. As Normark notes, any individual entity, for example a minilith, is a haecceity (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 94; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 295; Normark 2010: 134). A key principle is that intensive (virtual) morphogenetic processes (form finding, see table 3.2) create actual entities, the extensive properties of which are opposed to these intensive processes and are the object of representational thought (e.g. length, or volume, as measured by an external standard) (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 101). Extensive properties stop or obstruct the intensive (virtual) processes which created them (ibid: 101). Intensive properties are those which have a critical threshold defined by relations of the system, beyond which a qualitative change occurs in the nature of that system (e.g. pressure or temperature), whilst external properties are fractional without triggering a change in the underlying system (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 101; Deleuze and Guatttari 2013: 34-35). The Deleuzian philosophy of assemblages is complex, with a number of different parts and sub-parts each with an extensive (and fluid) terminology. It is not necessary here to go through all of them in detail, but it will be useful to summarise the key components. A set of definitions is presented in table 3.2. The key underlying idea is to think of matter as constantly in construction and collapse, in a continuous process which repeats itself; it can break off and start up again but this is not conceptualised as any kind of dualism (ibid: 21). This rhizomatic model is about continuum and interconnections, not seeing 'things' as static.

In a Deleuzian perspective, this rhizomatic model is the foundation of a view of the world where the interactions of things, people and matter are ever changing, yet also highly organised and complex. Deleuze and Guattari contrast this rhizomatic model, which contains only lines, with an arborescent one (tree structure) that contains points or positions (2013: 5-6, 22). The tree works through transcendence and tracing, whilst a rhizome is an immanent process which outlines a map and overturns the model (ibid: 21). A rhizome is an acentered and non-hierarchical system, it has no organizing memory or central automation, it operates by variation and expansion, with multiple entries and exits, where all points are interconnected (ibid: 22). The rhizome is a map that must be produced, but is reversible, detachable, and modifiable and has its own lines of flight (ibid: 22). This is in contrast to a tree or its roots, which offer a centred system, with pre-established paths and hierarchical modes of communication (ibid: 22). This leads on to one of the most important ideas in Deleuzian thought, that a rhizome constitutes a linear multiplicity (ibid: 22). This cannot be reduced to one or a multiple, which also has *n* dimensions without subject or object; the rhizome constitutes directions in motion with only a middle (no beginning or end) (ibid: 22). The consequence of all things being interconnected is that it opens up the possibility of non-linear causality in the historical process. Deleuze and Guattari discuss the fact that forms do not pre-exist, but can occur more like statistical results within a population (ibid: 55). Thus there are many complex chains of causality that might lead to a given multiplicity or assemblage. This idea is explored in more detail in the discussion of DeLanda (2006; see section 3.3.2).

In explaining how something can simultaneously be locked into a process of continually recreating and destroying itself, as well as experiencing connections with other things, Deleuze and Guattari describe a 'machanic assemblage facing the strata' (a kind of organism), whilst the other side of it faces a body which contains no organs continuously dismantling the organism (2013: 2). This results in a circulation of pure intensities or asignifying particles which take part in construction or selection, joining other assemblages (ibid: 2). Following their rhizomatic model, they argue that each is territorialised, organised, signified and stratified according to lines of segmentarity, whilst it also contains lines of deterritorialisation along which it constantly flees (ibid: 8). Because whenever a segmentary line breaks off into a line of flight it is still part of the rhizome and the lines always interconnect, a dualism can never exist (ibid: 9). A rupture into a line of flight can occur, but you can still encounter organizations that can restratify everything (ibid: 9). Thus forces of territorialisation can work to stabilize the identity of an assemblage, whilst deterritorialisation can simultaneously be working to de-stabilize that assemblage, mediating interaction with other components (ibid: 9). These processes are relative; for example Deleuze and Guattari describe the coevolution of the wasp and the orchid where deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation occur between them, through interlinking in a circulation of intensities (ibid: 9). A simpler example is to consider a flint knapper working a blade core. Each blow with a hammerstone and a punch removes a blade, acting to deterritorialise the assemblage of the flint core, the imprint of this deterritorialising force being left on the ventral surface of the stone blade, a bulb of percussion with ripples emanating from the point of impact. This blade might itself be deterritorialised and reterritorialised into a scraper or a knife, which is used to shape an antler pick that is deployed to extract more nodules of the same Brandon flint from the chalk, which is reterritorialised to be worked as cores. But what, more specifically, defines assemblages in Deleuzian thought?

Firstly on a horizontal axis there are two parts, a machinic assemblage of bodies (content, actions, the intermingling of bodies reacting) and a collective assemblage of enunciation (expression, acts, statements, incorporeal transformations to bodies) (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 102-103; cf. Harris 2014b: 332). These two kinds of assemblage are, however, simultaneous and inseparable (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 586). Crucially there is independence between expression and content, allowing expression to act upon contents (ibid: 104). But forms of content and expression also interact as a conjoined process, through relative deterritorialisation where each interacts in the other (ibid: 102). Content and expression become variables of an assemblage, rather than being cast in a dualism between signified (content) and signifier (expression) (ibid: 106). On a second, vertical, axis there are territorial and reterritorialised sides that act to stabilize the assemblage, whilst cutting edges of deterritorialisation try to pull it apart, or away (ibid: 103) and a territorial assemblage is argued not to be separable from coefficients of deterritorialisation or relays between assemblages (ibid: 387). For example, consider the Neolithic stone axe in figure 3.1 as an assemblage. Territorial forces acting to stabilise it include the fibrous wood structure of the haft and chemical bonding of silica particles in the stone, resisting deterritorialising forces such as the release of kinetic energy into the assemblage from impacting the blade into a tree, with gravity also constantly pulling down on the head. In this case the content would be the weight, form, texture, hardness and colour of the hafted axe, whilst the expression of this assemblage might include the distinguishing features such as colour and size that the owner recognises which makes this her, or his, particular axe. The representational power of this assemblage of materials might contribute to the territorialisation of it through coding, with the hafted axe expressing a meaning beyond simply physical properties, as a powerful object that can transform the landscape through acts of clearance, a crucial tool for farming which must be carefully maintained and repaired. The opposite could also be the case, with the same process of coding contributing to the eventual deterritorialisation of the assemblage. For example, because it was such a powerful and potent object, at the end of a clearance episode or with the owners death perhaps, the axe had to be destroyed, as could have happened to the axe fragment from Exford (see figure 3.1).

Above: Polished axe from Eherdside Tarn, Cumbria

Below: Polished axe fragment from Exford, Exmoor

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 3.1: A Neolithic axe as an assemblage of stone and wood. The Exford fragment may have been deliberately or accidentally broken. It may have been used as a core with a single flake removed from one surface, or this second fracture might have been a result of the shock of the deterritorialising force which broke the axe initially. Image of Ehernside Tarn axe (POA.190.6 AN797803001) © Trustees of the British Museum from **http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=797803001&objectid=1396570.** Image of the Exford axe taken by the author, with access to the collection courtesy of the Somerset Heritage Service.

Abstract machines, consisting of unformed matters (phylum) and nonformal functions (diagram) without form or substance (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 593) are key in understanding deterritorialisation (see table 3.2). For example, an abstract machine can insert into the assemblage undergoing deterritorialisation; thus abstract machines are said to plug into a species territorial assemblage, opening it to other assemblages, and in so doing allowing it to pass through the interassemblages of that species (ibid: 388). Abstract machines can both open and close a territory or assemblage (ibid: 389). This is because they draw the edges of deterritorialisation and decoding (ibid: 593). Deleuze and Guattari's work also has a related concept of machines, which can be any assemblage, or a structure that functions under a higher control, such as their discussion of the war machine (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 107; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: chapter 12, 457-459). For example, the Neolithic stone axe could act as a machine of deforestation under the higher influence of a Neolithic farmer, entering the assemblage of a forest, drawing the edges of deterritorialisation in opening out the forest and individual trees into a series of wood chips, branches and fallen trunks, perhaps worked into further objects or structures. In Deleuze and Guattari's terms such machines are plateaus of variation on the plain of consistency, which place the variables of content and expression in continuity (ibid: 594). The plain of consistency is the virtual realm, without substance or form, which consists of flows between unformed elements, allowing the consolidation of aggregates that are rhizomatic (i.e. the occurrence of haecceities or assemblages) (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 81-83, 589; Bonta and Protevi 2004: 62-63). For Deleuze and Guattari an assemblage is held together by the most deterritorialised component, a cutting edge of deterritorialisation (which is drawn by a machine) rather than a framing form or linear causality (ibid: 391). Whilst Deleuze and Guattari’s schema for understanding things as interacting assemblages is more complicated and nuanced than can be explained here, the key point to take on board is the interconnectivity of things, and the potential it holds to avoid dualisms and therefore offer an alternative to reified general categories. In discussing DeLanda (2006, 3.3.2 section) and Lucas (2012, section 3.4.3) both of whom draw significantly on Deleuze and Guattari (2013), some of these concepts will be explained further.

In concluding this section, I will now return to the idea of a multiplicity (see table 3.2) and how this actually works in thinking about assemblages. Multiplicities are said to be defined by the deterritorialisation or line of flight by which their nature can change, and through which they can connect with other multiplicities (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 8). The outside of all multiplicities is said to be a plain of consistency, whilst the line of flight is a finite number of dimensions that the multiplicity fills (ibid: 8; see table 3.2). The consequence of this is that another dimension is not possible unless a line of flight, or deterritorialisation, transforms the multiplicity (ibid: 8). All this results in the fact that regardless of dimensions, all multiplicities can be flattened onto a single plane of exteriority (ibid: 8). Multiplicities are made up of singularities (mathematical objects representing a change in a lines direction) and individual singularities are haecceities or assemblages (DeLanda 2002: 19; Bonta and Protevi 2004: 143). As Deleuze and Guattari argue, assemblages as multiplicities establish connections between social, material and semiotic flows, simultaneously breaking divisions between fields of representation, reality and subjectivity (2013: 24). Thus instead of having essentialist general categories such as human vs non-human, or inanimate object-animate individual, which exist as separate ontological categories, all things exist on the same ontological plain (cf DeLanda 2006: 29). Everything is made up of the same things; as Deleuze and Guattari state, multiplicities do not have subjects or objects, only determinations and dimensions, they cannot increase in number without the multiplicity changing (2013: 7). This approach is potentially a powerful one in archaeology, as it can allow us to exercise more reflexivity in moving on from the problematic dualisms which have been limiting in accounts of the past for some time (see Bender *et al*. 2007; Brück 1999: 317-319; Thomas 1996: chapter one; Thomas 2004: chapters one to seven (for their origins) and eight to nine (for their limiting effect)). Another benefit of Deleuzian philosophy is that it opens up new ways of thinking about morphogenetic processes, the form generating processes which are immanent to the material world, which produced materials and monuments (table 3.2; DeLanda 2002: 2; see also DeLanda 2007). It also allows new ways of thinking about the production of different concepts of space, like smooth, striated or nomadic forms (see Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 441-445; table 3.2). Finally, it must be acknowledged that Deleuze and Guattari's writing is complex, with a multi layered terminology that is not easily applied directly. It can be read in multiple ways, and this ambiguity is a limiting (but not prohibiting) factor in applying it in archaeology. Perhaps due to the inherent complexity of Deleuze's work, it is from DeLanda's 2006 reworking and clarification of Deleuzian assemblages that Lucas draws a key part of his thesis (see section 3.4.3) and in the next section I will discuss DeLanda's reworking of assemblage theory (2006) in detail. First, to conclude this section, the key elements of the Deleuzian notion of assemblages that form the basis of my framework are summarised in table 3.1 (see table 3.2 for a full definition of terms).

Table 3.1: Key principles in understanding assemblage theory. Created by the author using information from Deleuze and Guattari 2013, DeLanda 2002 & 2006 and Normark 2010.

Summary of key ideas
• **All entities can be viewed as assemblages which have actual and virtual capacities simultaneously, which might go unexercised (cf DeLanda 2006: 29); both are immanent, and not transcendent to the material world (cf DeLanda 2002: 2).**
• **Individual entities (haecceities or individual singularities) are not defined by essences but by morphogenetic processes (cf DeLanda 2002: 2 & 2006: 28)**
• **The hylomorphic model of making (see table 3.2 for definition) is rejected and the idea of general types is replaced by individual and universal singularities (cf DeLanda 2006: 28-31 & Normark 2010: 143-147). These form as distinct entities through flows and convergences in a space of possibilities, the structure of which is defined by multiplicities (cf DeLanda 2002: 3).**
• **Assemblages, their components, and all entities are always undergoing dynamic forces or processes of becoming; they are inherently dynamic and ever changing.**
• **Linear causality is replaced by concepts of multi, and non-linear causes of change. This is explored in section through DeLanda's work (2006).**

Table 3.2: A glossary of the terms used by Deleuze and Guattari in ATP. The reader should note their terminology is highly complex, with multiple pseudonyms; for clarity I have used some definitions from subsequent interpretations. The table was created by the author using information from Deleuze and Guattari (2013), Normark (2010), Bonta and Protevi (2004) and DeLanda (2002, 2006).

Term	Definition
Assemblage /Haecceity (also referred to as an individual singularity by DeLanda 2006: 28)	Assemblages and haecceities are different terms for the same thing, defined as: **Assemblage:** An artificial or natural convergence (consistency); for example, every constellation of singularities and traits of expression, which are subtracted (selected, organized and stratified) from the flow (phyla) would be an **assemblage** (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 473). Such assemblages might be large constellations such as cultures (ibid: 474).They are territorial, consisting of a horizontal axis of content and expression based on a reciprocal presupposition (not a dualism) and a vertical axis of territorialised sides and cutting edges of deterritorialisation (ibid: 102-103, 584-585). **Haecceity**: A Latin word, meaning thisness (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 94). A mode of individuation on the plane of consistency, defined by the material elements attached to it under relations of movement and rest, and the intensive affects it has the capacities (to affect and be affected) to enact (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 304). An individual degree and intensity, which can join with others, to form another individual (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 295). Every individual entity is a **haecceity** (Normark 2010: 134). For example, this thesis or the desk at which I am writing it.
Machinic assemblage of bodies	The intermingling's of bodies that react to each to other, includes contents, actions and passions. For example the **machinic assemblage** of feudalism would be; the bodies of the earth, the social, overlords, serfs, the knight and horse (and the stirrup) and the weapons and tools maintaining this relationship of interaction (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 103-104).
Assemblage of enunciation	This refers to expression such as acts and statements that do not have a material or bodily form but are attributed to bodies (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 103). For example in feudalism this would mean expressions such as oaths of obedience or love as incorporeal transformations, and statements might include laws and the regime of heraldry (ibid: 103).
Territory, territorialisation	A **territory** is one axis defining an assemblage, described as a place of passage (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 375). It can effect a reorganization of functions or a regrouping of forces (ibid: 373). Such effects are forces of **territorialisation**; their primary components are lines of flight according which organisation and stratification occurs (Pronta and Botevi 2004: 159; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 8-9).
Deterritorialisation	Defined as a line of flight or movement leaving the territory (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 591, 8-9). It can both contribute to the breakdown of an assemblage, whilst also contributing to the reterritorialisation of another assemblage (ibid: 9, 591-593).
Content and expression	They reject the difference between form and substance, but argue **content** and **expression** are distinct and that each has its own form and substance (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 584). A reciprocal presupposition exists between them (ibid: 585).
Machines*	A highly complex part of ATP, **machines** are best summed up by Bonta and Protevi (2004) as: 1) Any assemblage, in a vague sense 2) Edges of deterritorialisation which are drawing mutations and variations of (1) (ibid 2004: 107; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 593). This is their definition of **abstract machines** (Deleuze and Guattari: 2013: 593). 3) A structure that functions under the control of something higher (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 107), for example, the war **machine**. (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: chapter 12, 457-459).

Term	Definition
Abstract machines*	They are defined by cutting edges of deterritorialisation and coding, whilst they draw these edges (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 593). They can open a territorial assemblage onto something else, and constitute becoming's which are immanent and singular (ibid: 593). They have no form or substance, but operate within concrete assemblages and are not transcendent (ibid: 593). They consist of unformed matters (**phylum**), and non-formal functions (**diagram**), an **abstract machine** being an aggregate of the two as matters-functions (the phylum and the diagram) (ibid: 593-595).
Phylum	Unformed matter, which is described as a kind of matter-movement which can bear singularities, qualities and operations (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 595, 472-474). By operations they mean 'itinerant technological lineages' (ibid: 595, 472-473).
Diagram	Consisting of pure matter-functions (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 164), a **diagram** is an outline of an abstract machines traits of expression (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 79). A **diagram** occurs when an abstract machine functions in matter directly, constructing something that is yet to happen (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 164-165).
The body without organs/ plane of consistency	A plane without substance or form, consisting of flows between unformed elements, thereby connecting disparate heterogeneous elements (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 589). It therefore allows the consolidation of 'fuzzy aggregates' such as multiplicities which are rhizomatic (ibid: 589). A **Body without organs** has stopped working as a part of a functioning structure, entering a **plane of consistency**, where it is open to new connections and novel becoming's (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 62-63). For Bonta and Protevi (ibid 63), a distinction exists between: 1) A **singular BwO** = limit of destratification of a single body 2) **The BwO as the PoC** = virtual realm for all bodies and assemblages (e.g. Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 81-83).
Rhizomatic structure	A non-hierarchical structure of interconnected lines, with many entrances and exits; any can be connected to every other (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 5-6). There are no points, or positions (ibid: 7). They liken it to a map drawing itself, rather than a tracing (ibid: 12).
Arborescent structure	A hierarchical structure, which fixes an order or a point like a tree (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 6). The tree gives hierarchy to tracings (e.g. the leaves) that come 'ready-made' (ibid: 12).
Multiplicity	Specifies the structure of a space of possibilities; such spaces can then explain similarities in morphogenetic processes (DeLanda 2002: 3). They are made up of distributions of singularities (DeLanda 2002: 19). It only has determinations, magnitudes and dimensions, and the **multiplicities** nature changes as they increase (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 7). For example, rhizomes or packs of animals are **multiplicities** (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 117). The point being that no higher dimension imposing extrinsically defined unity is needed; essences as defining unity which exist in a transcendent space are rejected (DeLanda 2002: 5).
Striated space	A space marked by striations, it could be measured or metric space (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 151). Note that smoothed and **striated space** is in constant interchange, effectively intertwined smoothing and striating forces (Bonta and Protevi: 144; See Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 501-506). Striated space is a product of stratification, for example, the development of sedentary farming, states and empires (cf Bonta and Protevi 2004: 151; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 443-451).
Smooth space	A space of intensive process where emergent properties and intensive becomings occur, for example like forests, deserts, seas, steppes and polar ice caps (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 144). Such ecosystems are complex, continuously varying webs of forces, without central organization, that do not have end points (ibid: 144).
Nomad	Defined not by movement, but as an occupier and holder of smooth space, that a **nomad** clings to the smooth space left by the deterritorialisation of the forest (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 444 after Toynbee 1972: 132-134).
Intensive (virtual) vs	Deleuze and Guattari posit a critical difference between **intensive** properties (like pressure and temperature) which are defined by morphogenetic processes, and

Term	Definition
extensive (actual)	**extensive** (actual, the strata) properties like volume (defined by external measure) that are the object of representational thought (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 101. Intensive properties have critical thresholds which when passed, cause the system to change qualitatively, whilst extensive properties are divisible without changing the quality of the system or assemblage (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 101; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 34-35). Extensive properties stop the intensive processes (virtual) which created them (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 101).
Singularity	A mathematical object, derived from the functional modelling of systemic behaviour, which represents a change in the direction of a line (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 143). They define tendencies within a process, and distributions of singularities make up multiplicities (DeLanda 2002: 19).
Universal singularity	The extreme forms that can be created by an assemblage from a space of potentials, defined by the degrees of freedom of their connections have (Normark 2010:145-146; see also DeLanda 2002: 19-20).
Morphogenetic process	A form generating process which is immanent (a part of) to the material world (DeLanda 2002: 2). For Deleuze entities are defined by such **morphogenetic processes**, and not by essences (ibid: 2).
Essences	Defining traits of the identity of a thing that cannot be lost without it being destroyed (DeLanda 2002: 1). A shared **essence** or **essences** would explain resemblance, and that they form a distinct class of things (ibid: 1). Deleuze and Guattari's work was an attempt to move away from such essentialism.
Hylomorphic model, hylomorphism	That form is imposed onto chaotic or passive materials, by a pre-existing design (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 97). For example, a mental template being turned into an object in the world.

*Note: the definition of machines and abstract machines given here is a simplified one; for further discussion see Deleuze and Guattari (2013: 593-597).

3.3.2 DeLanda's approach to the varying scales of social complexity

Manuel DeLanda developed the ideas of Deleuze and Guattari in order to furnish a more unified and coherent theory of assemblages, simplifying the complex terminology of the former and applying them to the problem of social complexity at varying scales (2006). The central idea of this thesis was that an analogy of social institutions working together for the good of society, like organs in the body, was totally inadequate (DeLanda 2006). But it still influences thinking about the relations of parts and wholes, where the latter form a seamless totality or organic unity (DeLanda 2006). Here, in relations of interiority, a whole cannot possess emergent properties because it would simply be an aggregation of the properties of its components (DeLanda 2006: 10). As only the relations between other parts within a whole constitute the component parts, when something is removed it ceases to be what it was (DeLanda 2006: 9). The key argument for DeLanda is that a whole can have properties which are irreducible, and also analysable into separate parts at the same time, and it is the interactions between parts which produce these properties

(DeLanda 2006: 10). It is possible to tell apart the properties of an entity from its capacities to interact with other entities, and a part can therefore be detached from a whole without its identity being destroyed (DeLanda 2006: 10). A whole does not therefore, obtain its properties by an aggregation of its components properties; instead they are produced by the exercise of these capacities (DeLanda 2006: 11). Capacities can go unexercised if no suitable entities are present, and such an unexercised capacity would not affect the whole's identity (DeLanda 2006: 10). Thus DeLanda draws on the Deleuzian idea of an assemblage, where a component can be detached and connected to another where its interactions would be different; an assemblage which is defined by the exteriority of its relations (DeLanda 2006: 10-11). This mutability of component parts, which can interact with others in a variety of ways is arguably the most important and valuable idea which assemblage theory can give to archaeology. This unlocks ways of thinking about non-linear causality and the highly complex relationships between events, things, and people in archaeological narratives.

The next question is how does DeLanda's reworking of assemblage theory operate, and what key distinctions exist with respect to Deleuze and Guattari's work (2013)? Similarly to Deleuze and Guattari, DeLanda defines assemblages as having two dimensions; the first defines the variable roles its components might take (material to expressive) (2006: 12). A component can be involved in a mixture of both roles by exercising different sets of capacities (DeLanda 2006: 12). The second dimension controls the interaction of components, having a stabilising or destabilising (territorialisation and deterritorialisation) effect on an assemblage's identity (DeLanda 2006: 12). This works by either increasing the internal homogeneity within the assemblage, or altering the sharpness of the definitions of its boundaries (DeLanda 2006: 12). DeLanda highlights that new wholes emerge through territorialisation and it therefore plays a synthetic role, which is built on by the role of specialised expressive entities such as genes and words in the maintenance and production of identity (2006: 14). DeLanda also emphasised that in Deleuzian philosophy, all entities are capable of expression (even chemical ones like a photograph) but at critical thresholds in history these specialized entities of expression start to have a functional role, leading to ever more complex wholes that could be brought together (DeLanda 2006: 14). DeLanda highlights Deleuze and Guattari's discussion of language (2013: 71-72), where the information patterns develop over time and in doing so they display some degree of autonomy from the material carrier (an individual human) (2006: 15). To summarise how assemblages come into being, territorialisation articulates components, which are further consolidated by a process of coding (by genes and words) which together stabilise an assemblage's identity (DeLanda 2006: 15; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 47). A biological organism is said to be one example of an assemblage which is a result of coding and territorialisation, whilst the biological organisms and social entities also contain processes of decoding, for example, where animal behaviour is learned from experience not programmed from genes (DeLanda 2006: 15). In animal territories passive information patterns are extended by other material means to express identity and ownership over geographical space (e.g. dung, urine, colour, song, silhouette) (DeLanda 2006: 14-15; see Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 366-367). Similarly the number and rigidity of rules affects how much an encounter is coded; an informal conversation being less durable than institutional organizations (DeLanda 2006: 16). DeLanda departs from Deleuze in placing specialised expressive media (genes and language) as a third dimension defining an assemblage (DeLanda 2006: 19). This allows biological organisms to be considered as assemblages, removing Deleuze's additional category of strata, taking heterogeneity as a variable not a constant characteristic of assemblages (DeLanda 2006: 11, 121 (note 9)). DeLanda however emphasises that these specialised expressive entities are still just components entering relations of exteriority with others and that different processes of territorialisation and deterritorialisation work alongside coding and decoding (DeLanda 2006: 16). The final key point is that all of these processes are recurrent with their variable repetition generating populations of assemblages, and within these populations other synthetic processes can generate larger scale assemblages (which can contain members of the original populations as parts or components).

Finally, it is critical to consider DeLanda's discussion of non-linear causality. The whole point of assemblage theory is to try and get at the mechanisms which are behind the synthesis of emergent properties (DeLanda 2006: 19). DeLanda draws on Bunge (1959: 46-47) to argue that causal relations are said to be characterized as productive, where rather than simply implying it, an event actually produces another (the effect) (DeLanda 2006: 20). A point may be reached in the capacity of something to be affected where an external cause is a trigger or catalyst; there are therefore critical thresholds determining the impact of an external cause (DeLanda 2006: 20). For DeLanda, assemblage theory allows an exploration of causal productivity because assemblages can be components in others, which leads to internal organization behind nonlinear and catalytic causality (2006: 21). In addition, because recurrent processes always produce populations it can involve statistical causality (DeLanda 2006: 21).

The recurrent theme throughout DeLanda's work is to utilize the potential of Deleuzian assemblages to tackle the problem of multiple scales of social or interpersonal networks, linking the micro and the macro scale (and vice versa) by elucidating in detail every mechanism in-between (2006: 32, 34). This is possible because assembly processes of territorialisation and coding combine and recur at many different spatial scales (DeLanda 2006: 17). This is said to be ontologically bottom up, because one has to demonstrate how the properties of the whole emerge from the interactions between parts (DeLanda 2006: 32). For DeLanda replacing a concept of social processes as a reified generality with only two levels (individual vs society), with a multi scale social reality (many intermediately scaled entities) works, but only if the true complexity of part to whole relations are conceptualized completely (2006: 32, 34). The potential for the way assemblage theory can explore differently scaled processes (both geographic and social), demonstrating the mechanisms by which they are interlinked and come into being, is a key argument for adopting this approach on Exmoor. In this study one of the driving threads is to take a holistic approach, incorporating people's entire material and social repertoire and how these entities are enmeshed. Doing so will allow the creation of narratives of Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes which are balanced, insofar as they are not biased towards monuments and devoid of people, nor are they dominated by ideology and the social, with the archaeological record tagged on as an afterthought. Now that I have outlined the ideas which make up assemblage theory, in the next section I will review the use of assemblages in archaeology and which aspects of this literature I will take forward.

3.4 Use of assemblage theory in archaeology

3.4.1 A review of recent work

A number of researchers have focused on a carefully selected case study in exploring the potential of applying assemblages in an archaeological context. DeLanda's version of assemblage theory has been applied to various themes, for example, to look at ritual from a relational perspective (Angelo 2014); to challenge the present structure of archaeological pedagogy in contemporary practice (Cobb and Croucher 2014); and examining the development of Northern Iroquoian village communities through generative and emergent place-making practices (Creese 2013). Others have drawn on both Deleuze and Guattari (2013) and DeLanda (2006) in considering prehistoric communities as assemblages (Harris 2013 & 2014a). In addition, Harris has also reconsidered notions of identity using assemblages (2016a) and explored the different temporal scales of architecture (which includes the landscape itself) and its affective qualities at Ardnamurchan (2016b). Aspects of assemblage theory have also been used to reconstruct alternative paradigms, for example, on the nature of the archaeological record (Lucas 2012: 199-214; Harrison 2011) and in challenging the current relationship between theory and method by rejecting dichotomous thinking (Harris 2014b). Parts of assemblage theory have also been used in defining a nuanced approach to materials (a rhizomatic *châine opératoire*) (Conneller 2011: 12-13, 19 -22); in dynamic concepts of materiality (Lucas 2012: 17, 166-168, 170, 199-204; Jones 2012: 12-13); in developing new discourses on both making objects and building monuments (McFadyen 2006a&b, 2007a&b; Ingold 2010, 2013); and finally, in exploring the production of space (McFadyen 2006a: 131; 2006c: 133-134; 2007a: 354; Creese 2013). Far fewer attempts, however, have been made to apply assemblage theory in a sustained and detailed synthesis of a specific region or period. Important exceptions to this include Crellin's doctoral research looking at change over time on the Isle of Man (2014) and Fowler's synthesis of Early Bronze Age burial practices in Northumberland (2013). Another is Normark's neo-materialist interpretations of Maya causeways, settlements and houses (2008; 2009; 2010) using both DeLanda (2006) and Deleuze and Guattari (2013). The intention behind this thesis is to add to this more limited collection of sustained narratives, by approaching the challenge of constructing a detailed synthesis of Exmoor's later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age landscapes through assemblage theory; but it is important to ascertain, what exactly we have gained from the previous use of assemblage theory in archaeological discourse.

One answer is that it has allowed new ways of exploring the nature of human-thing-animal relationships. In doing so it has provided an alternative way of thinking about being and becoming, freeing archaeological narratives of the problematic dualisms (e.g. Thomas 1996: chapter 1; 2004: 16-34) or dichotomies (cf Harris 2014b) inherent in modernist thought. Critically, assemblage theory provides one way to avoid such unhelpful oppositions as subject vs object, mind over matter, or humans as privileged over other beings, because all forms of entity exist on the same ontological plain, and are defined by relations (both internal and external) which allow movement between different assemblages (see section 3.3.2 on DeLanda 2006). Assemblage theory is quite different from relational approaches which draw on ANT (see Harris 2013 for an explanation; e.g. Olsen *et al.* 2012; Hodder 2012 and 2014)[8], although it has clearly influenced the 'symmetrical archaeology' movement (Olsen *et al.* 2012: 180-181) and limited parts of Hodder's theory of human-thing entanglements (2012: 4, 8, 65)[9]. The key difference, as Harris has argued, is that taking a reading of networks as static is a major problem in archaeological applications of ANT, because change then causes a whole new network to emerge rather than altering the existing structure (Harris 2013: 176 discussing Harman 2009: 129 cf. DeLanda 2006). To borrow Harris's example, that means if a prehistoric community changes, it becomes a new community, not allowing

[8] Harris explained in detail the differences between relational approaches drawing on ANT, assemblages and other perspectives (2013: 175-180; Harris and Fowler 2015: 1-7)

[9] Hodder's theory of entanglement and the symmetrical archaeology movement both draw heavily on Latour's Actor Network Theory (Hodder 2012: chapter 5 & 2014; Olsen *et al.* 2012).

any scope for a community to persist; this approach therefore lacks an adequate way of conceptualising change or development over time (Harris 2013: 176; Harris 2014a).

Throughout the rest of this chapter, I will draw on work by Lucas (2012 discussed in section 3.4.3), Harris, Sørenson and Hamilakis, in my own application of assemblage theory. During the next section, I introduce the concept of affect, which I will argue can link together the differing perspectives on miniaturisation, experience, architecture and material culture that lay at the heart of my study.

3.4.2 Affectivity and assemblages

Affectivity is the general idea that things or bodies have the capacity to affect other things, as other things simultaneously affect them (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 214; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: xv, 304; Hamilakis 2014: 29-30, 66; Harris 2014a). This idea originated with Spinoza (1910/1678), who argued that affectivity could be used to explore links between bodily sense and the body, and that affects, as engagements, belonged to all forms of substance (Hamilakis 2014: 29; Harris 2014a: 91). Spinoza’s influence on Deleuze and Guattari's work was extensive (see Deleuze 1988), and it is their reading of Spinoza, that bodies and beings were defined not by formal characteristics but by their capacity to affect other things and to be affected themselves, that has been influential (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 304; cf Hamilakis 2014: 30). The key point here, is that this concept of affectivity can be built upon to develop an alternative approach to the archaeology of how the world is experienced within an assemblage theory framework; this is precisely what Hamilakis (2014) attempted in defining sensorial assemblages. Whilst Harris and Sørensen’s (2010) framework produces a similar result, this is less explicitly connected to assemblages. However, Harris has subsequently explored the affective qualities of architecture using assemblage theory (2016b). I will use this concept of affectivity to overcome the problem of privileging the subject (the experiencing individual), over the outside world (the things being experienced) which remains an issue in many phenomenological approaches to landscapes (cf Barrett and Ko 2009: 279-282; cf Brück 2005a: 59-62 & 2001: 651-653). This makes an experiential approach using assemblages possible, as there is no need for humans to be privileged over the 'inert' things around them. I argue that this will allow a phenomenological aspect to be productively incorporated into my study, in a manner that will overcome some of the issues with previous applications of phenomenology highlighted in chapter 2 (see chapter 2). To do this I will incorporate ideas from Harris and Sørensen's discussion of emotion and affective fields (2010), to which discussion will now turn.

In an attempt to move beyond an exclusive focus on death and bereavement to elucidate a general framework for understanding emotion in archaeology, Harris and Sørensen present and develop four specific terms (see table 3.3) (Harris and Sørensen 2010: 152-153). They define the affective field as a relationship between agents, where an emotional response is stimulated by a thing or person, affective fields are produced between people, places and things (ibid: 150). These relations are produced by practice yet also produce practice in themselves, and depend on the occurrence of materials in that the 'affective constituents' are bodies or things (ibid 150). It is a dynamic and generative network, and it is through this network that emotional experiences are produced (ibid: 150). Attunement, as an embodied process of attending to the world, is a means by which these emotions are disclosed to people, for example through bodily movement (ibid: 151). It involves material things because moods and emotions are disclosed against the material backdrop of the world (ibid 151). To summarise, affective fields and emotions emerge against a backdrop of an individual or group's attunement to others (ibid: 151). Emotions are linked to specific occurrences/situations and the perception of bodily states as the act of being moved (ibid: 149). They are always bodily and tied to an appropriate movement, such as feeling sad and releasing a tear (ibid: 149), but this link between feeling and movement rejects any separation of body and mind (ibid: 149). The final part of their framework, atmospheres, are defined as emotional worlds which occur in particular comingling's of places, things and persons, in architectonic settings (ibid: 152). Atmospheres occur from attunement to all these things, outcomes of specific events and places; they can be very different in the same places, they are only produced through their apprehension (ibid: 152). Atmospheres are thus particular expressions of specific affective fields that cannot exist without people's awareness, which is contrasted with affective fields, as always existing regardless of people's recognition (ibid: 152).

A key difference is apparent from Hamilakis's general concept of sensorial assemblages, as heterogeneous elements which are co-present and contingent, consisting of bodies, things, substances, memories, ideas, information and affects (Hamilakis 2014: 126). This is that Harris and Sørensen's suggested framework is more specific and nuanced, defining four different but interlinked concepts allowing an exploration of experience across a variety of scales, from individuals, to groups and wider communities (2010: 149-150). In my understanding, all of Harris and Sørenson's terms would be subsumed within sensorial assemblages. Their approach also stresses that their terms and scales are intertwined, and are separated only heuristically; this means they are inseparable in terms of actual experience and all affect each other in a complex recursive manner (ibid: 149). Importantly, they also reject any separation between subject and object; emotions are produced by engaging with the world, whilst emotions are also affecting that engagement; emotions are not purely a result of an internal mind objectifying an external world (ibid: 147-148). They draw on various philosophical, anthropological and archaeological works (although not exclusively (see ibid: 147-152)) and utilize Heidegger's phenomenological work on emotion in defining their understanding of attunement (ibid: 151 discussing Heidegger 1962: 172-174, 102-107). Hamilakis's sensorial assemblages or complex multi-sensory visualities involving trans-corporeal action (2014: 78) are similar to Harris's and Sørensen's affective field. I argue that by adopting the concept of the affective field, I can explore more effectively the experiential aspect of how people engaged with things and others; it provides a framework to consider how people form connections with things (incorporating experiential and emotional components) and how assemblages, and the act of creating assemblages of matter was a meaningful practice. The terms in table 3.3 can be viewed in light of Deleuze and Guattari's discussion of how connections form between components, with respect to the circulation of intensities, and how they can play a role in processes of deterritorialisation and territorialisation. Finally, the terms in table 3.3, can be successfully incorporated as part of Deleuze and Guattari's ontology because they are intended as inherently dynamic and active processes (e.g. Harris and Sørensen 2010: 151).

Table 3.3: Harris's and Sørensen's suggested terminology for developing an emotional archaeology. The table below was created by the author using information from Harris and Sørensen (2010: 153).

Term	Definition
Emotion	Being moved to move, an embodied act.
Affective fields	The networks through which emotions are generated, of people and things.
Attunement	A practice of attending to the world, its material and emotional qualities.
Atmosphere	An engendering of emotional experience, by being in a certain situation and place.

To summarise my position, I am utilising the terms set out by Harris and Sørensen to explore the affective qualities of assemblages (cf Harris 2016b). In doing so I am building an explicit experiential element into my framework whilst avoiding some of the key limitations that have hampered previous phenomenological studies in archaeology. Utilising these ideas will allow me to incorporate phenomenological perspectives on miniaturisation into a framework which is based explicitly on assemblage theory. Returning to the latter, in the next section I will introduce concepts from the work of Lucas (2012) which will add another aspect to my framework.

3.4.3 Lucas's reconsideration of materialisation and process

A number of key concepts developed by Lucas from Deleuze and Guattari (2013) and DeLanda (2006) will now be briefly outlined as they form a part of the theoretical framework followed in this thesis. This forms a critical part of the connecting thread throughout this project; the importance of the inter-relatedness of things, materials, people and animals. Many varied relationships existed between them, and it is attempting to understand this complexity of relations that should be the focus of archaeological enquiry.

Lucas draws explicitly on the writings of DeLanda, and Deleuze which have been discussed in sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2 above, to address the problem of stabilisation in assemblages, collectives or networks[10] (see 2012: 199-200). An attempt is made to translate DeLanda's simplification of Deleuze and Guattari's concepts into the archaeological concept of assemblage, where coding becomes the process of enchainment, creating links between objects of the same type (Lucas 2012: 200; 198). Territorialisation becomes containment, which for Lucas means the creation of a fixed space, which can act as a centre of gravity, or as a firewall, for pulling together and repelling objects or materials (Lucas 2012: 200; see table 4.1 in chapter 4). In linking these concepts to the archaeological record, it is argued that the processes of containment and enchainment comprise deposition and typology, which are complementary acts of assembling (Lucas 2012: 198). The next question becomes how these processes actually work in applying them to the archaeological record.

The process of enchainment of objects works via repetition, where a prior object or event is invoked by the association of two objects (Lucas 2012: 200)[11]. This happens in two ways, following mechanisms of recurrent association or recurrent citation (Lucas

[10] I will not however follow Lucas on using the ANT notion of collectives or networks, largely because it does not adequately allow for change (cf Harris 2013: 176-177).
[11] Lucas discussion of memory and citation builds on Jones work on the decoration of Grooved Ware ceramics (see 2007: 135-140).

2012: 200-201). The former is simply where the same elements are brought together repeatedly (ibid: 200). The latter involves different elements being brought together, with the similarities between assemblages suggesting links to other assemblages (ibid: 200-201). An important point to stress here is that the enchainments can actually be quite ephemeral, although they do not have to be, but their pattern can occur over long time periods (ibid: 201). Clearly this property of ephemerality is useful in thinking about prehistoric communities (cf Harris 2013)[12], especially on Exmoor, where their material traces in the archaeological record are extremely slight. In distinguishing these two ways in which objects can be enchained (recurrent association and citation), it is important to question why this difference actually matters. Lucas answers this by arguing that the difference would be irrelevant from an essentialist perspective, because that would place emphasis on the structural similarities of the assemblages (2012: 201). One advantage then of using assemblage theory is that it allows exploration of these two different ways in which connections between objects or entities can exist.

Another key process in understanding stabilisation in assemblage thinking is that of containment (Lucas 2012: 200). This idea is drawn from DeLanda's clarification of Deleuze and Guattari's concept of territorialisation (2006: 12; 2013: 9). But how does this process work, when applied to the archaeological record? Containment operates as a force for stabilisation, through the creation of a fixed space, which can attract or repel entities, as I have already outlined (cf Lucas 2012: 200). Lucas argues that the durability of assemblages is key; more durable assemblages can operate as a container for ephemeral ones (2012: 201). This statement further highlights that the nature of entities and their relationship to each other is the key in following an assemblage based approach. For example, a constructed space like a church, acts as a centre of gravity for more ephemeral collectives, like a wedding or funeral (Lucas 2012: 202). Crucially the relationships between such assemblages are complex, and can have many varied, and multiple links to other assemblages. This relationship is also an active and

[12] Harris explored the potential of DeLanda's intensive and extensive scales, in looking at both highly ephemeral and large scale communities as assemblages (2013: 180-186).

animate one, in that the durability and larger scale space of a structure like a henge actively contributes towards the containment, or territorialisation, of more ephemeral gatherings within it (Lucas 2012: 202). It should also be remembered that containment can also prevent new assemblages emerging, by restricting the flow of entities in and out, like a firewall (Lucas 2012: 200). It is also perhaps obvious that containment and enchainment are interrelated processes. The two previous points demonstrate the complex relationships that existed in prehistory (and still do today) between landscapes, structures, people, animals, materials and social entities. This is the driving thread throughout this chapter; studying Exmoor's prehistoric landscapes and the material evidence therein together, from a holistic viewpoint where people's interaction with things and the complexity of relations between them is key.

One final concept will now be discussed; the idea that objects can be residues[13] of prior assemblages and these residues can also take part in containment or enchainment processes as they join other assemblages (Lucas 2012: 204). I read this to indicate a property that all components in any assemblage can have (cf Lucas 2012: 204). As a result a residue is simply another way of describing links between assemblages in terms of memory. Lucas argues a church is both a process of territorialisation and a product of enchainment, it is a residue of a previously existing assemblage that was more ephemeral (the act of construction and all entities this involved) of which only the church itself, and slight evidence of debris is left behind (2012: 204). The implication of this is that a residue holds a memory of the assemblage, and that according to Lucas, memory is a feature of all entities, not something which is divided between the individual and the collective (2012: 210, 211). The residue in some way, which may only be slight, captures the organisation of the parent (Lucas 2012: 211). Finally in Lucas' discussion of a theory of residue, it is defined according to a property of irreversibility; i.e. the extent to which components of a prior assemblage keep some part of its imprint after it has disbanded (2012: 212-213). Perhaps then the term residue should be reserved specifically for the fragments of a

[13] Lucas does not mean the conventional archaeological definition of residue. Instead it refers to a fragment of a prior assemblage within a current one, which captures a memory of this former assemblage in some way (2012: 211).

process that transforms a thing irreversibly, like his example of turning clay into a ceramic vessel by a process of firing it (Lucas 2012: 213). Despite being involved in subsequent assemblages like a midden, the pot sherd continues to have a memory of the vessel it belonged to (ibid: 213). Regardless of the terminology used, this idea of objects having a memory of an assemblage they were previously within is a useful one to think with on Exmoor. As will become apparent, Exmoor's monuments question when an object becomes a structure, suggesting a more fluid relationship existed.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the principles of assemblage theory and demonstrated what this theoretical approach can bring to archaeology, and to this study. In the next chapter, I will attempt to extend elements of Deleuze and Guattari's work through McFadyen's and Ingold's recent perspectives on architecture and stone working, which also share an emphasis on a central principal in Deleuzian thought; that of ongoing dynamic processes of becoming or dispersal. In so doing, I will demonstrate more clearly how assemblage theory can provide new possibilities for thinking about prehistoric monuments and landscapes.

Chapter 4 Theory, materials and miniaturisation

4.1 Dynamic entities: thinking about being and becoming

The previous chapter has highlighted how assemblage theory can refocus our attention on the dynamic processes which operate in the emergence of things, objects or entities, in their fragmentation and dispersal, and the interrelationships between them. I have adopted a position where things are relational and inherently dynamic. In this chapter I will explore the idea of things always being in a dynamic state of becoming, utilizing a tension between notions of entities as built or designed, as opposed to resulting from a more dynamic or negotiated process, with interplay between all kinds of things. This chapter is structured by scale, beginning with a definition of the Deleuzian notion of materiality that this thesis follows alongside an exploration of how this will be applied and the implications of doing so. It will then consider how people interact with materials, objects and material culture, and then architecture, questioning divides between these domains. In doing so, aspects of the work of McFadyen and Ingold are drawn upon alongside the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari (2013). In the second part, this chapter addresses the issue of scale, exploring how perspectives on miniaturisation and the affects of different scales can be applied in thinking about both the small stone architecture and the landscape of Exmoor.

4.2 A vibrant materiality: Why things were not inert

I adopt a concept of materiality from Deleuze and Guattari, which allows things to have an autonomy, an agency, which play a significant role in a world of other entities such a people and animals, although not all things necessarily have to take up such a prominent role (see Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 476-479; Lucas 2012: 170). In simple terms, this means that things are always undergoing processes of becoming (via territorialisation) or dispersal (via deterritorialisation). Critically for assemblage theory this means a total rejection of essences, by which I mean an irremovable quality which defines something. Secondly it means that things are animate (always doing something) and also ever changing; they are inherently dynamic. It also means that materials can play an active role in shaping the formation of assemblages, they are not merely inert, passive materials to be forcibly shaped into a design. The following section explores my perspective on materiality with a discussion of a select few approaches and explains how this fits with assemblage theory.

4.2.1 Defining materiality

Firstly, it is critical to make my position on materiality within this thesis clear. This is important because questions surrounding this issue of how the material world is produced, understood and related to social phenomena have become increasingly central to considerations of megalithic architecture, monument building, and portable artefacts in Neolithic and Bronze Age landscape studies (Bradley 1993 & 1998; Barrett 1994; Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina 1998; Scarre 2004; Robb 2004; Pollard 2013a). An increased interest in materiality has also been tied up with an interest in the biographies and experience (both metaphysical and physical) of objects, monuments and landscapes, and both the qualities and significance of specific materials such as stone (both worked and unworked) or human remains (e.g. Gillings and Pollard 1999; Gillings and Pollard 2004: 67-70; Edmonds 1995 & 1999; O'Conner and Cooney 2010; Pollard and Gillings 2010; Tilley 2004 and 2010; Harris 2010). Whilst the extent and vitality of research into materiality in prehistory is commendable, it is not free from limitations. For example, in thinking about concepts of materiality in a prehistoric monumental context, there has been a tendency to draw limited analogies with the properties of materials, often inspired by ethnography and non-western ontologies (cf Lucas 2012: 170). By far the most influential exploration of this has been Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina's living-dead theory which presents an interpretation of Stonehenge and its surrounding landscape based on material analogies drawn from Madagascar (1998). Pollard has argued that the basic aspects of this model fit rather well with the material evidence around Stonehenge, Durrington Walls and elsewhere during the mid-3rd Millennium BC (2012: 94; see Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina 1998; see also Parker Pearson *et al.* 2006). Setting aside questions whether beliefs from more recent Malagasy society can be applied to the British Neolithic, the biggest issue is that the concept of materiality used is too one dimensional, focusing exclusively on the physical properties of materials, like stone and wood (cf Richards 2013: 20; Lucas 2012: 170). The former approach is limiting because it is essentialist; the materials (stone and wood) are defined by essences, in this case their tangible and intangible metaphorical properties of cold, strong (for stone, associated with death) and warm and organic (for wood, associated with the living) (ibid 1998). Recent work by Richards has also considered stone circles as animate, drawing on non-western ontologies to argue that people in the Neolithic are unlikely to have drawn an ontological distinction between living people and inanimate things in their understanding of the world (2013: 27). As a result it is misleading to base an interpretation on our modern distinctions of material categories and properties (2013: 27). For example Richards highlighted how some previous interpretations of stone circles treated the stones as merely neutral and convenient constructional material; the availability of nearby stones being seen as all important (2013: 29 discussing Burl 1976: 71).

I would question the need for essences at all. Simply adding an essence, for example to allow stones the property of becoming living beings, is unhelpful. In a Deleuzian perspective all things are always being and becoming (and therefore animate). Undergoing dynamic processes, they can join multiple assemblages as components precisely because they are not defined by essences; they are made up of relations of exteriority and can connect with other entities without their identity being destroyed (cf DeLanda 2006). This perspective allows a more dynamic consideration of why constructions of a variety of monument configurations during the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age become so widespread. It also allows a fuller exploration of why they had such power or importance to those who built, lived and died with them. In the next section I explore what this understanding of materiality can bring to understanding working with stone in prehistory.

4.2.2 Engaging with materials - how stone facilitated life

In interpreting stone working on Exmoor I base my position on Deleuze and Guattari's critique of the hylomorphic model of making and Ingold's recent reading of this (2013: 25-26, 31, 45). Secondly I draw on McFadyen's perspective (also influenced by Deleuze and Guattari) where producing lithic scatters constituted meaningful practice which in turn produced dynamic mobile spaces (2006c: 133-44 after Grosz 2001 xviii). There are two key issues which I will seek to address, the first being how to interpret and think about the practice of stone working itself. The second is how to think about the wider meaning of such a practice in the landscape; in short trying to understand the social and material context of knapping stone (cf Edmonds 1995; 1997; 1999). On stone working as a practice, I intend to argue that all forms of engagement between people and materials involved dynamic interplay, where such acts had significant meaning to the people involved. This deviates from the work of Edmonds in that rather than drawing directly upon Ingold's reading of phenomenology (e.g. 2000, 1993) I instead utilize aspects of Deleuzian philosophy building on Ingold's recent application of Deleuze and Guattari's work in interpreting Acheulean bifaces (2013: chapter 3). Firstly Ingold rejects the idea that bifaces are a result of the imposition of a mental template onto an inert material (ibid: 35-45) before going on to argue that form is emergent through a form-finding process or field of force (ibid: 44-45). For Ingold, the flint becomes a liquid, where the skilled knapper follows the currents and potentials of the material (ibid: 45). This example is built on Deleuze and Guattari's discussion of a woodsman and his axe, where there are many potential paths inherent within the material, which emerge as the maker follows where it leads them (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 476-477; see Ingold 2013: 45). There is however a potential danger here in seeing the expressive action of people as non-existent, where they are instead blindly led by the material. After all, the biface does not make itself. Ingold does acknowledge the active role of materials in affecting this process (2013: 45) but we must equally acknowledge the maker's role[14]. To conclude this point, the skill of the

[14] This was likely varied. For example an experienced knapper would be able to flow with the material more effectively, but many emergent forms remained possible and the material always played a role. Contrast this with an apprentice, unable to release or control emergent form; the material exhibits greater influences over its destiny, but both still play a role.

knapper is to understand and flow with the material's rhythms, not to impose form on it (cf Ingold 2013: 31; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 479-480). To avoid underplaying the role of the maker, I will utilize the concept of affect as outlined in chapter 3 section 3.4.2; that materials simultaneously affect bodies as bodies affect materials (cf Hamilakis 2014; Harris and Sørensen 2010: 150-151; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 304).

Stone working was a highly meaningful practice because stone was a key facilitator of many aspects of people's lives in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. The inherent, emergent property of stone with a crypto-crystalline structure (e.g. flint or chert) to produce a flake which possessed a razor sharp edge when struck (or when ground or polished) was the basis of people's engagement with many things that were crucial to their existence. McFadyen has argued that the working of flint into scatters in the Mesolithic created connections to just such a variety of activities in other places and was fundamentally about processes; a mesh of connective dynamics that also served to create connections to other things such as animals, trees and plants (2006c: 126). For example, to translate McFadyen's description of Mesolithic practices into the Neolithic; producing flaked or ground stone implements allowed people to engage in butchery, farming, hunting, making clothing, woodworking (houses, shelters, fences), felling trees, harvesting and processing crops and finally to kill and engage in violence (cf McFadyen 2006c: 126). Using assemblage theory, my emphasis will be on how working stone actively facilitated such connections and activities. For example, the wave like ripples produced from striking a flake from a core can be seen as a physical manifestation and release of a line of flight, or deterritorialisation. When a stone tool was utilized in an assemblage of human body, a haft, bindings and perhaps glue, this line of flight continued, literally cutting the edges of (and contributing to the deterritorialisation) of entities like plants, animals and trees, facilitating their transformation into other assemblages and forms. However in moving out from the individual use of stone, consideration must be given to the spaces which lithic scatters occupy.

McFadyen's work on creating space in the Mesolithic demonstrated that lithic scatters are not merely important because of where they are, in either being marked by significant natural/topographic features or because they mark a place of geological interest (e.g. a resource) (2006c: 125). A tendency highlighted by McFadyen of lithic scatters being treated merely as findspots in Tilley's discussions of the Mesolithic (e.g. 1994, 1995, 1996) is rejected in favour of considering the making of a flint scatter as a way of making space itself (2006c: 125). McFadyen goes on to define an understanding of space that is active and dynamic as a force, a mobile space created by flint working (2006c: 133-134 after Grosz 2001 xviii) and calls for engagement with concepts like Deleuzian nomadism emphasising movement, action and practice (McFadyen 2006c: 134; see Deleuze and Guattari 2013: chapter 12). The line of argument which will be taken up in chapter six is that through assemblage theory lithic scatters can be also be seen as important in practices of making and as a medium for action during the Neolithic and Bronze Age on Exmoor.

To summarise, in this section using the example of stone working I demonstrated how this practice was highly meaningful in facilitating life and creating dynamic space. Whilst stone was a hugely important material, my position is that all materials and entities in the world could also be highly meaningful and dynamic (e.g. earth, wood, plants, trees and animals). Having adopted a position where materials were not simply passive recipients to imposed form, I will build on this in the next section by considering how material culture and architecture were equally fluid, dynamic and relational, critiquing a tendency amongst archaeologists to compartmentalise these two concepts and not to consider their relationship.

4.2.3 Material culture: stone as object and as architecture

McFadyen has argued that accounts of deposition in relation to Neolithic monuments often seem to give the impression of finished objects being deposited at a finished monument (McFadyen 2006b: 95). This is an important point as arguably all forms of construction are also forms of deposition. I would go further in attempting to break down the divide between categories such as objects and monuments as the character of Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age archaeology poses a challenge to a tendency to study material culture and monuments separately. Treating all archaeological entities as assemblages can remedy this, and by treating all traces in a holistic manner (from a single flint, to a cairn, to a wider social phenomenon) an integrated narrative which more fully takes account of the multiple connections and dynamic processes that make up life (for people, animals and all materials) can be effected. In discussing Exmoor, I will argue that a fluid relationship existed between objects, architectures and monuments; these were dynamic entities that were always becoming or decaying and there were many connections between them. Imposed categories such as monument would be meaningless to the people who lived around 2000BC. They will undoubtedly have made distinctions of their own but the point is these are unlikely to match with classifications which result from our own modernist tendency to compartmentalise evidence into classes or boxes. Interpreting the traces on Exmoor as a series of interconnected entities-as-assemblages will allow an exploration of the connections and fluidity between all kinds of materials and things.

McFadyen's perspectives on the nature of architecture and of material culture, emphasising process, the importance of combining different materials, their changing properties and performative nature, and the rejection of notions of the built object or architecturally pre-planned form fit well within an assemblage theory framework (2006a & 2006b, 2007a&b). They resonate with the concepts outlined regarding the archaeological record, for example by Lucas (2012) and for assemblage theory more generally (e.g. DeLanda 2006; Deleuze and Guattari 2013). More directly, I would argue that DeLanda's discussion of phase spaces (2002, 2006, 2007) acts as a link between assemblage theory and McFadyen's ideas on the making of architecture (2006a, 2007a&b). McFadyen's perspective on architecture as a medium where acts of construction create the need for further action (2006a: 123, 128), can be seen as a form-finding procedure in a space of possibilities (DeLanda 2006; 2007). For example, like DeLanda's account of the use of soap bubbles as a form finding procedure by the architect Frei Otto (2007: 23). It also suggests how one kind of complex organism (i.e. a grouping of complex and varied singularities) is linked to other materials, and can affect them in terms of changing their states and properties (DeLanda 2007: 21-23). The potential to change states of matter and properties through making is an observation specifically raised in McFadyen's definition of quick architecture (2006a: 130-131 see also below). In this view, long barrow construction might have been about exploring materials through a process of form-finding in different areas of phase space, a space of possibilities. This is a space with a topological structure made up of universal singularities, which define for example all possible designs of long barrows (DeLanda 2006: 29). However, the importance of McFadyen's emphasis on the lived experience of bodies contacting materials and experiencing them should not be lost in a framework that becomes overly abstracted, losing sight of people (2006a: 130-131). Following on from considering the relationship between objects and architecture, next I will consider the construction of monuments, exploring whether these entities should be seen as designed or emergent.

4.2.4 Making architecture: is a monument designed or emergent?

Arguably one of the most important and innovative interpretations of monument building in recent years is the work of McFadyen (e.g. 2006a; 2006b; 2007a&b). Drawing on non-representational theory, McFadyen has argued for considering the latter not as the translation of design into an object but as a medium through which to work (2006a: 123). This research questions the reification of the built object, highlighting a tendency in the literature to view architecture as designed, preconceived and upholding a social order (2006a: 124-125). A call for considering the constructed quality of things is outlined, looking at the effects of different building technologies at Long Barrow sites (2006a: 123). McFadyen defines a form of quick architecture where stone was precariously placed and people had to physically hold it up with bodies, whilst other materials were dumped in to consolidate a matrix of things; building was a practice that mattered in people's lives (McFadyen 2006a: 128). This form of building could change matter, as stone could lose its stability and structural independence, whilst bodies became important in negotiating junctions with other materials or living things (McFadyen 2006a: 130-131). Neolithic space was constantly becoming through the efforts of labour which is how understandings were materialized, making people aware of their relationships to materials and other people (2006a: 131; 2007a: 354). McFadyen argues that acts of making were more prominent in people's memory of place than the finished, abandoned or completed object (2006a: 131). As a result, analysis should therefore shift to what the process of building was about, how different ways of making created connections to bodies and played an important role in construction (2006a: 131-132). This approach offers a break from seeing megalithic tomb's as built objects, with a preconceived design from the beginning. McFadyen's work shows how this problematic assumption of preconceived designs and the tendency to place too much effort in understanding a monument's final form can be avoided. Instead the ultimate emphasis is placed on becoming, taking a stance which sees the tombs form as emergent and dynamic (not predetermined). This is strongly influenced by Deleuze and Guattari's ideas on the nature of assemblages as always under processes of becoming and dispersal and it is the position I adopt on the nature of entities on Exmoor (2013: 8-9, 21-22). Next, I will consider how Ingold has applied this principle to prehistoric architecture.

The most useful aspect of Ingold's recent work is the way it acknowledges something of the autonomy and dynamism of all entities (all things, not just humans)[15]. This granting of autonomy to entities, by looking out from the perspective of a mound draws on Deleuzian ideas in that all things are inherently dynamic and active, and to some degree their matter is autonomous (i.e. it is not merely animated by humans). For example, Deleuze and Guattari argue that the machinic phylum is materiality, a matter-flow that can only be followed, where for example in metallurgy, an energetic materiality overspills prepared matter, giving it a life or material vitalism (2013: 476-

[15] However, I do not follow Ingold's previous and extremely problematic assertion that as a mound is ever changing and emerging it is effectively ahistorical, as this would imply that a dynamic entity has no history and can only exist in the present (see 2010: 81). This position breaks from Deleuze and Guattari's understanding, as for them, assemblages and the relations within them are real, actual entities and processes which are situated in a specific historical context (2013: 474; DeLanda 2006: 12, 38-40; c.f. Fowler 2013: 23, 43; c.f. Harris 2012: 332 & 2016a: 26).

477, 478-479). In discussing the setting of mounds in landscape, Ingold introduces the idea of the earth-sky world, where the earth and sky are unified from the perspective of the mound and not divided by a distant horizon (Ingold 2013: 82). If the mound or something buried therein has sensory perception it would look up into the sky (Ingold 2013: 823). The round mound in this switch in perspective is associated with the transition from life to death but also the mystery of life (Ingold 2013: 82). Ingold goes on to argue for an intimate connection between landscape and thing, where the latter enfolds the landscape (as a gathering or knotting together of life) and also unfolds into the landscape (by guiding practices, law and dwelling) (2013: 83). A Deleuzian influence is clear here, this is another way of saying that the landscape is a multiplicity, and the thing as a knot, a convergence, a haecceity (individual singularity). Finally, for Ingold to inhabit the world is to take part in dynamic forming processes, energies, flows and forces (2013: 89); again, an extremely Deleuzian viewpoint. Ingold's way of looking out from the perspective of an entity is an idea that I will build on, using ideas surrounding the concept of affect, that things both affect us as we affect them, in a dynamic interplay.

In conclusion, I have adopted a position whereby objects, architecture and monuments are not designed as built objects, but are emergent and relational, depending on a dynamic interplay of assemblages of people, materials and landscapes. By considering the variety of connections, meanings and roles which things and architecture play in construction, a more enlightening perspective on what all this might have meant to actual people in a specific place, at a specific time becomes possible. This is a key benefit of assemblage theory; it provides a framework for investigating the relations and relationships between entities, focusing our attention on identifying the dynamic processes which are operating. This is rather than focusing on identifying things as having a fixed set of characteristics, and trying to fit the variability of past lives into typologies or classes. The position I will adopt is that seeing entities as either relational or bounded does not imply these are mutually exclusive states (cf Fowler and Harris 2015: 144-145); they are a reflection of the variable degrees to which processes of territorialisation and deterritorialisation are acting on an assemblage at a specific point in time. Entities which appear bounded or fixed are still relational, and still undergoing dynamic processes. For example, a burial in a pit which is sealed off by constructing a mound over it could be seen as bounded or fixed after this point, yet chemical decay still operates within it (cf Lucas 2012: 214). Using assemblage theory it is more useful to think of it as a highly territorialised assemblage (always undergoing processes of becoming or decay), whilst the mound as a separate but connected assemblage, acts as a firewall (to use Lucas’s term) preventing the burials deterritorialisation and contributing significantly to its territorialisation, until these processes change more markedly at a later point. This might be due to the subsequent activities of badgers, archaeologists or road builders in dispersing the burial's elements (cf Lucas 2012: 214).

4.3 Miniatures, monuments and scale

This section will explore the issue of different scales in the context of Exmoor, explaining how the affects of scale can be incorporated into an assemblage framework. This explores how small things can have a quite particular power and significance, or affective field, one that is demonstrably different from larger things. It will demonstrate how alternative perspectives on small things and miniatures can bring a new dimension to studying Exmoor’s Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes.

Thinking about miniatures has only rarely been applied directly to studying monuments and landscapes in a prehistoric context (see Jones 2012: Chapter 3; Williams 1988). Such a theme is usually explored through objects, such as Neolithic figurines (Bailey 2005) or miniature bronze axe heads (Waddington 2009: 284-293), but the emphasis is on studying miniaturisation through the objects themselves, with some discussion of context. It is not usually applied to the structures or monuments themselves directly, with the exception of recent research by Jones (2012). This is perhaps not surprising given the emphasis in most narratives of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods on the occurrence of monumentality, focusing heavily on better known, large-scale megalithic sites or landscapes such as Stonehenge or Avebury (e.g.

Barrett 1994; Thomas 1999). Perhaps more surprising is an equal lack of discussion or exploration of the impact of the gigantic scale of some structures in terms of cognition and human engagement with them. Jones highlighted that despite the influence of phenomenology on British Prehistory in studying monuments and landscapes, the focus is invariably on movement around sites and landscapes, and visual relationships; what is hidden from view and then revealed (Jones 2012: 34). Discussion of the gigantic is invariably about power, awe or prestige which is in turn equated with scale and complexity, for example Sheridan's interpretation of Irish Passage Tombs (Jones 2012: 56-57 discussing Sheridan 1986). There has been little attempt at exploring the phenomenological significance of the impact of the scale of megalithic architecture (Jones 2012: 34-35). Another issue is that because of a tendency in broad narratives to focus on well-studied and in my view, highly exceptional megalithic landscapes, the true variability of monumentality is downplayed. These sites are extreme and unique expressions of this phenomenon. For example Gillings has convincingly argued that small stone configurations are more widespread than is currently acknowledged, occurring in a variety of different areas of Britain (2015c: 207, 212-218). Further, his research has drawn attention to the existence of small scale stones or settings alongside large megaliths at various sites in Britain and Ireland (ibid: 205, 208 212-218; Pollard and Gillings 2009: 40). For Gillings, this lack of interest is because they do not fit with current or previous expectations of monumentality; consequently, and quite rightly in my view, he calls for a rethink of these expectations (2015c: 208-211). Why such extreme competitive monumentality occurs in some areas and seemingly not in others is a question that needs to be addressed. This thesis is a response to just such a call; engaging with a rethink of approaches to monumentality forms a defining thread throughout. I will now explore understandings of miniaturisation and explain how they form another key aspect of the framework of this thesis. The underlying issue within the following discussion is how to combine aspects of a debate which is quite phenomenological, within a Deleuzian framework.

4.3.1 Miniaturisation, power and time distortion

A recent series of workshops and publications on miniaturisation as a process[16] has highlighted both a renewed interest in the topic, and the fact that there is currently no agreed definition of what a miniature actually is (e.g. Foxhall 2015; Meskell 2015; Hiscock 2015; Flegenheimer *et al.* 2015). Conceiving of miniaturisation as a process (following for example Waddington 2009; Bailey 2005) will allow it to be combined with the overall assemblage theory approach (see section 3.8 for an outline). In the current discussion miniaturisation is conceived as an active process and exploring its impact on people's engagement with materials in the context of the Later Neolithic-Early Bronze Age on Exmoor is a key theme.

The most important work on considering the impact of miniatures in a Neolithic context is Bailey's study of Neolithic figurines from central Europe (2005: chapter 2). This draws on a range of perspectives including contemporary artists, models and model making, amusement parks, research on time comprehension in 3D architectural spaces (DeLong 1981) and on literary narratives of the miniature and the gigantic (Stewart 1993). Bailey conceives of the power of miniatures in terms of a series of paradoxes (2005: 41). Each of these makes a figurine more powerful, but when combined they become explosive objects in the sense of their impact on people (Bailey 2005: 42). These contradictions include multiple sizes, scales and worlds, presence yet absence and a paradox of the uncanny (Bailey 2005: 42). Bailey's argument rests on adopting the human body as the essential measure of scale in terms of larger than life, smaller than life, and life-sized (2005: 29). The argument is implicitly phenomenological, depending on a universal human body experiencing the miniature things in question (cf Brück 2005b: 136-142 & 2005a: 55). Developing an understanding of the impact of miniaturisation on human cognition in the context of small scale structures in the Neolithic-Early Bronze Age period on Exmoor, will form an important part of understanding the character of Exmoor's prehistoric landscapes. The key concepts behind this approach will now be introduced.

[16] 'Worlds in Miniature' (20/6/2014) and the follow up event 'Worlds in Miniature 2' (27/9/2014) were held at the British Museum in 2014.

Firstly, small things can be highly potent stimulants for the imagination, allowing people to access other worlds and realities (Bailey 2005: 34). Miniatures have been likened to a microscope, in that they suggest or reveal multiple realities within our own, invoking the possibility of ever multiplying levels of significance as one zooms further in (Stewart 1993: 54). This quality of small objects emerges from the fact that they are, or can be, representational, of some but not all parts of something else. Bailey draws a distinction between models, as realistic representations of real things (concerned with accuracy and precision), and miniatures (which reduce detail and can be abstractions or skeuomorphic) (2005: 29, 32). Drawing from Levi-Strauss, Bailey argues that miniatures are a result of humans experimenting with the physical world (2005: 29; 1966: 24). This is, however, problematic as it invokes the hylomorphic model of making (section 4.2.2). Instead I would argue that both maker and the material play an active role in creating an object. The qualities of abstraction and compression which are produced through creating a miniature give it a new power to force a viewer to draw limitless inferences to understand them (Bailey 2005: 32). This in turn means that miniatures can be read in multiple ways (Bailey 2005: 32). The same can be said about physical structures of any scale. In some ways this is a more general quality of something which is ambiguous in form, and it may go a long way to explaining the power of erecting stones in the Later Neolithic – Early Bronze Age, regardless of their size. The majority of standing stones in Britain are left as ambiguous shapes rather than being dressed or carved and on Exmoor there is no known evidence for prehistoric stone carving or rock art.

Miniaturising, then, can change the relationship between the observer's comprehension and understanding, enabling them to think beyond what is represented (Bailey 2005: 32). Miniaturism can therefore allow different narratives, histories and actions to be explored, along with the experience of being drawn into another place (ibid: 34-35; Stewart 1993: 54). For example, the immobility of miniatures can suggest unseen movement, and the possibility that there might be a secret life of things (Bailey 2005: 34, 35; Stewart 1993: 54; Riffaterre 1978: 69). Thus miniatures can be highly dynamic and powerful objects, something which has been conceived of as their essential theatricality (Stewart 1993: 54). As an object they suggest use, yet their representative quality means that they are never fully contextualized; they become a stage we can project actions onto (Stewart 1993: 54). These qualities mean miniatures can unsettle and reassure, as well as liberate the viewer; in reducing the world's reality it provides a way of understanding it (Bailey 2005: 33). It will not be argued that small structures on Exmoor are miniature versions of something else; in a conventional sense they are not miniature objects per se. However some of these effects, in forcing the viewer to draw inference, allowing imagining of other realities or finding new ways of understanding can also operate with small structures, and also landscapes.

By reducing the scale of a structure or object there is increased potential for a human to engage with that object, both in a physical and metaphysical sense (Bailey 2005: 33). In this way, it can be said to make the viewer gigantic and empower the spectator (ibid: 33). The significance to Exmoor is in the fact that small stone configurations of varied forms also have increased potential for engagement, by individuals or small groups. This is quite a different dynamic to larger stone monuments, whereby changes to the structure of a site such as Avebury with its vast megaliths, would presumably have required a great deal of communal effort; put simply it could not be undertaken by an individual. This dynamic is potentially quite different on Exmoor and will be explored in this thesis. Another related effect of size reduction in three dimensions is that it promotes the position of the spectator’s body, demanding scrutiny and proximity (Bailey 2005: 38). A three dimensional object also allows something to be viewed from multiple angles, potentially allowing complete comprehension (Bailey 2005: 39). However it also presents a paradox of comprehension, as the viewer never glimpses all of it from one view (ibid: 40). Having an encounter with a small 3D object gains added significance by the fact that it can enter someone’s personal space and be within reach and physical touch; this can allow them to have a power different from things beyond reach (Bailey 2005: 38-39). Whilst this effect is arguably at its most powerful in the case of a portable 3D object, the extremely small scale of some structures on Exmoor, can also provide a part of this effect, through the intimacy of experiencing them.

As a process, miniaturism can create a space separate from reality, where rational logic can be overtaken by imagination and fantasy (ibid: 34). Bailey used the example of scholars rocks and also the table top landscapes created by Michal Ashkin, to demonstrate how miniaturism encourages the viewer to imagine they are within that small world (2005: 32-35). It is also important to emphasize that miniaturisation is an active process, and that all stages of it can be powerful. For example, the creation and viewing of a reduced scale landscape diorama or model diorama requires the maker to constantly imagine themselves within that world as they create it, which can be an almost hypnotic experience. This flipping back and forth between real and imagined worlds is something which Bailey also highlights (ibid: 33).

One of the most interesting aspects of scale reduction in three dimensions is the potential for it to distort people's perception of time (DeLong 1981 and 1985: 9; Bailey 2005: 36-37). Whilst this is difficult to attest for certain in prehistory, it is nonetheless a useful dynamic to consider, with the potential to affect cognition and experience. Bailey developed this theme by drawing on the work of DeLong, who investigated how the scale of architectural surroundings affected human perception of time (1981). To summarize, this involved creating a series of scale models of a waiting room containing a human figure, at a set series of different scales, and asking participants to engage with the figure as if they were actually waiting for someone within this world (DeLong 1981: 681). Without access to timepieces, or any outside influence, participants had to judge when thirty minutes had passed, and then leave the room of their own accord (DeLong 1981: 681). The participants were externally timed, and the results suggested a direct correlation between the reduction of scale, and the compression of the perceived experience of time (ibid 1981: 682). Bailey argued that this correlation of the inaccuracy of time perception, with the scale of the world they interacted with, was shocking (2005: 37). This distortion of time perception effect occurs as an individual's brain experiences time faster the larger they are relative to their surroundings (DeLong 1985: 9; Bailey 2005: 36). This happens because reducing the scale of the environment speeds up the central nervous system, increasing alertness and information processing capability (DeLong 1985: 9; Bailey 2005: 36). Therefore, an individual's brain processes time more slowly when they are smaller relative to their environment (DeLong 1985: 9; Bailey 2005: 36). Miniaturism can therefore take one into another mental place, as well as a different physical space, with a resulting compression or distortion of a crucial element of our existence, that of time perception (Bailey 2005: 36). The underlying principle in using this idea on structures, rather than on objects is that this effect of size reduction still applies. As the size or scale difference between the person and the object creates this effect it can therefore be applied to structures and landscapes well as objects (see Jones 2012).

In thinking about the process of miniaturisation, scale and its impact, this thesis follows a different track to conceptualising 3D objects as a series of paradoxes as posited by Bailey (2005: 41). Rather than seeing the characteristics of these objects as a series of dualisms or oppositions, these contradictions will be reconceptualised as processes which are active in assemblage theory (DeLanda 2006; Deleuze and Guattari 2013). They can become processes of territorialisation and deterritorialisation, mediating the convergence and dispersal of assemblages. Miniaturisation can then be thought of as a specific form of territorialisation (or deterritorialisation), which allows its impact and role in Exmoor's prehistory to be considered. This has the added benefit of ensuring miniaturisation is not seen in isolation but it is fully integrated into the assemblage theory framework. The final point to make is that miniaturisation will not be applied to miniature objects, but to small scale structures and stone arrangements on Exmoor. The justification for this is in seeing an object as an event which is held together by dynamic processes (Lucas 2012: 186-188 after Whitehead 1920: 143-145). Archaeological structures are also events, and such small stone configurations can also become portable objects. Therefore we can consider setting of upright stones an event, with the joining of objects a process of enchainment (following Lucas 2012: 198-

201). Whilst reconceptualising Bailey's paradoxes into processes or forces allows a consideration of what role these small structures might play in forming assemblages and connections within the wider landscape, it does not adequately take into account the emotional, experiential and multi-sensorial nature of interactions between animals, people and all things. To do this I will argue that an exploration of the affective qualities of small things is needed. Before doing so I will explore thinking about scale with monuments and landscapes.

4.3.2 Miniaturisation and scale in prehistoric landscapes

Drawing upon the work of Bailey (2005) Jones has recently attempted to apply thinking about scale, miniatures and the gigantic to objects, monuments and landscapes (2012). Jones often makes reference to networks and assemblages and explicitly draws on the assemblage theory of Deleuze and Guattari (2013) (see 2012: 54 and chapter 6). This work was successful in producing an integrated narrative between different scales, materials and things (i.e. objects, structures and landscapes), rejecting oppositional thinking and the tendency to treat different scales as distinct and contrasting (Jones 2012: Ch 1, 2 & 3; 14, 36). Jones' work made considerable progress into thinking in greater depth about the impact of miniature and gigantic scales, highlighting some key ideas and concepts which this research will look to build upon.

In considering scale as it applies to objects, structures and landscapes, Jones focuses on the juxtaposition of different scales and the performative nature of scale in the production of materiality (2012: 32). It is performative in the sense it brings into relation different aspects of the environment, whilst scale apprehension is a performative process due to the collision of these disparate elements (Jones 2012: 32). Jones explicitly adopted a flat ontology of people and things, integrating different scales rather than treating them as incomparable or separate (2012: 14-15, 35-37). The argument placed considerable emphasis on the idea that scale is a dimension in flux; it is fluid and relational, a reiterative process (Jones 2012: 53). This successfully captures the need to shift to a more dynamic way of thinking about archaeological materials, and the need to think about process in terms of materiality. This study will follow a similar theme considering dimension and scale to highlight how structures form connections with people, not forgetting of course, objects, materials, animals, and the wider landscape and environment, in order to explore ideas about recurrent processes between materials and people forming assemblages at many different levels and scales.

Drawing upon Nakamura (2005: 32 and see also Cochrane 2008: 144) arguably the most important point raised in Jones's work was to highlight the power of the juxtaposition of scales, positioning scale as a choreography of relations (2012: 52). For example Jones argued that cremated bone deposits within stone settings around the Mound of the Hostages passage tomb, might be miniature citations of cremated bone deposits in the passage tomb itself (2012: 54), the bone deposits in the settings having been miniaturised or reduced in scale (Jones 2012: 54; see O'Sullivan 2005: 29-30). Tombs at different scales can also be said to reference each other, acting as microcosms or macrocosms (Jones 2012: 54). Jones argues for an interlinked network of references performed by shared substances and differing scales incorporating different tombs, stone settings and the landscape (2012: 54). This study goes on to explore these ideas in various Neolithic and Bronze Age subjects, for example looking at causewayed enclosures and barrow cemeteries (Jones 2012: Chapter 7), burials, metalwork and hoards (ibid: Chapter 6). It highlights interesting differences in scale between upland and lowland monuments (the former being larger), and also within monument groupings such as passage tomb cemeteries. It also argues that such differences in scale are significant between monuments and landscapes (Jones 2012: 48-49). To conclude this section, I will return to the point raised earlier, of how, in thinking about multiple scales the full experiential or sensorial nature of being from miniature stones to megalithic tombs, can be incorporated into considering miniaturisation within an assemblage framework.

4.3.3 Miniatures, assemblages and affective fields

To summarize, the solution adopted here is twofold. First it actively reconceptualises Bailey's idea of miniatures as multiple paradoxes into processes or forces that are active in assemblage formation, such as processes of territorialisation and deterritorialisation. This situates the powerful, potential capacities of miniatures within an explicitly assemblage-based ontology. Secondly, these capacities (both actual and virtual) are also involved in forming sensorial assemblages, which are completely intertwined with concrete material assemblages. Thus assemblages have components which are sensorial and material, and there is no reason to separate an experiencing mind over an external world; both affect each other in dynamic and multivariate ways through the concept of affectivity (see chapter 3). I argue that, what makes small things so powerful is that they have the capacity to form quite distinctive affective fields and emotional responses. I will adopt Harris and Sørensen's terms to explore the particular qualities of emotions, affective fields and atmospheres of small things, and how these might differ from larger things in Exmoor's landscapes. To conclude, it is the affective quality of all things in assemblages, their capacity to affect something else, whilst also simultaneously being affected that allows a phenomenological aspect to be incorporated within a Deleuzian framework. Crucially, by exploring the affective fields of all things and not just things that are small in relation to the human body, the problem of the phenomenology of things being experienced through a universal human body is avoided (cf Brück 2005b: 137-138 &2005a: 55). Thus my application of Bailey's ideas differs from his own because it does not rely on a universal human body experiencing an external miniature thing, where a miniatures sense of scale assumes the universe to be an anthropocentric one (Stewart 1993: 56). Instead, it focuses on exploring the intertwined affective capacities of both bodies and things. Such affective fields are highly specific and situational, can occur in human and animal worlds alike, and be quite different for people of both differing and similar age, gender, and status (cf Brück 2005b: 138-140). I acknowledge that not only such physiological and psychological differences, but also different social constructions of such categories will impact upon people's experiences and understandings (cf Brück 2005b: 138 and 2005a: 55). Finally, it should also be acknowledged that an organism's physical structure, in our case a skeletal body given the capacity to move through muscular contractions, places certain constraints on what a given organism can do physically, as well as providing an inherent sense of scale relative to that individual organism. To conclude this discussion of miniaturisation, phenomenology and scale, the key is to acknowledge a definition of scale that is individuated, and not something that is experienced universally.

4.4 Summary - A holistic approach to material engagement on Exmoor

To summarise, this project will follow a holistic framework which posits that all forms of material engagement within landscape are part of an interrelated assemblage of complex relationships, which are fluid, interchangeable, dynamic and active. In doing so, I have adopted the Deleuzian philosophy of assemblage theory (Deleuze and Guattari 2013) and concepts from subsequent developments of this approach (e.g. DeLanda 2002, 2006; Bonta and Protevi 2004; Lucas 2012; Harris 2013 & 2016b). The terminology I will use is shown in table 4.1, along with that outlined previously in chapter 3. This is in order to move on from classificatory and essentialist approaches to monuments and structures, which reify them into fixed entities, approaches which have characterized attempts to make sense of Exmoor's prehistoric archaeology to date. Thinking of monuments as fixed categories in space and time has, arguably, contributed to a focus on visual perception to and from the sites. However, I do not wish to reject the importance of phenomenological approaches more generally in encouraging consideration of movement, experience and perception of the full sensorial experience of the world (e.g. Tilley 2010; Ingold 1993, 2000; Thomas 1996). To achieve this, I have incorporated a phenomenological aspect by drawing on the concept of affectivity, the capacity to both affect and be affected simultaneously (Spinoza 1910 [1678]; Deleuze and Guattari 2013; Hamilakis 2014; Harris and Sørensen 2010). This allowed the problem of an experiencing mind set against an external world to be sidestepped, and to reject the hylomorphic model of imposing a design onto inert things. In developing this aspect, I drew on the importance of acts of making within the landscape through the work of McFadyen (2006a&b, 2007a&b) and Ingold (2013), to give back materials a power, a sense of being, where they can affect people.

Table 4.1: A summary of the terminology I will adopt and an explanation of what I take these concepts to mean. This table was created by the author through the synthesis of a variety of sources which are indicated in the table, and the authors own interpretation of the concepts.

Term	Definition
Assemblage	Any convergence (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 473) of components into an aggregate entity in a general sense e.g. a standing stone, people's action to gather and erect it, digging and cutting tools, a stone socket, and packing stones form the assemblage of a megalith. Many different assemblages can exist, at many different interconnected scales (DeLanda 2006). An assemblage, or large scale aggregate of components both human and non-human, each of which have both virtual and actual properties and capacities, where all are a concrete part of the material assemblage, completely intertwined and immanent to it, and are not transcendent in any way. For example, the actual things with physical properties include a football, all the players, the grass field, goal posts, nets, painted lines, the watching crowd, a team of referee's, a whistle and his cards; whilst the virtual capacities include the interpretation of the rules, the potential goals, shots, passes, techniques and dribbles players have the capacity to actualize, the many formations and tactics a manager might deploy; not all will be actualized, but they are a concrete part of all things in Deleuzian thought. Together, they form the social assemblage of a football match.
Component	Any individual part of an assemblage. For example, a flint core, hammerstone and abraders, a person (the knapper), flakes, debitage, the noise of striking and brimstone like smell, are all components of the assemblage of flint knapping. Following Lucas, all components can have a memory, of their being in previous assemblages, in capturing some aspect of this former assemblage's organization (2012: 204, 210-11). Residue was the term used by Lucas to refer to this memory (ibid: 211).
Territorialisation	Forces stabilizing an assemblage which includes coding, enchainment, miniaturisation and containment etc. (DeLanda 2006: 12; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 8-9, 373; Lucas 2012: 200).
Deterritorialisation	Lines of flight, forces dispersing an assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 8-9, 591-593; DeLanda 2006: 12; Lucas 2012: 199-200). Includes decoding, reterritorialisation, decay, fragmentation, dispersal, miniaturisation etc. (ibid 2013: 8-9, 591-593; & ibid 2012: 199-200).
Miniaturisation	A process of producing something small, in relation to something else. It is individuated, and can be experienced differently, with differing atmospheres and affective fields etc. It can be seen as both territorialising and deterritorialising.
Enchainment	A sub process of territorialisation, joining things together through recurrent citation or recurrent association (Lucas 2012: 200-201).
Coding	A sub process of territorialisation, which can also contribute to deterritorialisation, where a formation of elements combine together, to form a meaning or expression (a coding), beyond their physical properties (DeLanda 2006: 14-16). For example, thousands of LED's that when combined and switched on, display a word on a sign. The LED's in this case are showing expression of meaning, a coding, beyond simply their physical properties.
Containment	A sub process of territorialisation or deterritorialisation, which can draw things together or keep them out, through acting as a centre of gravity, or by acting as a firewall (Lucas 2012: 200).
Residue	A component of an assemblage, which carries a memory of both being in a prior one and some trace of the dispersed assemblage's organization (Lucas 2012:204, 210-211). I will use this only for things that have undergone irreversible transformative processes.
Virtual capacity	An unexercised capacity of a thing (DeLanda 2006: 10-11; 2002: 20-21, 24), e.g. a stone with the potential to be made into an axe. It does not yet have form or substance, but it is still immanent to the material world, and not transcendent.

Term	Definition
Actual capacity	An actual capacity of a thing (DeLanda 2006: 10, 2002: 18). The difference between form and substance is rejected; whilst a real difference is posited between content and expression, which each have both form and substance (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 584). For example, the form, texture, hardness, size, weight, colour and physical extent of a Jadeite axe.
Entity/individual singularity	Any specific individual thing (Normark 2010: 134; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 304). For example, this pen, this cup, this spade, or this 4x4 vehicle. They result from specific morphogenetic processes, not from the existence of a set of definite and timeless classifications of types (DeLanda 2002: 2, 14).
Universal singularity	Singular or special topological features shared by many systems; topological invariants ('attractors', a minimum point defining long term tendencies) which define structure in a phase space or space of possibilities (DeLanda 2006: 29). Universal singularities would each define extreme forms (ibid: 30), that for example ball games can take, e.g. team games or individual games. Whilst many forms of ball games are possible, the possibilities are not completely endless. Whilst there are similarities of form finding processes here, the same process have produced radically different results in terms of the actual ball games (individual singularities) e.g. football, basketball, golf, cricket, and tennis etc.
Multiplicity	Obscure, yet distinct concrete universals, meshed in a continuum which are typically divergent, different realizations of multiplicities bear no resemblance to themselves, and there is no end to potential forms a multiplicity might adopt (DeLanda 2002: 14). They give form to processes and not final products, so the results of the processes realizing the same multiplicity can be very different (ibid: 14). There are no groupings of eternal archetypes, but an immanent space with zones of indiscernibility (ibid: 14). Multiplicities are made up of distributions of singularities (ibid: 19).
Smooth space	A space of intensive process where emergent properties and intensive becoming's occur, for example like forests, deserts, sea's, steppe's and polar ice caps (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 144). Such ecosystems are complex, continuously varying webs of forces, without central organization, that do not have end points (ibid: 144).
Striated space	A space marked by striations, it could be measured or metric space (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 151). Note that smoothed and **striated space** is in constant interchange, effectively intertwined by smoothing and striating forces (Bonta and Protevi: 144; See Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 501-506). Striated space is a product of stratification, for example, the development of sedentary farming, states and empires (cf Bonta and Protevi 2004: 151; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 443-451).
Morphogenetic process	A form generating process which is immanent (a part of) to the material world (DeLanda 2002: 2). For Deleuze entities are defined by such **morphogenetic processes**, and not by essences (ibid: 2).
Affect/Affective field	A generative relationship between entities (things, persons, animals) where an emotional response is stimulated, through which emotional experience is produced (Harris and Sørensen 2010: 150).
Atmosphere	A particular affective field, tied to a specific place and situation; an emotional world occurring in a specific assembly of things, people, and place, in an architectonic setting (Harris and Sørensen 2010: 152).
Emotion	An act of being moved, through a specific situation and the perception of bodily states, where a feeling is always linked to a movement (Harris and Sørensen 2010: 151).

Building on this, I adopted a Deleuzian concept of matter rather than drawing on concepts of animism in non-western ontologies (e.g. Richards 2013; Scarre 2010). Thus, I take materiality to be an inherently dynamic process (cf Lucas 2012: 170); as matter in movement, flux and variation (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 467) that has a performative quality (Jones 2012: 12-13), where both the act of making, and the way materials in turn act on the maker is highly significant (McFadyen 2006a&b, 2007a&b; Ingold 2010; 2013). Thus the affectivity of things, people, animals, materials and landscapes is central to the understanding of materiality used in this thesis (following Harris and Sørensen 2010; Hamilakis 2014; Harris 2016b). Engagements with a variety of materials pervaded many different aspects of people's lives, and as such the creation of monuments cannot be considered in isolation from other aspects such as stone working. In short this perspective rejects any notion that humans exist in a separate ontological category from other organisms, animals or things and equally acknowledges the potential of non-human things to be sentient entities (cf Lucas 2012: 170).

Finally, monuments will no longer be considered as a class or type, nor as fixed categories which we have tended to reify; instead will their character be defined as fluid and relational. This approach will allow a dynamic exploration of the emergence, creation and manipulation of different entities through time and their complex relationships. A critical awareness for the emergent quality of monumental architecture, and the potential for the meaning and ontological status of such structures to be potent, dangerous, securing or changeable is foregrounded in such an approach (see Pollard 2013a: 231-234; McFadyen 2006a&b, 2007). It will also allow the chain of linear causality to be broken, allowing alternatives such as catalytic, statistical, or multi causal (e.g. DeLanda 2006: 19-21; Hodder 2012: 158-167; Harris and Robb 2013: chapter 9) to be considered. Thinking with assemblage theory then, can pave the way for a consideration of different and interrelated scales of change which are non-linear, and can be interlinked (e.g. DeLanda 2006: 32-34).

4.5 Conclusion

If we accept a vibrancy of all human and nonhuman things and think in terms of entities which are always becoming, no longer privileging humans as the only animate things (i.e. other entities are not a passive stage), we are able to understand and explore why and how connections between people, materials, creatures and landscapes (all on the same ontological plane) are so powerful. Using an assemblage ontology provides a specific framework to explore these flows, connections, convergences and processes in developing an alternative to essentialist accounts of the past. This perspective has great potential to push forward our understanding of structures, monuments and prehistoric landscapes, and will be carried forward in thinking about Exmoor throughout this thesis. I have taken a unashamedly bricolage approach and the intention behind this chapter was ultimately to map out how a variety of different (but not necessarily incompatible) concepts could be linked together in studying Exmoor. Having achieved this, in the next chapter I will explore the nature of archaeological entities on Exmoor, beginning with the smallest scale haecceities this thesis examines, the assemblages of worked stone.

Chapter 5 The chronology of Exmoor's monuments

5.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to address chronological relationships (RQ2), beginning with an overview of Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age archaeological record and an assessment of the current dating evidence, followed by a definition of the study areas and an explanation of the methodologies applied to them. It concludes with a summary of the relative chronology which informs the analysis carried out in chapters six to nine. Due to space limitations, the detailed discussion and justification of this schema has been placed in appendix 1.

5.1.1 An overview of Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age entities

Table 5.1 presents a summary of the type classes of broadly Neolithic or Bronze Age monuments which occur within the current boundaries of Exmoor National Park, with sub categories indicated where they occur. The present extent of the archaeological record shown in table 5.1 demonstrates that the understanding as described by Riley and Wilson North (2001) has developed considerably with the addition of a number subsequent discoveries (Riley 2007; Carey and Wilson North 2011; Riley 2013 & 2014) and more sustained fieldwork allowing further characterisation of these landscapes (e.g. Gillings *et al.* 2010, Gillings and Taylor 2011a&b, 2012; Gillings 2013, 2015a; Bray 2012). As chapter 2 highlighted, interest throughout the 20th century had predominantly been concerned with the geometric form of the lithic monuments, looking for a design rationale. It was only during the latter part of the 20th century that investigations started to look at the distribution and landscape context of the sites (e.g. Grinsell 1970; Eardley-Wilmot 1983; Riley and Wilson-North 2001). There has also been little interest in the nature of the materials the sites are constructed from, other than simply noting that they are usually circa 0.5m high and always built from the local stone (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 23).

Table 5.1: A summary of Exmoor's Neolithic or Bronze Age archaeological sites. Produced by the author using data from ENPA HER and other sources as indicated.

Monument type	Sub category	No	Source
Standing stones	Single or paired	43	Grinsell 1970; Riley and Wilson North 2001: 30, 178-179 (gazetteer lists 40); Riley 2007 (additional pair near New Trout Hill setting); Carey 2013: 12, figure 47 (identified a new single stone on Lanacombe)
Stone circles		2	Gray 1906 and 1928; Grinsell 1970; Riley and Wilson North 2001: 24
Stone settings	Quincunx Rectangular/ parallelogram Linear arrangement Other	60?	Chanter and Worth 1905 & 1906; Gray 1906, 1928, 1931; Grinsell 1970; Fowler 1982; Eardley-Wilmot 1983; Quinnell and Dunn 1992; Riley and Wilson North 2001: 27, 178 (list 57); Gillings *et al.* 2010, Gillings 2013 (59 with New Trout Hill setting); Morris and Bampton 2013 (identified possible linear setting at West Pinford)
Stone rows (9)	Long Short (6 Single, 2 Double, 1 hybrid)	4 5	Grinsell 1970; Riley and Wilson North 2001: 24; Riley 2007)
Ring cairns		24?	Quinnell 1997; Riley and Wilson North 2001: 35-37; Exmoor HER
Cairns (423?)	Clearance Burial Cairn cemetery Cairnfield Cairn Small ovoid	89? 167? 2 1 181? 3?	Exmoor HER (423?); Riley and Wilson North 2001: 40-45; Gillings 2013
Barrows		468?	Exmoor HER; Riley and Wilson North 2001: 32-40; Grinsell 1970
Cists	Freestanding total	7 10?	Riley and Wilson North 2001: 35; Grinsell 1970
Henge?	Class 1 henge or a disc barrow (identification not clear)	1?	Wainwright 1969: 126; Grinsell 1970: 25-26; Harding 1987: 121; Unproven claims based on AP's have also been made for two other hengiform enclosures (MEM22323 and MMO3260); Recent work has also drawn attention to the hengiform nature of the 'doughnut' on Porlock Allotment (Balmond and Wilson North 2013).
Enclosures	Hillslope	c.52?	Riley and Wilson North 2001:180; Exmoor HER
	Tor enclosure (Little Hangman)	1?	
	Enclosures	136?	
Settlement	House platforms/ hut circles	45	Riley and Wilson North 2001: 44
Field bank or boundary		59?	Exmoor HER

Monument type	Sub category	No	Source
Field systems		8? 44?	Riley and Wilson North 2001: 180 (8 systems); Exmoor HER lists 44.
Burnt mounds		3?	Carey and Wilson North 2011; Steinmetzer 2014; Exmoor HER MEM22492
Mortuary enclosure		1?	Exmoor HER MDE12830; HER MMO1932 also suggested as a possible example near to Kentisbury; MEM22585 unconfirmed site at Wintershead, may be a long mortuary enclosure or cursus type.
Lithic scatter		13	Based on data in chapter 4 (grouped in larger areas). Many more single finds and small scatters exist.
Hearths		2	Juleff and Bray 2007: 288-290; Dr L Bray pers comm. Hearths on Farley Hill and at Roman Load, both dated by radiocarbon to the Early Bronze Age.

To develop an alternative understanding, this thesis draws on data collected from a variety of other projects and sources, including the crucial insights from earlier work, complimented by original targeted fieldwork. Thinking through these traces of past activity as dynamic entities will serve to reframe the enquiry towards the multitude of processes of territorialisation and deterritorialisation which brought them into being, which were explained previously in chapter 3.

5.1.2 Definition of study region and case study areas

In order to keep the research feasible the overall extent of the project was limited to the current boundary of Exmoor National Park, with three case study areas chosen on which to conduct detailed analysis and fieldwork (figure 5.1 and table 5.2). These areas were selected by conducting an assessment of the monument distribution using the project's GIS database, in order to identify areas with particular concentrations and a variety of surviving forms. These areas were then assessed against three critically important factors. First, that these areas should focus on zones of unenclosed moorland where previous research has highlighted that the survival of prehistoric monuments is greatest, such as within the boundaries of the former Royal Forest of Exmoor or in other unenclosed moorland areas, for example Riley and Wilson-North's landscape study zone six (Porlock Allotment and Honeycombe Hill) (2001: 24 & 53). Second, the suitability of the evidence in an area to address the project's research questions, ensuring a diverse spread of broadly Neolithic and Bronze Age entities existed with a reasonable state of preservation. This also meant choosing zones where the potential of the limited pre-existing high resolution datasets (e.g. from excavations, surveys and LiDAR acquisition) could be utilised fully and was sufficient to help answer the research questions. A further consideration was the feasibility of undertaking new fieldwork within the areas chosen. Finally, the evidence within these areas needed to be sufficiently representative of Exmoor's later prehistoric field archaeology as a whole, to allow the potentially unique aspects of the former to be understood.

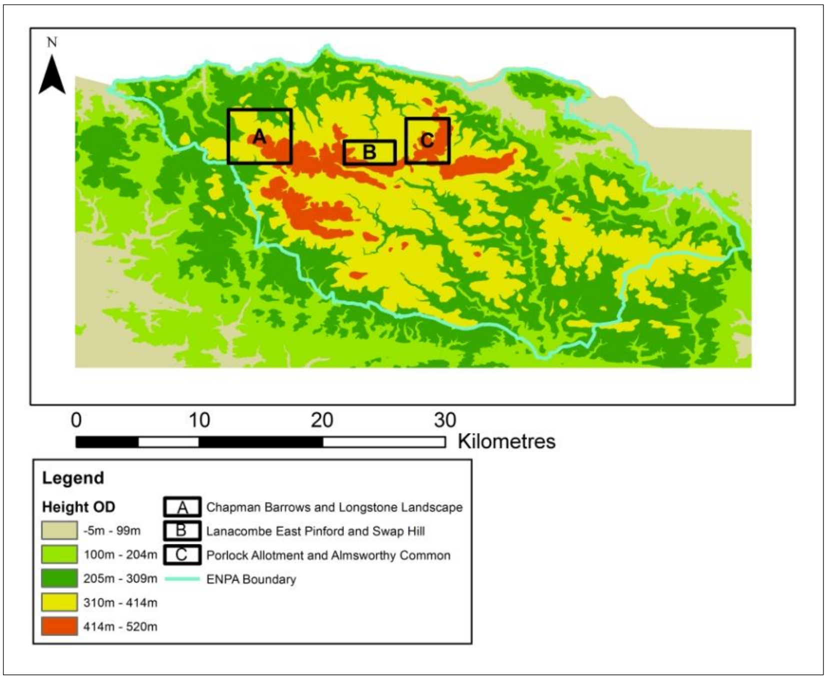

Figure 5.1: Location and extent of the study areas in relation to the topography of ENP. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service). T**he ENPA boundary data was originally derived from OS Strategi data and was downloaded from ShareGeo (**http://www.sharegeo.ac.uk/handle/10672/196).

Table 5.2: The size and location of the study areas. Area was determined from the shapefiles in figure 5.1 using the calculate geometry function in ArcGIS 10.

Area Code	Abbreviation	Location and name	Area in Km^2
A	CHLST	Chapman Barrows and the Longstone Landscape	22.27
B	LNEPSW	Lanacombe, East Pinford and Swap Hill	7.69
C	PA	Porlock Allotment and Almsworthy Common	12.54

Area B (figure 5.1 and table 5.2) was chosen specifically to investigate the landscape context of Exmoor's stone settings, with the excavation data available for Lanacombe (e.g. Gillings 2013) and a large number of stone settings and other features making this a profitable avenue for further detailed research (see Riley and Wilson North 2001: fig 2.19). Area A was selected due to an exceptional density of Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments of varied forms, as well as containing both unusual sites for Exmoor and highly regionally distinct entities, such as the megalithic Long Stone and several examples of the quincunx variant of Exmoor's stone settings. Porlock Allotment was included because it contains one of Exmoor's two stone circles, and extensive but fragmentary Bronze Age settlements and field remnants. This provided an opportunity to investigate the landscape context of stone monuments and their relationship to settlement structures and fields. Given the impossibility of defining what might have constituted a meaningful region in terms of Exmoor's prehistory, the study area boundaries were drawn as arbitrary rectangular zones using the project GIS, their size and exact location being defined sensitively according to the site distribution in each area. The intention was to achieve a large enough sample of features without excluding potentially important sites that were bisected or just outside of the boundary line.

The survival of prehistoric field archaeology within these areas is exceptional, compared to the extensively enclosed and improved areas of ENP, but it is still inconsistent and somewhat random, both in terms of the distribution of sites and in their state of preservation, which varies considerably. Thus later activities and disturbances have affected each study area differently in terms of the degree and nature of deterritorialisation taking place which has removed evidence of Neolithic or Bronze Age activity. Where necessary the specific details of the deterritorialising forces which have influenced the study zones are discussed in examining the distributions. Another issue is the visibility of remains in these areas which are covered with blanket peat, especially given the small scale of some of Exmoor's monuments. The extent to which monuments are hidden underneath the peat is impossible to assess at present, but it is common for the smaller of the stone monuments to disappear beneath the peat, only to re-emerge during periods of drier climatic conditions (cf. Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 3). The extent and nature of previous field investigations is also a key factor in understanding the distributions (see chapter 2).

5.1.3 Explanation of methods

The methods applied to the case study areas comprised a multi-stranded approach, which combined synthesis of existing data from surveys and excavations with analysis of existing datasets such as LiDAR and HER records; further complimented by gathering new datasets through original fieldwork. The methods are summarised in table 5.3 and table 5.4 (the reader is also referred to table 1.1 in chapter 1 for an explanation of the overall relationship between the projects research questions, methods and data sources). The following section explains the methods used in detail to investigate the case study areas. There are differences in the extent and intensity of fieldwork which was undertaken between the different areas, which were simply a result of the time and resources available within the scope of this project. Being able to effectively address the research questions was not dependent solely on the outcomes of this fieldwork, as the latter was undertaken in a targeted manner to complement and add new, potentially useful data to the synthesis of Exmoor's Late 3rd and Early-Middle 2nd millennium BC landscapes. Therefore the differences in fieldwork intensity between the study areas do not adversely affect, or impair the arguments presented in answering the research questions. Maximising the available opportunities to conduct new fieldwork was critically important, given the limited nature of previous fieldwork highlighted in chapter 2. The larger fieldwork projects (geophysics in the Longstone landscape and excavations at Lanacombe) were directed by the author as community archaeology projects with local and UOL volunteers, through the wider collaboration between the ENPA and the University of Leicester. The full details of the methods, rationale and results of these projects are located in separate grey literature reports on the accompanying CD-ROM, and only the critical results and key methodological details are reproduced here (Mitcham 2014a,b&c unpublished reports see appendices 2-4).

Table 5.3: Fieldwork methods.

Methods	Details
Independent site visits	Involved photographic and navigational grade GPS recording (Garmin 62s), collecting data for the catalogues and databases, examining the character of the sites in the field to assess previous interpretations.
Walkover survey	1) Unsystematic walkovers of areas close to known sites during visits and new features recorded with a navigational grade GPS. 2) Systematic group walkover survey at Porlock Allotment II (stone setting), notebook and DGPS recording of features.
Geophysical Survey	Resistivity and magnetometry surveys of targeted sites (with Geoscan RM15 and RM85 multiplexed resistance meters and a Bartington Grad 601 Fluxgate Gradiometer). Data processed using Geoplot, Archaeosurveyor and ArcGIS 10 software.

Methods	Details
Differential Global Positioning System (DGPS) Survey	A survey grade Topcon GPS+ (DGPS) system was used to geo-reference the geophysical surveys, surface features and excavation trenches to sub-centimetre level precision. Some surface features were located with a navigation grade GPS only, which are noted in the relevant reports (appendices 6 and 7).
Stone recording	A select group of stone monuments were subject to detailed metric and photographic recording (multiple elevations), measuring height, thickness and width using a hand tape.
Excavation	Targeted excavations were conducted at Lanacombe in 2014 following standard excavation methods and single context recording practices (Mitcham 2014 unpublished).

Table 5.4: Methodology for desk based synthesis and analysis.

Methods	Details
Synthesising existing records	Gathering data from HER records, unpublished reports and publications.
Interpretative catalogue	Creating a catalogue focusing on the visited sites to synthesize key data and explore potential territorialising and deterritorialising forces.
Building databases	Databases were built from the synthesised data to allow an exploration of the character, form and scale of the sites.
GIS mapping	Datasets were created and adapted from data sourced from ENP HER, English Heritage, Ordnance Survey and the Environment Agency; these were entered and processed in a project GIS model using ArcGIS 10.
GIS distribution and spatial analysis	ArcGIS 10 was used to produce maps of site distributions, and to conduct spatial analysis.

Methods	Details
GIS landscape analysis	DEM data from the Ordnance Survey was processed using the Hillshade, Slope, Aspect and Contour tools (Surface tools in Spatial Analyst toolbox) using ArcGIS 10, 10.1 and 10.3. LiDAR data was processed using the Hillshade tool in ArcGIS and the Sky-View Factor (SVF) analysis (version 1.11) tool using ENVI software.
GIS modelling of affective capacities	OS DEM data and Skyline tool in ArcGIS, to define zones of intensity in relation to upright stones.

5.2 Chronology - absolute dating evidence

Before exploring the character of the archaeology through assemblage theory, an overview of the current dating evidence will now be presented. This is then followed by a brief summary of the relative chronology that will be drawn upon in this thesis, based upon current understandings of the Neolithic and Bronze Age sequence in the SW peninsula of the U.K.

5.2.1 Assessment of absolute dating evidence

Although the extent of absolute dating evidence remains limited on Exmoor, an increased number of calibrated radiocarbon dates have been obtained since the last major published overview of Exmoor's archaeological record (see Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 182). It is important to note that there are well known difficulties in dating sites using absolute techniques in upland landscapes such as Exmoor. These are firstly that highly acidic soils and ground conditions make retrieving material suitable for scientific dating very difficult. Typically substances such as bone do not survive in open soil contexts in such acidic conditions. This, along with the fact that the few excavations that have taken place have tended to produce little in the way of material culture[17], has meant a reliance on obtaining dates from charcoal samples which again, have only rarely been recovered. The nature of such charcoal samples also poses significant limitations on what kind of understanding can be as all of the dates were derived from such samples, almost all of which were obtained from bulk soil sampling. These raise the issue of residuality, that the charcoal may be residual to the context, the date effectively providing the death of the parent tree rather than the date of the archaeological event in question (cf Gillings 2013: 50-51). Therefore the majority of the data available for Exmoor can at best provide loose *terminus post quem's* for the events (cf ibid: 50-51). Whilst there are significant limitations on the chronological resolution that can be obtained while working in an upland environment, a key point to understand is that despite these limitations, the dates so far obtained for Exmoor can add considerably to our understanding of the regional sequence. Being able to date an event to within a few hundred years is a considerable step forward, from otherwise being limited to placing monuments using assumption and analogy in long and vacuous blocks of homogenous time such as 'the Bronze Age'. Whilst the evidence is certainly too limited to develop any detailed or regionally specific model for Exmoor, a synthesis and critical evaluation of all the relevant dates concerning the Neolithic and Bronze Age for Exmoor has never been attempted[18] and it was therefore considered useful to bring this information together in this thesis, even though the contribution it can make to understanding the regional Neolithic-Bronze Age sequence is limited at present. A summary of the absolute dating evidence available from archaeological features that are Neolithic or Bronze Age at the time of writing (March 2016) is presented in figure 5.2 and table 5.5, whilst more detailed information regarding the data is reproduced in appendix 2.

[17] This strongly suggests that a large proportion of the material culture in question was made from organic materials that have not survived, although the lack of investigations is also an issue.
[18] Indeed, many of these dates have only been obtained in the last few years as part of various different projects.

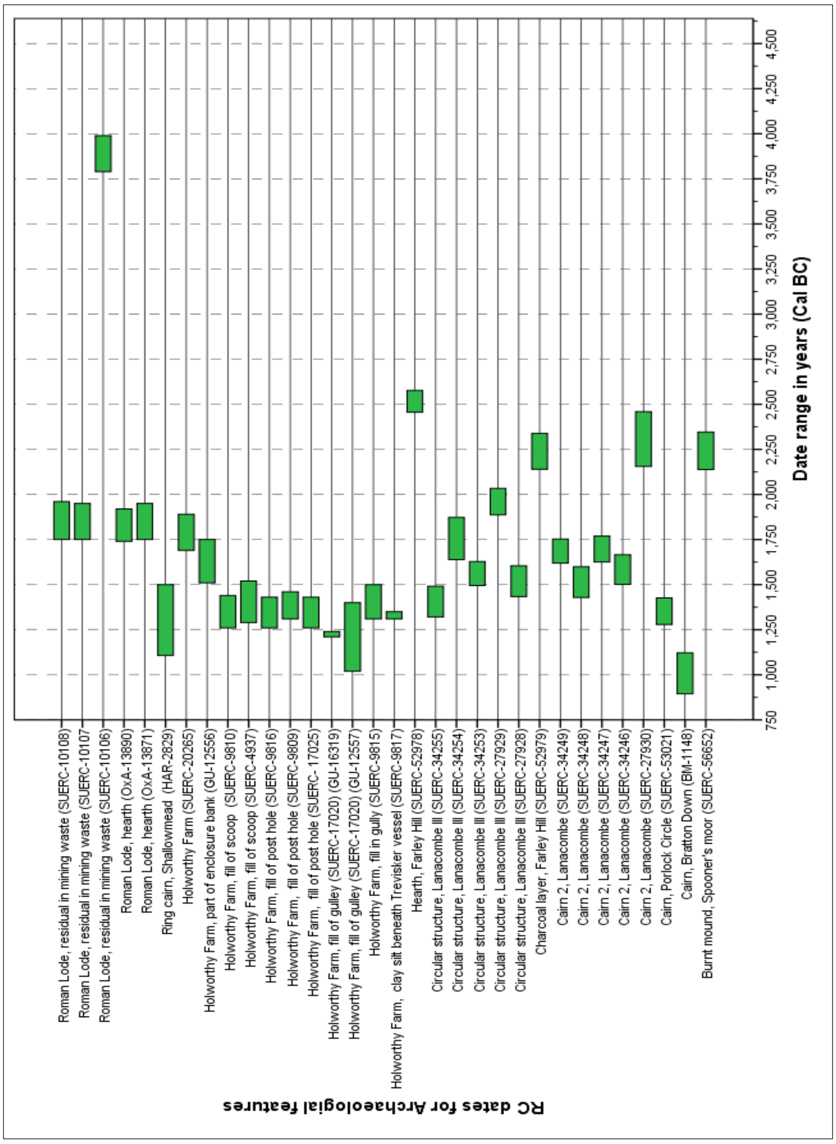

Figure 5.2: Range graph showing the distribution of radiocarbon determinations (the calibrated date range) for Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age based on the data in table 5.5.

Table 5.5: A summary of the available radio carbon dates for the Neolithic and Bronze Age on Exmoor. Data from Quinnell 1997, Juleff and Bray 2007, Green 2009a, Gillings 2013 & 2015a, Steinmetzer 2014. Note that the dates for Shallowmead and Bratton Down were recalibrated by the author using OxCal 4.2.4 with the IntCal13 atmospheric curve.

Summary	Material sampled	Context	Uncal BP	Cal BC	Probability	Lab code
Burnt mound, Spooner's moor	Charcoal, bulk sample	Body of burnt mound (103)	3804±32	2346-2138	94.8% at 2σ	SUERC-56652
Cairn 2, Lanacombe	Charcoal, bulk sample	Cist fill (009)	3835±30	2459-2155	95.4% at 2σ	SUERC-27930
Cairn 2, Lanacombe	Charcoal, Oak, bulk sample	Turf layer (305)	3300±30	1666-1501	95.4% at 2σ	SUERC-34246
Cairn 2, Lanacombe	Charcoal, bulk sample	Buried soil (309)	3405±30	1769-1625	95.4% at 2σ	SUERC-34247
Cairn 2, Lanacombe	Charcoal, bulk sample	Buried soil (309)	3220±30	1599-1429	95.4% at 2σ	SUERC-34248

Summary	Material sampled	Context	Uncal BP	Cal BC	Probability	Lab code
Cairn 2, Lanacombe	Charcoal, bulk sample	Turf layer (305)	3395±30	1753-1619	95.4% at 2σ	SUERC-34249
Cairn, Bratton Down	Charcoal, species not identified. May have been Oak sapwood from narrow roundwood or hazel, which were later identified from the same context.	Beneath a stone slab in a pit.	2832 ± 42	1122-895	95.4% at 2σ	BM-1148
Cairn, Porlock Circle	Charcoal, gorse	Buried soil (203), which sealed primary cairn material	3091 ± 29	1426-1279	95.4% at 2σ	SUERC-53021
Charcoal layer, Farley Hill	Charcoal, unknown	Charcoal rich layer (108)	3802±29	2339-2140	95.4% at 2σ	SUERC-52979
Circular structure, Lanacombe III	Charcoal, bulk sample	Burning layer (401)	3230±30	1604-1433	95.4% at 2σ	SUERC-27928
Circular structure, Lanacombe III	Charcoal, bulk sample	Buried soil (411)	3605±30	2034-1887	95.4% at 2σ	SUERC-27929
Circular structure, Lanacombe III	Charcoal, bulk sample	Burning layer (401)	3280±30	1628-1495	95.4% at 2σ	SUERC-34253
Circular structure, Lanacombe III	Charcoal, bulk sample	Compacted surface (408)	3425±30	1873-1639	95.4% at 2σ	SUERC-34254
Circular structure, Lanacombe III	Charcoal, single sample	Surface of (411)	3135±30	1491-1321	95.4% at 2σ	SUERC-34255
Hearth, Farley Hill	Charcoal, unknown	Layer of charcoal and burnt sandstone fragments (103)	3977±29	2577-2456	95.4% at 2σ	SUERC-52978
Holworthy Farm	Roundwood charcoal, *corylus*	Context 5372, fill of cut 5702, within fill 5399 of cut 5317	3460±30	1890-1690	Unknown	SUERC-20265
Holworthy Farm, clay silt beneath Trevisker vessel	Roundwood charcoal, *corylus*	Context 32074, clay silt beneath base of Trevisker ware vessel	3145±35	1350-1310	Unknown	SUERC-9817
Holworthy Farm, fill of post hole	Sapwood charcoal, *Quercus, Alnus*	Context 4261, fill of truncated post hole 4260	3085±35	1430-1260	Unknown	SUERC-17025
Holworthy Farm, fill of post hole	Sapwood charcoal, *Quercus*	Context 5124, fill of post hole 5112	3125±25	1460-1310	Unknown	SUERC-9809
Holworthy Farm, fill in gully	Roundwood charcoal, *Corylus* (unknown maturity)	Context 5214, part of fill 5213 in gully 5217	3135±35	1500-1310	Unknown	SUERC-9815
Holworthy Farm, fill of gulley	Roundwood charcoal, *Salicaceae, Corylus*	Context 4231, Fill of gulley 4208, sample 1 of 2	2990±60	1400-1020	Unknown	SUERC-17020 (*GU-12557*)
Holworthy Farm, fill of gulley	Roundwood charcoal, *corylus*	Context 4231, Fill of gulley 4208, sample 2 of 2	3060±35	1240-1210	Unknown	SUERC-17020 (*GU-16319*)
Holworthy Farm, fill of post hole	Roundwood charcoal, *corylus*	Context 5221, fill of post hole 5219	3085±35	1430-1260	Unknown	SUERC-9816
Holworthy Farm, fill of scoop	Roundwood charcoal, *corylus*	Context 4215, fill of shallow scoop 4214	3130±40	1520-1290	Unknown	SUERC-4937
Holworthy Farm, fill of scoop	Sapwood charcaol, *Fraxinus, sorbus* group (hawthron)	Context 5133, fill of shallow scoop 5132	3090±35	1440-1260	Unknown	SUERC-9810
Holworthy Farm, part of enclosure bank	Roundwood charcoal, *corylus*	Context 4108, burnt material at base of stoney band 4106, part of the enclosure bank	3360±50	1750-1510	Unknown	GU-12556

Summary	Material sampled	Context	Uncal BP	Cal BC	Probability	Lab code
Ring cairn, Shallowmead	Charcoal, Oak, from mature timbers.	Buried soil (33) under entrance stones (6)	3060±80	1500-1107	94.3% at 2σ	HAR-2829
Roman Lode, hearth	Sapwood charcoal, *Quercus*	In situ hearth, sample 1 of 2	3526±35	1950-1750	95%	OxA-13871
Roman Lode, hearth	Sapwood charcoal, *Quercus*	In situ hearth, sample 2 of 2	3508±29	1920-1740	95%	OxA-13890
Roman Lode, residual in mining waste	Charcoal, *Betula*	Later mining waste	5125±35	3990-3890 3880-3790	95%	SUERC-10106
Roman Lode, residual in mining waste	Charcoal, *Betula*	Later mining waste	3525±35	1950-1750	95%	SUERC-10107
Roman Lode, residual in mining waste	Charcoal, *Corylus* or *Alnus*	Later mining waste	3535±35	1960-1750	95%	SUERC-10108

The key issues at present are the limited number of radiocarbon dates and the fact that the largest groups of dates come from just three sites (the Lanacombe III circular structure, Lanacombe cairn 2 and the Holworthy Farm enclosure and multiple phase roundhouse). The dates from Lanacombe exhibit the limitations of dating charcoal samples from bulk sampling in term of residuality, with wide variation in the date ranges obtained from the same feature in the case of cairn 2, and from the circular structure at Lanacombe III. The dates from Holworthy Farm in contrast show greater conformity with the sequence in terms of the likely contemporaneity of features and less variation in terms of range (figure 5.2). As table 5.5 summarises, this included burning events that were potentially directly contemporaneous with the features, such as the in-situ burning of posts or the deposition of the burnt remains of posts back in the post holes that may have been connected to the abandonment of the site (see appendix 2; Green 2009a: 63 & 65, table 1). The differences in terms of the range variation of the dates between the Lanacombe and Holworthy Farm sequences are a reflection of the differences in the chronology of the burning events which produced the charcoal in relation the creation of the features, which became incorporated into the soil and then within structures such as cairn 2 at Lanacombe (see Gillings 2013: 47-51).

A comparison between the forms of Neolithic or Bronze Age monuments which occur on Exmoor (see table 5.1) and the types of monument which have any radiocarbon dates (table 5.5) demonstrates that only a few forms have any associated dating evidence, which is limited to four cairns, two hearths, an unusual circular structure, a single burnt mound and a hillslope enclosure (Holworthy Farm). There are no radiocarbon dates associated with any of the barrows, stone monuments or other features (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 23, 34). The dating evidence for the cairns is also very limited at present, with the date from the cairn adjacent to Porlock circle providing a *terminus post quem* for later remodelling of the structure and not the primary phase of cairn construction (Gillings 2015a: 21-22). The date from Bratton Down[19] is also problematic, due to the rather late date range, the antiquity of the radiocarbon determination, and issues with the records and methods under which the excavation was conducted (Quinnell 1997). Given that the date was obtained in the 1970's the same sample dated now might produce a different result, potentially earlier or later in time, given the continued improvements in the radiocarbon method and in calibration datasets[20]. Whilst this may suggest cairn construction continuing on Exmoor much later than in other areas (cf. Quinnell 1997: 15), on the basis of a single date and without any further data to verify this pattern, it is not possible to judge how reliable (if at all) or representative this is of activity on Exmoor as a whole.

Whilst the evidence in table 5.5 and figure 5.2 is far too limited to allow a regionally specific chronological sequence to be defined, it does allow a few inferences to be made. First, that the development of substantial post-built round house architecture appears to occur on Exmoor during the Middle Bronze Age, with a date range of 1430-1260 Cal BC for the Bronze Age phase of the post-built structure within the Holworthy Farm enclosure, although there is ambiguity caused by apparent Iron Age posts, possibly indicating widely separated phases of occupation (Green 2009a: 65 table 1,

[19] This is just outside of the current ENP boundary but was included here due to the paucity of available evidence and was obtained in 1975 (Quinnell 1997: 7).
[20] Although the original published dates for Bratton Down (BM-1148, 2832±42 BP, 1111-896 Cal BC) and Shallowmead (HAR-2829, 3060±80 BP, 1501-1187 Cal BC) (see Quinnell 1997) were recalibrated here using OxCal 4.2.4 and the IntCal13 atmospheric curve, neither differed greatly from the original results (Table 5.5)

88-89, 90-91 and table 5.5). The first development of hillslope enclosures may also occur around this time, with a *terminus post quem* of 1750-1510 Cal BC provided by a burnt deposit underneath the enclosure bank at Holworthy Farm, although it is uncertain whether this activity is residual or immediately prior to the construction of the bank (Green 2009a: 89, 65 table 1). Based on a few dates from a single site, it is impossible to know how representative this is of the development of enclosures and round house architecture (both enclosed and unenclosed) more generally on Exmoor. The earliest certainly dated monument at present is the recently discovered burnt mound on Spooner's Moor, which has been subject to a small intervention (Steinmetzer 2014). The construction of the mound probably took place during the Early Bronze Age, with a TPQ of 2346-2138 Cal BC provided by a date on charcoal from a bulk sample taken from the body of the mound (Steinmetzer 2014; table 5.5). The earliest certainly dated archaeological deposit (concerning the Neolithic and Bronze Age[21]) at present is an in situ hearth on Farley Hill, discovered accidentally by local volunteers[22]. A radiocarbon date of 2577-2456 Cal BC on a charcoal sample was obtained during recording carried out via the Exmoor Mires Project (table 5.5), suggesting the burning event took place during the Late Neolithic period[23]. Finally, in terms of broader chronological patterning it would be tempting to read figure 5.2 as indicating an upsurge in activity on Exmoor which begins during the Early Bronze Age and continues to expand in the Middle Bronze Age. This would be far too simplistic as the range of dated features and numbers of dates are too limited. All that can be said is that it begins to support the suspected general pattern suggested by the field archaeology and well established national patterning, that there is in general, an explosion of barrows and cairns during the Early Bronze Age and that round houses and enclosures start to occur in the Middle Bronze Age (see Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 34 & 46-49).

[21] A small number of earlier radiocarbon dates are available which relate to Mesolithic activity and are therefore not included in this assessment, which focuses on the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods only.
[22] The author is grateful to Derry Bryant for providing information on this feature.
[23] Although this date represents the death of the parent tree, not the burning event itself. It is unknown for example if old wood, either felled or fallen was burnt, or the relationship in time between this and the actual burning event.

Finally it is important to note that there is at present no dating evidence of any kind (absolute, or artefactual) associated with any of the other stone monuments on Exmoor (ie. the circles, rows, settings or standing stones). The few small scale excavations undertaken in recent years, as part of consolidation and conservation work in response to damage or disturbance of these fragile sites, have so far been unable to retrieve any dating evidence (Gillings *et al.* 2010; Gillings and Taylor 2011a&b; Gillings 2013; Gillings 2015a). It is therefore not possible to construct or present a detailed absolute chronology for the development of the landscapes in the study areas presented in this thesis. Instead, the limited absolute dating evidence will be drawn upon to inform a broad relative chronology, based on the regional Neolithic and Bronze Age sequence beyond Exmoor in the wider south west (Pearce 1981; Quinnell 1988; Johnson and Rose 2008; Lewis 2005; Jones 2008; Jones *et al.* 2011; Jones 2011a&b; Newman 2011; Jones and Quinnell 2013). Aspects of the chronology utilised in the South West Archaeological Research Framework are also drawn upon, although the applicability of this scheme to Exmoor is limited as it is largely derived from the burial record and associated metalwork typologies in Wessex (Pollard and Healy 2008: 76-78; Needham 1996: 124-136).

5.3 Establishing a relative chronology for the study areas

This section outlines briefly what the relative chronological framework used in this thesis consists of in the context of Exmoor (table 5.6). Due to space limitations, the detailed discussion of wider evidence in SW Britain upon which this is based has been moved to appendix 1. The chronological boundaries must remain fluid given that the stone monuments could be placed in several of the periods in table 5.6. There is also no evidence regarding the temporality of the stone arrangements themselves, as to whether they span a longer period of time with multiple building phases or shorter, more intense single-phase building events. In the following sections the potential chronology of the later prehistoric record will be briefly assessed.

Table 5.6: Summary of relative chronological sequence. See appendix 1 for discussion. Sources indicated in table.

Period	Features	Explanation
Early Neolithic (4000BC to 3000 BC)	Tor Enclosure? at Little Hangman (HER MMO1635) Mortuary enclosures ? (HER MDE12830, HER MMO1932, HER MEM22585).	• Little evidence, no certainly dated monuments. No Long Barrows known on Exmoor (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 34).
Later Neolithic (C.3000-c.2300 BC	Uncertain Henge on Parracombe Common (HER MDE1064)? Stone monuments (single, paired, circles, rows, settings)? Hearths? e.g. Farley Hill	• Limited evidence, other than residual material in later contexts, and the Farley Hill hearth which contained charcoal with a Late Neolithic date (see table 5.5). • No certainly dated monuments. At present the stone monuments cannot be dated other than by analogy and are generally thought to fall within the Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age period (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 23; Todd 1987: 103). Stone monument building may begin, but as a group these could span a lengthy period of time covering the Late Neolithic to Middle Bronze Age.
Early Bronze Age (2300?-1700BC	Major barrows and cairns? Cists? Stone monuments (single, paired, circles, rows, settings)? Burnt mounds	• Major barrows and cairns thought to date between 2500BC and 1500BC, none on Exmoor have any absolute dating evidence associated with them (see Jones 2011b: 75). • Quinnell reviewed the available radiocarbon dates for barrows which were predominantly from Cornwall with a few from Devon (e.g. Christie 1988; Quinnell 1988: fig 1, 5; Smith 1979) and concluded the majority of barrows and related monuments could reasonably be regarded as Early Bronze Age in the south west dating to between 2000BC and 1500BC with a peak around 1800BC; a picture which is still supported by the present data (Quinnell 1988: 4-5; Quinnell 1997: 34; Pollard and Healy 2008: 77; see Jones 2011a: 68-71 for an updated review). • Unclear when beaker or round barrow burials start to occur on Exmoor in absolute terms, or how this relates to the SWARF chronological framework derived from Needham's work (Pollard and Healy 2008: 76-77; Needham 1996).
Late Early Bronze Age (1700-1500 BC)	Stone monuments (single, paired, circles, rows, settings)? Barrows and cairns Earliest field structures? Burnt mounds	• Possible the linear settings, at least at Lanacombe, could be connected with the emergence of an Early-Middle Bronze Age field system (see chapter 2; Gillings 2013; 2015a,b,c).
Middle Bronze Age (1500-1200BC)	Stone monuments (single, paired, circles, rows, settings)? Stone spreads Stake and cairn defined boundaries? Barrows and cairns? Ring Cairns Field banks and clearance structures? Field systems Enclosures Hut circles and house platforms (enclosed and unenclosed) Activity structures (Lanacombe III, see Gillings 2013: 56-62) Burnt mounds Cairn elaboration or construction? (Cairn at Porlock Circle enhanced with a pavement circa 1426-1279 Cal BC)	• Development of an embryonic co-axial field system at Lanacombe defined by small cairns, stakes, stone spreads and shallow gulley's may have taken place during the Early-Middle Bronze Age, possibly predating the later more substantial complex field systems on Exmoor, perhaps as an equivalent to the pre-reave phases of activity that are known but poorly understood on Dartmoor (Gillings 2013: 65; e.g. Fleming 1988). • No dating evidence for the 10 or so known complex, extensive fieldsystems on Exmoor which sometimes include house platforms or hut circles, but it is likely that these field systems developed during the Middle Bronze Age and continued into the Late Bronze Age (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 40-42). Settlement evidence at Holworthy Farm dated to Middle and Later Bronze Age, with Iron Age occupation also present (see Green 2009a,b). • Radiocarbon dates from Dartmoor suggest the earliest occupation of the hut circles on Shaugh Moor from circa 1500BC, whilst at Bellever the discovery of trevisker pottery

Period	Features	Explanation
		suggested a date of 1500 to 1150BC, which was supported by radiocarbon dates from charcoal suggesting occupation between 1610-1400BC (Wainwright *et al.* 1980: 109-110; Quinnell 2009: 4; Newman 2011: 65; see DDHER MDV5919). • Given the Middle Bronze Age dates associated with the ring cairn at Shallowmead, the cairn at Bratton Down (see Quinnell 1997: 34) and the MBA elaboration event at the Porlock Circle cairn it is possible that the chronology of the construction of some cairn types (e.g. ring cairns or smaller cairns) is more long lived on Exmoor, although there is simply too little evidence to understand how representative this is of Exmoor's sites more widely (c.f. Quinnell 1988: 8-9).

5.4 Conclusion

The final point to emphasize regarding the very limited chronological framework that has been outlined in this section, is to note that parts of Exmoor's repertoire of particularly small standing stone configurations could also date to the Middle Bronze Age, something which could potentially be quite unusual, and further add to the regional distinctiveness of Exmoor's prehistoric archaeological record. Whilst it remains possible that the emergence of upright stone configurations on Exmoor, defined by very small stones and by the sheer variability that these arrangements exhibit, might be the result of a short but intense expansion of field structures across the moor during the Late Early, and Middle Bronze Age, there is perhaps a more parsimonious reading of the sequence. The reading favoured here is that the variety of Exmoor's upright stone arrangements taken together as a group (including the circles, rows, pairs and single stones) probably represent significant time depth from the Late Neolithic onwards, and the continued importance of the raising of small standing stones to the modes of landscape inhabitation practised over time into the Middle Bronze Age[24]. With that in mind, the remaining data chapters will explore the character of the archaeology of the project study areas.

[24] Of course, it is also a possibility that the stone arrangements could be predominantly Middle Bronze Age in date.

Chapter 6 Monuments in their artefactual context – lithic collections in ENP

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I seek to examine what the assemblages of worked stone can contribute to Exmoor's story. First the discussion will address the methods used and some limitations with working on the collections from ENP (Exmoor National Park). Second, an analysis of the technological and chronological character of Exmoor's lithic collections is presented, focusing on a case study of the material from Kentisbury Down. Due to space limitations, the detailed discussion of the other assemblages is presented in appendix 3. The discussion explores what the surviving lithic collections from ENP can tell us about people's lifeways and activities within the landscape during the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods, addressing research question three (see chapter 1 table 1.1). To this end, the overall aim of this chapter is to attempt to place the variety of standing stones, stone spreads, cairns and other features back into a living landscape of people and animals.

In following an assemblage approach to all forms of archaeological entities (monumental, artefactual or otherwise), this thesis is structured by scale. It begins with the smallest material traces from the period in question, the individual lithic finds and larger flint collections. The starting point for the argument presented is that stone did not exist as a homogenous concept in peoples' understanding of materials in prehistory in the same manner as our general understanding of stone in the present (Conneller 2011: 82). Following an approach based on Deleuzian assemblages, rejecting stone as a homogenous general entity will provide the key to exploring the most powerful aspect that Deleuzian thought can bring to studying materials, the mutability of things which enables them to move between assemblages and form a multitude of connections and relationships. Conneller's work has emphasized the transformative nature of materials, an understanding which is developed here in terms of the virtual (potential) and actual capacities of assemblages (2011). Understanding the heterogeneity, variability, as well as the virtual and actual capacities of the different stones available (to produce tools and build monuments) is critical in understanding why stone was a crucial facilitator (i.e. a prominent territorialising and deterritorialising force) in so many different aspects of people's lives in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods.

6.2 Methods – reconnecting lithics and monuments with assemblages

The analytical methods used in examining the lithic collections from ENP can be broadly split into three stages which are explained as follows:

6.2.1 Stage 1 (characterising the archival assemblages)

Following Lucas (2012: chapter 6) stage 1 involved carrying out an assessment of the archival assemblages in which the material resides in the present[25]. This means both in terms of identifying the physical whereabouts, scale and quantity of the material in museums, and other related components of these assemblages in terms of actual, physical and digital records (e.g. HER databases) that form connections through coding information related to the physical surviving artefacts. To achieve this a synthetic study of HER records and published sources was undertaken to create a new assemblage in the form of a database of Exmoor's lithic finds and to identify the current location of the material if possible (see appendix 9, on CD-ROM). This allowed an understanding to be developed of the deterritorialising and territorialising forces that led to the individual artefacts joining these archival assemblages (concerning collection, deposition, survival, loss of material) (see section 6.3) in order to inform the appropriate strategy and methods for stage 2 (the actual recording and analysis).

[25] Whilst this is very much inspired by Lucas, I have utilised the concepts from Deleuze and Delanda's works more explicitly and have not followed Lucas's framework specifically.

6.2.2 Stage 2 (recording and analysis)

The study of lithic finds for Exmoor intended to identify key technological and chronological indicators, as well as to quantify and systematically record the extent of the collections for the first time. Following stage 1 it was decided to focus on overall characterization using a macroscopic analysis following a level 1 recording methodology, which involved identifying each artefact according to a list of types and recording the frequency of each type. The full list of types and the recording system is produced in full in appendix 4. More detailed descriptive recording was undertaken for diagnostic items, and a notes column used to record further useful details not covered by a general level recording method. A smaller sample of the material was subjected to a more detailed analysis, recording the nature of the raw material. This stage involved elucidating, exploring and interpreting the assemblages of each object, the affective capacities of the individual objects in terms of physical attributes on the lithics, and the now virtual aspects that are sometimes apparent (the portions missing, aspects of knapping techniques or forms not present in assemblages). Unless otherwise stated, all the material was examined by the author in visits to the various institutions holding the material during 2013 and 2014. The one exception is the material from Kentisbury Down, for which a circa 10% random sample was recorded by the author which is discussed in section 6.4.1. The rest of the data for Kentisbury Down is secondary, using an existing catalogue of the material in the museum archives which has been edited and translated into the recording system used by this project. The issues this raises are discussed in section 6.3.4.

6.2.3 Stage 3 (interpreting the assemblages and exploring wider relationships).

This final stage involves detailed interpretation of the relationships between the objects and sub groups within the areas, in order to elucidate the potential details of the former lived assemblages of which the objects now act as residues, in terms of time and the nature of the activities being carried out. Whilst this is subjective, it allows an interpretation of what the lithic collections can add to our understanding of what people were doing in the landscape. These relationships are then examined at multiple scales focusing on exploring the wider spatial relationships within these assemblages, beginning with a case study of intra-site patterning using GIS at Kentisbury Down. This examines the relations between the field groups within the scatter, and the relationships to the topography and monuments in the area. The scale of analysis then changes to explore relationships between assemblages and the activities they represent at the regional scale of Exmoor utilising the data recorded for this project and the HER finds database. The final part considers the relationships between the scatter sites and the main case-study zones, exploring possible relationships between the activities associated with the monuments and farming, and those suggested by the lithics, taking into account the lack of spatial contiguousness between these different assemblages.

6.3 Limitations of the data - implications of territorialising and deterritorialising forces

6.3.1 Suitability for study and defining the scale of analysis

Due to the small size of the assemblages, a lack of information on the collection methods and only general area provenance information being available, it was decided not to record the weight variable for any of the assemblages. A detailed analysis of flint density at the intra site level was also not possible for any of the sites other than Kentisbury Down. Again due to the small size of the assemblages and the potential lack of comparability resulting from the uncertain nature of collection methods, the material was not considered suitable for statistical analysis. This is because the lack of regular collection grids or consistent methods makes it impossible to quantify the extent of the areas actually sampled (cf. Chan 2011: 124). Nonetheless, it was felt a systematic study of the collections could add considerably to understanding how people were living and inhabiting the landscape. Previous studies had either only briefly mentioned aspects of the lithic data in passing (e.g. Whybrow 1970: 8, Eardley-Wilmot 1983: 9, Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 20-21) or dealt with it in a limited manner (e.g. Grinsell 1970). The latter produced a brief catalogue with distribution maps of key diagnostic pieces such as stone axes or arrowheads, building a limited interpretation on their distribution which was discussed in detail in chapter 2 (Grinsell 1970: 22-27). No attempt was made to catalogue and study the complete assemblages in more detail.

6.3.2 Provenance and locational accuracy

The vast majority of the material could be provenanced to a general location or a specific site, with only a few pieces identified in the collections that had no locational information. A small flint collection held by the ENPA HER has good information with many grid references recorded with a navigational grade GPS. However, for much of the material in the A.V. Cornish collection (see below) the location is only recorded to general place names with some area grid references. Where material is located to a place or site name only a grid reference has been assigned as a general area reference using either information referenced in the HER records, a landscape feature or place, or the corner of the nearest OS grid square. This information was recorded in the database explaining the provenance used (appendix 11). Another issue was inconsistency in the spelling and format of site and place names on the original paperwork with the flints in the Cornish collection. The strategy employed to deal with this issue was to record the information as stated in the collection within the database, subsequently assigning new simplified locations, in effect grouping the material into the correct locations to remove inconsistencies. An explanation of which locations where grouped together and simplified is provided in appendix 11. As all the material discussed is derived from surface collection (with the exception of a few chance finds from non-archaeological excavation) it represents a complex palimpsest of activity. Therefore grouping the material together at a general area or site level to conduct the analysis is considered the most feasible scale at which the discuss the material.

6.3.3 Bias in collection methods and areas sampled

Finally it is crucial to acknowledge that the majority of the material studied derives from flint collections that were obtained during the first half of the 20th century, from the activities on and around Exmoor carried out by people such as A.V. Cornish and A.L. Wedlake (Grinsell 1970: 24). The material was collected prior to the methodological development of rigorous sampling, systematic field walking methods and recording methods for accurately locating lithic finds and scatters (e.g. Cherry *et al.* 1978; Gardiner 1984; Haselgrove *et al.* 1985; Richards 1985; Shennan 1985). Therefore little is known about the collection methods employed, which are likely to have been unsystematic in nature. This makes it difficult to assess the extent of collection bias towards more diagnostic and visually distinctive items (like arrowheads) as opposed to items of debitage. Whilst there is nothing that can be done about this problem (see Chan 2011: 125-127 for a detailed discussion), it is important to acknowledge this potential limitation. A more serious issue is that there is a clear bias in the distribution of the finds towards areas where collection has actually taken place (see Grinsell 1970: 24, 27). There is also a strong relationship between find locations and modern land use practices (with more material from improved and ploughed ground, as opposed to unenclosed moorland) which is discussed in section 6.6.1.

6.3.4 Categorisation differences in the Kentisbury Down assemblage

Combining an existing catalogue with a sample recorded for this project by translating the archive catalogue into the project's recording system has created some issues between the two datasets. The high proportion of irregular waste at Kentisbury Down is somewhat anomalous and requires explanation. This results partly from differences in the way the material has been categorised, between the sample recorded for this thesis and the catalogue of the remainder now held in the Museum of Barnstaple and North Devon (MBND) archives. The lithic recording system used for this project (see appendix 4) has more categories of debitage than appear to have been used in the rest of the catalogue, including blade-like flakes and fragmentary or unclassifiable cores. The result is that irregular waste is over represented in the overall assemblage composition and blade-like flakes under represented, as these were previously not specifically identified. The most likely explanation for the difference is the strategy of the author when categorising debitage to identify irregularly shaped pieces that are very thick, triangular or wedge shaped (sometimes classified as chunks) as flakes or specific types where possible, when they demonstrate the key characteristics (e.g. a bulb of percussion, striking platform, ripples). Such an approach was not followed in the existing catalogue. Instead, a more strict and narrow definition of flake morphology was probably followed, discarding items into the waste category which did not conform to the textbook flake definition as a broad and squat oval shape which is relatively thin compared to the length and breadth dimensions (e.g. Inizan *et al*. 1992:37-38, 87; Butler 2005: 32-33; Waddington 2004: 12, 14-15). Some proportion of the irregular waste would most likely have been placed into these other categories if the author's strategy was applied to the whole assemblage and many may actually be irregularly shaped flakes, such as wedge shaped chunks which tend to occur as a waste product of splitting and knapping small flint pebbles. Whilst the differences raise the issue of whether the sample was sufficiently representative, it was not feasible to re-record the entire assemblage just to correct this difference. Finally despite concerns the irregular waste category is over represented, there is a genuine concentration of this type in several of the fields.

6.4 Lithic evidence

In the following section a characterization and analysis of Exmoor's lithic collections is presented. The material will be discussed in general area groupings and following the organization of the overall thesis, it will be arranged in a scalar fashion beginning with the individual objects before moving on to discussing the assemblages at a wider landscape scale. It is critical when considering the interpretations in this chapter that the reader acknowledges that the assemblages are complex palimpsests and that none are stratified site assemblages from excavated contexts. The data in the tables presented are the objects which could be located and examined, unless otherwise indicated. Due to space limitations, only the assemblage from Kentisbury Down is discussed in detail in this chapter, the discussion of the remainder is located in appendix 3. Only a summary of the interpretations from these sites are included in table 6.9. Further relevant finds which are now lost or could not be examined in this study are discussed in the text were necessary or listed in the catalogue based on HER data. A number of assemblages were excluded from the analysis because they contain only diagnostic Mesolithic material. Due to the palimpsest nature of the assemblages, it is necessary in this chapter to acknowledge and identify the earlier (i.e. Mesolithic) aspects of the remaining assemblages whilst ensuring that the main focus of discussion is on the material which is broadly Neolithic or Bronze Age in date.

6.4.1 Kentisbury Down

The analysis here includes all the material from Kentisbury Down including items without a specific field area provenance. This is the only assemblage which permits analysis at an intra-site level (per field) and this is presented alongside a spatial analysis using GIS plots in section 6.5.

Debitage & overall composition

The assemblage comprises a total of 2625 pieces of predominantly worked pebble flint (including grey, black and brownish colours which were quite mixed across the fields), with a small quantity of chert (including Portland chert) (table 6.1). The catalogue in the MBND archive remarks on the similarity of a small number of pieces to flint from Orleigh Court in Devon. Raw material colour and patination extent were not recorded in detail for this project, but it was noted that much of the collection is in good condition with a significant portion having only a light, if any patination. Some degree of variation in patination was evident with some medium and more heavily patinated pieces present. Little sign of recent post depositional or plough damage was evident and some of the material could be mistaken for an excavated assemblage. The data here includes the site material currently on display in the MBND and those artefacts that lack a specific field provenance. Excluded are group of circa 30-40 small pieces from field 430, of which about half were tiny pieces of microdebitage and the remainder small chips circa 3-4mm in size.

The assemblage represents a significant palimpsest of activities and gatherings in the landscape in the Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age now dispersed through forces of deterritorialisation into a lithic scatter, a large aggregate assemblage the components of which are the surviving fragments of many prior assemblages, now almost entirely deterritorialised.

Table 6.1: Total lithic finds from Kentisbury Down (includes items on display and without a field reference)

	Frequency	Percent
Flake	850	32.4
Blade	168	6.4
Bladelet	7	0.3
Blade-like	10	0.4
Rejuvenation Flake Core Face/Edge	16	0.6
Rejuvenation Flake Other	22	0.8
Thinning Flake	3	0.1
Axe Sharpening Flake	1	<0.1
Crested Blade	1	<0.1
Irregular Waste	913	34.8
Other/Unclassifiable (General)	6	0.2
Hammerstone	4	0.2
Misc Retouched Flake	38	1.4
Utilised/Edge Damaged Flake	8	0.3
Burin	4	0.2
Microlith (Subdivide)	6	0.2
End Scraper	85	3.2
Side Scraper	35	1.3
End and Side Scraper	17	0.6
Disc Scraper	3	0.1
Thumbnail Scraper	76	2.9
Scraper on a Non-Flake Blank	5	0.2
Other Scraper	71	2.7
Awl	12	0.5
Piercer	4	0.2
Saw	1	<0.1
Denticulate	16	0.6
Notch	2	0.1
Backed Knife	4	0.2
Discoidal Knife	3	0.1
Plano-Convex Knife	1	<0.1
Other Knife	20	0.8
Single-Piece Sickle	2	0.1
Fabricator	5	0.2
Petit Tranchet Arrowhead	1	<0.1
Leaf Arrowhead	10	0.4
Chisel Arrowhead	4	0.2
Oblique Arrowhead	2	0.1
Barbed and Tanged Arrowhead	1	<0.1
Triangular Arrowhead	2	0.1
Hollow-Based Arrowhead	2	0.1
Unfinished Arrowhead/Blank	10	0.4
Fragmentary/Unclass/Other Arrowhead	8	0.3
Single Platform Blade Core	16	0.6
Bipolar (Opposed Platform) Blade Core	1	<0.1
Other Blade Core	19	0.7
Tested Nodule/Bashed Lump	33	1.3
Single Platform Flake Core	9	0.3
Multi-Platform Flake Core	13	0.5
Keeled Non-Discoidal Flake Core	1	<0.1

	Frequency	Percent
Unclassifiable/Fragmentary Core	26	1.0
Core on a Flake	1	<0.1
Double-ended Scraper	1	<0.1
Scraper & Knife	4	0.2
Edge Damaged/Utilised Blade	4	0.2
Retouched Blade	19	0.7
Axe Roughout/Axe Fragment	1	<0.1
Core Tool Fragment	12	0.5
Microburin	1	<0.1
Knife Fragment	4	0.2
Small Bifacial Core Tool	1	<0.1
Total	**2625**	100.0

The overall composition of the Kentisbury Down assemblage is dominated by irregular waste at 34.8%, which is probably over represented partly due to categorisation inconsistencies (see section 6.3.4) and flakes at 32.4% (table 6.1). Formal tools account for 16.7% of the overall assemblage and cores 4.5% (table 6.2). The proportion of retouched or utilised flakes and blades is also relatively low at 2.6%, considering that the proportion of retouched flakes or blades, typically fragmented within the small Exmoor assemblages, is usually very high. Finally, that the blades or bladelets make up 6.7% of the assemblage suggests a significant and deliberate blade producing strategy was being undertaken.

Table 6.2: The Kentisbury Down assemblage composition according to general types.

	Frequency	Percent
Flake	892	34.0
Blade or Bladelet	176	6.7
Blade-Like Flake	10	0.4
Misc. Waste	914	34.8
Cores	119	4.5
Retouched or Utilised Flake or Blade	69	2.6
Formal Tools	439	16.7
Other	6	0.2
Total	**2625**	100.0

Of the debitage, the flakes, blades and bladelets are fairly undiagnostic and typical of Exmoor with the small, sometimes rounded square flakes that result from working small flint pebbles. Many of the pieces were broken fragments and variation was evident in the quality of working in terms of the frequency of step fractures and crushing evident, along with variation in patination and raw material colour. Whilst cortex coverage was not recorded in detail in the sample analysed by the author both primary, secondary and tertiary flakes were present, whilst there was little evidence of any core preparation techniques being utilised. A small proportion of the blades and bladelets, including blade fragments and retouched blades were very finely worked examples which are likely to be Mesolithic, whilst some blades and blade-like flakes had been removed from opposed platform blade cores. This, along with the presence of a crested blade, further supports blade production taking place on the site. The presence of five microliths and a microburin conclusively proves Mesolithic activity and a single example of an axe sharpening flake was also recorded, which may have been detached from the edge of a flint axe (Neolithic) or a tranchet adze (Mesolithic). Finally flakes are evident within the assemblage which have been produced using a bipolar anvil technique to split pebbles, exhibiting bulbs and ripples emanating from both ends of the ventral surface (see Knight 1991: 63-65). Given the time depth of activity on Kentisbury Down (Mesolithic-Bronze Age) the debitage likely represents a palimpsest of considerable time depth from all of these different periods.

Cores

The cores at Kentisbury Down demonstrate that flake and blade production was taking place, consisting mostly of single platform and other blade cores (including a proportion of likely Mesolithic examples), along with both single and multiple platform flake cores (table 6.3). A single example of a bipolar opposed platform blade core is probably a Mesolithic item. The presence of large numbers of tested pieces or bashed lumps, and fragmentary or unclassifiable cores suggests a high intensity of core reduction taking place at Kentisbury Down in later Prehistory. The majority of the cores are not particularly diagnostic and a single example of a keeled non-discoidal flake core might conceivably relate to Neolithic activity.

Table 6.3: Core types in the Kentisbury Down assemblage.

	Frequency	Percent
Single Platform Blade Core	16	13.4
Bipolar (Opposed Platform) Blade Core	1	0.8
Other Blade Core	19	16.0
Tested Nodule/Bashed Lump	33	27.7
Single Platform Flake Core	9	7.6
Multi-Platform Flake Core	13	10.9
Keeled Non-Discoidal Flake Core	1	0.8
Unclassifiable/Fragmentary Core	26	21.8
Core on a Flake	1	0.8
Total	**119**	100.0

Tools

The formal tool element of the Kentisbury Down assemblage contains some 439 items (table 6.4 and table 6.5), a large quantity in the context of Exmoor where lithic assemblages are typically small. The assemblage also contains a reasonable quantity of diagnostic types which once again demonstrate considerable time depth to the scatter (including some Mesolithic material).

Table 6.4: Tool types in the Kentisbury Down assemblage

	Frequency	Percent
Hammerstone	4	0.9
Burin	4	0.9
Microlith (Subdivide)	6	1.4
End Scraper	85	19.4
Side Scraper	35	8.0
End and Side Scraper	17	3.9
Disc Scraper	3	0.7
Thumbnail Scraper	76	17.3
Scraper on a Non-Flake Blank	5	1.1
Other Scraper	71	16.2
Awl	12	2.7
Piercer	4	0.9
Saw	1	0.2
Denticulate	16	3.6
Notch	2	0.5
Backed Knife	4	0.9
Discoidal Knife	3	0.7
Plano-Convex Knife	1	0.2
Other Knife	20	4.6
Single-Piece Sickle	2	0.5
Fabricator	5	1.1
Petit Tranchet Arrowhead	1	0.2

	Frequency	Percent
Leaf Arrowhead	10	2.3
Chisel Arrowhead	4	0.9
Oblique Arrowhead	2	0.5
Barbed and Tanged Arrowhead	1	0.2
Triangular Arrowhead	2	0.5
Hollow-Based Arrowhead	2	0.5
Unfinished Arrowhead/Blank	10	2.3
Fragmentary/Unclass/Other Arrowhead	8	1.8
Double-ended Scraper	1	0.2
Scraper & Knife	4	0.9
Axe Roughout/Axe Fragment	1	0.2
Core Tool Fragment	12	2.7
Knife Fragment	4	0.9
Small Bifacial Core Tool	1	0.2
Total	**439**	100.0

Table 6.5: General tool types in the Kentisbury Down assemblage

	Frequency	Percent
Scraper	293	11.2
Arrowhead	40	1.5
Awl or Burin or Piercer	20	0.8
Knife	34	1.3
Polished or Flaked Axe	1	<0.1
Denticulate or Serrated Tool	17	0.6
Other Tool	93	3.5
Non Tool Component	2127	81.0
Total	**2625**	100.0

The most chronologically diagnostic tools are the arrowheads (table 6.6), which include a concentration of leaf-shaped types which date to the Early Neolithic with some possible overlap into the later Neolithic period (Butler 2005: 125). Middle and Later Neolithic types are also present which include chisel, petit tranchet and oblique forms (ID2151)[26], hollow based types which are Late Neolithic in date, along with a triangular arrowhead which has a broader date range covering the Neolithic and into the Early Bronze Age (Green 1980: 30, 100-101; Butler 2005: 158-162). Finally only a single barbed and tanged arrowhead dating to the Early Bronze Age was present. A number of unfinished arrowheads and manufacturing failures suggest the possibility of arrowhead manufacture on site, or perhaps the finishing stages from partly prepared blanks brought in from elsewhere. Of this group, ID 1574 may be a partly produced

[26] Numbers in the format 'ID2151' are flint identification numbers and refer to the relevant database (see appendices 10 and 11). ID2151 was a broken example.

chisel or petit tranchet on a core rejuvenation flake, with semi abrupt retouch on the RHS (right hand side) and LHS (left hand side) of the ventral surface, with two larger detachments removing the corners of the former proximal end of the flake. Example ID 327 was triangular piece with very limited invasive retouch on the LHS edge of the dorsal surface and shallow invasive retouch into the ventral surface, which could be either an unfinished triangular arrowhead, or a blank for the former, or alternatively for a leaf or hollow based point. There are also several examples of possible blanks for leaf shaped arrowheads (ID1016 and ID1925), an unfinished leaf that was probably abandoned during manufacture (ID1758) and an incomplete but unidentifiable transverse type (ID1758). A number of fragmentary or unclassifiable arrowheads also suggests the occurrence of both manufacturing failures and potentially breaks related to use, perhaps even including returning broken items from elsewhere for potential maintenance or recycling, important in a flint poor area. In terms of the Early Bronze Age material, the single barbed and tanged arrowhead (ID 2162) is a well worked example produced on grey chert, with barbs and a central tang formed by deep notches created by subsequent deep and large removals truncating into the piece. Damage was evident to the tip and a small part of one barb was missing. Neat invasive flaking was evident on one side with an unretouched central area and less regular flaking on the opposite face.

Table 6.6: Arrowhead types in the Kentisbury Down assemblage

	Frequency	Percent
Petit Tranchet Arrowhead	1	2.5
Leaf Arrowhead	10	25.0
Chisel Arrowhead	4	10.0
Oblique Arrowhead	2	5.0
Barbed and Tanged Arrowhead	1	2.5
Triangular Arrowhead	2	5.0
Hollow-Based Arrowhead	2	5.0
Unfinished Arrowhead/Blank	10	25.0
Fragmentary/Unclass/Other Arrowhead	8	20.0
Total	**40**	100.0

Knives

The knives at Kentisbury Down comprise 1.3% of the assemblage (34 examples, see table 6.5) and include several distinct diagnostic artefacts (table 6.7). Firstly several examples of backed knives may relate to the Early Neolithic activity suggested by the leaf shaped arrowhead group. There is also a Late Neolithic discoidal flint knife with a partly polished edge (on display at MBND; Riley and Wilson North 2001: 20, fig 2.6; Grinsell 1970: 25, 188; Whybrow 1970: 8). Further examples are also present including a discoidal greensand chert knife (ID2149) with a ground edge and a partly polished surface, with areas of damage visible that are less patinated than the rest of the piece. These large removals have formed a thick back to the knife, which may have happened at a later point given the slightly less patinated surface compared to the rest of the piece. Finally a third chipped knife made from orange-brown coloured chert and which has a slightly elongate shape in plan is also on display at the MBND. The occurrence of three of the Late Neolithic fancy knife types is exceptional for Exmoor and noteworthy in a national context. The discoidal examples are thought to be associated with Grooved Ware (Butler 2005:172). The presence of a single piece sickle may also be associated with the Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age activity and the plano-convex knives (at least one of the slug type) further suggest activity during the Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age period (e.g. Butler 2005: 170-172). Finally a small thin piece of Portland chert may be a medial fragment of an Early Bronze Age flint dagger. This exhibits exceptional knapping competency with fine bifacial pressure flaking overall over of both surfaces at ninety degrees to the central long axis.

Table 6.7: Knife types in the Kentisbury Down assemblage

	Frequency	Percent
Backed Knife	4	11.8
Discoidal Knife	3	8.8
Plano-Convex Knife	1	2.9
Other Knife	20	58.8
Single-Piece Sickle	2	5.9
Knife Fragment	4	11.8
Total	**34**	100.0

The remainder of the knives comprise a number on blades or flakes, some of which are broken or fragmented which are less diagnostic, especially given the extent of the palimpsest (Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age) suggested by the Kentisbury Down assemblage. Finally one example on a broken elongated flake of triangular shape with a short (circa 1cm) area of invasive retouch into the RHS edge of the ventral surface had visible sickle gloss (noted in the original catalogue). This occurred across this area of retouch, continuing to the LHS of the ventral surface and is clearly visible on the knife. demonstrating the exceptionally good condition of some of the material despite the surface context.

Scrapers

A total of 293 scrapers were present, by far the largest group of tools, which account for 11.2% of the whole assemblage (table 6.5). Scrapers are difficult items to date given their commonality to all periods of prehistory and especially given the time depth of the scatter at Kentisbury Down, but some limited observations can be made. The dominant scraper types were end (29%), thumbnail (25.9%) and other (24.2%), whilst a smaller concentration of side scrapers (11.9%) and a few end and side examples (5.8%) were present (table 6.8). The dominance of scrapers as the major tool type is a known general characteristic of Late Neo/EBA assemblages, whilst the dominance of end scrapers is common on Early Neolithic sites like Hurst Fen and side scrapers are also quite common on Early Neolithic sites (Clark 1960: 217-218; Wainwright and Longworth 1971: 164; Butler 2005: 125, 136, 166; Lawson-Jones 2015: 118). End and side types often predominate in Later Neolithic assemblages for example, at Durrington Walls (Wainwright and Longworth 1971: 164; Butler 2005; 176-177). However, end scrapers also occur in large proportions in the Later Bronze Age, and during the Mesolithic (Butler 2005: 105, 182). Therefore the Kentisbury examples are difficult to interpret and are likely to represent a complex palimpsest. Double ended scrapers are recognised as occurring in Early Neolithic assemblages and some are also present on Later Neolithic sites (Butler 2005: 125, 167) but a single example is difficult to date with any certainty. The thumbnail scrapers are recognised as an Early

Bronze Age or Bronze Age type and sometimes as Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age, commonly occurring in association with Beaker assemblages (Edmonds 1995: 140-141; Parker Pearson 1999: 78; Butler 2005: 168; Lawson-Jones 2015: 118). The overall pattern might suggest a significant concentration on scraping tasks during the Early Neolithic and Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age period activity on the site. The other category comprises a significant number of broken, fragmented or burnt examples that are difficult to classify. Within this group are also a number of other sub-types of scraper which include nosed (5), horned (3) and hollow based (1) examples, plus two other notched scrapers. The horned scrapers are diagnostic of Later Bronze Age activity whilst the nosed type occurs in multiple periods (Butler 2005: 183, 74, 125). There is limited interpretative potential here, but the general pattern of the scrapers broadly fits in the with the chronology suggested by the more diagnostic parts of the assemblage (i.e. Mesolithic, Early and Later Neolithic, Early Bronze Age activity) and also suggests a small Later Bronze Age presence.

Table 6.8: Scraper types in the Kentisbury Down assemblage

	Frequency	Percent
End Scraper	85	29.0
Side Scraper	35	11.9
End and Side Scraper	17	5.8
Disc Scraper	3	1.0
Thumbnail Scraper	76	25.9
Scraper on a Non-Flake Blank	5	1.7
Other Scraper	71	24.2
Double-ended Scraper	1	0.3
Total	**293**	100.0

Other Tools

This group contains a range of items, many of which are not particularly diagnostic and could relate to a number of the different periods of activity present at Kentisbury Down, such as the fabricators, scrapers and knives, retouched or utilised flakes and notches (table 6.1). The axe fragment is a flake from the tool tip with a tranchet removal on one side, which could be either from a Mesolithic or Neolithic tranchet tool (Gardiner 1990: 128-129; Butler 2005: 132-133). The microliths and micro-denticulates (see Butler 2005: 109-110) are certainly Mesolithic and a number of the retouched blades are Mesolithic in character, which includes some broken, notched and well worked examples, although given the time depth of the scatter, some of these may also be later. The use of blades continues well into later prehistory, and at Lanacombe on Exmoor, bladelets were still being produced in the 2nd Millennium BC (Gillings 2013: 60; Pollard 2013b: 67-69). Finally, the small bifacial core tool may be a chopper that could be associated with the Mesolithic or the Later Bronze Age activity. Most of the rest of the material comprised undiagnostic tool fragments that are unclassifiable.

6.4.2 Overview – understanding Exmoor's lithic collections through assemblage theory

Table 6.9 summarises the results of the preceding analysis, including the assemblages discussed in detail in appendix 3, which suggests the presence of activity within ENP during the Early and Later Neolithic, the Later Neolithic-Early Bronze Age and the Later Bronze Age. This both supports the impression given by the appearance of upright stone arrangements and other monuments during the Later Neolithic-Early Bronze Age, and perhaps into the Middle Bronze Age, whilst it also reveals evidence of activity during the Neolithic which appears little represented by the monumental record. During the final part of this chapter, the spatial arrangement of the activities suggested by the lithic assemblages will be analysed, in order to build an interpretation of practice in the landscape during the Neolithic and Bronze Age. In this the interpretations below will be drawn on to explore landscape use within ENP during the Neolithic and Bronze Age.

Table 6.9: A summary of the interpretation of the lithic assemblages

Site	Lithic frequency	Potential chronology	Interpretation (focusing on Neolithic/Bronze Age)
Kentisbury Down	2625	Mesolithic, Early and Later Neolithic, Later Neolithic-Early Bronze Age, Later Bronze Age	Arrowhead manufacture/maintenance, recycling and use. Strong focus on scraping (Neo, EBA & LBA forms) and cutting tasks, with unusual fancy knife forms (late Neo and EBA). Camp fires suggested by burnt worked items.
Woolhanger Estate	6	Undiagnostic, possible Mesolithic and Later Neolithic-Early Bronze Age	Uncertain. Slight evidence of short lived, task-assemblages, including EBA thumbnail scraper and debitage from close to an EBA disc barrow or henge.
Pinkery Exploration Centre	13	Undiagnostic, possible Mesolithic/Early Neolithic and Neolithic-Bronze Age	Uncertain. Primary and secondary reduction of pebble cores in later prehistory, slight trace of short lived task specific assemblage focusing on scraping in Bronze Age?
Ashton Farm	102	Early Neolithic? Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age, possible Middle Bronze Age	Primary, secondary and tertiary reduction of pebble flake cores (thick flakes present), task specific activity assemblages focusing on scraping (Late Neo-EBA, MBA?).
Porlock Area	24	Undiagnostic, Mesolithic? Late prehistoric, possible Later Neolithic-Early Bronze Age	Uncertain. Very slight residues of short lived task specific assemblages, connected to scraping tasks and some level of flake production?
Luccombe	8	Undiagnostic, but some Early Neolithic/ Neolithic	Residues of short lived, task specific assemblages involving scraping during the Neolithic-Bronze Age? Arrowhead use in the early Neolithic and axe fragment with possible use related break. Hunting and clearance activity?
Selworthy General Area	219	Mesolithic, Early and Later Neolithic, Early Bronze Age	Residues of scraping and cutting task-assemblages (Neo-BA), a focus on arrowhead use during the Early Neo, with use related and manufacturing breakage and some arrowhead production. Some arrowhead use during Later Neo and Early Bronze Age.
Field Above Selworthy Combe	78	Undiagnostic, possible Mesolithic, Neolithic-Early Bronze Age	Uncertain, perhaps small task specific activity-assemblages in Neolithic-Early Bronze Age?
Tivington Farm (Wootten Courtenay, Tivington)	58	Mesolithic, Early Neolithic, Later Neolithic-Early Bronze Age	Uncertain. Small level of Early and later Neolithic arrowhead use, possible preparation from partly finished blanks. Some task specific-assemblages involving scraping in the Later Neolithic-EBA?
Tivington and Periton	152	Undiagnostic, but Mesolithic and Neolithic, possible Bronze Age.	Uncertain. Possible axe maintenance, scraping and cutting tasks possibly during the Neolithic-Bronze Age. Triangular arrowhead with some damage, not clear if related to use-or manufacture.
Furzebury Brake	14	Undiagnostic, possible Neolithic and Bronze Age	Uncertain. Short lived task specific activity-assemblages, focusing on scraping with a few knives present (Neolithic-Bronze Age?).
Higher Hopcott	158	Late Mesolithic, Early-Middle Neolithic, Later Neolithic-Early Bronze Age	Task specific activity-assemblages, finishing blanks, utilizing small flakes and fragments. Focus on scraping and cutting tasks (including a sickle), arrowhead finishing and use (Early-middle Neolithic and possibly into EBA), use of a polished axe.
North Hill and Minehead Area	243	Possible Mesolithic, Middle-Later Neolithic, Early Bronze Age	Arrowhead use (B&T) during the EBA (& mid Neo) with possible use related damage and possible focus on scraping tasks, some evidence of further Late Neo-EBA activity (scale flaked knife fragment). Hammerstone's present and hard hammer knapping taking place.
Dunster Area	48	Mesolithic/Early Neolithic, Middle Neolithic, Later Neolithic-Early Bronze Age?	Short lived, task specific-assemblages. Tentative suggestion coastal lowland plain, and slopes of the uplands see activity during the Late Neo-EBA, including hunting and a focus on scraping tasks.
Withiel Farm	63	Undiagnostic, Mesolithic and possible Neolithic-Bronze Age?	Uncertain. Possible that the flake based industry relates to later prehistoric activity. Certainly different technological approaches evident (flake and blade production) with differences in knapping competency.

6.5 Spatial analysis – assemblages at multiple scales (intra site and landscape)

The focus of the final section of this chapter will now shift to a wider scale of analysis, in considering the assemblages of worked stone at the intra site, local landscape and wider regional scales. In doing so the analysis will seek to examine the relationships between the different assemblages, both in terms of the haecceities they consist of, and in terms of any spatial patterning. It will conclude with a discussion which draws the results of the chapter together and assesses what can be elucidated regarding landscape use in the Neolithic and Bronze Age on Exmoor (RQ3 see chapter 1 table 1.1).

6.5.1 Kentisbury Down – methods and provenance

The material from this site, located on the far western side of ENP in North Devon (figure 6.1) was collected by the Reverend H.G. Ayre from the 1960's up to 1980. The archival assemblage of this collection consists of the flints themselves, a map produced by the collector (see appendix 12), along with a previous record of the material in two parts (a database and photographic catalogue). No information survives as to the collection methods employed, whether systematic (e.g. line walking) or unsystematic. Given that the collection was undertaken by a local amateur during the 1960's and 1970's it is most likely to have been unsystematic. The flints were collected using the fields as the sampling unit and were numbered referencing their field of origin on H.G. Ayre's Map (see appendix 12). It was therefore possible to locate the material to a specific field and to examine any potential variation between these large sampling units. In order to achieve this Ayre's map was scanned and using ArcGIS 10 the map was georeferenced using OS mapping as a reference tying the field corners and lanes together. The centre points for the fields were calculated from polygons of the field boundaries which were traced from the OS data with the 'calculate geometry' function (or placed visually for irregularly shaped fields) and these centre points were used as an arbitrary basis to display the data. Ayre's map also recorded additional information including dates of collections, brief notes on quantities and what was found (crucially including areas that were searched but produced nothing), when ploughing episodes took place and areas of concentrations which were presumably sketched on rather than being surveyed in (see appendix 12). Whilst the areas of concentrations were marked it was not possible to associate these with specific groups of finds as they were grouped together for complete fields.

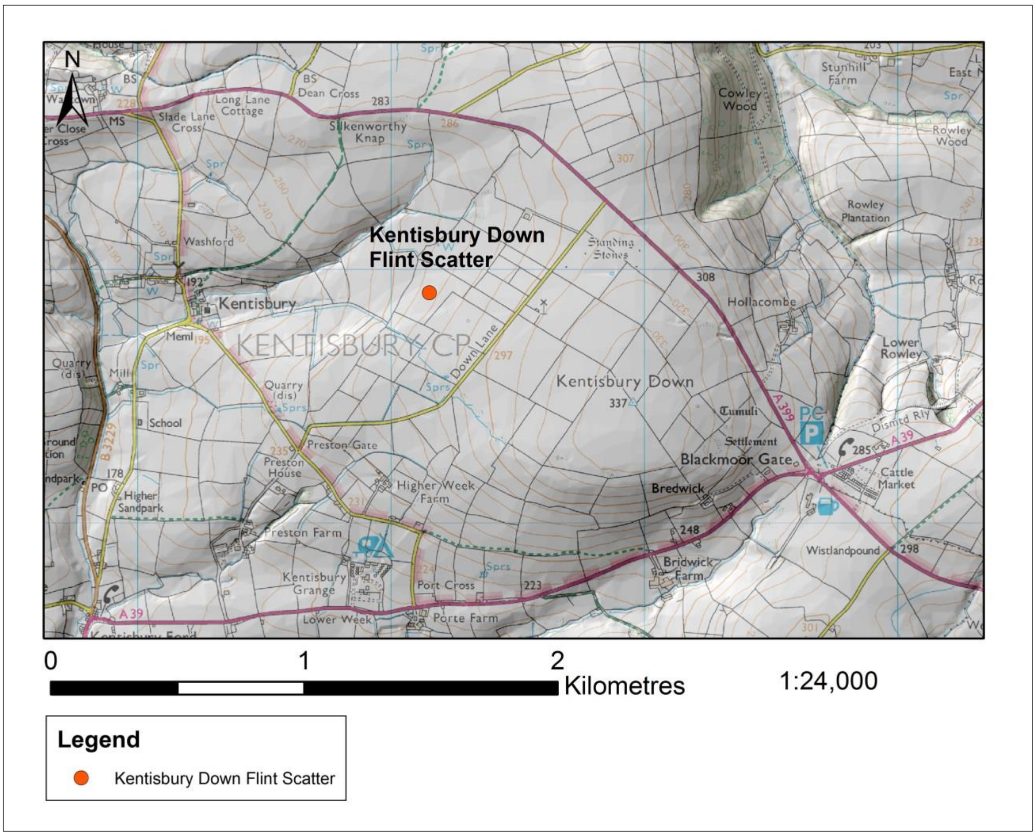

Figure 6.1: The location of the Kentisbury Down lithic scatter. Produced by the author using data from ENPA HER and Ordnance Survey. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

6.5.2 Issues and bias regarding spatial analysis

The main issue is that not all of the material from Kentisbury Down could be located to a specific field and included in the distribution plots. A number of groups of material had either no field number, or a field number which cannot be identified on the collector's map (table 6.10). This material is therefore not included in the spatial analysis, and care must be taken to consider what landscape activities are missing as a result. Approximately 80.19% of the complete collection is included in the plots here.

The spatial analysis which follows will focus on the overall patterning of the scatter as a whole and the relevant activity concerning the Neolithic and Bronze Age[27].

Table 6.10: The quantity of Lithics within the Kentisbury Down collection with and without a specific field provenance.

	Frequency	Percentage of the collection
Lithics with a specific field provenance	2105	80.19%
Lithics without a specific field provenance	520	19.81%
Total	**2625**	100%

The second problem is that the sampled area is an arbitrary section of Kentisbury Down, defined by which fields were being ploughed and areas that were accessible to the collector (see appendix 12). It was not defined by a specific sampling design or archaeological question and focuses on a loosely rectangular group of fields. Thus, it is a random sample of one part of a larger area and further lithic material could be present outside of this. In summary, there is a clear locational bias towards the north western area of Kentisbury Down.

6.5.3 Total volume of worked and burnt worked stone

The overall composition of the assemblages does demonstrate some variation in the artefact types which are present in the different fields (table 6.11), as well as in the overall volume of material across the sampled areas. The GIS frequency plot (figure 6.2) shows that there are clear concentrations of flint working (183-430 pieces) in fields 570/577, 430 and 316, with the largest concentration of activity in field 431. The high density present in field 431 comprises 601 pieces, with low density areas immediately north east and south east (fields 458 and 432), and a zone of medium

[27] A fuller analysis covering all represented periods will be the subject of a future publication.

density to the east (field 468). This patterning suggests there are concentrated zones of knapping activities with core and off-site areas present which represent repeated activity probably spread over a considerable time period. Ayre's map demonstrates that some fields in the area were searched (sometimes repeatedly) after ploughing and produced little or no material. These areas shown in appendix 12 can be considered as genuinely blank in terms of lithic material. Other areas were not sampled, so the pattern here is a partial picture of the distribution of activity zones. The frequency distribution of burnt worked pieces follows a strikingly similar pattern to the total volume of worked stone, with the differences in relative quantities between each field demonstrating the same pattern (figure 6.3).

Table 6.11: The frequency of lithics with a specific field provenance per field at Kentisbury Down

		316	430	431	432	458	468	523	582	586	570577	Total
Flake	Count	98	120	232	4	12	52	48	2		137	**705**
	%	31.7%	27.8%	35.1%	36.4%	66.7%	28.4%	37.8%	20.0%		38.7%	**33.5%**
Blade	Count	27	18	23			4	14	2		17	**105**
	%	8.7%	4.2%	3.5%			2.2%	11.0%	20.0%		4.8%	**5.0%**
Bladelet	Count	1						2			3	**6**
	%	0.3%						1.6%			0.8%	**0.3%**
Blade-like	Count		2	2		1					5	**10**
	%		0.5%	0.3%		5.6%					1.4%	**0.5%**
Rejuvenation Flake Core Face/Edge	Count	1		2		1						**4**
	%	0.3%		0.3%		5.6%						**0.2%**
Rejuvenation Flake Other	Count	1	2	2	1			1			2	**9**
	%	0.3%	0.5%	.3%	9.1%			0.8%			0.6%	**0.4%**
Thinning Flake	Count	2									1	**3**
	%	0.6%									0.3%	**0.1%**
Crested Blade	Count										1	**1**
	%										0.3%	**<0.1%**
Irregular Waste	Count	80	195	281		1	81	47	2		117	**804**
	%	25.9%	45.2%	42.5%		5.6%	44.3%	37.0%	20.0%		33.1%	**38.2%**
Other/ Unclassifiable (General)	Count	1				1	1					**3**
	%	0.3%				5.6%	0.5%					**0.1%**
Hammerstone	Count						1				2	**3**
	%						0.5%				0.6%	**0.1%**
Misc Retouched Flake	Count	1	9	6	1		1				4	**22**
	%	0.3%	2.1%	0.9%	9.1%		0.5%				1.1%	**1.0%**
Utilised/Edge Damaged Flake	Count		2			1		1			2	**6**
	%		0.5%			5.6%		0.8%			0.6%	**0.3%**
Burin	Count	2		2								**4**
	%	0.6%		0.3%								**0.2%**
Microlith	Count		1	3							1	**5**
	%		.2%	.5%							.3%	**0.2%**
End Scraper	Count	13	12	18	1		4				12	**60**
	%	4.2%	2.8%	2.7%	9.1%		2.2%				3.4%	**2.9%**
Side Scraper	Count	5	6	9			5	1			2	**28**
	%	1.6%	1.4%	1.4%			2.7%	0.8%			0.6%	**1.3%**
End and Side Scraper	Count	1	5	3	2		2		1		1	**15**
	%	0.3%	1.2%	0.5%	18.2%		1.1%		10.0%		0.3%	**0.7%**
Disc Scraper	Count						1				2	**3**
	%						0.5%				0.6%	**0.1%**
Thumbnail Scraper	Count	14	15	10			7		2		10	**58**
	%	4.5%	3.5%	1.5%			3.8%		20.0%		2.8%	**2.8%**
Scraper on a Non-Flake Blank	Count		3				1		1			**5**
	%		0.7%				0.5%		10.0%			**0.2%**

		316	430	431	432	458	468	523	582	586	570577	Total
Other Scraper	Count	7	9	17			6	4			9	**52**
	%	2.3%	2.1%	2.6%			3.3%	3.1%			2.5%	**2.5%**
Awl	Count	1	2	3			1	1			2	**10**
	%	0.3%	0.5%	0.5%			0.5%	0.8%			0.6%	**0.5%**
Piercer	Count	2										**2**
	%	0.6%										**0.1%**
Denticulate	Count	5	2	3							3	**13**
	%	1.6%	.5%	.5%							0.8%	**0.6%**
Notch	Count		1		1							**2**
	%		.2%		9.1%							**0.1%**
Backed Knife	Count	2	2									**4**
	%	0.6%	0.5%									**0.2%**
Discoidal Knife	Count		1							1		**2**
	%		0.2%							100.0%		**0.1%**
Other Knife	Count	6	1	5		1	1				2	**16**
	%	1.9%	.2%	0.8%		5.6%	0.5%				0.6%	**0.8%**
Single-Piece Sickle	Count			2								**2**
	%			.3%								**0.1%**
Fabricator	Count		1	1							2	**4**
	%		0.2%	0.2%							0.6%	**0.2%**
Leaf Arrowhead	Count	1		2			1				1	**5**
	%	0.3%		0.3%			0.5%				0.3%	**0.2%**
Chisel Arrowhead	Count		2									**2**
	%		0.5%									**0.1%**
Oblique Arrowhead	Count		1									**1**
	%		0.2%									**<0.1%**
Hollow-Based Arrowhead	Count		1									**1**
	%		0.2%									**<0.1%**
Unfinished Arrowhead/ Blank	Count		2	1			2	1			2	**8**
	%		0.5%	0.2%			1.1%	0.8%			0.6%	**0.4%**
Fragmentary/Unclass/Other Arrowhead	Count		1								4	**5**
	%		.2%								1.1%	**0.2%**
Single Platform Blade Core	Count	6		2			2	2			3	**15**
	%	1.9%		0.3%			1.1%	1.6%			0.8%	**0.7%**
Bipolar (Opposed Platform) Blade Core	Count	1										**1**
	%	.3%										**0.0%**
Other Blade Core	Count	3	1	4				2			2	**12**
	%	1.0%	.2%	.6%				1.6%			0.6%	**0.6%**
Tested Nodule/ Bashed Lump	Count	13	4	11			2	2				**32**
	%	4.2%	.9%	1.7%			1.1%	1.6%				**1.5%**
Single Platform Flake Core	Count	4	1	3								**8**
	%	1.3%	.2%	.5%								**0.4%**
Multi-Platform Flake Core	Count	1		5			5				1	**12**
	%	0.3%		0.8%			2.7%				0.3%	**0.6%**
Keeled Non-Discoidal Flake Core	Count	1										**1**
	%	.3%										**<0.1%**
Unclassifiable/ Fragmentary Core	Count	1	2	4	1		1				1	**10**
	%	0.3%	0.5%	0.6%	9.1%		0.5%				0.3%	**0.5%**
Core on a Flake	Count	1										**1**
	%	0.3%										**<0.1%**
Double-ended Scraper	Count						1					**1**
	%						0.5%					**<0.1%**
Scraper & Knife	Count	1	1					1			1	**4**
	%	.3%	.2%					0.8%			0.3%	**0.2%**
Edge Damaged/ Utilised Blade	Count	2	1									**3**
	%	0.6%	0.2%									**0.1%**
Retouched Blade	Count	1	3	1			1				2	**8**
	%	0.3%	0.7%	0.2%			0.5%				0.6%	**.4%**
Axe Roughout/Axe Fragment	Count			1								**1**
	%			0.2%								**<0.1%**
Core Tool Fragment	Count	2	2									**4**
	%	0.6%	0.5%									**0.2%**
Knife Fragment	Count			3								**3**
	%			0.5%								**0.1%**
Small Bifacial Core Tool	Count	1										**1**
	%	0.3%										**<0.1%**
Total	**Count**	**309**	**431**	**661**	**11**	**18**	**183**	**127**	**10**	**1**	**354**	**2105**

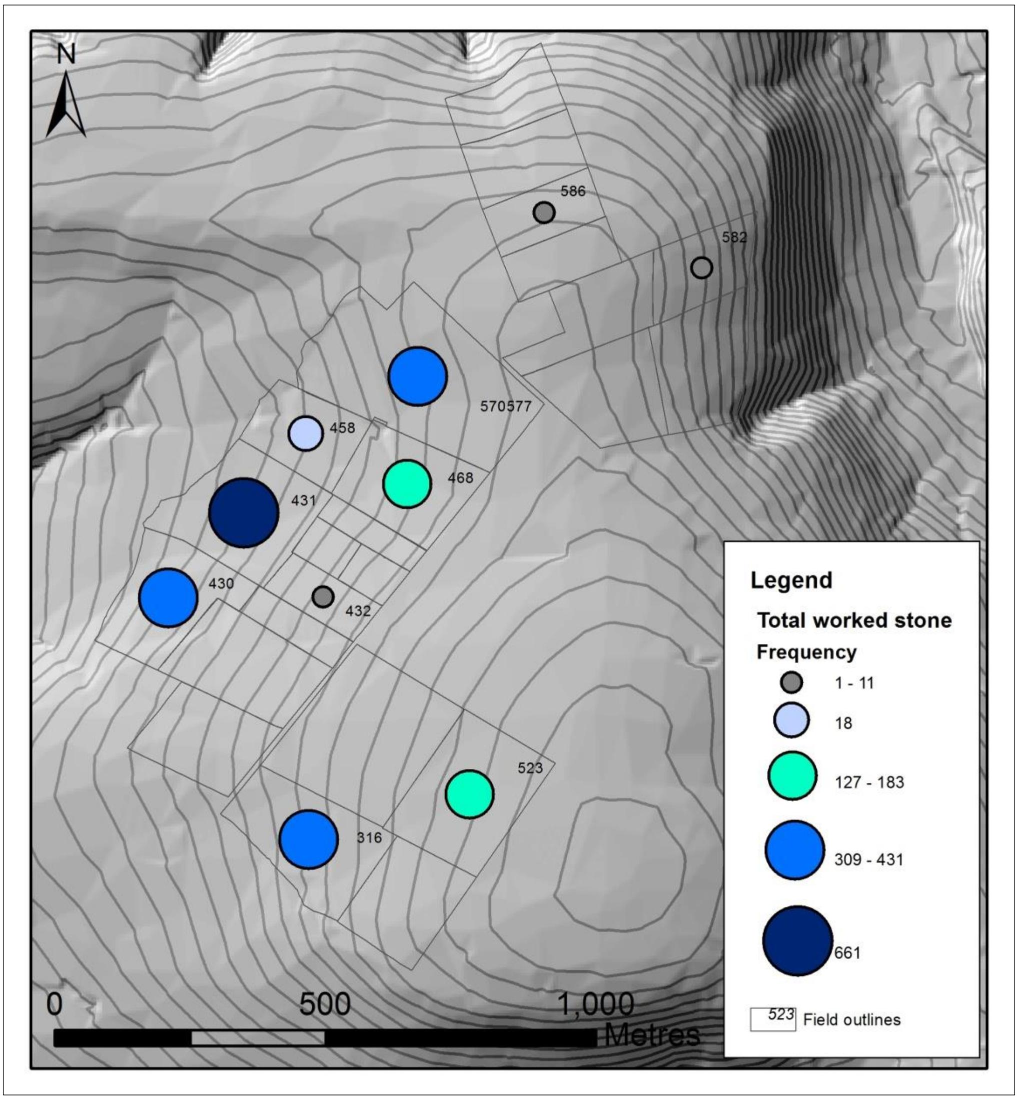

Figure 6.2: Distribution plot of the total worked stone at Kentisbury Down. This and all subsequent maps in this chapter (figures 6.3-6.13) were produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey and the Museum of Barnstaple and North Devon, unless otherwise stated. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

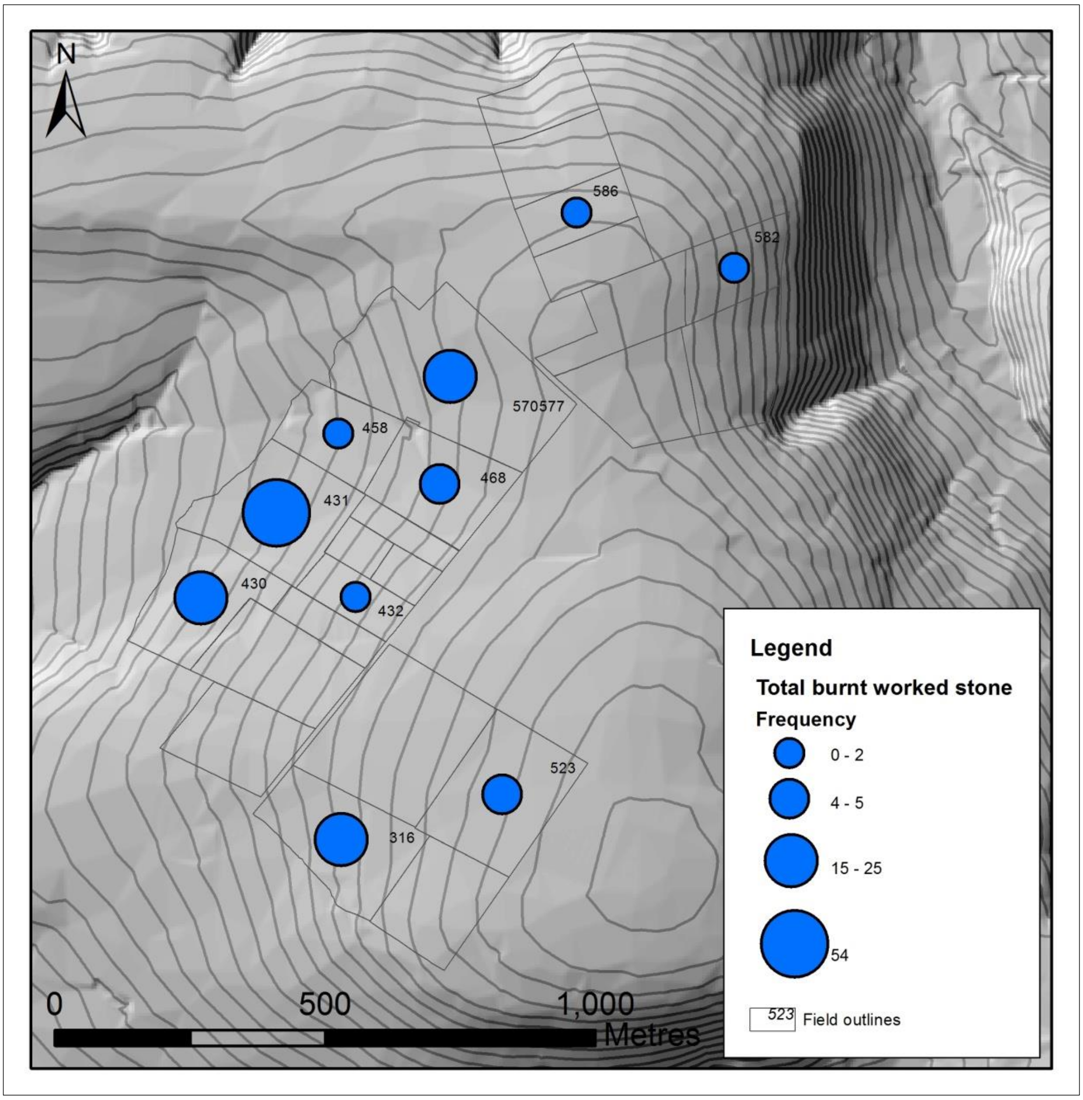

Figure 6.3: The distribution of burnt worked stone at Kentisbury Down. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

6.5.4 Debitage – flakes, blades and cores

The distribution of flakes mirrors the pattern for the overall total volume, suggesting a foci of flake production in field 431, smaller concentrations in fields 570577, 430 and 316 and low counts in the remaining areas. Clearly much of the debitage is not diagnostic in terms of chronology, and given the time depth of the scatter it is not possible to separate out what portion of the flake debitage belongs to a specific period, so not all of the material in figure 6.4 may derive from Neolithic or Bronze Age activity. Given that some concentration of diagnostic Early Neolithic, and Later Neolithic-Early Bronze Age forms occur in fields 431 and 430 an unquantifiable but significant portion of the flakes may well derive from knapping episodes during these periods. The blade distribution pattern is similar to flakes in terms of the relative proportions between fields, and increased counts mirror the increases in flake numbers and the total volume of material (figure 6.5). Blades do however account for a considerably smaller portion of the assemblages than flakes in all the fields except field 582 (table 6.11). Only a small number of bladelets were present and occur in discrete areas although these are probably underrepresented[28] (table 6.11). In terms of the cores, there is a concentration of blade cores in field 316 and 570577, with a few in the other fields (figure 6.6 and table 6.11). With regard to flake cores, concentrations are notable in fields 431, 316 and 468 (table 6.11; figure 6.7 and figure 6.8). Higher counts of tested nodules/bashed lumps in fields 316 and 431 suggests a higher intensity of initial core reduction taking place in these two fields (table 6.11). A notable concentration of irregular waste in fields 431, 570577, 430, 316 and 523 is likely a result of working small pebble cores, resulting in frequent small, triangular or wedge shaped chunks and fragments being produced (figure 6.9). Some of this waste, could also derive from Later Bronze Age activity with a notable increase in fragmented or unclassifiable pieces known to occur in assemblages from this time period (Butler 2005: 179-181).

[28] The existing catalogue does not appear to have classified bladelets specifically, these were recorded as blades. Bladelets were recorded separately in the sample recorded by the author.

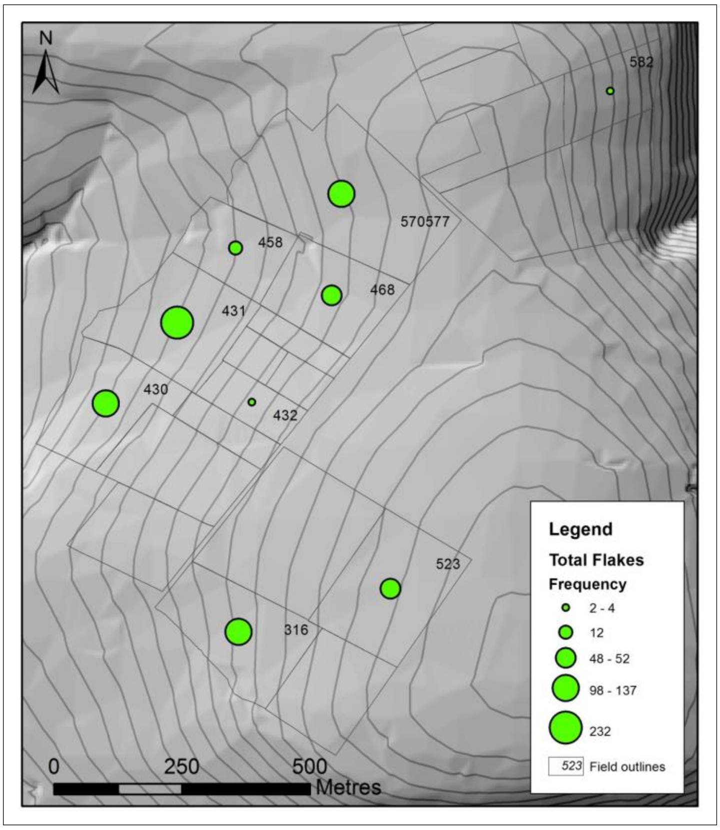

Figure 6.4: The distribution of flakes at Kentisbury Down. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

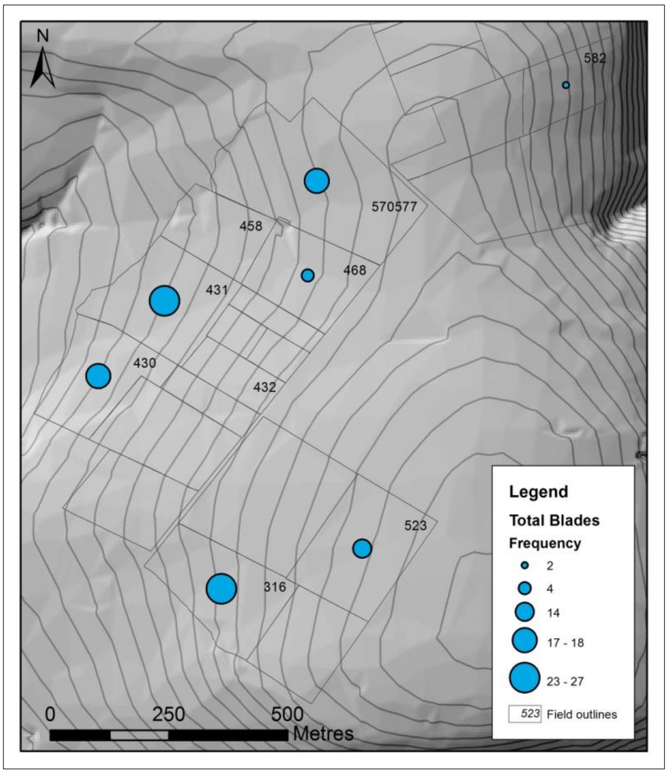

Figure 6.5: The distribution of blades at Kentisbury Down. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

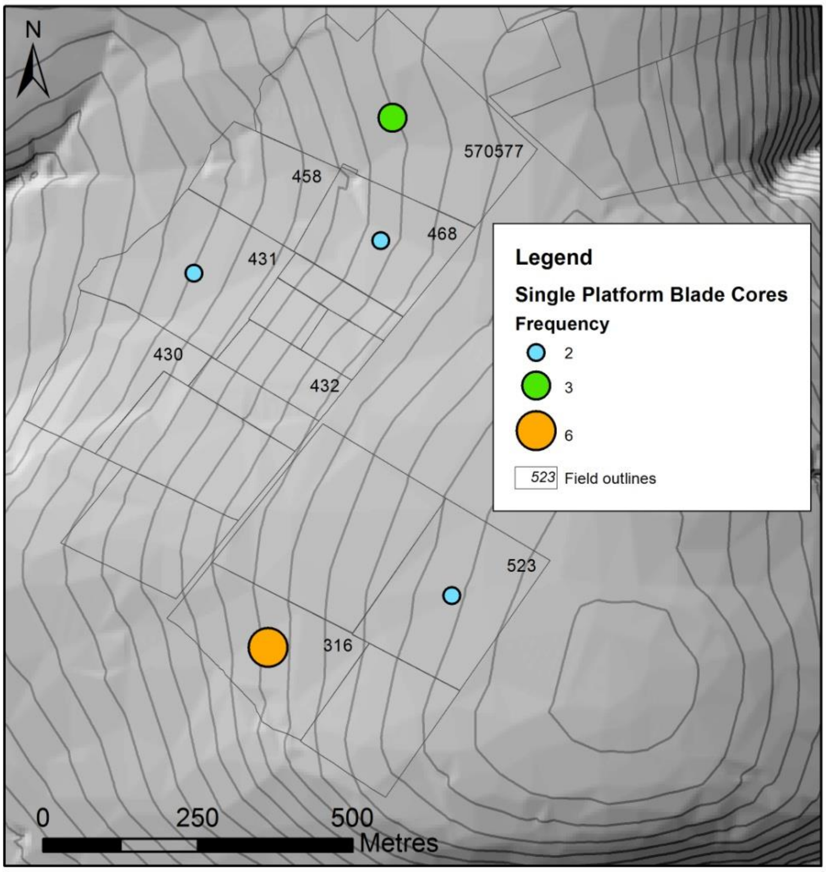

Figure 6.6: The distribution of single platform blade cores at Kentisbury Down. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

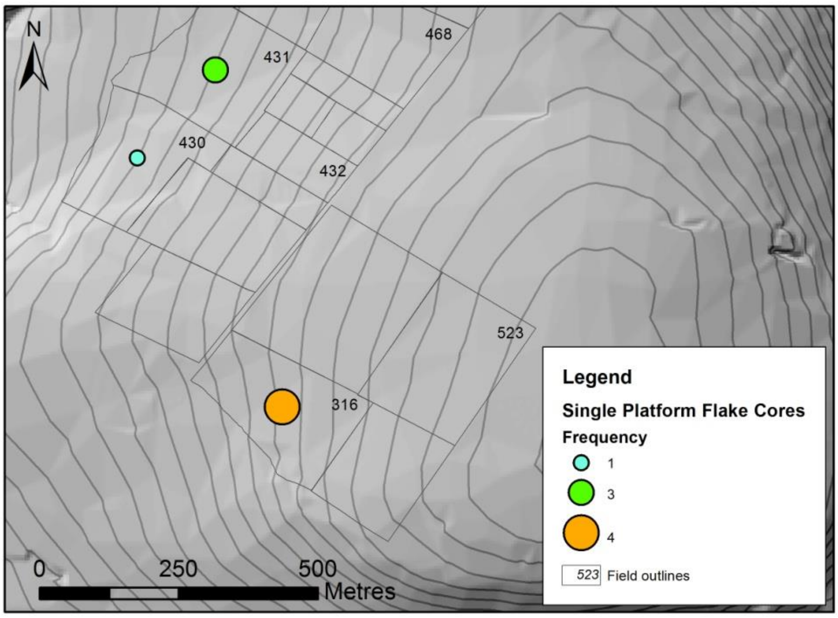

Figure 6.7: The distribution of single platform flake cores at Kentisbury Down. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

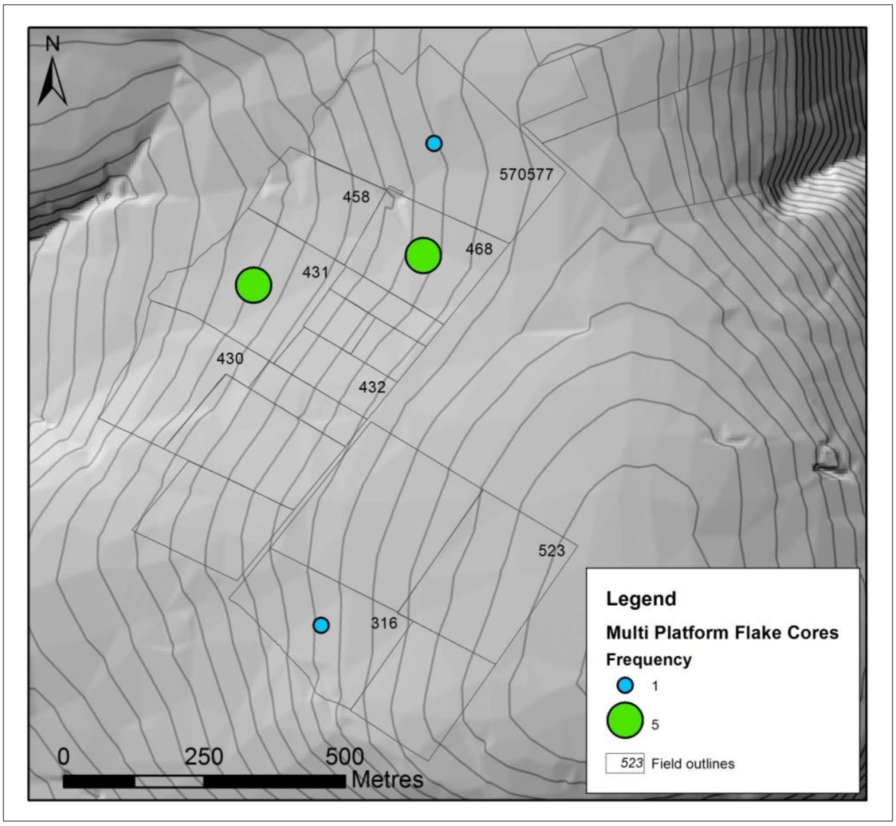

Figure 6.8: The distribution of multiple platform flake cores at Kentisbury Down. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

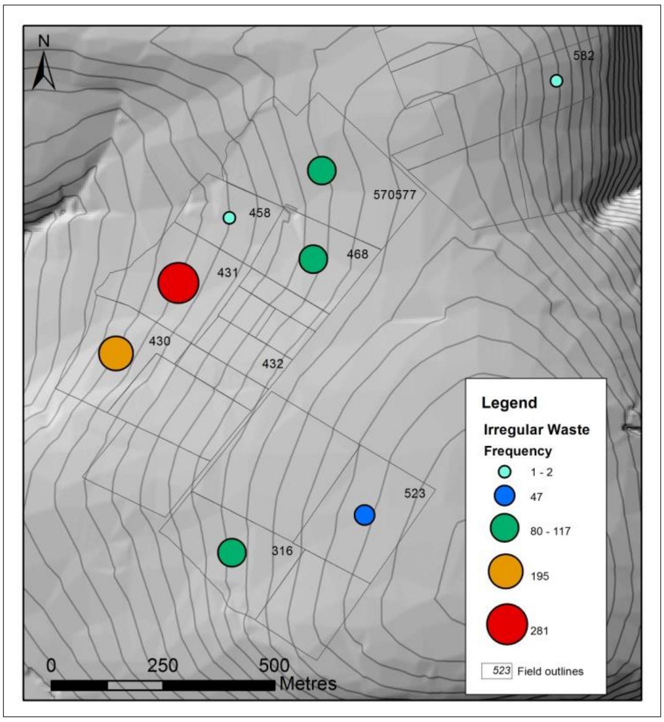

Figure 6.9: The distribution of irregular waste at Kentisbury Down. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

6.5.5 Tools – diagnostic implements

Whilst the tools which are diagnostic in terms of specific periods almost always comprise a low proportion of the total assemblage, their spatial distribution at Kentisbury Down does suggest a degree of spatial differentiation. Of the arrowheads that can be identified to a specific field (see table 6.12 for the others) there is a distinct group of broadly Later Neolithic types such as oblique and chisel forms, including unfinished arrowheads or blanks, fragmentary or other examples in Field 430 (figure 6.10; table 6.11). Early Neolithic Leaf types occur in fields 431 and 468 along with unfinished examples or blanks, with a single leaf in field 316 (figure 6.10; table 6.11). Of the three discoidal knives within the collection, Ayre's map records two locations for discoidal polished knives (figure 6.11 and appendix 12), although identifying these to the specific knives is somewhat uncertain.[29] The single barbed and tanged arrowhead from Kentisbury Down is unfortunately not identifiable to a specific field, and the lack of spatial information for some parts of the collection make it difficult to determine if a foci of specifically Early Bronze Age activity is present. The distribution of thumbnail scrapers (sometimes argued to be an EBA form) shows that these are found throughout the fields, with the biggest concentrations in fields 430 and 316, with small groups in 431 and 570-577 (figure 6.12). The caveat, however, is how reliably the Bronze Age thumbnail forms can be confidently distinguished from similar Mesolithic scrapers (see Butler 2005: 105-108, 168) given the Mesolithic activity represented within the Kentisbury Down scatter.

[29] It would appear the example found initially in the 1960's (Whybrow 1970: 8; Grinsell 1970: 25, 188; Riley and Wilson North 2001: 20, fig 2.6) originated in field 430, indicated on Ayre's map by the original type writer label (appendix 12 and figure 6.11). Another polished discoidal knife is marked in field 586 and appears to be a later hand written addition to the map. The latter may be the second polished example within the collection found possibly in 1980, which is not discussed by Grinsell (1970), Whybrow (1970), or by any later mention of the site (Earley Wilmot 1983; Riley and Wilson North 2001). A third 'chipped' chert knife which appears to have originated from the site (on display in MBND) also has no specific provenance within the scatter.

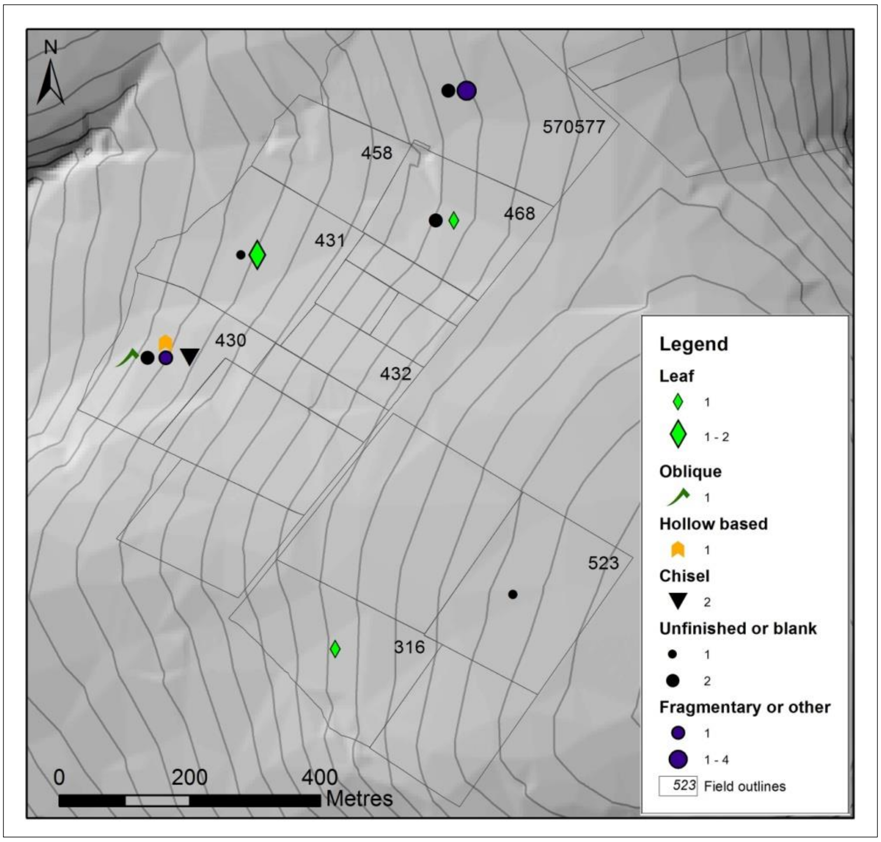

Figure 6.10: The distribution of arrowhead types at Kentisbury Down. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

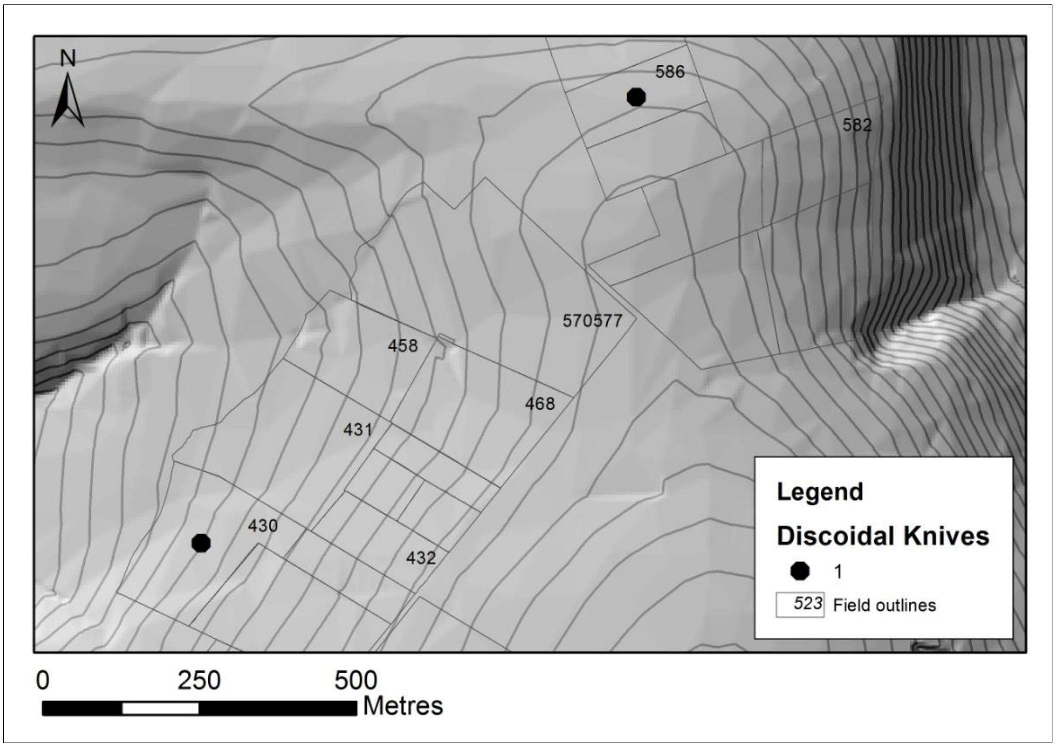

Figure 6.11: The locations of the Discoidal Polished Knives. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

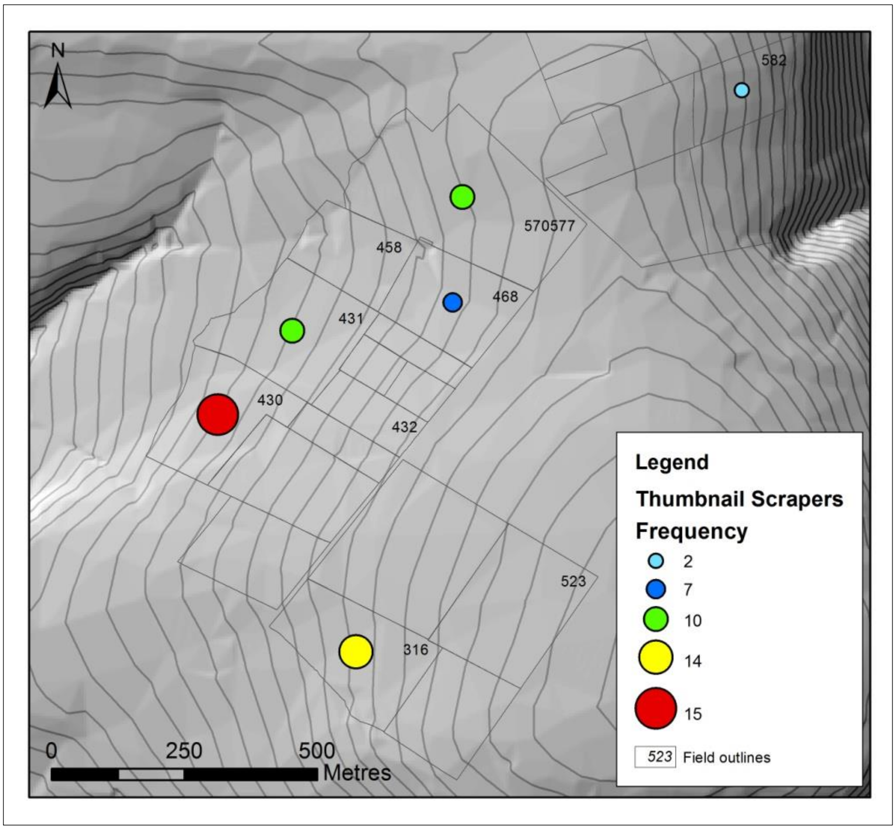

Figure 6.12: The distribution of thumbnail scrapers at Kentisbury Down. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

6.5.6 Discussion and interpretation

Despite the fact that not all of the material can be plotted, the analysis of the spatial distribution of the lithic assemblages does allow a tentative interpretation of the nature of landscape activities on Kentisbury Down to be built. This interpretation is summarised in table 6.12 and is an attempt to elucidate the former assemblages of activity, at the scale of the individual tasks taking place on Kentisbury Down through time. The interpretations given inevitably focus on the more diagnostic elements within the assemblages, as the flakes, blades and the majority of the cores are difficult to date given the Mesolithic to Later Bronze Age chronology of the scatter as a whole. Mesolithic activity is noted for clarity, and to highlight the difficulties in making a specific interpretation of such a complex palimpsest of activity. The discussion that follows draws on this task oriented scale, from the individual flint haecceities to consider the wider connections and assemblages operating at different interconnected scales.

Table 6.12: A reconstruction of the becoming and dispersal of assemblages with description of their character through time at Kentisbury Down

	Time				
Field No	**Mesolithic**	**Early Neolithic**	**Later Neolithic**	**Early Bronze Age**	**Later Bronze Age**
430	Microlith, some blades and a blade core		Arrowhead making, use/maintenance (mid-later neo types), scraping and cutting tasks, incl. polished discoidal knife.		
	Concentration of undiagnostic debitage (flakes/blades, cores etc)				
431	Microliths, microdenticulate, some blades, bladelets, blade and bladelet cores.	Arrowhead making, use/maintenance.		Concentration of scraping tasks (thumbnail scrapers?)	
	Scraping (end, side) and cutting tasks (denticulates, knives)?				
		Sickles used for harvesting cereal cultivars or grasses?			
		Axe maintenance and use?			
	Undiagnostic concentration of debitage (flakes, blades, flake and blade cores)				
432	Scraping tasks, debitage and a few retouched pieces.				
468		Arrowhead making/use (broken leaf)?	Arrowhead making? (possible unfinished chisel)		Scraping tasks (horned type)
	A few blades and blade cores?				
		Scraping tasks during Neo-BA (end, side, disc, double), thumbnail (probably BA)			
	Undiagnostic debitage (flakes, flake cores etc), hammerstone				
458	Undiagnostic (debitage, other knife)				
570/ 577	Microlith, blades/ bladelets, crested blade, blade and bladelet cores	Arrowhead making, use/maintenance (several possible incomplete leafs)	Arrowhead making, use/maintenance (several unfinished, possibly unidentifiable transverse types.	Concentration of scraping tasks (thumbnail scrapers?)	
	Scraping tasks (end, side, end and side, disc, other), some debitage (flakes, cores), hammerstones				
523	Some blades, bladelets and blade cores?	Arrowhead making/use (abandoned leaf blank)			
	Scraping tasks (some possible Neo-BA forms) and undiagnostic debitage				
316	Blades, bladelet, blade and bladelet cores			Scraping tasks? (thumbnail)	Scraping tasks (horned type)
582	Undiagnostic debitage and a few scrapers, awl, scraper and knife.				
586			Polished discoidal knife		
?	Microlith (1), microburin (1)		Flaked discoidal knife (chert)	Flint dagger, prestige or status object? (broken fragment)	
		Arrowheads (making/use) (5 leafs)	Arrowheads (making/use) (2 chisels, 1 PTD, 1 oblique, 1 hollow based	Arrowhead use (broken B&T)	
		Triangular arrowheads (2)			
			Plano-convex knife (1)		

6.5.7 Assemblages in the Early Neolithic

The patterning suggests the core area of the scatter is located in fields 430 and 431. Activity during the Early Neolithic appears to focus on fields 431, 468 and 570-577. It appears that in some areas the same part of the landscape (fields 431, 570571 and 523) was being utilised as during the preceding Mesolithic. The early Neolithic activity consisted of leaf arrowhead manufacture, maintenance and their potential use in fields 431, 468, 570-577 and 523. Given the presence of unfinished, broken and potentially abandoned manufacturing failures, it is likely that the activity consisted of more than just the loss of points during hunting activities. In fields 468, 431 and 570-577 it is likely, although impossible to define quantitatively, that a portion of the scrapers, knives and debitage derives from Early Neolithic activity. The presence of sickles suggests the harvesting of cereal cultivars or grasses, and longer term engagement with the landscape, potentially during the Early or Later Neolithic. Thus these residues represent former assemblages which may have consisted of short and longer term camps on the North Western side of Kentisbury Down, which involved scraping and cutting tasks, cultivation, harvesting and processing activities and perhaps the maintenance, production or repair of arrowheads in camps or inhabitation areas. The presence of burnt worked flint, whilst difficult to interpret due to the palimpsest of activity taking place here, may partly derive from now deterritorialised assemblages of timber and kindling, fires used for cooking, and the discard or deliberate destruction of flint artefacts through their consumption and deterritorialisation by the fires.

At wider scales these assemblages were connected across space and time; flints used in farming activities such as in cultivation and the processing of products such as skins, wool, meat, cereals moving frequently between different assemblages associated with these tasks. The presence of an unusual rectangular enclosure to the south west of the known scatter area has been tentatively suggested as a possible mortuary enclosure (ENP HER MMO1932; figure 6.13) although little is known about the site. Given that Early, Middle and Later Neolithic activity is suggested in the scatter by the arrowheads, this unconfirmed feature may represent further field evidence of the, at present, almost absent Neolithic record in terms of monuments or structures. Potential relationships therefore may have existed between the activity-assemblages (as historical processes) through which the scatter emerged, and wider activity assemblages possibly in the pre-barrow landscape which might be connected to mortuary practices. Although this is extremely tentative, the site would benefit from future research. All that can be said with certainty at present is that the rectangular enclosure likely predates the medieval or post medieval field wall which overlies it (ENP HER MMO1932).

At increasing scales the repeated camping in the area was probably a part of longer term assemblages of seasonal movement with different assemblages forming and dispersing in different places involving people, animals, materials and things. This might have focused on periods of clearance and cultivation, the movement of herds towards the uplands of Exmoor during the spring and summer months, as well as peoples participation in large scale gatherings, perhaps at Tor Enclosures such as Little Hangman on Exmoor's coast, or further afield, well beyond Exmoor, to take part in communal activities at long barrows or gatherings at causewayed enclosures.

6.5.8 Assemblages in the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age

A particular focus of later Neolithic activity is located in fields 430 and 570-577. The assemblages here were characterised in field 430 by the production, maintenance and use of arrowheads of Middle and Later Neolithic forms, along with an unquantifiable portion of the scrapers. That cutting tasks were carried out is implied by the Late Neolithic polished discoidal flint knife (ID2166). The 570-577 field assemblage implies a similar picture with the production, maintenance and use of unidentifiable transverse arrowhead types, with scraping and cutting tasks implied by a portion of the scrapers and knives which is impossible to quantify here given the time depth of activity in this field. There is a concentration of undiagnostic debitage, flake cores and hammerstones in field 570-577 suggesting core reduction and knapping taking place in this field but given the presence of Mesolithic, Early and Later Neolithic, and Bronze Age forms it is impossible to define which period this might belong to with any degree of certainty. The Early Neolithic activity in field 431 may well also continue into the later Neolithic-Early Bronze Age. Smaller assemblages of Later Neolithic activity appear to have been present in fields 468 and 586. In Field 486 this consisted of making chisel arrowheads whilst there is also a concentration of scraping tasks. An unknown portion of these scrapers are likely to derive from Neolithic and Bronze Age activity, although given the time depth of material here (Mesolithic activity being present) it is impossible to quantify this. The thumbnail scrapers in field 468 imply activity continuing into the Bronze Age, and a single horned scraper implies some activity also taking place in the later Bronze Age. According to Ayre's map (appendix 12), another smaller focus of Late Neolithic activity may be present in field 586, with another polished discoidal knife and other implements, the latter unfortunately unidentifiable within the collection. In terms of Bronze Age activity, former assemblages concerned with scraping tasks, represented by thumbnail scrapers occurred in fields 431 and 468, 570-577, and in field 316 which also has a later Bronze Age presence, suggested by another horned scraper. Further Bronze Age activity is suggested by unprovenanced material in table 6.12, which includes an Early Bronze Age flint dagger fragment made from Portland chert. This is significant as a potential prestige object, the affective capacities of which may have made this haecceity particularly active in joining wider assemblages (contributing to their territorialisation and deterritorialisation), for example in terms of social encounters and exchanges. It also suggests the presence of regional scale trade and exchange assemblages which may have formed and dispersed rapidly as material passed between groups across the south west of Britain. Connections and relations would have existed between the assemblages the dagger may have been involved in on Exmoor, and many previous assemblages it had become deterritorialised from, such as the extraction of material from Portland, the creation of the object and the exchanges through which it came to Exmoor.

Whilst only limited information exists as to the character of archaeological structures in the vicinity of the scatter, some observations can be made regarding wider assemblages, relationships and connections to other haecceities (figure 6.13). Firstly a well preserved round barrow is located circa 250m from the core area of the scatter, with another three on the upper part of the eastern slope of Kentisbury Down. These are likely to be Early Bronze Age in date, and there is a potential relation between the Late-Neolithic-Early Bronze Age element of the scatter, and the creation of large round mounds, assemblages of earth and stone which would have been prominent in the prehistoric landscape. These large mound-assemblages imply a longer duration, in terms of their potential affectivity as assemblages compared to the spreading and fragmenting of material caused by stone working. The mounds remained visually prominent, increasing the potential for them to enter new relations, new assemblages. The scatter leaves only the most ephemeral trace, its emergence as an assemblage of fragmented stone can be measured in seconds or minutes, assemblages of working which deterritorialised rapidly as the knapper collected what was useful and discarded the rest. However the fragmented residues of such assemblages could still enter new relations and assemblages, new relations of affectivity. As the landscape was farmed during the Middle-Later Bronze Age (suggested by the enclosures in the area) these individual residues would be found by people during everyday life. Perhaps for example as a Bronze Age farmer ploughing the land, noticed an old leaf arrowhead glint in the sunlight, as it was lifted by the point of the plough. The object would then become embroiled in a new assemblage, a connection between that individual to the deterritorialised residues of earlier generations. The object might also participate in and move between other new assemblages, for example as an heirloom, a curiosity, or even a powerful or dangerous substance that had to be treated in a specific way.

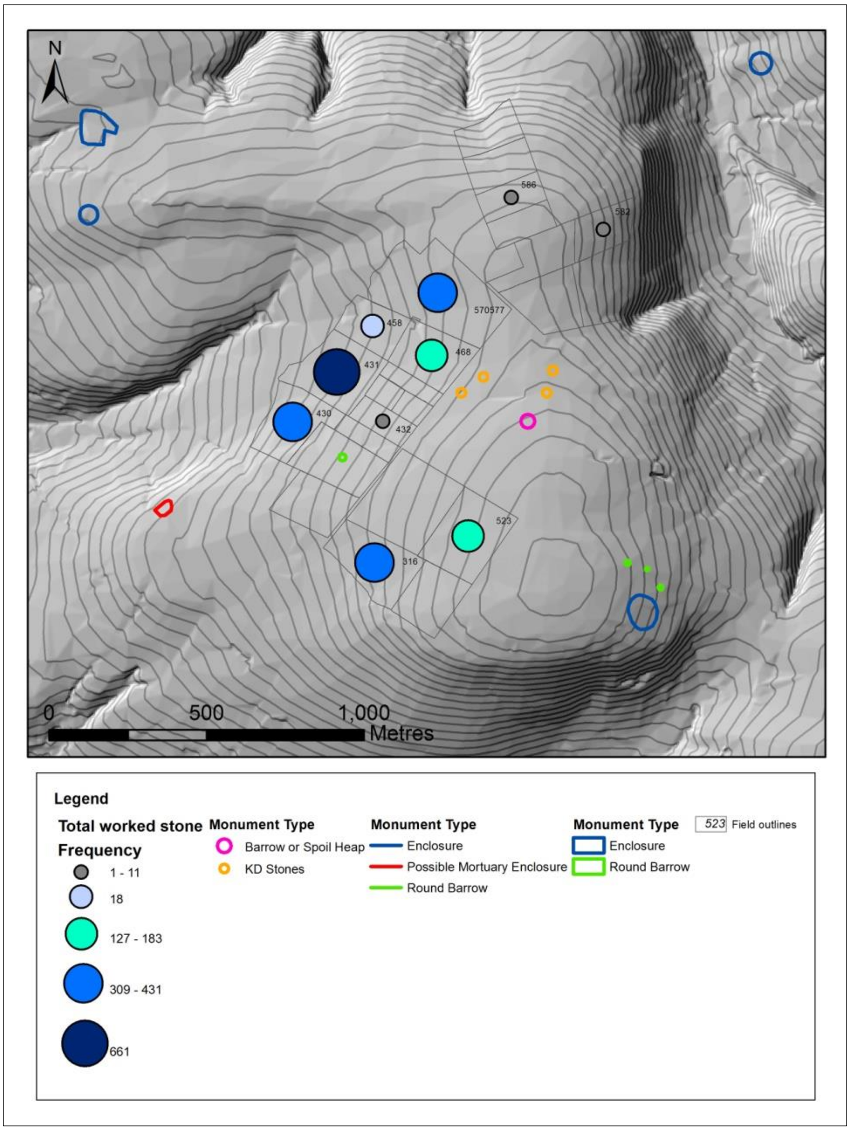

Figure 6.13: Potential prehistoric features in the vicinity of the Kentisbury Down flint scatter. Produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey, ENPA HER and the Museum of Barnstaple and North Devon. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

The group of three standing stones (and a 4th recumbent stone) in the central area of Kentisbury Down may also be of significance (ENP HER MDE1078) (figure 6.13). Whilst these have been regarded as rubbing stones and a natural grounder, and do not represent a stone setting (ibid MDE1078; Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 21), it remains a very difficult task to conclusively separate later rubbing stones from prehistoric ones (see Grinsell 1970: 49). Whilst the area is one of enclosed and improved land, which has been subjected to various cultivation and ploughing regimes (Hegarty and Wilson-North 2014: 95-96, figs 2.30 & 2.31), their location within this area is not enough to dismiss them as prehistoric, given the extent of other traces of Neolithic and Bronze Age activity. With the presence on OS mapping and on Ayre's map of other large stones, and their relative rarity on Exmoor, it would not be surprising if a group of natural boulders were significant in prehistory, perhaps active in forming assemblages through exercising their virtual capacities as people came into contact with them (see appendix 12). The presence of a number of springs close to the core areas of the scatter (indicated on Ayre's map and OS mapping) may also be significant, both in terms of a vitally important resource and as places of potential mystical or spiritual significance. The association between Mesolithic sites and spring heads is well known across Exmoor (Gardiner and Wilson-North 2011: 195-196), but at Kentisbury Down these areas appear to also have been important during the Early and Later Neolithic, possibly extending into the Early Bronze Age. Eardley-Wilmot's suggestion of a connection between standing stones and spring heads on Exmoor might be significant here, given the presence of a group of large stones, which might be natural or culturally enhanced features (1983: 24-25). Even if the stones were natural features in prehistory (prior to any clearance or their potential use as rubbing posts in the historic period) they could have become active components within assemblages of subsistence and belief related actions in the landscape.

6.6 Discussion and conclusion – Landscape use in the Neolithic and Bronze Age in ENP

The analysis presented in this chapter has highlighted the nature of landscape use, addressing research question 3 concerning the artefactual and landscape context of Exmoor's monuments. The results (see table 6.9) allow a number of conclusions to be drawn on the nature of former activity assemblages within ENP, their territorialising and deterritorialising forces, and their wider connections and relationships. The key points which will be addressed in concluding this chapter are the implications of the overall find distribution in terms of collection bias, the overall nature of activities within the landscape at a wider scale and their relationships and significance for understanding the projects case study zones.

6.6.1 Scatter and find distribution – bias and implications

The distribution of lithic finds which are broadly Neolithic and Bronze Age based on HER data in figure 6.14 demonstrates that there is a spread of single or small groups of lithic finds throughout ENP. These often occur on the fringes of Exmoor, or on the periphery of the highest areas within it (circa 400-500m OD, green areas on figure 6.14). The larger scatter sites are few in number and occur in a few specific locations where sustained collection has occurred (both a re-territorialising and deterritorialising force), notably at the western end of ENP on Kentisbury Down and in the North Western area between Luccombe, North Hill and Selworthy. The occurrence of small groups or individual finds on the fringes of the higher ground and spread across the lower areas of ENP correspond to areas that have undergone agricultural development in the medieval and post medieval periods, and areas on the fringes of the high moors which were enclosed and improved in the 19th and 20th century. Many of these areas have undergone various deterritorialising forces which created the potential for material to come to the surface either through ploughing, or by accidental finds in conducting drainage works, although very few have seen any sustained or systematic collection. Whilst a few finds are located in the highest areas corresponding to the present surviving zones of unenclosed moorlands where the survival and density of monuments is greatest, activity is likely to be underrepresented in these areas. Whilst some disturbance by later activity is present within current unenclosed moorland zones including drainage, agricultural and military activities (see Hegarty and Wilson North 2014: 20 fig 1.6a&b, 31 fig 1.11, 34 fig 1.13; Riley and Wilson North 2001: 167-169) the highest areas are covered with blanket peat and have not undergone the same extent of deterritorialising and reterritorialising processes in terms of ploughing and improvement which would bring buried lithic material to the surface. Apart from chance finds through erosion or disturbance, the true extent of lithic scatters within these areas remains unknown and underrepresented. Whilst it is likely there are more lithic scatters than are currently known and despite the bias caused by a lack of sustained systematic collection and differences in landscape use, the distribution does allow an interpretation of what these patterns represent in terms of human behaviour. To summarise, the distribution suggests the occurrence of small task specific events across ENP, with larger aggregations of activity in a few specific areas towards the edges.

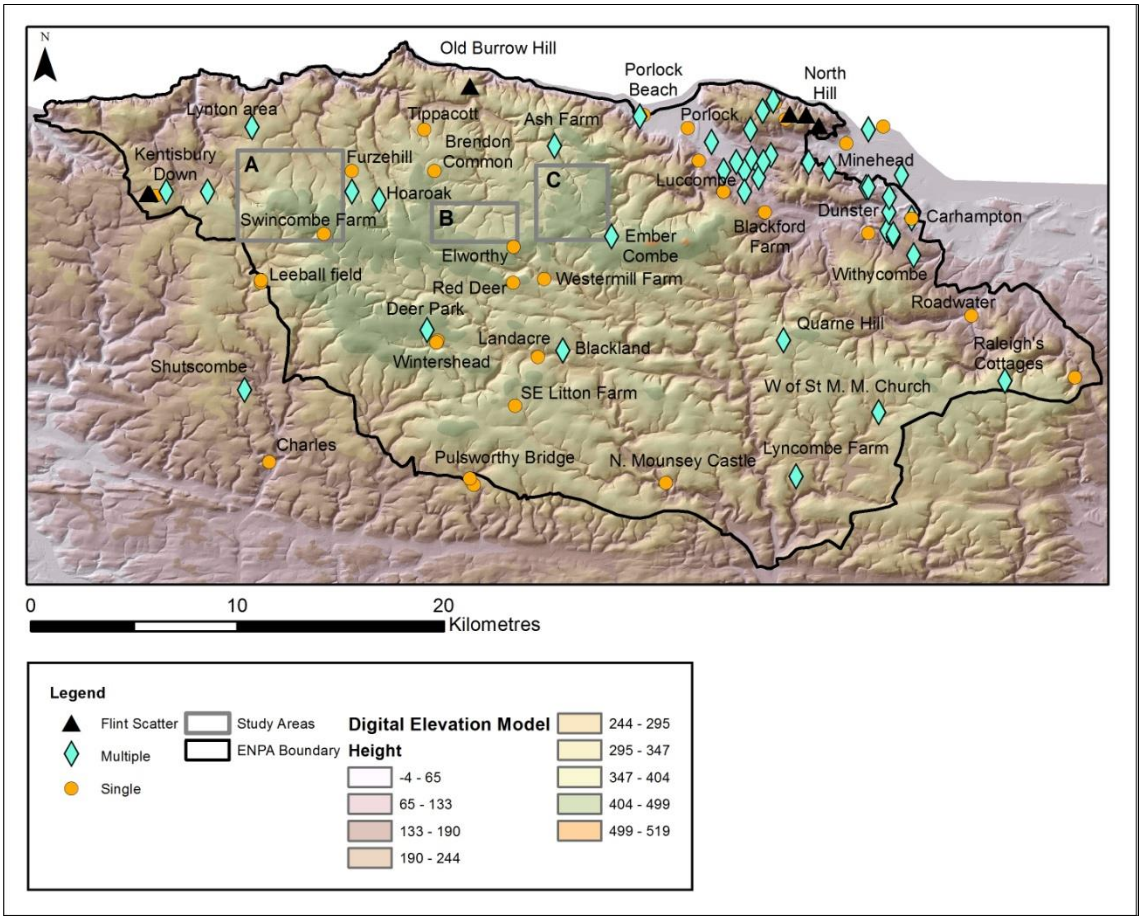

Figure 6.14: Distribution of lithic sites based on classifying the sites into scatters, multiple and single finds. Produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey and ENPA HER. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

The concentration of lithic finds around the NW area of Exmoor, close to the coast and straddling an area of fertile lowland plain, along with higher areas of former open moor (now enclosed and improved moorland) perhaps suggests a considerable focus of activity occurred in those areas, perhaps during the Early Neolithic as some of these lower areas were more amenable to farming. Perhaps the appearance of late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age monuments right across Exmoor documents the changing nature of subsistence, with initial seasonal movement across areas of upland (including activities such as hunting, some tillage and cultivation, perhaps slash and burn agriculture), and later expansion of more intense farming and field systems onto the higher moors during the late Early Bronze Age as populations grew and expanded. Thus the area may have been characterized by a slow transition from gathering to farming, with seasonal movement (perhaps involving cattle or sheep herds in the Early Neolithic and short term cultivation, replacing seasonal movement following wild game) until well into the Middle and Later Bronze Age, when the larger more complex fieldsystems and enclosures seem to appear in the landscape. Animal herding probably formed the dominant part of the subsistence base, with small scale crop cultivation in areas that were perhaps only occasionally tended and used in the Neolithic rather than the more intense, partly sedentary farming that seems to focus on a few specific locales on Exmoor by the Later Bronze Age.

6.6.2 Summary - assemblages of activity

The pattern in figure 6.14 may suggest that the lithic finds represent residues of two different kinds of interrelated assemblages of activity in Prehistory on Exmoor. The first might be described as task specific or individual event-assemblages, the residues of conducting individual tasks within the landscape that involved working stone, some of which were very short term (a few minutes, hours or days) such as preparing or maintaining arrowheads, processing gathered or farmed resources, everyday scraping and cutting tasks (e.g. making clothing, preparing food), woodland clearance or maintenance of boundaries or structures (e.g. woodworking). The residues of these assemblages, now deterritorialised, are the individual and small groups of lithics found across Exmoor, including in the higher interior areas of ENP. The second kind of assemblage (clearly interrelated to the first) appears to represent more sustained and repeated convergences of activity, to form the assemblages we recognise in the present as larger lithic scatters. These are partly a result of the repeated occurrence of the individual event-assemblages, but also other activities and processes at different scales such as longer term inhabitation patterns and seasonal gatherings of larger groups. There are differences (and also similarities) in the territorialising and deterritorialising forces at work between these interrelated assemblages and differences in the duration of the assemblages as lived events. The influences of these forces clearly work at multiple scales, and both of these very general forms of assemblage are related in complex ways, the result of both similar and different morphogenetic processes. This overall pattern is clearly an over simplification of a more complicated set of past events, but it is an unavoidable limitation when working with surface lithic assemblages, where we have to build an interpretation from evidence that is a long term palimpsest of activity, that cannot be identified or dated specifically beyond broad periods of time.

Table 6.13: A summary of the characteristics of stone working on Exmoor

Characteristic	Description
Raw material usage	Predominantly pebble flint, occasionally chert, very little primary chalk flint
Raw material availability	Very limited within ENP. Small quantities of pebble flint/chert from coast (e.g. Baggy Point (Gardiner 2011: 15). Some of material brought in from outside (e.g. Orleigh Court, Portland, Bear Head, Blackdown Hills).
Knapping technology	Flake and blade technologies adapted to working small pebbles. Little is discarded unless totally exhausted or unworkable, maximum use and curation of implements.
Retouch	High intensity of retouched pieces
Lithic volume and density	Generally low quantities of material with a few higher density sites
Summary of assemblages	Small groups, individual finds with a few larger assemblages.

6.7 Conclusion

The specific characteristics of stone working within ENP are summarised in table 6.13. The individual pieces of worked stone could contribute towards powerful territorialising and deterritorialising forces as they joined and moved between different assemblages of activities in the landscape. Through their involvement in the landscape activities I have discussed above, the lithics were highly active and dynamic in transforming, territorialising and deterritorialising other assemblages (e.g. in butchering animals and in making the tools used to assemble small standing stones). During later chapters (seven to nine) the implications of looking at what people were doing beyond the monuments, will help to build a more developed and nuanced understanding of Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes. The power of pieces of worked stone, their potentially extensive virtual and affective capacities, could also have played a highly important role in creating larger scale monuments and structures, in assemblages of tools with other materials (e.g. wood, antler and bone). Rather than seeing these tools as essentially functional items (although I equally recognise the importance of their functional role), their powerful transformative abilities would also have likely been recognised in prehistory, acting like machines in Deleuzian terms (Chapter 3, table 3.2), in opening out assemblages to new components, as the cutting edges of deterritorialisation, drawing variations and mutations of assemblages (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 107; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 593). In Chapters 7 to 6, it will be argued that both worked and unworked stone, portable or otherwise could become highly active with potentially powerful territorialising and deterritorialising forces on Exmoor, which could transform assemblages, creating and transforming different kinds of spaces.

Chapter 7 The landscape of Porlock Allotment

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the nature of features in study area C, centred on Porlock Allotment. It will explore them as assemblages and investigate their inter-relationships, their potential role in the emergence of affective fields, and the nature of territorialising and deterritorialising forces which led to their emergence, persistence and dispersal (RQ's 1-3). Due to space limitations, the formal spatial analysis of area C was moved to appendix 5.

7.2 Topography and character of study area C

Area C is located on the northern side of the central east-west ridge bisecting Exmoor, on an area of high ground which peaks at 462m OD just north of Alderman's Barrow Allotment. This projects northwards of the former Central Ridge as shown in Figure 7.1, between the modern villages of Exford circa 3.2km km to the south and Porlock circa 3.5 km to the north east. The area is a catchment for a number of streams such as Chalk Water, Colley Water and Chetsford Water which feed coombe systems flowing north west, north east and west fed by frequent springs, with one flowing south into Allcombe Water in the area's southerly extent. The focus of this chapter will now turn towards examining the character of the stone monuments in area C. This section of the thesis will follow the same format for each study area and it is structured in order to first examine the character of the stone monuments as assemblages, and then to consider the wider context, spatial and chronological relationships where possible. This seeks to avoid the issue prevalent in early investigations on Exmoor that they tended to be studied in isolation (see chapter 2).

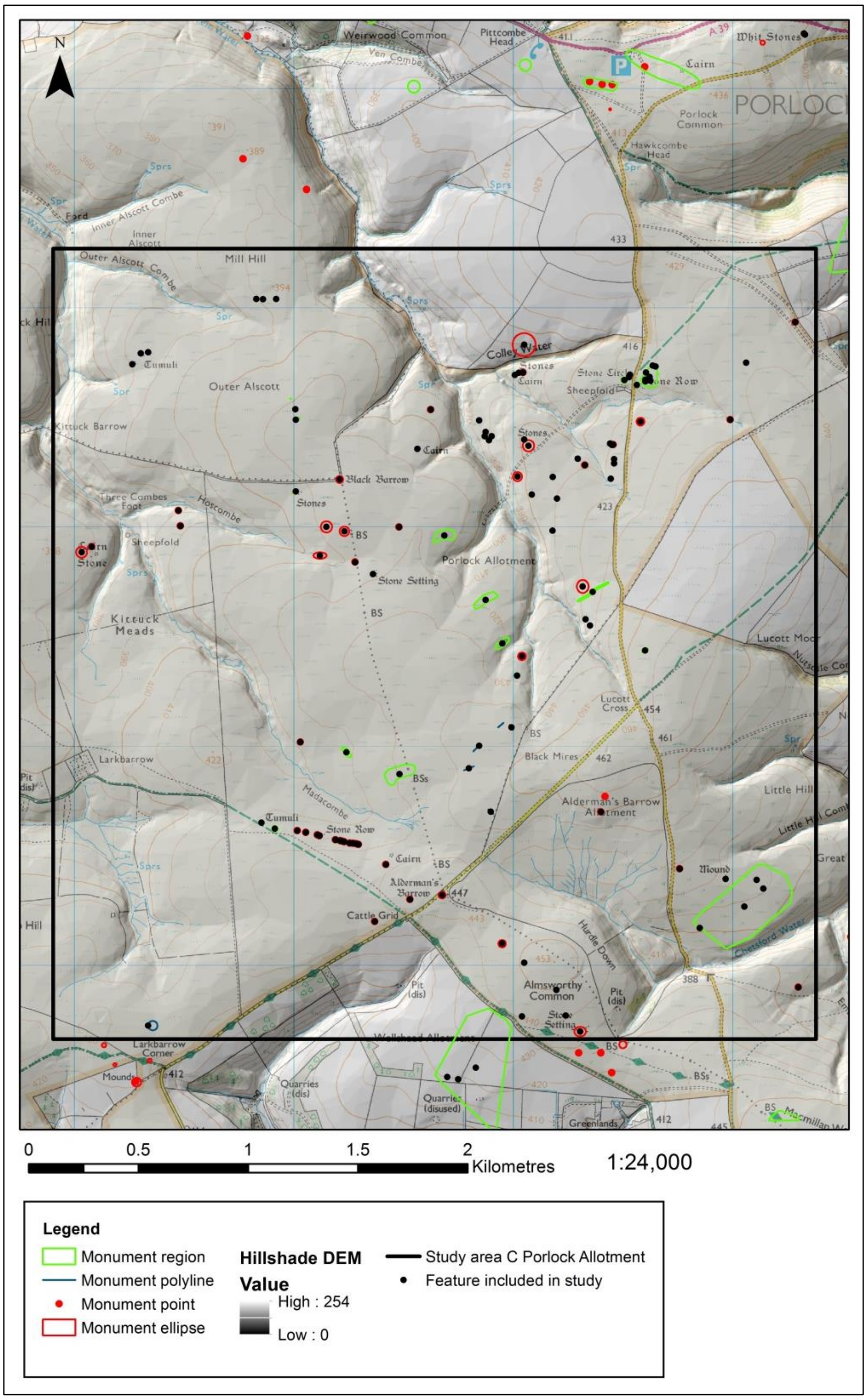

Figure 7.1: Topography, land use and extent of study area C with the sites included in this study represented by black dots. Figure produced by the author using data from ENPA HER and Ordnance Survey. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.)

7.3 Engagements with stone – construction, character and form

The focus of detailed research in this region was directed at two specific areas on Porlock Allotment. Porlock stone circle and row were subject to a wider programme of fieldwork of which this doctoral research forms a key part, and the results of this published fieldwork are drawn upon in the following synthesis (Gillings and Taylor 2012; Gillings 2015a). In addition, a detailed field investigation of Porlock Allotment II stone setting was conducted by the author and UOL students to explore the character and wider context of a stone setting in area C. Thus what follows draws on a synthesis of both published and unpublished data, complimented by targeted fieldwork which included stone recording, walkover and DGPS survey. Independent site visits were also conducted to examine the character of further features in the area. The discussion here is structured thematically rather than typologically, addressing the construction, use and abandonment of the stone configurations in area C. This should not be taken to necessarily indicate their contemporaneity. The discussion which follows considers the size and nature of the materials used, the techniques of construction and also the layout and arrangement of stones. It also considers the potential use of the sites in terms in terms of the effects of scale and how we can explore this through looking at the emergence of affective fields in specific situations, termed atmospheres (see chapter 3).

7.3.1 Size, materials and stone sources

A number of different configurations of small upright stones are located within area C, including a stone circle, two stone rows, stone settings and multiple standing stones, the details of which are summarised in table 7.1. Firstly, the stone arrangements in area C all appear to have been built from the local stone that was immediately available, in this case sandstones and slates of the hangman grits formation reflecting the wider known pattern for Exmoor (see chapter 2). There is no evidence as to how far stones may have been transported but it is likely that either nearby surface stone was utilised, or that stone was extracted from very limited outcrops, perhaps on the slopes of coombes or gathered from where material had been eroded and displaced by fluvial activity within the coombes. There is very little surface stone visible within this locale in the present, although this may partly be the legacy of millennia of clearance and farming activities, followed by large scale removal of stone in the historic period for building enclosure walls and roads which partly bisect the present landscape. The surface stones that do exist on Exmoor tend to be very small and have little surface visibility, as they are easily buried underneath the blanket peat, or half bog/peat-like upland soils which currently cover the majority of area C. For example, excavations at Porlock Stone Row demonstrated a depth of circa 10-15cm of peat turf covering the central area of the Row (Gillings 2015a: 23, fig 19). The implications of this are twofold. First that the present lack of surface stone (or visibility thereof) indicated by non-invasive field reconnaissance does not necessarily suggest this was the case during episodes of monument construction in prehistory, especially given the subsequent removal of stone and development of blanket peat across the area. Second that the availability of small (circa 20-30cm) or medium (circa 40-50cm) sized pieces of stone, which were typically used to create the upright stone arrangements in area C were probably much more abundant and visible to the builders of the sites, and probably remain more abundant today, but are no longer visible due to their shallow burial underneath the peat turf.

The wider implication of this is that whilst much attention has been paid to the removal and transport of massive stone blocks, from visually distinctive outcrops for monument construction in other regions in the 3rd and early 2nd Millennium BC and the associated feats of working, transporting and raising such large objects, the lack of either 'ingredient' on Exmoor (i.e. massive stone blocks or visually distinctive rock outcrops) suggests that neither were necessarily essential in stone monument construction (as discussed in chapter 2). This implies that the nature and ontological status of the stone extracted from areas such as the Preseli hills was at least as important, if not more so, than the fact that these large stones were extracted from places that were significant, requiring lavish displays of organisation and technological innovation to move and raise them (e.g. Parker Pearson *et al.* 2015). The fact that the monuments in area C, and the other study zones, were mostly constructed from surface stone from the immediate locality, and were not necessarily visually distinctive locations with any recognition or significance (in terms of large visible outcrops), strongly suggests that the mutability and transformability of stone as a material in prehistory, and the potential capacities it had to become connected to other assemblages through human interplay with it, were more important factors on Exmoor (see chapter 10). It may well be the case that such concerns were more important in stone monument construction in other regions too.

7.3.2 Settings, standing stones and stone rows

Table 7.1 summarises the available information on the character of the stone arrangements in area C, derived from a synthesis of existing data and field recording of the size of the stones for the Porlock Allotment II Setting and the nearby standing stone. This comprises basic metrical data and information on the sites based on the RCHME survey plans and HER records (Quinnell and Dunn 1992). The sites are also classified into different scale categories, following Bailey's division of scale into three parts, based ultimately on the size of the human body in relation to the physical object in question (Bailey 2005: 28-29). The following discussion focuses on the size and scale of the individual standing stones, the relationships within multiple stone arrangements in terms of stone height and size, and the layout of these groups in terms of size and form.

Table 7.1: The stone monuments in area C including stone heights, site extents and scale classifications (1= present, 0 = absent). Table produced by the author using data from Quinnell and Dunn 1992, fieldwork and ENPA HER.

Monument ID (ENPHER No)	Name	Monument type	Length (m)	Height (m)	Width (m)	Intimate scale	Life sized scale	Gigantic scale
MEM22436	Prehistoric standing stone on Porlock Allotment	Standing stone	0.75	0.3	0.03	1	0	0
MEM8	Standing Stone at Kittuck Meads	Standing stone	0	0.63	0.62	1	0	0
MEM9	Standing stone above Hoscombe	Standing stone	0	0.2	0.3	1	0	0
MSO10212	Standing stone, Exmoor	Standing stone	0	0.63	0	1	0	0
MSO11335	Possible prehistoric standing stone on Wilmersham Common	Standing stone	0	0.5	0	0	0	0
MSO11544	Standing stones, Porlock Allotment	Standing stone	0	0	0	1	0	0
MSO12256	Stone alignment, South of Black Barrow, Hoscombe	Stone setting	0	0	0	0	0	0
MSO6727	Stone Setting on Almsworthy Common	Stone setting	30	0.7	24	1	0	1
MSO6881	Kittuck Hill stone setting	Stone setting	0	0.5	0	1	0	1

Monument ID (ENPHER No)	Name	Monument type	Length (m)	Height (m)	Width (m)	Intimate scale	Life sized scale	Gigantic scale
MSO6882	Possible stone setting, south of Black Barrow (Hoscombe North)	Stone setting	0	0.5	0	1	0	0
MSO6883	Madacombe stone row	Stone alignment	286	0.5	0.6	1	1	1
MSO6885	Possible standing stone west of Aldermans Barrow	Standing stone	0	0.25	0.45	1	0	0
MSO6886	Standing Stones southwest of Black Barrow (Hoscombe)	Stone setting	0	0.25	0	1	0	0
MSO7881	Whit Stones	Standing stone	6	0.9	0	0	0	1
MSO7898	Porlock stone circle	Stone circle	24.5	0.8	24.5	1	0	1
MSO7903	Stone setting, Porlock Allotment 1	Stone setting	0	0.5	0	1	0	0
MSO7911	Standing stones, Porlock Allotment	Stone setting	7	0.5	0	1	0	0
MSO7923	Stone Setting, south of Coley Water, Porlock Allotment II	Stone setting	20	1.06	0	1	0	0
MSO7924	Prehistoric double stone row on Porlock Allotment	Stone alignment	35	0.2	1	1	1	1
MSO7950	Boundary or Standing Stone, 380 Metres South of Black Barrow	Standing stone	0.45	0.12	0.08	1	0	0
MSO7957	Standing stone on Porlock Common	Standing stone	0.3	0.5	0.2	1	0	0
None	Small upright stone slab DP20134	Standing stone	0.75	0.3	0.03	1	0	0
	Standing stone NW of Porlock Allotment II stone setting	Standing stone	0.65	0.85	0.3	1	0	0

The height data in table 7.1 uses the tallest surviving upright stone or the length of the longest recumbent stone if the remaining stones are especially small and only just show above the turf. This was intended to define the maximum stone height, to allow comparison between the sites. This is hampered by a lack of any detailed data on the height and size of the stones for many sites, and especially for the larger settings, where the maximum and minimum size ranges were typically recorded by the RCHME surveys rather than individual stone data. Such data was available for some sites however and others were measured as part of fieldwork for this project. Despite the limitations of the available data, table 7.1 demonstrates that the height of the stones in area C only rarely exceeds 0.5m, and at many of the sites the stone heights are closer to a figure of 0.25m, or less.

There are also some further issues with the data in table 7.1. The height figure for MSO7923, a now destroyed stone setting, is partly anomalous because it reflects the total length of the largest stone C, which is now recumbent. This stone was recorded as upright on a sketch plan dating to 1938 but was recumbent when surveyed by the RCHME in 1989, a large erosion hollow further indicating that it was formally upright

(ENPHER MSO7923; Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 60). The original height when set, is therefore likely to have been less than 1m, perhaps somewhere between 0.8 to 1m. The large recumbent stone 13 at Porlock Stone circle was also not included in the data, since there is no evidence it was ever upright, being recumbent on Gray's plan (1928: plate XII). Given that the larger surviving uprights of the circle have significant and developed erosion hollows (caused by animals rubbing around the stones), there does not seem to be any further surface evidence of a sufficiently large erosion hollow and stone hole to indicate that stone 13 was ever upright, or an indirect indication of such via a clump of reeds, which tend to develop in these features at the site (figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2: Image of Porlock circle during the 2013 excavation after cleaning and turf removal. The area of the stone hole and erosion hollow are visible as a darker stain at centre left, with the former location of the dense reed clump (background on turf stack) within this area indicated in red. Photograph by the author.

Based on the surviving evidence the average stone height in area C (table 7.2), is 0.43m, a rounded figure derived from calculating the mean, median and mode for the proceeding data in table 7.1. The significance of this will become clear, in that a focus on such small stones allows them to be easily manipulated by a single individual, with perhaps a couple of people required to set the very rare, slightly larger examples like the upright stone block north west of the Porlock Allotment II setting. Finally, comparing the stone heights between the sites in figure 7.3, along with the general monument types according to the ENP HER data (table 7.3), does not suggest any clear patterning in stone height according to these four general classification categories. It does however show a focus on using extremely small stones circa 0.2m in height exclusively in the construction of the Porlock double stone row, and that the use of larger and smaller stones were a feature of the majority of the stone monuments in area C. Looking at the maximum and minimum stone sizes used for the multiple stone sites, presented in table 7.3 and figure 7.3 strongly suggests that the deliberate utilisation of different sized stones formed a key part of Exmoor's stone monument tradition in most of the forms of stone monuments, and that therefore the juxtaposition of scale, and the effects of this potentially deliberate feature are of considerable importance in understanding these highly varied stone arrangements. The classification of the sites into different categories of scale in table 7.1 also supports this argument, the majority falling within the smallest or intimate scale, whilst the sites only rarely engage with multiple scales, such as life sized or larger, and when they do it is the spatial extent of the sites which create this effect, not the height of the utilised stones.

With the exception of Porlock Stone Row, the repeated use of two broad sizes of stones within each of these sites, with the taller stones being around 50% larger than the smallest ones (a size ratio of 2:1) strongly suggests this feature was a deliberate practice. This also suggests that in comparison to the other sites in area C, Porlock stone row is unusual exhibiting as it does a uniformity in terms of stone size and layout that make its character rather different. This could be connected to the chronology of the construction of this site or that its creation was governed by a different set of concerns. It contrasts with Madacombe stone row. Whilst the latter focuses on using some smaller sized stones, it also utilises some taller examples and thus exhibits the size juxtaposition in common with the majority of the lithic monuments. This further demonstrates the limitations of the rigid typological schemes applied to Exmoor's stone monuments previously (see chapter 2). The size relationships present at the other sites demonstrates a further relation within and between them, which contributes to their stabilisation as assemblages via recurrent citation and association. Within the sites, this aspect of their character contributes to their territorialisation through coding, by a mechanism of recurrent association, where smaller and larger stones are repeatedly brought together and set upright at each site (see chapter 3 and Lucas 2012: 200-201)[30]. Wider relationships between arrangements are also invoked and contribute to the territorialisation of the structures through coding, creating a link to prior episodes and events of stone monument construction which utilised this multiple size motif. They invoke a recurrent citation of other similar upright assemblages elsewhere, which whilst built from different stones in different places, varying considerably in their layout, have this shared similarity creating a link to other sites, places and events associated with creating small standing stone groupings (see chapter 3 and Lucas 2012: 200-201).

Table 7.2: Average stone height data for area C. These were calculated using the AVERAGE, MEDIAN and MODE functions in Excel, and the latter two calculations excluded the null values.

Average type	Height (m)
Mean	0.4276
Median	0.5
Mode	0.5

Table 7.3: The range of stone heights (minimum and maximum) for multiple stone arrangements in area C. The data was obtained from Quinnell and Dunn 1992, ENP HER records and project fieldwork.

Monument ID (ENPHER No)	Name	Monument type	Minimum height (m)	Maximum height (m)
MSO6727	Stone Setting on Almsworthy Common	Stone setting	0.1	0.7
MSO6881	Kittuck Hill stone setting	Stone setting	0.2	0.5
MSO6882	Possible Stone Setting, south of Black Barrow (Hoscombe North)	Stone setting	0.15 (slight lean NE)	0.5
MSO6883	Madacombe stone row	Stone alignment	0.1	0.5
MSO6727	Stone Setting on Almsworthy Common	Stone setting	0.1	0.7
MSO6886	Standing Stones southwest of Black Barrow (Hoscombe)	Stone setting	0.1	0.25
MSO7898	Porlock stone circle	Stone circle	0.1	0.8
MSO7903	Stone setting, Porlock Allotment 1	Stone setting	0.25 (three stones, due to extent of lean)	0.5
MSO7911	Standing stones, Porlock Allotment	Stone setting	0.25	0.5
MSO7923	Stone setting, south of Coley Water,	Stone setting	0.32 (stone A),	1.06 long,

[30] These mechanisms of coding (a sub process of territorialisation), recurrent association and citation as put forward by Lucas (2012: 200-2010), are explained in detail in chapter 3.

Monument ID (ENPHER No)	Name	Monument type	Minimum height (m)	Maximum height (m)
	Porlock Allotment II		stone D flat and embedded	perhaps 0.80-1 when upright
MSO7924	Prehistoric double stone row on Porlock Allotment	Stone alignment	Circa. 0.02	0.2

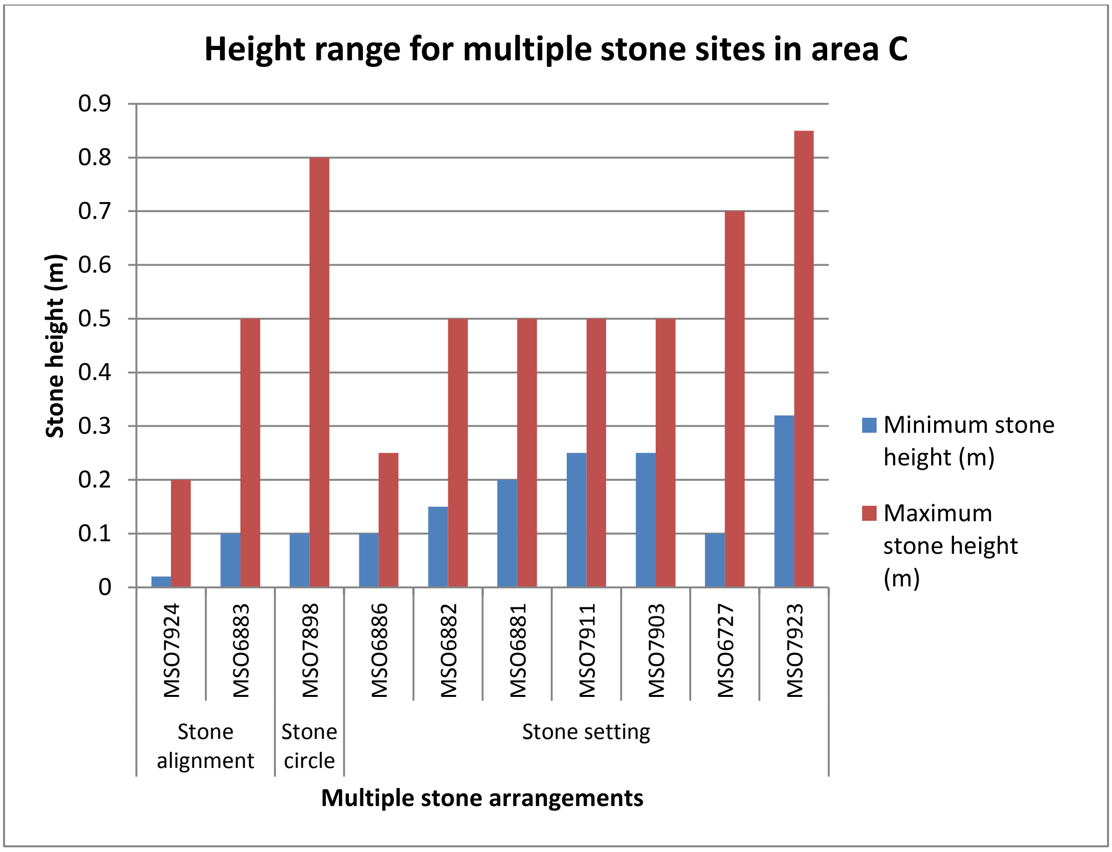

Figure 7.3: Bar graph showing the maximum and minimum stone heights for the multiple stone arrangements in area C. Estimates were used for the MSO7923 maximum value and MSO7924 minimum value. The Whit stones were not included as it is uncertain if they are cultural or natural; their large size is also totally anomalous compared to the other sites.

The layout and spatial extent of the stone monuments in area C is presented in Table 7.4 and is rather varied. Whilst the interpretation of Exmoor's settings has moved away from rigid typological schemes which focus exclusively on reading them as rigid geometric designs (see chapter 2), the variation in their layout represents another important defining aspect of their character which must be investigated and explained if we are to further our understanding of these sites as assemblages. The types of layout shown in table 7.4 are based on site descriptions in the HER and the RCHME surveys (Quinnell and Dunn 1992) which are in turn, a more generalised version of a highly complex and more detailed set of 'geometric types' which developed between the 17th and later 20th century (see chapter 2 this volume; Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 23-31 and Gillings *et al.* 2010: 298-300 for a detailed account). From the work carried out to date there seem to be two very vague groups within the spectrum of stone settings[31], and the sites in area C offer a microcosm of this wider patterning. First are a limited number which conform to quite specific geometric shapes in terms of their plans, and which appear to demonstrate some concern or consistency of alignment in their layout (cf. Riley and Wilson North 2001: 27). This group can be expanded to encompass the stone rows and stone circles. Second, a much larger group which accounts for the majority of the sites, which either form a vague grouping in a general sense, or do not appear to show any consistency of alignment or layout, and others which on the basis of their surviving form appear largely random (ibid: 27). The data presented in figure 7.4 demonstrates that within study area C, the most common layout for stone arrangements appears to have been paired or vague linear groupings, although only by a difference of two compared to the other forms. The paired arrangement count could potentially be reduced to two sites, depending on whether the large leaning slabs known as the Whit Stones are interpreted as natural or humanly constructed. There is also a further example of a possible linear or row in the vicinity of area C, to the west of the Whit Stones on figure 7.1, although the previous interpretations are conflicting and confusing with the presence of naturally outcropping stone and dense vegetation making any certain interpretation difficult (ENPHER MSO7920; Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 63).

Table 7.4: Layout information for the multiple stone sites in area C. Table was produced by the author using data from Quinnell and Dunn 1992, ENPA HER and fieldwork.

Monument ID (ENPHER No)	Name	Monument type	Layout type
MSO6727	Stone Setting on Almsworthy Common	Stone setting	Linear
MSO6881	Kittuck Hill Stone Setting	Stone setting	Linear
MSO6882	Possible Stone Setting, South of Black Barrow (Hoscombe North)	Stone setting	Other or random
MSO6883	Madacombe Stone Row	Stone alignment	Single row

[31] Gillings has recently characterised these as geometric and non-geometric forms (2015b: 94)

Monument ID (ENPHER No)	Name	Monument type	Layout type
MSO6886	Standing Stones southwest of Black Barrow (Hoscombe)	Stone setting	Paired
MSO7881	Whit Stones	Standing stone	Paired
MSO7898	Porlock Stone Circle	Stone circle	Circular
MSO7903	Stone setting, Porlock Allotment 1	Stone setting	Rectangular
MSO7911	Standing stones, Porlock Allotment	Stone setting	Paired
MSO7923	Possible Stone Setting, South of Coley Water, Porlock Allotment II	Stone setting	Linear
MSO7924	Prehistoric double stone row on Porlock Allotment	Stone alignment	Double Row

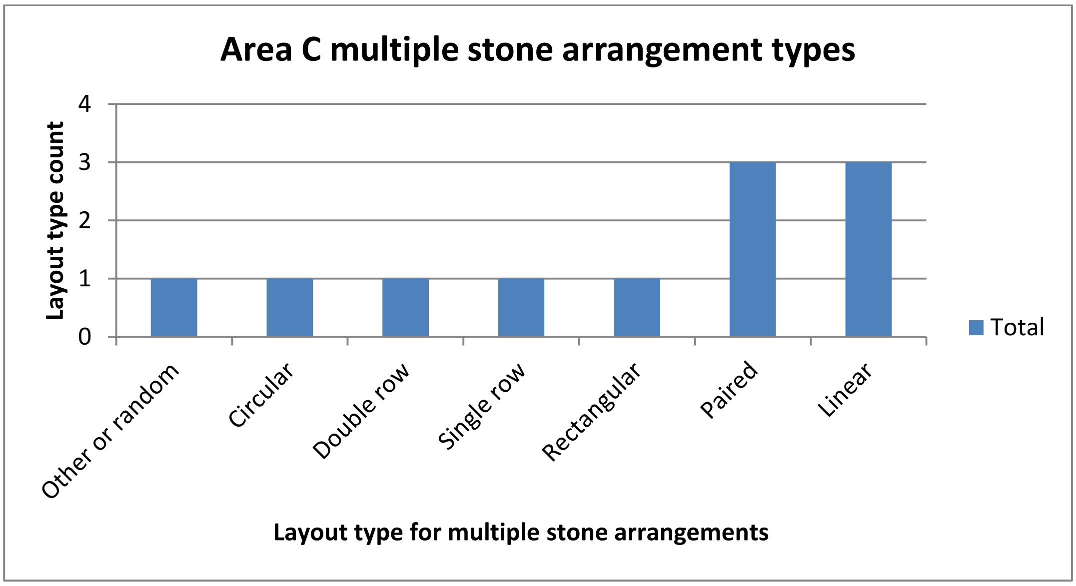

Figure 7.4: Bar graph showing the count of different stone arrangement layouts in area C, showing multiple stone sites only.

The variation evident in stone layout within each site is best examined visually on an individual basis and because it is not feasible to examine each in detail here, a select few examples will now be briefly discussed to elucidate the general patterning. It is also important to note that due to the apparent ongoing engagement with the sites during prehistory as suggested at Porlock Circle (with the movement, re-setting or decommission of stones discussed in section 7.3.3) and the poor preservation of many sites, with considerable stone loss taking place throughout the 20th century, it may be well be unwise to place total emphasis on the layout of the stones in building any interpretation (Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 3-4; Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 23; Gillings 2015a & 2015b: 91-97). The linear group here are rather variable and somewhat disparate, for example, the Kittuck Hill setting in figure 7.5 consists of a vague linear arrangement which does not exhibit consistency of alignment in terms of the long axis of the stones within the group, or in alignment of stone pairs, although there may be some significance to pairs within the group and with the cairn, all of which is further blurred by damage to the site, probably due to military activity (Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 47). Again the destroyed nature of Porlock Allotment II makes any assessment difficult, forming only a vague linear grouping without any real sense of alignment. In contrast the highly unusual large setting on Almsworthy Common shown in figure 7.6 consists of a series of multiple rows, with slightly differing alignments but without much consistency in terms of the long axis (cf. Quinnell and Dunn: 37). It therefore shares some vague similarity with the much smaller three row settings such as Porlock Allotment 1 (figure 7.7), the Almsworthy site perhaps being a much larger example of a multiple row setting. The suggested interpretation here, is that this might be the result of growth of the site over time, with new groups of partial lines of upright stones being progressively added, a sign of the continued engagement and re-working of these sites that has been suggested by the available excavation data for Exmoor (see chapter 2) although the timing of which cannot at present be proven or investigated. The surviving nature of these sites is likely to be a result of both deliberate changes to them in prehistory and more recent damage and attempts at consolidation in much later periods, as suggested by the probably prehistoric decommissioned stones, and the post 1990 survey new stone 23 identified at Porlock circle (Gillings 2015a: 11-13). Once stones begun to be erected on Almsworthy Common, their presence acted as a territorialising force in stabilising future assemblages at the site, which operated through Lucas's mechanism of containment, like a centre of gravity which attracted continued and subsequent activity at the locale which involved continuing to erect small standing stones. This also suggests that given their small size and lack of visibility from any significant distance, either landscape inhabitation continued in their immediate proximity over time, or that knowledge of their location in the landscape was of vital importance and carefully preserved through oral traditions and taught to subsequent generations. Potentially, although there is no evidence to elucidate the temporality of the individual stones, this may have taken place over subsequent years, or by subsequent generations, building connections between themselves and past events, materialised into the landscape by the existence of the standing stones already in place.

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Figure 7.5: RCHME plan of Kittuck Hill stone setting. From Quinnell and Dunn 1992.

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Figure 7.6: The RCHME survey of Almsworthy Common stone setting. From Quinnell and Dunn 1992.

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Figure 7.7: RCHME plan of Porlock Allotment 1 stone setting. Recomposed from Quinnell and Dunn 1992.

The final point to make regarding the layout of the stones in area C is that only a few of the sites exhibit a more consistent sense of alignment or coherent shape, particularly the stone rows and Porlock stone circle. Even then, variability is still present, and they follow vague concepts rather than being specifically concerned with producing a rigid pattern. For example Madacombe stone row shown in figure 7.8 generally forms a coherent row, but with some degree of variation in alignment and in both the orientation of the long axis of stones within it and the stone size generally (Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 52). The Porlock double row (figure 7.9) as previously mentioned is somewhat anomalous in comparison to all the other sites in area C, in exhibiting close uniformity with the orientation of the long axis of stones (apart from stone B) and the use of tiny sized stones (c.10-20cm high) aligned in pairs in the direction of the row. There is also a very regular spacing of 1.2m to 1.5m intervals along each row and circa 0.88m to 1m between the rows (HER MSO79024; Gillings 2015a 2015: 5). Excavations here in 2013 successfully identified an empty stone socket in an apparent blank area of the monument, suggesting it may have once been more extensive and even more regular in layout that the surviving extent suggests (Gillings 2015a: 22-23). Geophysical survey results also suggested the row followed a pre-existing feature, possibly a natural hollow or track-way, with a farming landscape of enclosures and cairns also apparently respecting this alignment and the row's position (Gillings 2015a: 6, 8). At almost all the other sites in area C, it appears that consistency of alignment or producing rigid geometric designs was not a primary concern. Instead, the practice of erecting small stones, building connections to past events and creating locales marked with assemblages of standing stones with the expectation they would continue to be re-worked and form an ongoing part of inhabiting the landscape was probably of far greater importance. Interpreting them as dynamic and ongoing assemblages from a Deleuzian perspective as I have done here is a highly powerful way of explaining and exploring the dynamic character of these sites. In the next section, I explore how they continued to change, as well as experience periods of stability or complete dispersal and destruction.

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Figure 7.8: RCHME plan of Madacombe stone row. From Quinnell and Dunn 1992.

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Figure 7.9: New plan of Porlock double stone row showing the 2013 excavation trench and a newly discovered empty stone socket labelled XX. From Gillings 2013 unpublished report.

7.3.3 Raising and assembling stones – Porlock circle, cairn and row

The detailed evidence regarding the actual raising of standing stones is rather limited at present in area C, and the interpretations built here depend predominantly on the results of the small excavations at Porlock Stone circle, cairn and stone row complex (Gillings 2015a). These targeted excavations identified several important and potentially new characteristics of Exmoor's minilithic tradition, the evidence for which will now be briefly examined. The key findings were first that the setting of stones at an angle was a deliberate part of the stone erecting repertoire, second that stones could be set with the majority of their mass underneath the ground surface and might therefore be thought of as inverted standing stones, and finally that further evidence was located to support the idea that stones were deliberately decommissioned and left recumbent in prehistory (Gillings 2015a: 13, 16-17, 26-27). Figure 7.10 shows the pre-excavation plan of features at the circle trench, with the former upright stones X and Z lying recumbent next to their empty sockets (see also figure 7.11). Whilst no evidence was located that could date such discrete events, the lack of any soil build up underneath the recumbent stones and their presence on the surface of the ground into which the stone sockets were cut, strongly suggests this took place in prehistory (Gillings 2015a: 13, 17, 26, 27). Note that feature 4 does not exhibit evidence of the typical erosion hollows that are produced by animals rubbing against the stones such as that represented by feature 2, visible around feature 6 (the stone hole), or show any evidence of any disturbance of the integrity of the socket that might explain displacement of the stone through damage (ibid: 17). The packing stone deposit from above feature 6 also appeared to have been produced partly through deliberate flaking, and former upright stone X also exhibited evidence of deliberate flaking to shape the stone's base (ibid: 11, 13,16).

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Figure 7.10: Pre excavation plan showing the locations of stones X and Z in relation to other features. From Gillings 2013 unpublished report. For published version see Gillings 2015a: 11 (fig 11).

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Figure 7.11: Post excavation plan of trench A at Porlock circle, showing the locations and form of features 4, 5 and 6 (original stone sockets) and feature 2 (erosion hollow created by animals rubbing against the stone). From Gillings 2013 unpublished report. For published version see Gillings 2015a: 16 (fig 16).

Finally the excavation of a small trench across Porlock Stone Row partially exposed an empty and previously unknown stone socket XX (Gillings 2015a: 10, fig 10, 22-23, fig 19). The evidence suggested a different approach was taken towards setting stones in the row than was evident at the nearby circle, with the creation of a small shallow socket that probably closely resembles a negative imprint of the stone it formerly contained, without the use of any packing stones (ibid: 23). The creation of the row also appears to represent a more uniform construction than the circle, a consistent layout being evident with the regular spacing of paired stones which were consistently aligned in terms of their long axis, with the stone row itself aligned on the centre of a cairn, adjacent to the circle (ENPHER HER MSO7924; Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 62; Gillings 2015a: 5-6). The latter alignment was confirmed through clarification of the extent and nature of the cairn by a small excavation and a new DGPS survey of the overall complex (Gillings 2015a: 6 (fig 5), 10 (fig 10)); a plan of the layout of the complex is shown in figure 7.12. Finally the cairn adjacent to Porlock circle was found to consist of a central core of small blocks (left unexcavated) delineated by sloping slabs, with a perimeter of uprights and flat slabs (Gillings 2015a: 22). The core was slightly overlapped by a buried soil which was dated by radiocarbon on a piece of charcoal the to the Middle Bronze Age (ibid: 21-22). This was in turn sealed by a later stone pavement, an event interpreted as a possible Middle Bronze Age remodelling of an older, possibly Early Bronze Age cairn (ibid: 20-22).

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Figure 7.12: Plan of the Porlock circle, cairn and stone row complex. From Gillings 2013 unpublished report, after Quinnell and Dunn 1992. Published version in Gillings 2015a: 6 (fig 5).

Rethinking and redefining the character of these three archaeological entities as being relational, unpacking the relationships within each of these assemblages and exploring wider potential relationships between other entities, forms the basis of building a new understanding of these sites. To do this potential connections or relationships must be explored (within and between entities) by considering both the processes that lead to the formation, stabilisation and dispersal of assemblages, and identifying the material manifestations within the archaeological record that might result from these mechanisms[32]. This may, in turn, point to the existence of specific relations that form part of the defining character of these sites. Following this line of enquiry, table 7.5 summaries the events as assemblages (haecceities) which can be reconstructed for these three entities at an aggregate scale.

Table 7.5: The assemblages of Porlock circle, cairn and stone row. Based on published geophysical surveys and excavation data (Gillings and Taylor 2012; Gillings 2015a).

Date	Circle	Cairn	Row
??	Pre circle haecceities, rectilinear features, possible defined spaces with uncertain function which appear to have dispersed prior to the emergence of the circle		
LN?	Assemblage of stone circle, gathering stone, digging sockets, shaping stones and creating packing stones, in an area possibly of pre-existing significance		
EBA?	Continued engagement with component stones, movement, re-setting, and decommissioning, frequent territorialisation and deterritorialisation of upright stones.	Territorialisation of primary cairn, including uprights and flat slabs defining the perimeter	Possible pre-stone row trackway/route, movement of assemblages of people and animals, perhaps towards the cairn.
MBA		Secondary phase of MBA cairn elaboration, creating a stone pavement. Increased processes of territorialisation, sealing off primary mound and internal area of cairn. The latter also acts as a deterritorialising force, in preventing further activity within the cairn.	Territorialisation of stone row, aligned on the centre of the cairn (or vice versa?) and following a possible pre-existing pathway or route. Stone socket xx possibly cut into the fill of this hollow, implying the pathway had deterritorialised, being partially in filled by the time the row was constructed (see Gillings 2015a: 24, 27-28). The territorialisation of an adjacent farming landscape, of enclosures and cairns, respects this alignment, although the date and character of these geophysical anomalies is unclear.

Beginning with the stone circle, the earliest activity appears to be reflected by an unusual series of rectilinear features shown in figure 7.13 described as ‘petal-like’ which surround and appear to partially underlie some of the stones of the circle

[32] Whilst still being leaving space within the interpretation to consider those that do not leave a tangible material trace; assemblages that are now entirely deterritorialised.

(Gillings and Taylor 2012: 197-199). The excavation focusing on stones 19 and 23 was not able to establish the source of this anomaly. Whilst it might have been reflected by a deposit of compact gravelly material (labelled 101 in figure 7.10) predating the stone holes which were cut through it, a conclusive definition within such a small excavated area was not possible (Gillings 2015a: 23). However the regularity of the anomalies are difficult to dismiss as a result of geomorphological processes. One possibility is that the very diffuse resistivity signature reflects a very ephemeral spread of small stone fragments, which at least in the nature of its composition might be comparable to the diffuse anomaly which was proven by excavation to be a semi-circular structure at Lanacombe III (see chapter 2). Thus the earliest haecceities may have consisted of a group of people, clearing stone from a central area to define and create a series of spaces with one apparent break or entrance. Only future excavation can tell if this included an upstanding structural element like a line of timber stakes. Whilst this is extremely tentative on the basis of geophysics, it points to the potential formation and dispersal of multiple haecceities prior to the circle. Whilst at present it is impossible to confirm even the nature of these assemblages (whether prehistoric, or related to military disturbance), or the relations and processes taking place within, the shape of the anomalies may suggest a wider relation to an unusual site in study area A (chapter 9). The elongate rectangular shapes, with curved corners and an apparent entrance, might suggest the contribution of coding to the territorialisation of this entity, via a mechanism of recurrent citation of the shape of the putative mortuary enclosure on Challacombe common, or of course the inverse could be the case, given that the date of neither site is known for certain. Whilst the form of the entities are clearly very different, the latter being defined by a substantial bank and ditch, there may be an association or relationship in terms of the shape of the two assemblages.

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Figure 7.13: Geophysical survey results showing the unusual 'petal-like' resistance anomalies at Porlock circle. From Gillings 2013 unpublished report. See Gillings and Taylor 2012: 198 (fig 3) for published version.

The stone circle itself represents the formation and dispersal of a number of different assemblages at different scales, the duration of which may have varied considerably. The act of territorialisation that took place, to gather the stones may have been rather short, taking a just few hours, given the small size of many. Perhaps a little longer to move and gather the larger stones. Setting many of these small stones could easily have been undertaken by a single individual, whilst the larger uprights probably needed at least several people to dig more substantial stone sockets, to raise the heavier stones, undertake any shaping and to produce packing stones presumably through direct, hard hammer percussion using a stone hammer, as indicated by the flake scars on stone X and the large packing stone deposit above feature 6 (Gillings 2015a: 11,13,16). Many of these different assemblages probably deterritorialised rapidly, with people and objects e.g. stones, packing stones, tools such as hammers, digging sticks or antler picks frequently moving between and joining new assemblages. Porlock stone circle appears to have been built in an area that had already seen as yet undefined activity and so the location may already have carried significance, the residues of which (either physically visible at the locale, or preserved in oral traditions) might partly explain why this particular location was chosen. The interpretation favoured here is that the large 1.9m long stone 13, now lying recumbent, is a natural grounder which still lies firmly embedded and possibly in situ, rather than a fallen former upright, although it could have been moved and deliberately placed as such. Certainly the extent of lichen growth and erosion present on the exposed surface of the stone suggests it has lain in its current position for a considerable length of time, and it was in this position when the site was first surveyed by Gray (1928: plate XII; Gillings 2015a: 3-4). Gillings' research has demonstrated the nearby hollow (marked 12 on the RCHME plan) has appeared since 1928, and that several stones have disappeared from this area (stones 6-9, 10 & 12). It is suggested here that Gray's stone 12 (published plan) may have formally occupied this hollow, the long axis of which was aligned perpendicular to the line of the circle, lying 'prostrate' as recorded by Gray (1928: 77, plate XII; Gillings 2015a: 3-4, figs 2&3). Hollow 12 (RCHME plan) might actually have formed as a result of Gray's digging, through which stone 12 is known to have been located, or later through subsidence if any attempt was made to backfill the limited excavations that were undertaken to locate further stones (1928: 77). No information exists as to whether these were backfilled, their extent or the exact locations of the excavations other than which stones were found by digging (Gillings 2015a: 1, 3).The suggested interpretation here is that stone 12 might indicate an important point of transition in terms of the relationships between the stones that is important in understanding the ultimate origins of the circle.

The circle may have been constructed in relation to the much larger stone 13, either in its original position as an outcrop, or moved from nearby where it became a focal point for the construction of the circle. The now missing stone 12's position with its long axis at a right angle to the line of the circle and closest to the end of stone 13 could have indicated that this point marked an origin. This perhaps representing a belief in the capacity of stones, to emerge, grow or move over time, perhaps drawing attention to the idea they were emerging from stone 13 itself. The circle might therefore represent the coding of an understanding that stone outcrops, however small on Exmoor, continually emerged from the earth, always in a state of transformation or becoming, however slow or imperceptible the process may have been. The ontological status of stone to the builders of Porlock stone circle cannot be known but the vibrancy of the monumental tradition of raising stones on Exmoor is clearly demonstrated by the apparent continued engagement with the stones in prehistory. Perhaps the resetting, moving and decommissioning of stones was undertaken to mark significant events such as births, deaths, or celebrations. Finally the size relationships of the other stones adds further support to a potential belief in the emergence or growth of standing stones. This further suggests that part of the significance of the site, may come from the relations between the stones. The materialised trace of which may be reflected in the pattering in stone height, a coding of meaning which contributes to the significance and territorialisation of the entity of the circle, and the subsequent gatherings, rites, rituals or activities that were conducted there, which have left no trace in the archaeological record.

The exact nature of the size and height relationships is difficult to determine with the disappearance of so much of the site since 1928. But from what survives, the site consists of both smaller and larger stones, with one very large recumbent stone (stone 13). Some of the taller stones such as 1 and 4 are leaning slightly (figure 7.14), and this might have further emphasised the idea of growth, in that the leaning stones may have been deliberately set at an angle to give the impression of them being in transition, at a point of emergence between being recumbent and fully upright. The juxtaposition of smaller and larger stones around the circle, such as 1 and 2, 4 and 5, 17 and 16 (figure 7.14 and figure 7.15) might suggest a belief that the little stones might one day emerge and grow into the larger examples, whom may have been intended to watch over them. Whilst the archaeological record on Exmoor tells us little about the specifics of subsistence regimes at the time, if the people on Exmoor were heavily dependent on pastoralist or arable farming (or mixed regimes), it would not be surprising to see a concern with ideas connected to the birth, growth and life cycles of their communities; people, herd animals and crops reflected in the fabric of their monuments. Indeed the significance of the circle as an assemblage may have been that through its creation and re-working the many relationships between these different aspects of life were understood and negotiated, the loose form of the circle being a concept through which the relations and similarities between these different assemblages and life cycles was materialised into the landscape through the concept of coding, providing a space within which future actions and re-negotiations could take place. A final point to make regarding the circle, is another potential relationship which may be expressed through coding via recurrent citation in the fabric of the structure, thereby further contributing to the stabilisation and territorialisation of the stone circle as an entity. The intentionally constructed leaning stone socket (feature 6) may have been drawing a direct link to, or mimicking the unusual megalithic site of the Whit Stones, two large, possibly natural, leaning stone blocks circa 1.75km to the north east (figure 7.16).

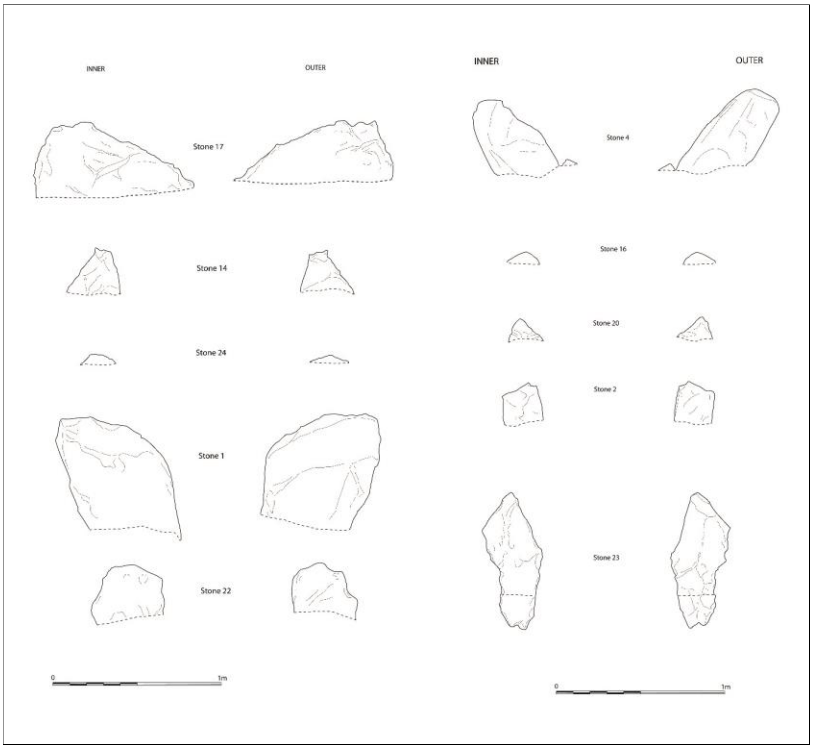

Figure 7.14: Drawn elevations of some of the stones of Porlock circle. From Gillings 2013 unpublished report, used with permission.

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Figure 7.15: Plan of Porlock circle with pairs of adjacent smaller and larger size pairs. From Gillings 2013 unpublished report after Quinnell and Dunn 1992. Adapted from published version in Gillings 2015a: 9 (fig 9).

Figure 7.16: The Whit Stones, comprising Stone B (foreground) and Stone A (background). Photograph by the author.

7.4 Affective capacities

The focus of this chapter so far, has been on the construction and emergence of the stone monuments as haecceities, using a framework based on Deleuzian assemblages to rethink these sites as dynamic entities. They appear to have undergone multiple phases of stability, dispersal (deterritorialisation), reterritorialisation and re-working. Elucidating the specific chronology of such events (i.e. the temporality represented by each individual stone, in relation to a larger group) remains frustratingly beyond the realms of the present evidence and the limits of using radiocarbon dating in a highly acidic upland environment. Although the clear differences shown, for example, by excavation at Porlock Circle between recent stone additions, stones displaced through damage caused by livestock, and those carefully de-commissioned provide a strong argument that this practice was taking place as part of the lithic monument building tradition on Exmoor (see Gillings 2015a). Due to the limited nature of excavations that have been conducted so far and the poor preservation conditions for bone or ceramic material, any evidence of material culture is almost entirely absent, leaving no trace of the kinds of activities that might have taken place at the standing stones or stone settings. It offers no real clue as to how these kinds of structures were used, the role they played in everyday life, or the specific meanings that these small standing stones had to the communities that lived with them.

In the context of this chapter, this poses a major challenge in how to begin to explore their actual use and abandonment. The limited insights so far have been built on the character of the individual sites, trying to elucidate relations within and between different assemblages by identifying the materialisation of potential territorialising or deterritorialising forces. In looking for instances of processes such as coding, this has been through mechanisms such as recurrent citation or association, and in terms of the role of memory in linking these events of stone erection together. Finally consideration has been given to how this might have created an architecture in the landscape which then attracted further events and activities, acting as centres of gravity contributing to the territorialisation of future events at such locales. If this argument and that of continued engagement and re-working of the sites is accepted, it becomes possible to view these groups of small standing stones as highly potent and significant material structures in the landscape, where a defining part of their character to the people who lived with them was that they were effectively 'sticky' with temporality and memory (cf Ahmed 2004: 89-92). Using an assemblage framework gives us a further way to explore this dynamic in the context of the use of the sites, by considering the virtual and actual capacities of the assemblages, drawing on DeLanda's work in particular (2002; 2006). To put it simply, the emergence of affective fields is seen as the actualisation of a virtual capacity that all the small standing stones possessed, in terms of a potential interplay between the stones and the people living with them (see chapters 3 and 4) . It would appear these sites were characterised by a low threshold of deterritorialisation and territorialisation, that allowed frequent and varied virtual capacities to emerge through manipulation and movement of the stones, as well as the visual and tactile presence of the sites as 'lines of flight' in Deleuzian terms, forming wider connections and relationships, new assemblages with the people who lived with them or experienced them in the landscape. In order to consider the experience of these sites in the past, in terms of the emergence of these virtual and actual capacities through human experience, this section will now consider the emergence of affective fields at the sites. This in turn, will allow the potential impact of the 'miniature' nature of the sites to be explored, in terms of how this impacts on human engagement with stone in the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age on Exmoor. To do this, data on the stone height and site layout will be visualised using a GIS as per table 7.6, to approximate the spatial extent of where such affects might begin to take place and intensify, using the skyline tool, along with undertaking a fuzzy reclassification of the potential impact of the affectivity of the sites based on a modification of human visual acuity limits (see Ogburn 2006: 410). In area C this will focus on a standing stone within Porlock allotment II stone setting. This will then lead on to an exploration of wider spatial relationships in the final part of this chapter, assessing to what extent these entities attracted the territorialisation and emergence of other assemblages in their vicinity.

Table 7.6: Method for mapping potential emergence of affective capacities.

Stage	Method
1	Collate DEM, XY location and Z value (elevation from the DEM)
2	Use Skyline tool to generate polygon defining max visual envelope
3	Reclassify polygon into zones of the increasing potential emergence of affective capacities (based on distance decay)

The use of distance decay represents an attempt to define where affective fields at specific locales might begin to occur. This can be applied to explore both the probability of affective fields emerging, relationships between people, places and things through which an emotional response is stimulated (See Harris and Sørenson 2010: 150; see chapter 3), and in considering the spatial extent of the impact of the sites in assemblage formation processes, contributing to further territorialisation of other assemblages in their vicinity (table 7.7).

Table 7.7: Considering the probability of the emergence of affective fields.

Probability of affective field 'emergence'/intensity of emergence of virtual or actual capacities in assemblage processes	Distance zone	Justification
High	0-10m	Smaller stones only visible from a few metres away, a trait acknowledged by previous research and by visiting the sites
Medium	10-50m	Limited visibility of stones themselves, only the larger size range (circa 0.5-0.8m) occasionally glimpsed at the minimum end of this zone.
Low	50m+ to limit of visual envelope of site.	Stones not visible, although the locale of the site may still be.

All the attempts to explore the extent to which standing stones sites were potentially 'centres of gravity' for wider activities depend on the proximity of other features to the sites, and their potential visibility, to play a role in the emergence of affective fields, atmospheres in experience of the landscape, and in contributing to the territorialisation of other assemblages. A classification based on arbitrary figures for defining these zones has been used here, because the height resolution of the available DEM (digital elevation model) data, the limited extent of high resolution LiDAR (0.5m in height, covering specific areas only) and the present capability of the skyline tool (which uses the land surface height when using a DEM) does not allow them to be defined using the actual topographic pattern of the surrounding landscape and the actual height data for stones. The values have also been adjusted using a modification of Ogburn's visual acuity recognition limit of 3440m under perfect conditions with 20/20 vision, for a 1m by 1m sized object (2006: 410). Given that none of Exmoor's standing stones are 1m wide and in area C and the average height is 0.4276m, a proportional adjustment has been carried out, which reduced the distance limit to something more applicable to the actual size of Exmoor's standing stones as shown in table 7.8.

Table 7.8: Adjustments made to Ogburn's human visual acuity limit's using actual size data for Exmoor's standing stones. Includes data from Ogburn 2006: 410.

<table>
<tr><th>Visibility limit</th><th>Ogburn's limits</th><th>Adjustment</th><th>Limit of recognition distance for a minilith, under ideal conditions</th></tr>
<tr><td>Limit of human visual recognition acuity for 1m wide object under perfect conditions</td><td>6880m</td><td rowspan="2">Reduce figure by 50%, i.e. 0.5m wide object, 75% i.e. 0.25m wide object, 90% i.e. 0.10m wide object</td><td>0.5m wide object = 3440m
0.25m wide object = 1720m
0.10m wide object = 688m</td></tr>
<tr><td>Limit based on a person with 20/20 vision</td><td>3440m</td><td>0.5m wide object = 1720m
0.25m wide object = 860m
0.10m wide object = 344m</td></tr>
</table>

The result of conducting such an exercise is shown in figure 7.17, partly based on the actual size data for Porlock Allotment II stone setting in table 7.9. This visualisation was carried out using the modifications to Ogburn's 20/20 vision metric (table 7.8) by rounding the width of the tallest former upright stone C (0.34m) to the nearest value and setting the latter as the radius limit for the skyline tool (the 0.25m = 860m figure) which used OS terrain 5 DEM data to define the skyline. Stones B and D were ignored as they have no significant height to allow them to be seen from any distance, being embedded or partly turf covered (Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 60). Figure 7.17 defines the maximum extent of the emergence of affective fields, and the actualisation of virtual capacities of the stones, which was further refined by dividing this area up using a simple distance decay criteria, of high, medium and low potential as the distance from the site increases. The boundaries between such zones are shown as blurred rather than distinct and it should be remembered that the visualisation shown represents the probability (in terms of high, medium and low) that a site might attract further events and activities in its immediate vicinity, acting as a territorialising force, based ultimately on visibility. The potentially powerful capacities of small stones to create distinct affects, would primarily take place at the very end of the high intensity band, within a few metres of the stones. However, as has been demonstrated in earlier sections of this chapter, such relations do not have to be limited to physical lines of sight, and through memory and processes of materialisation through coding, relations to prior events taking part in territorialising and deterritorialising processes can cover potentially much larger distances where direct visibility is not present, like the potential link between the Whit Stones and feature 6 at Porlock Stone Circle (section 7.3.3). The result in figure 7.17 will form the rationale for the spatial analysis in the last part of this chapter. The final point to explore here, which builds on this way of visualising the extent and impact of the emergence of affective capacities, and the potential role of a minilith in wider assemblage formation and dispersal processes, is to consider the impact of raising extremely small standing stones on experiencing, engaging and conducting activities at these sites. Put simply, how in experiential terms might the emergence of affective fields between people and these stones be characterised, in terms of the impact of building monuments on a tiny scale and what kind of impact might that have had on stone engagement in the Late 3rd and Early 2nd Millennium BC?

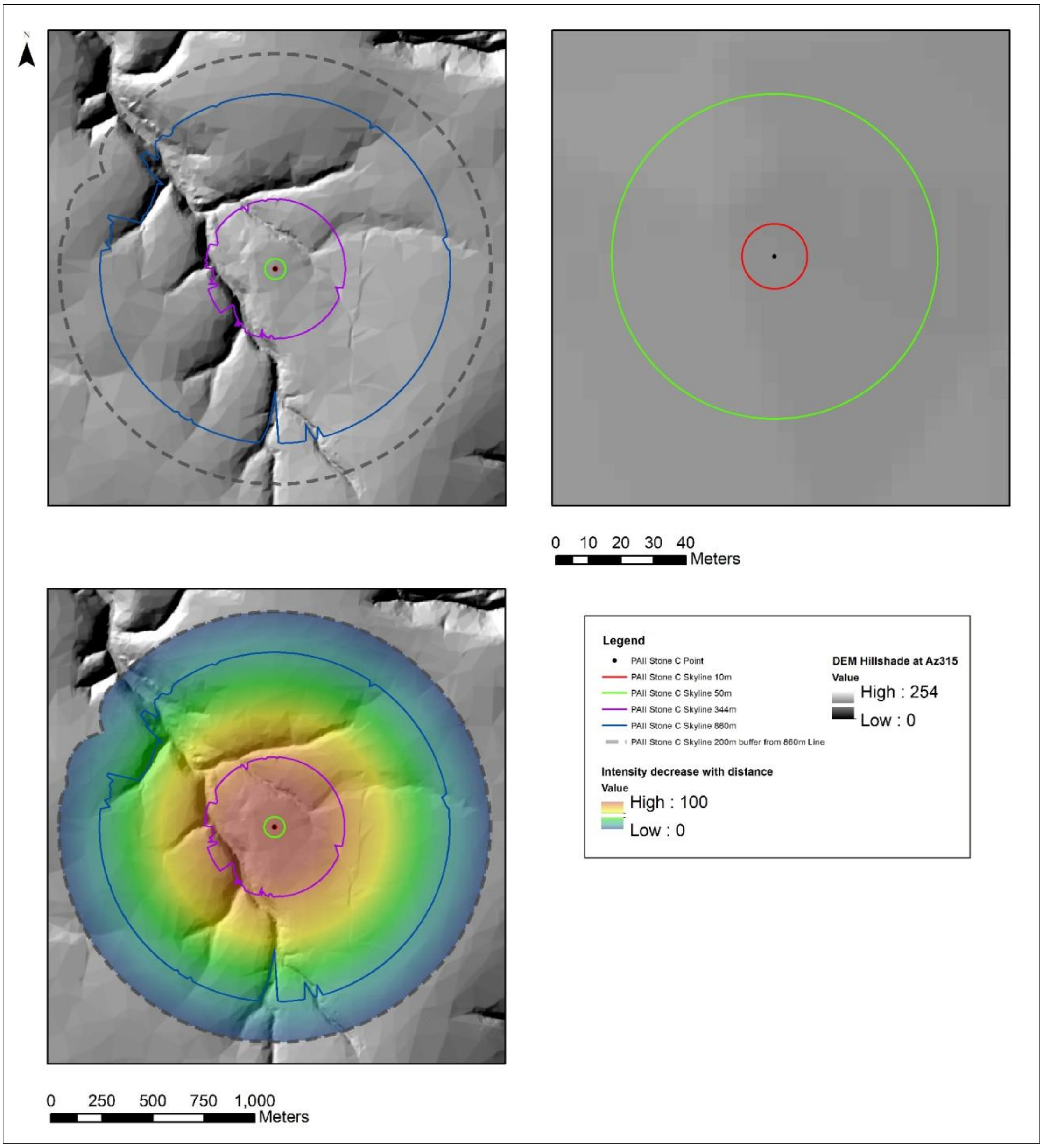

Figure 7.17: Visualisation of method for mapping probability zones of the emergence of assemblages and affective fields.

Table 7.9: Stone size data for Porlock Allotment II stone setting. Data recorded by the author or taken from Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 60.

Stone	Height	Width/length	Thickness	Note
A	0.32m	0.25	>0.1m	-
B	?	0.45m	0.28m	Partly turf covered
C	1.06m (c. 0.8-1 when upright?)	0.34m	Not clearly measurable as now recumbent	Clear erosion hollow, former upright
D	?	0.6m	0.3m	Flat, embedded

The analysis of stone size and their classification into broad categories of scale, demonstrates that the individual set stones always fall into the intimate scale, or to use Bailey's terms, the smaller than life-sized scale (2005: 28-29). The exploration and definition of the extent of the interaction of such structures in assemblage processes, and in the emergence of affective fields can now be built upon following the principles regarding the affects of small scale things reviewed in chapter 4. These powerful potential impacts of miniature things and the empowering effects they can provoke when experienced by people (cf. Bailey 2005: 33) would potentially begin to occur in the medium distance band as defined in table 7.7, whilst the full intensity of such affective capacities would only occur when the stones were in intimate proximity to the human body. That is within a few metres of the stones themselves at the very start of the high intensity band, when they were fully visible and tangible to the full range of senses, emotions and responses (see chapter 3; Harris and Sørensen 2010; Hamilakis 2014). The following discussion will briefly explore the specific affective fields, and impacts of the tiny stones on experiencing the sites, viewing miniaturisation as a process which forms another territorialising and deterritorialising force taking part in the formation and dispersal of assemblages at Porlock Allotment II and Almsworthy common stone settings.

Figure 7.18 demonstrates the maximum and minimum stone heights at Porlock Allotment II and Almsworthy Common, in relation to the size of an average human, taking 1.75 m as an average (e.g. Gillings 2015b: 14). The obvious implication here is that almost any person, with the exception of very young children would be much taller and much larger than the standing stones, giving a rather different dynamic of experience to the practice of building large 'megaliths'[33] which as the term implies, would generally be larger, or much larger than the human body. Table 7.10 briefly summarises the potential effects of miniaturisation on human experience, which were explained in detail in chapter 4, drawing on the work of DeLong (1981 and 1985), Stewart (1993), Bailey (2005) and Jones (2012). Building on this, a simplified scheme of how these impacts of miniaturisation and scale juxtaposition might have emerged, as

[33] Megalith is literally defined as a large stone (OED Online 2016).

affective fields when in close proximity to the sites during prehistory, is presented in table 7.11.

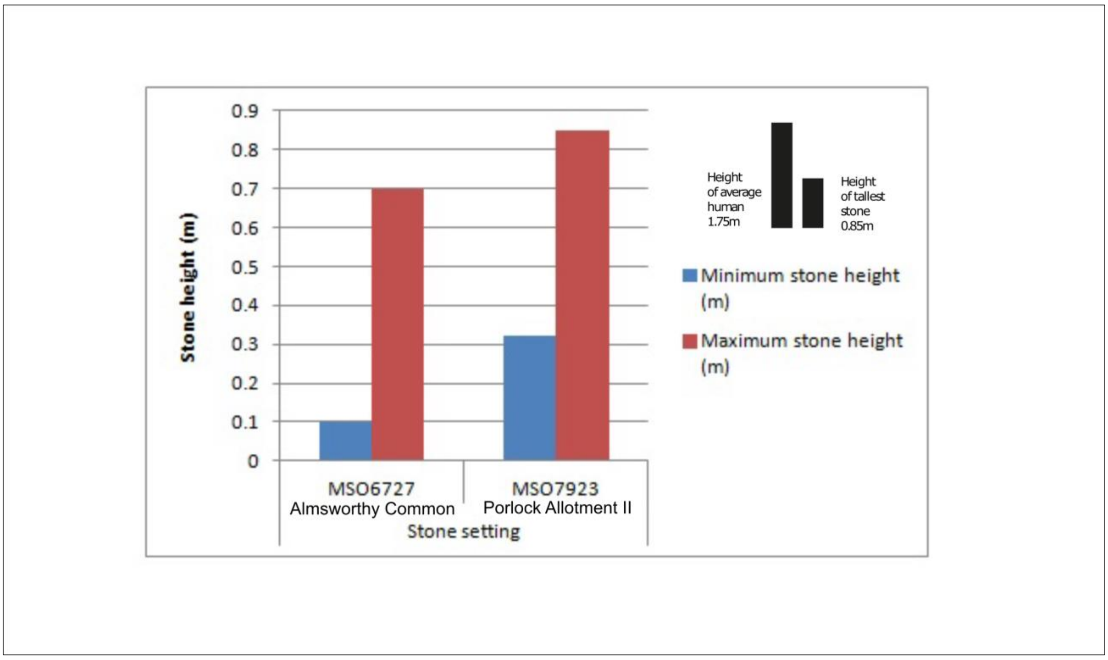

Figure 7.18: Graph showing the maximum and minimum stone heights at Almsworthy Common and Porlock Allotment II stone settings. The height of the tallest stone in relation to an average human height is shown in black.

Table 7.10: Summary of the effects of miniatures and miniaturisation from chapter 4.

Potential impacts of small things and differing scales	Explanation
• Stimulating the imagination and allowing access to other worlds or realities (Stewart 1993: 54; Bailey 2005: 34).	*Alters relation between observation and understanding, encourages thinking beyond what is represented, to experience being drawn into another place (Bailey 2005: 32, 34-35; Stewart 1993: 54).*
• Qualities of abstraction and compression of something are created in producing miniature things (Bailey 2005: 32).	*Forces the viewer to draw inferences in understanding them, allowing multiple readings (Bailey 2005: 32).*
• Increased potential for engagement (Bailey 2005: 33).	*Can have an empowering effect on the viewer making them gigantic, entering personal space (Bailey 2005: 33).*
• Distortion of people's perception of time (DeLong 1981 and 1985; Bailey 2005: 36-37).	*Correlation between scale reduction and the compression of experience of time (DeLong 1981: 682 and 1985: 9). When scale is reduced, people experience time faster (DeLong 1985: 9; Bailey 2005: 36).*
• The juxtaposition of scales (Jones 2012: 52; Nakamura 2005: 32; Cochrane 2008: 144).	*Jones argued tombs at different scales were linked, in an interlinked network of references, or as micro and macrocosms of one another (2012: 54).*

Table 7.11: Each of the impacts here lead to the emergence of specific and highly situational affective fields, which emerge through the interplay and experiences shared between the material and the person where both impact upon each other (see chapter 2).

Impact of scales/size	Explanation
Increased potential to engage	Small standing stones are easily set up, moved, carried or reconfigured by one, or several people
Time compression	Time spent in close proximity of the stones, may have distorted perception of time, like in DeLong's reduced scale environments, where time was experienced more slowly, as the scale was reduced in relation to the human body (1981 and 1985: 9;Bailey 2005: 36).
Stimulating the imagination	The variety and dynamism of Exmoor's stone monuments show the importance of this practice in everyday lifeways.
Abstraction and compression - alternate readings and understandings possible	The standing stones are not miniature versions of megalithic ones per se, but their diminutive size and vague shapes give them qualities of the abstraction and compression of aspects of a wider shared tradition of monument building, allowing alternate readings and understandings.
Juxtaposition of scales	This aspect not only expresses potential links between sites and events (following Jones 2012), which I explore using Lucas's (2012) work, but also enhances and amplifies the impact of the smaller stones within the groups, drawing attention to the differences in size and scale.

Porlock Allotment II is a vague linear setting situated on a hill spur on Porlock Allotment, consisting of an assemblage of up to four component stones, which is neither a tightly defined line or a convincing triangular arrangement (figure 7.19). It has suffered considerable damage over the last century (ENPHER MSO7923; Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 60) and the condition of the site is similar to that recorded by the RCHME when visited in 2013 and 2014. The state of preservation was not seen as a prohibiting factor since the site was chosen primarily in order to examine the immediate surrounding context through fieldwork, whilst the majority of Exmoor's settings have anyway suffered damage to some extent. A basic record of which stones were upright earlier in the 20th century was present in the HER along with the RCHME survey of the setting and as there were no known features on this immediate area of hillslope recorded in the HER, it provided an opportunity to investigate if the setting was an isolated feature (see ENPHER MSO7923 and Quinnell and Dunn 1992). At Porlock Allotment II, let us briefly explore what experiencing the setting, through the emergence of an affective field characterised by a sense of time compression and distortion might have been like, when within a few metres of the stones. The kind of inability to accurately estimate how much measured ‘clock’ time has passed as suggested by Delong's experiments (1981; see chapter 4), is something that would have been impossible to conceive of millennia before a consistent measure of quantifiable and consistent clock time existed. Instead this effect might have been experienced through a feeling of increased productivity and intensity of thought. This increased stimulation of thought, caused by an increase in the brain's capacity to process information in a reduced scale environment (DeLong 1985: 9; Bailey 2005: 36) might have helped people to think through pertinent everyday concerns, as well as deeper issues of the world around them, as they walked around towering over the stones. Whilst no geophysical survey has been carried out at PAII to examine the underlying geology, the unsystematic walkover conducted by the author suggested the site lies within a very subtle band of stone clitter, only visible as occasional, slight embedded stones protruding through the blanket peat/half bog soil that now covers the site. The implication here is that placing uprights amongst natural outcropping stone clitter points to the significance of stone as a highly affective material, capable of many potential capacities to affect people and the world they inhabited. This perhaps explains an apparent interest in the origins of outcropping stones and a need to attend to these locales through raising small standing stones.

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Figure 7.19: RCHME plan of Porlock Allotment II stone setting (ENPHER MSO7923). From Quinnell and Dunn 1992.

The emergence of affective fields characterised by time compression and imaginative stimulus may also have operated at a broader scale. This may have given the larger sites a quality of intense temporality, in terms of the materialisation of many different events, experiences and memories being compressed and abstracted within a specific area of the landscape. Take for example the large setting on Almsworthy Common (figure 7.6), which appears to consist of partial rows, potentially added to the site over a long period of time. Once these processes led to a large grouping of stones becoming territorialised, a visitor would potentially have experienced the emergence of an affective field which was characterised by an intense feeling of accelerated thought, and an atmosphere with a great depth or intensity of temporality being present through the raising of so many small standing stones in this place. In an emotional sense, the experience of the setting might have been a sense of feeling that the distant reverberation of past events was intense and close by, visiting the site might have been for example, involved in building a strong sense of community or regional identity, perhaps connected to the retelling of origin myths or community histories. A further interesting dynamic of the Almsworthy Common setting that could have played a role especially in the monument's most developed form, is born out of the fact that there is some sense of partial alignment along the rows running NNW-ESE, but little attempt to align stones with other existing rows in other directions. Walking around the site might have therefore given the impression, or illusion of the movement of stones, as they appear more aligned when viewed from certain directions, compared to views from other directions, perhaps further enhancing the significance of the site. Both these examples highlight just how site specific, and potentially varied the use, purpose and understandings of these stone arrangements might have been across Exmoor. Rather than reading the focus on constructing very small standing stones as solely a reflection of the stone available in the landscape, the argument followed here is that this was a deliberate and coherent part of the monument building tradition. The latter is strongly supported by the evidence discussed in this chapter (and those which follow), especially with the consistent and deliberate juxtaposition of scale and the apparent lack of larger standing stones in the instances where such material was available.

7.5 Porlock Allotment II – the wider context of a stone setting

This section focuses on the immediate vicinity of the stone setting which was explored using a systematic team walkover survey and unsystematic walkover surveys by the author, with potential features marked with flags, photographed and recorded with a DGPS system. The recording was limited to a rapid notation of the shape, size and form along with a potential interpretation (see table 7.12). The results are shown in the site survey plan (figure 7.20) which demonstrates a number of features that are potentially prehistoric and therefore of relevance to the discussion of wider context. The survey also recorded a number of features that are potentially natural outcropping stones or areas of stone clitter, to add further information to our understanding of the siting and context of Porlock Allotment II.

Table 7.12: Summary of new features recorded during the walkover survey of the wider area of Porlock Allotment II stone setting.

Feature	No	Period	Description	Interpretation
Edge set stone	PA2019	LN/ EBA?	An edge set stone two metres or so from the outcrop PA2018. Some distinctive, probably natural parallel marks were clearly visible on one side. These formed a partial rectangle with round corners and are likely a result of geological formation processes, erosion or weathering, rather than any human action.	Uncertain, possible standing stone
Altered rock outcrop?	PA2018	LN/ EBA?	An upright block, with large slabs wedged against the base. The large rock might have been erected in situ, against an area of outcropping natural and rocks behind it. The slope of the spur gradually drops away in front of the arrangement, although it may well be a natural outcrop.	Uncertain, probably natural outcrop
Two upright stones	PA2017	LN/ EBA?	Two small upright stones. Unclear if these are artificially set or part of the band of outcropping stone and clitter that is present in this area	Uncertain if natural or artificially set
Circular mound	PA2016	LP?	Small mound, 1.5-2m in diameter, covered with heather. Mound encircled by a ring of short cropped grass. Possibly comparable to the small ovoid cairns excavated at Lanacombe (see Gillings 2013). Notably smaller in diameter than PA2012 or PA2013.	Uncertain, small clearance cairn or natural mound
Small mound	PA2007	LN/ EBA?	A small mound, with three upright stones in close proximity (PA2008, PA2009 & PA2010).	Uncertain, possibly natural
Upright stone, with possible supporting trigger	PA2008	LN/ EBA?	Small upright stone, with possible supporting trigger. Unclear if this is artificially set or part of the band of outcropping stone and clitter that is present in this area. May be associated with PA2007.	Uncertain if natural or artificially set
Upright stone, with possible supporting trigger	PA2009	LN/ EBA?	Small upright stone, with possible supporting trigger. Unclear if this is artificially set or part of the band of outcropping stone and clitter that is present in this area. May be associated with PA2007.	Uncertain if natural or artificially set
Upright stone, with possible supporting trigger	PA2010	LN/ EBA?	Small upright stone, with possible supporting trigger. Unclear if this is artificially set or part of the band of outcropping stone and clitter that is present in this area. May be associated with PA2007.	Uncertain if natural or artificially set
Fox hole or quarry pit	PA2011	20th century, WW1/ WW2 ?	Fox hole or quarry pit, abutting PA2014. Corresponds to a distinct LiDAR anomaly.	Military activity?
Small circular mound	PA2012	LN/ EBA?	Roughly 0.4 to 0.5m high and 4-5m in diameter. Considerable stone content. PA2012 did not have such a prominent stone element as PA2013. Covered by turf.	Small cairn
Small circular mound	PA2013	LN/ EBA?	Roughly 0.4 to 0.5 metres high and 4-5m in diameter. Considerable stone content, with visible stone both at its edge and on the surface. Covered by heather.	Small cairn
Small fox hole or quarry pit, abutting PA2011	PA2014	20th century, WW1/ WW2?	Small fox hole or quarry pit, abutting PA2011. A very slight raised ridge between these features might represent a spoil heap.	Military activity?
Upright grouping of stones	PA2015	LN/ EBA?	Cluster of upright stones similar to the stone grouping inside the Lanacombe III activity structure (see Gillings 2013).	Uncertain, possibly natural
Stone in slight erosion hollow	PA2001	LN/ EBA?	A small stone with a slight surrounding erosion hollow, within the immediate area of PAII stone setting. This is not recorded on the RCHME plan of the site (figure 7.19).	Uncertain, possibly natural, but may be part of PAII setting

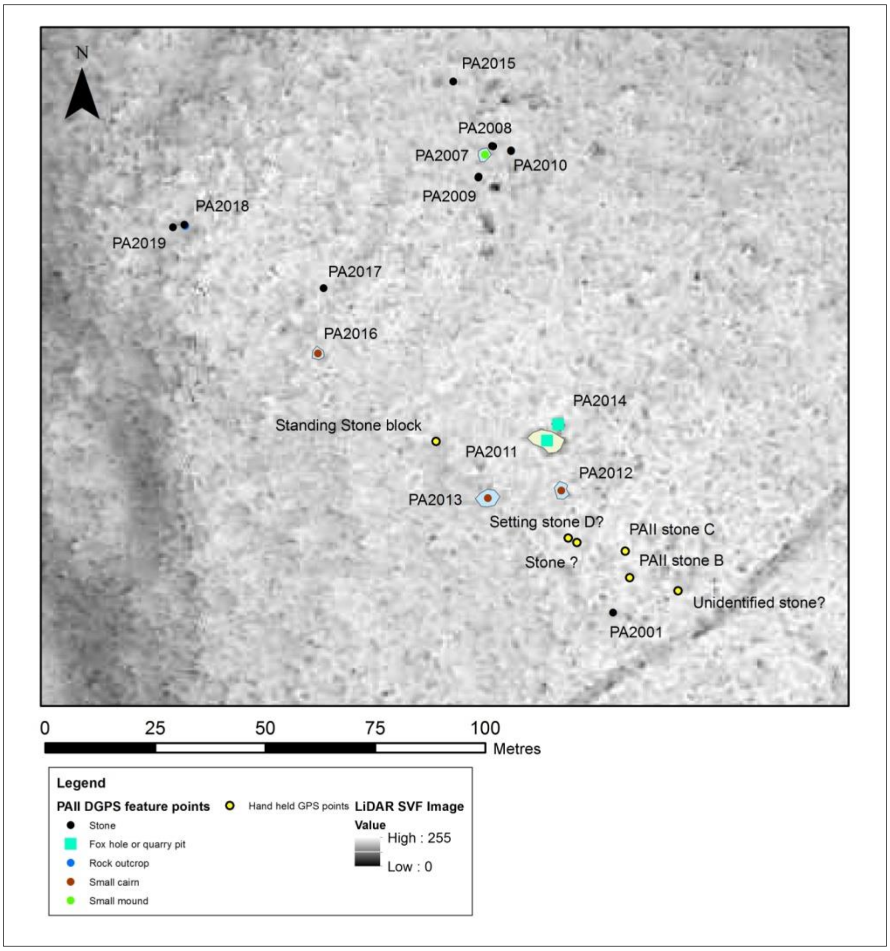

Figure 7.20: Survey plan of features identified during walkover survey in the vicinity of Porlock Allotment II stone setting. Features marked with yellow dots were recorded with a navigation grade GPS and all other features with a DGPS system. Produced by the author using LiDAR data from the Environment Agency (© Geomatics)

The features summarised in table 7.12 comprise a number of possible small cairns and mounds, along with a number of small upright or edge set stones that may be of natural or cultural origin (e.g. mound PA2007, see figure 7.21). Situated to the north west of Porlock Allotment II, the survey located two small circular mounds (PA2012 and PA2013 in figure 7.20, figure 7.23 and table 7.12). These possible cairns may have been deliberately placed in the vicinity of a probable standing stone block (figure 7.22) and the stone setting, the stone block being clearly visible from both the cairns and PAII setting. Another more unusual feature was an area of outcropping rock, with a single large block that might have been deliberately erected (PA2018; figure 7.24). Whilst this interpretation could only be confirmed by excavation, the location of an edge set stone two metres or so from the outcrop is suggestive (PA2019; figure 7.25). This is because it is similar to an edge set stone (DP2013 4) located nearby during further fieldwork for the Dig Porlock Project (Riley 2013: 4, fig 4) and because the practice of erecting small standing stones and a small cairn in the vicinity of outcropping stone and a large natural block also occurs on the next hill spur immediately north east of the site, as shown in figure 7.26. The stone PA2019 may have been deliberately placed to reference the outcrop, ensuring that some natural parallel marks on the stone were clearly visible. The distinctiveness of these marks might explain why this particular stone was chosen to enhance the outcrop (figure 7.27).

Figure 7.21: Small mound PA2007 with upright stones marked by flags. This and subsequent photographs (Figures 7.21-7.25) taken by the author.

Figure 7.22: A single standing stone near to Porlock Allotment II setting.

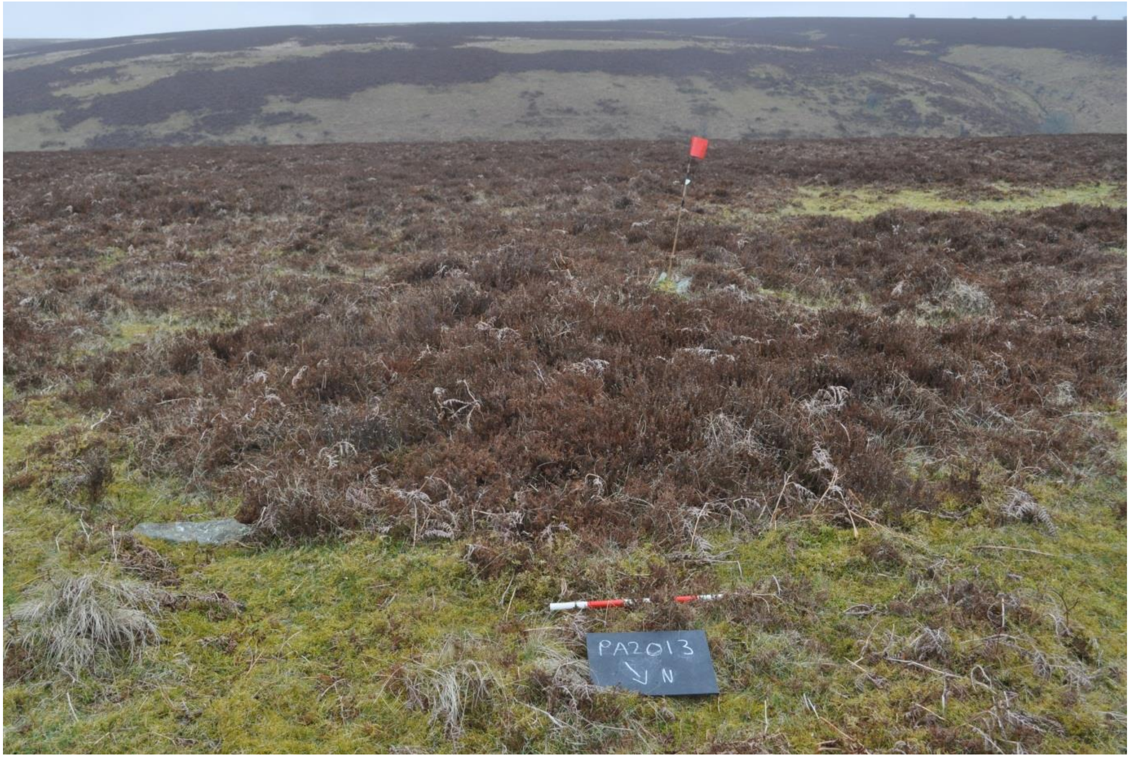

Figure 7.23: Probable small cairn PA2013.

Figure 7.24: Rock outcrop PA2018.

Figure 7.25: Edge set stone PA2019, foreground left, circa 2m from rock outcrop.

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Figure 7.26: RCHME survey plan of stone Setting MSO7911 with nearby small cairn and natural outcropping stone block. From Quinnell and Dunn 1992.

Figure 7.27: Edge set stone PA2019.

The final point to make regarding the wider context of the Porlock Allotment II stone setting, is to compare the distribution of the existing and newly discovered features with the zones of probability for assemblage and affective field formation defined in section 7.4, which is shown in figure 7.28. This shows that a number of the features fall within the high to medium and medium to lower probability zones. The setting stones themselves, almost all fall within 10m of each other. So if individual highest intensity zones were generated for each stone, other set stones would fall within the highest zones of some of these features. In the case of stone D, the cairn PA2012 would partially fall within the highest intensity zone for the former feature. In short this suggests that at least at Porlock Allotment II stone setting, the formation of further assemblages appears more frequent in proximity to the setting, although nothing is known about the specific chronological development or character of the features here beyond the surface evidence.

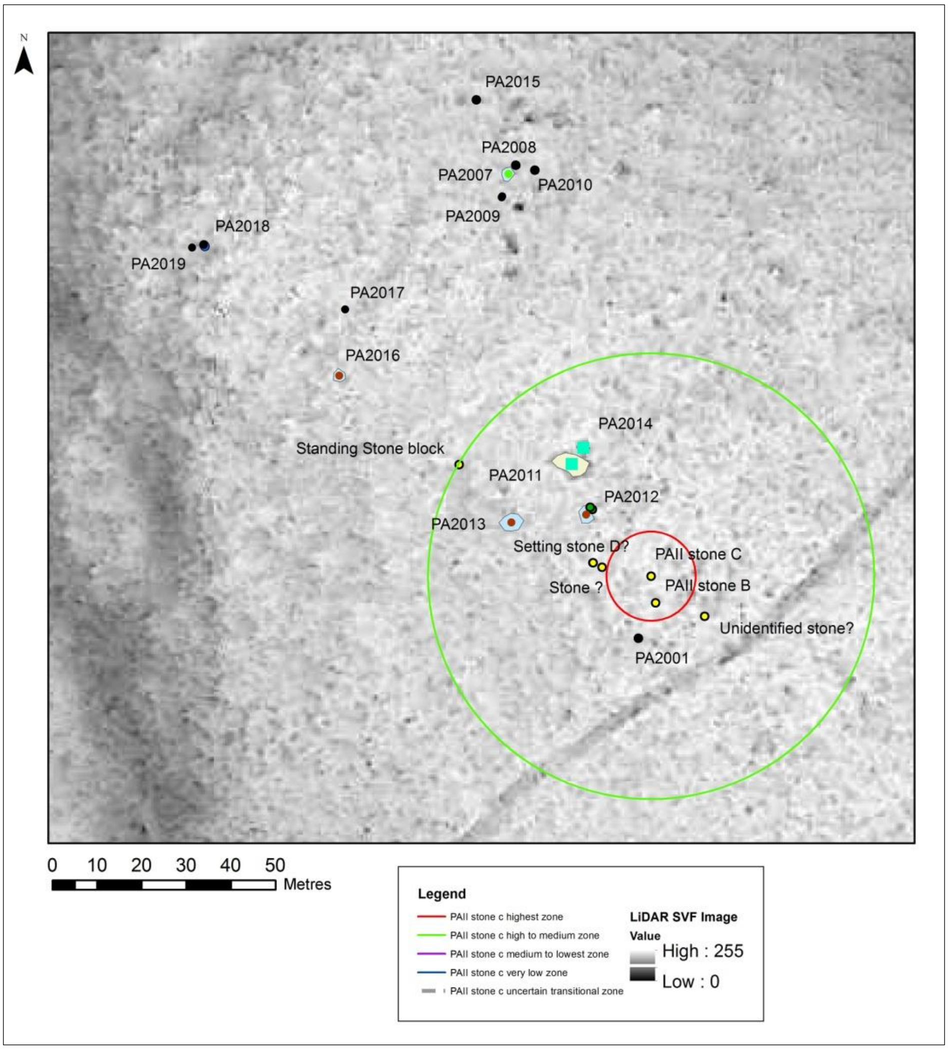

Figure 7.28: The results of the Porlock Allotment II survey in relation to probability zones of assemblage and affective field formation generated from stone C. Produced by the author using LiDAR data from the Environment Agency (© Geomatics).

7.6 Conclusion and summary

Throughout chapter 7, a detailed characterisation has been elucidated for the monuments in study area C, through exploring the characteristics of Exmoor's small standing stones as highly dynamic and changeable Deleuzian assemblages. This has involved looking in detail at the potential relations within specific haecceities, for example, Porlock stone circle, and exploring potential wider relations between different assemblages, for example, the Whit Stones and Porlock circle. The general methods and structure that will be followed in the remaining two chapters which focus on the detailed analysis of case study areas have also been introduced. This included a new method for investigating the potentially unique affective capacities of miniliths, both in terms of their wider role in new assemblages forming in their vicinity and in the unique characteristics of affective fields that could emerge when people were within very close proximity to these unusually tiny standing stones. Spatial relationships were examined utilising the results of the methods employed for generating maps of the potential emergence of affective capacities and the projects field work to look in detail at the immediate context of Porlock Allotment II stone setting.

Chapter 8 The landscapes and monuments of Lanacombe, East Pinford and Swap Hill

8.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on a detailed analysis of study area B. Once again it will begin with an introduction to the character of the area and key factors that might have impacted the survival and visibility of Later Prehistoric remains. The core of the chapter examines the character and form of the Neolithic and Bronze Age stone monuments, using a combination of the synthesis and interpretation of existing data along with new fieldwork. Given the greater extent of previous research elucidating and investigating the character and context of the stone monuments in this area, especially focusing on Lanacombe, but also at Tom's Hill and East Pinford (e.g. Gillings *et al.* 2005; Gillings *et al.* 2010; Tilley 2010; Gillings and Taylor 2011a; Gillings 2013, 2015b&c), it was decided to focus here on detailed analysis of three specific areas within it. The more developed state of knowledge regarding the sites in this area allows this chapter to focus on conducting detailed analysis and interpretation of three small case studies which focus on the results of the new fieldwork conducted at Lanacombe, East Pinford and Swap Hill drawing on the assemblage framework which runs throughout this thesis.

8.1.1 Topography of study area B

Study area B comprises a remote area of largely unenclosed open moorland around the upper reaches of Badgworthy Water as shown in figure 8.1, with the bottom south west corner of the study area located circa 2.3km north of the present village of Simonsbath. The topography is divided by a number of deep coombes combining a series of fast flowing tributaries and streams that ultimately feed into Badgworthy Water to the north of the study area. The coombes define the edges of a series of long, low, flat topped hills and plateau's around which the later prehistoric features are distributed, including named areas such as Lanacombe and East Pinford. The distribution of prehistoric features clearly focuses on the less-steep areas on the upper coombe slopes rather than in the highest hill top locations or within the lowest areas in the coombes. The elevation of study area B is relatively high ranging from about 340m to over 400m. The highest ground is located in the south eastern and southern edges of the area, with an elevation of 435m located on the study area boundary immediately south of Great Buscombe. The highest point is located at the western end of Lanacombe, with the elevation rising to 449m just beyond the western extent of the map in figure 8.1. Exmoor's great central ridge runs East-West just to the south of the study area boundary in figure 8.1 effectively creating a topographic barrier to the south. This chapter focuses particularly on the western ends of Swap Hill and East Pinford, along with the western end of Lanacombe.

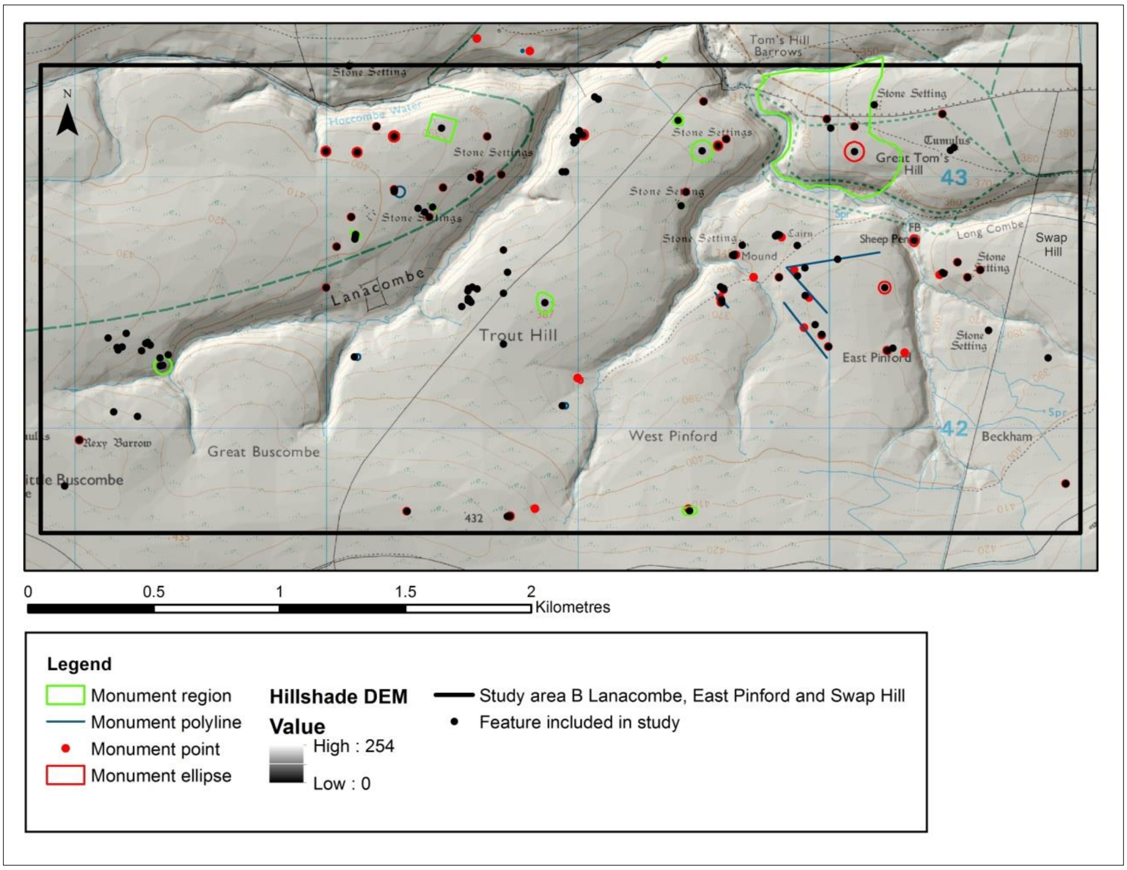

Figure 8.1: Topography, land use and extent of study area B with the sites included in this study represented by black dots. Figure produced by the author using data from ENPA HER and Ordnance Survey. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.)

8.1.2 Synthesis of area B - site distribution and character

Whilst the area is devoid of any modern settlement, being used primarily for the rough grazing of livestock, there are various deterritorialising forces which have impacted the distribution of prehistoric sites in terms of later activity which are important to note. First this area was a particular focus of attempts at improvement during the 19th century led by the Knight family, which included building extensive land drainage systems over large areas of Lanacombe, Great Buscombe, Trout Hill, East and West Pinford and Beckham which could potentially have removed prehistoric features (see ENPHER MSO7104, MSO10399, MMO2340 and MMO2341; Orwin and Sellick 1970; Orwin, Sellick and Bonham-Carter 1997; Hegarty and Wilson-North 2014: 28-35). Recent detailed mapping of these systems (figure 8.2) suggests this might well be the case, with the drainage features concentrated in zones that are largely devoid of prehistoric features as shown in figure 8.1 and figure 8.2. Second, this area is within a larger zone used extensively by the military in the Second World War as a training area for infantry, tanks and vehicles and as an artillery range with large areas covered in shell craters (see ENPHER MSO7776). At least one stone setting (ENPHER MSO6819) was partially destroyed when an unexploded shell lying against the central stone later detonated sometime after 1976, destroying the stone, whilst a series of nearby mounds and hollows have been interpreted as a result of military activity (ENPHER MSO11065). Finally, enclosure boundaries and route ways have also partially encroached on the area, along with the construction of later features connected to livestock farming such as sheep stells, for example on Lanacombe and between Pinford and Tom's Hill (see Hegarty and Wilson-North 2014: 45-46, 50). Given the extent of these later developments, particularly the drainage schemes and the strong correlation whereby surviving areas of prehistoric features are largely confined to areas beyond the drainage systems, it was decided not to conduct any formal spatial analysis on area B. The distribution in figure 8.2 is clearly clustered, but this most likely reflects the extent of the destruction of earlier features by land drainage activities. As it is impossible to quantify whether these clusters had any reality in terms of the distribution of prehistoric features prior to the mid 19th century moorland drainage and improvement programmes (for which no evidence survives) it was felt that a global spatial analysis equivalent to that presented in appendix 5 would not yield any meaningful results. The final point to make here is that much of the area is covered in blanket peat, or half-bog, peat like soils, so the potential for archaeological features to be buried is quite high. The present landscape is also very wet, with frequent mires, bogs and areas of deeper peat and peat cutting is known to have taken place within the area, with extensive cuttings recorded on the western end of Lanacombe (ENPHER MMO2310), immediately east of the enclosure wall to the east of Swap Hill stone setting, and at the coombe head between West Pinford and Trout hill (ENPHER MMO2309). Further areas are spread along the ridge just outside area B's southern boundary (see ENPHER MSO10361, MSO10401, MSO10391). All of these may well have impacted the survival of earlier features.

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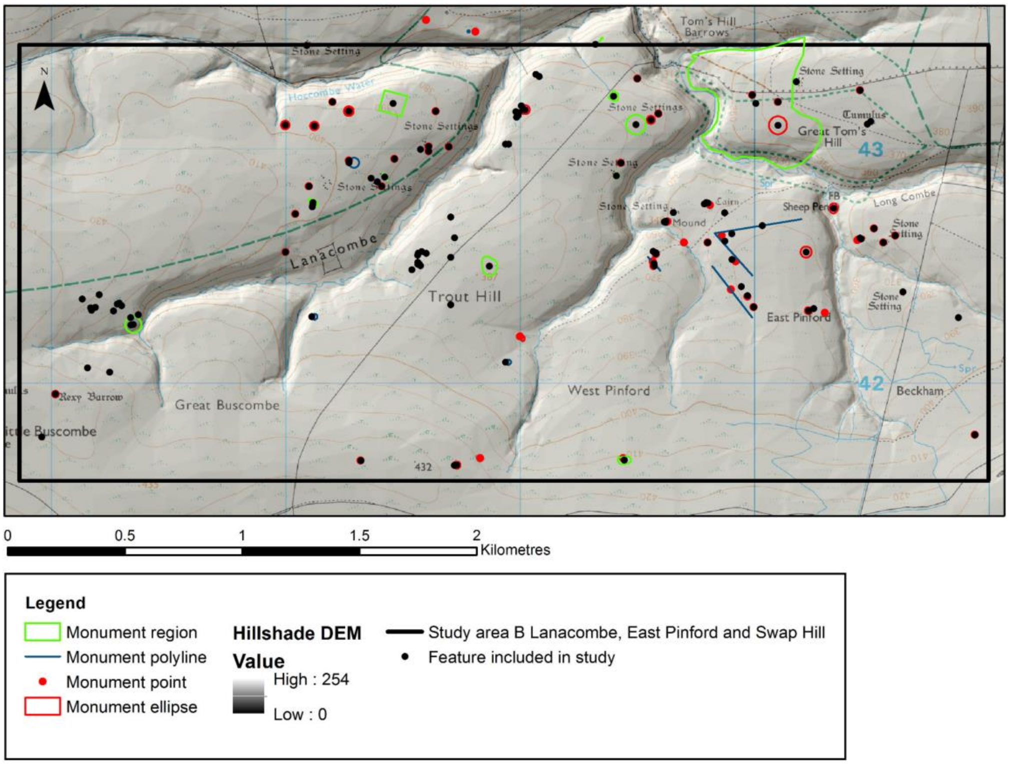

Figure 8.2: Extent of later drainage features within part of study area B (top) and monument distribution (bottom). Drainage map From Hegarty and Wilson-North 2014: 34, fig 1.13 (©John Hodgson). **Monument distribution map produced by the author using data from ENPA HER and Ordnance Survey.** (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.)

This chapter is intended to focus on three specific zones, but first it is necessary to synthesise the character of the stone monuments generally in area B. In terms of layout the sites are rather varied and vague; none in truth conform very convincingly to the geometric shapes to which they have previously been assigned (table 8.1 and figure 8.3) and even the rectangular sites show variation (see section 8.3.1).The inherent limitation in looking for any coherent 'designed' shape is typified by Trout Hill I (figure 8.4), described variously as an irregular quadrilateral or a triangular arrangement (ENPHER MS06815). It could actually be placed in several of the layout types, including an L-shaped form with a northern outlier[34]. In terms of scale the sites engage with both the smaller and gigantic scales, in terms of the stone size and the length and width of the stone groupings respectively (table 8.2 and figure 8.5). The settings here, in common with those in Area C (chapter 7) also adhere to the multiple size motif in terms of stone height, with many of the tallest stones generally speaking, although not exclusively, at least circa 50% larger than the smallest stone in the setting (table 8.3 and figure 8.6). The average stone height in area B is 0.52m for all the lithic monuments, with an average minimum of 0.30m and an average maximum height of 0.69m for the stone settings (table 8.4). Whilst the detailed formal spatial analysis as applied in chapter five was not conducted here, analysis of the projects feature database suggests that 29% of the stone settings in area B have nearby cairns or mounds (table 8.5).

Table 8.1: Layout types for multiple stone arrangements in area B. Data from ENPHER and Quinnell and Dunn 1992.

Monument ID (ENPHER number)	Name	Monument type	Layout type
MDE9886	Hoccombe Hill	Stone Setting	Triangular or kite shaped
MEM15202	New Trout Hill	Stone Setting	Linear
MSO12301	Stone Setting, east of Lanacombe III	Stone Setting	-
MSO6815	Trout Hill I	Stone Setting	Triangular or kite shaped
MSO6819	Trout Hill II	Stone Setting	Quincunx
MSO6820	East Pinford	Stone Setting	Rectangular
MSO6862	Beckham Hill	Stone Setting	Rectangular
MSO6873	Swap Hill	Stone Setting	Triangular or kite shaped
MSO6947	Lanacombe II: Stone Setting at the East End of Lanacombe	Stone Setting	Linear
MSO6948	Lanacombe I: Large stone setting at Lanacombe	Stone Setting	Linear
MSO6949	Lanacombe III: Stone Setting at Lanacombe	Stone Setting	Triangular or kite shaped
MSO6965	Lanacombe IV: Triangular Stone Setting at Lanacombe	Stone Setting	L shaped
MSO6966	Trout Hill III	Stone Setting	Other or random
MSO7093	Lanacombe V: Stone Setting at Lanacombe	Stone Setting	Linear
MSO7750	Tom's Hill	Stone Setting	Rectangular

[34] See Gillings 2010: 298-300; 2015b: 5-11 and sections 2.2 and 2.5 in chapter 2, for a detailed discussion of the problems in looking for a geometric design rationale in the layout out of the Exmoor sites.

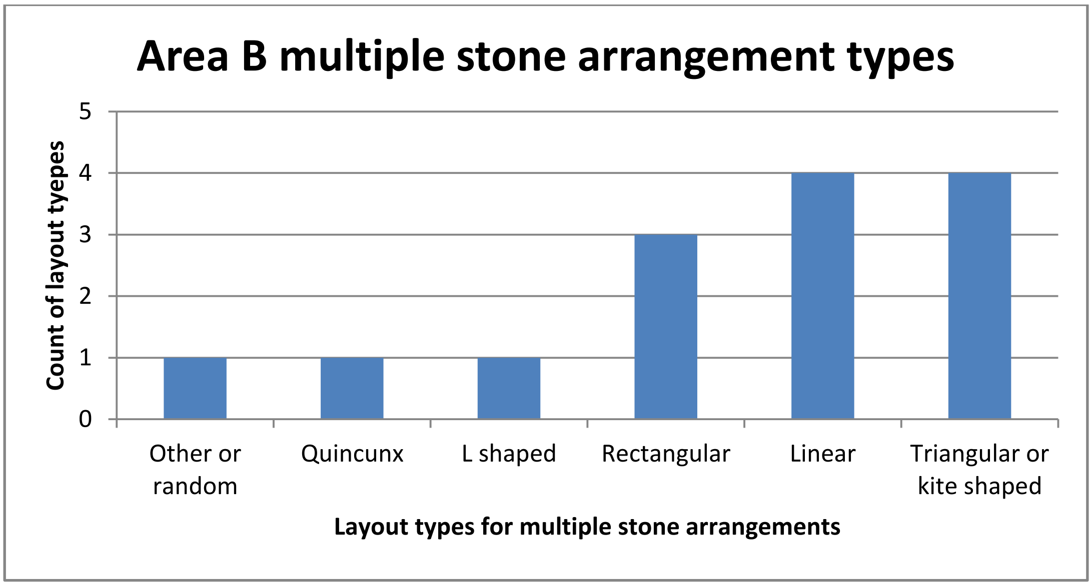

Figure 8.3: Bar graph showing the count of different layout types of stone settings in area B.

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Figure 8.4: RCHME Survey plan of Trout Hill I stone setting. From Quinnell and Dunn 1992.

Table 8.2: Size and scale data for lithic monuments in area B. Data from ENPHER, Quinnell and Dunn 1992 and project fieldwork.

Monument ID (ENPHER number)	Name	Monument type (in HER)	Length (m)	Height (m)	Width (m)	Intimate scale	Life sized scale	Gigantic scale
MDE9886	Hoccombe Hill	Stone Setting	13	0.7	9	1	-	1
MEM15202	New Trout Hill	Stone Setting	27	0.8	5.5	1	-	1
MEM21900	Standing Stone, 80 Metres Southwest of Lanacombe 1 Stone Setting	Standing Stone	0.38	0.22	0.1	1	-	-
MEM22101	Standing stone F100 and 'mini-cairn' F102	Standing Stone	0.27	0.12	0.19	1	-	-
MSO11058	Standing stone, West Pinford	Standing Stone	-	0.48	-	1	-	-
MSO12247	Edge Set Stone, Trout Hill	Stone	0.25	0.05	0.06	1	-	-
MSO6815	Trout Hill I	Stone Setting	22	0.7	12	1	-	1
MSO6819	Trout Hill II	Stone Setting	20.83	0.83	15	1	-	1
MSO6820	East Pinford	Stone Alignment	9.5	0.66	4	1	-	1
MSO6862	Beckham Hill	Stone Setting	10	0.7	7.5	1	-	1
MSO6873	Swap Hill	Stone Setting	16	0.92	5	1	-	1
MSO6947	Lanacombe II: Stone Setting at the East End of Lanacombe	Stone Setting	27.16	0.45	5	1	-	1
MSO6948	Lanacombe I: Large stone setting at Lanacombe	Stone Alignment	33	0.65	12.5	1	-	1
MSO6949	Lanacombe III: Stone Setting at Lanacombe	Stone Setting	19	0.5	5.2	1	-	1
MSO6965	Lanacombe IV: Triangular Stone Setting at Lanacombe	Stone Setting	7.83	0.7	3.33	1	-	1
MSO6966	Trout Hill III	Stone Setting	16.6	0.7	5.83	1	-	1
MSO7093	Lanacombe V: Stone Setting at Lanacombe	Stone Alignment	-	0.78	-	1	-	-
MSO7108	An edge-set standing stone on the southern crest of Trout Hill	Standing Stone	0.25	0.05	0.06	1	-	-
MSO7112	Standing Stone on Trout Hill	Standing Stone	0.6	0.55	0.07	1	-	-
MSO7150	Swap Hill Standing Stone	Standing Stone	0.33	0.23	0.096	1	-	-
MSO7750	Tom's Hill	Stone Setting	17.5	0.55	7.5	1	-	1
None (EWF14209)	Standing stone associated with a field bank EWF14209	Standing Stone	-	0.4	0.22	1	-	-
None (SWPSS1)	Standing stone SWPSS1 associated with field bank MSO6872	Standing Stone	-	0.2	-	1	-	-

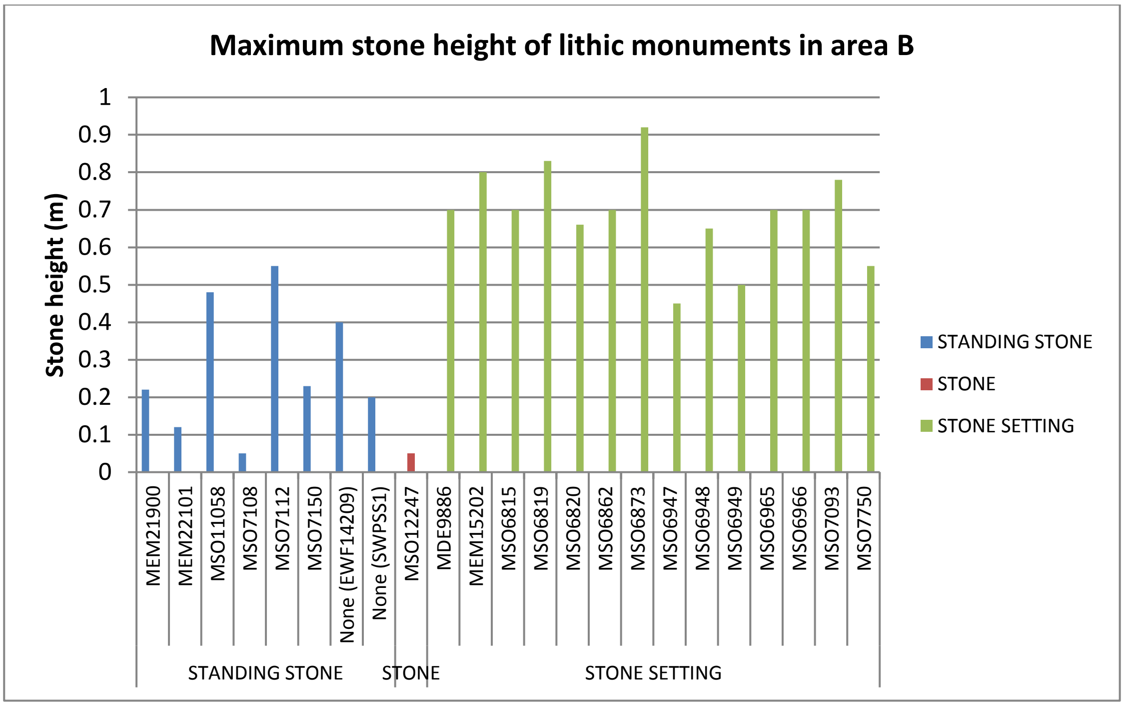


Figure 8.5: Bar graph showing the maximum stone heights within the lithic monuments in area B. Data from ENPHER, Quinnell and Dunn 1992 and project fieldwork.

Table 8.3: Maximum and minimum stone heights within multiple stone arrangements in area B. Data from ENPHER, Quinnell and Dunn 1992 and project fieldwork.

Monument ID (ENPHER number)	Name	Monument type	Minimum stone height (m)	Maximum stone height (m)
MDE9886	Hoccombe Hill	Stone Setting	0.4	0.7
MSO6948	Lanacombe I: Large stone setting at Lanacombe	Stone Setting	0.3	0.65
MSO6947	Lanacombe II: Stone Setting at the East End of Lanacombe	Stone Setting	0.3	0.45
MSO6949	Lanacombe III: Stone Setting at Lanacombe	Stone Setting	0.2	0.5
MSO6965	Lanacombe IV: Triangular Stone Setting at Lanacombe	Stone Setting	0.2	0.7
MSO7093	Lanacombe V: Stone Setting at Lanacombe	Stone Setting	0.1	0.78
MSO6815	Trout Hill I	Stone Setting	0.5	0.7
MSO6819	Trout Hill II	Stone Setting	0.4	0.83
MSO6966	Trout Hill III	Stone Setting	0.3	0.7
MEM15202	New Trout Hill	Stone Setting	0.14	0.8
MSO6820	East Pinford	Stone Setting	0.33	0.66
MSO7750	Tom's Hill	Stone Setting	0.37	0.55
MSO6873	Swap Hill	Stone Setting	0.17	0.92
MSO6862	Beckham Hill	Stone Setting	0.45	0.7

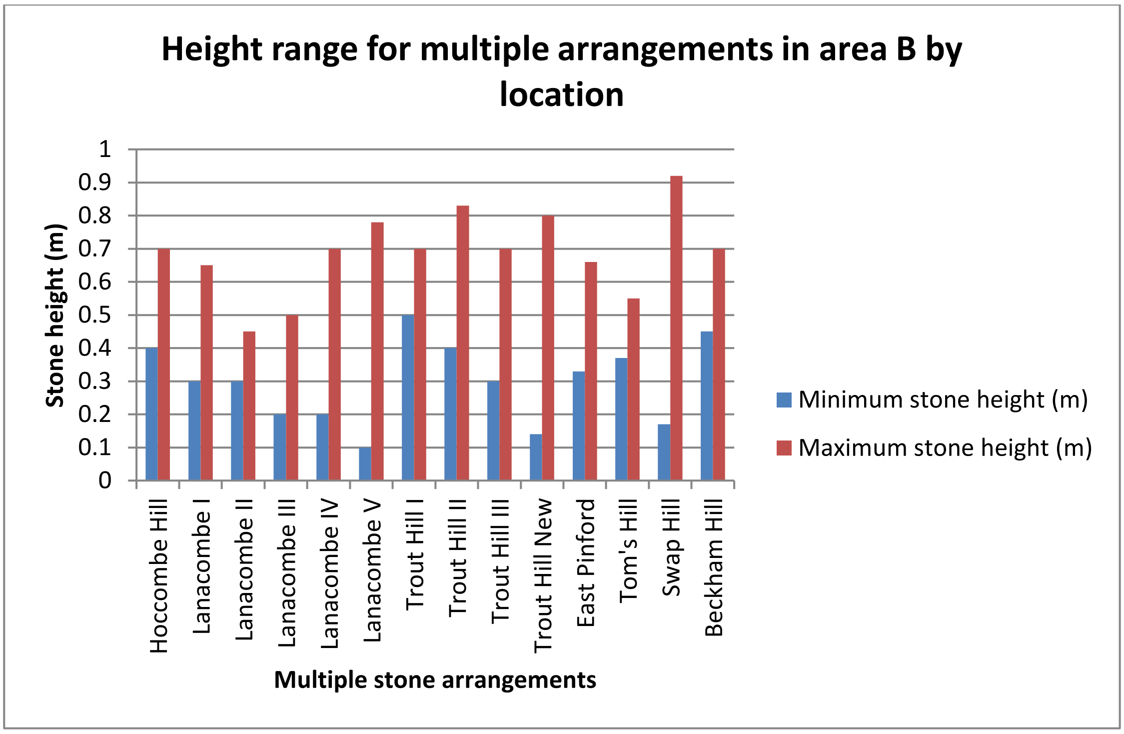


Figure 8.6: Bar graph showing the maximum and minimum stone heights for stone settings in area B. Data from ENPHER, Quinnell and Dunn 1992 and project fieldwork.

Table 8.4: Average stone height data for lithic monuments in area B.

	Stone settings			All lithic monuments
Average type	Av. min height (m)	Av. max height (m)	Combined Av. (max and min) (m)	Av max height (m)
Mean	0.30	0.69	0.49	0.52
Median	0.3	0.7	0.48	0.55
Mode	0.3	0.7	0.7	0.7

Table 8.5: Stone settings in area B with nearby cairns or mounds.

ENPHER No	Name of stone setting	Associated feature? Cairn	Mound/ barrow	Monument type
MDE9886	Hoccombe Hill	0	0	Stone Setting
MEM15202	New Trout Hill	0	0	Stone Setting
MSO12301	Stone setting, east of Lanacombe III	1	0	Stone Setting
MSO6815	Trout Hill I	0	1	Stone Setting
MSO6819	Trout Hill II	1	0	Stone Setting
MSO6820	East Pinford	1	0	Stone Alignment
MSO6862	Beckham Hill	0	1	Stone Setting
MSO6873	Swap Hill	1	0	Stone Setting
MSO6947	Lanacombe II: Stone Setting at the East End of Lanacombe	1	0	Stone Setting
MSO6948	Lanacombe I: Large stone setting at Lanacombe	1	0	Stone Alignment
MSO6949	Lanacombe III: Stone Setting at Lanacombe	1	0	Stone Setting
MSO6965	Lanacombe IV: Triangular Stone Setting at Lanacombe	0	0	Stone Setting
MSO6966	Trout Hill III	0	0	Stone Setting
MSO7093	Lanacombe V: Stone Setting at Lanacombe	1	0	Stone Alignment
MSO7750	Tom's Hill	0	1	Stone Setting

	Cairn	Mound/ barrow
Total records with nearby feature	8	3
Total stone settings in all study areas	28	28
Percentage of total stone settings with nearby feature	**29%**	10.71%

8.2 fieldwork at Swap Hill - character and context of a stone setting

Swap Hill is a long hill spur which is aligned south east-north west, partially within the eastern extent of study area B (see figure 8.1). The work presented here focuses on the immediate context and character of the stone setting (ENPHER MSO6873) located at the western tip of Swap Hill. The site had not been covered by previous research (see section 8.1 for summary) and the presence of a number of cairns, a standing stone and a field bank along with the stone setting made it a promising target. The work on Swap Hill comprised geophysical, DGPS and photographic survey along with stone recording.

8.2.1 Geophysical and DGPS survey at Swap Hill stone setting

The most obvious activity present on the magnetometer results is disturbance associated with Second World War military training, indicated by a dense spread of small dipoles, which indicate fragments of iron shrapnel (figure 8.7 and figure 8.8). Frequent small craters were also visible across the survey area when undertaking the work. Given how much shrapnel is present in the survey plot, it is extremely difficult to define anything of archaeological interest in the magnetometer data. The stronger dipole in the central part of the survey is also most likely a result of shrapnel, whilst a few very weak trends (shown in orange in figure 8.8) are likely to be geological in origin rather than archaeological.

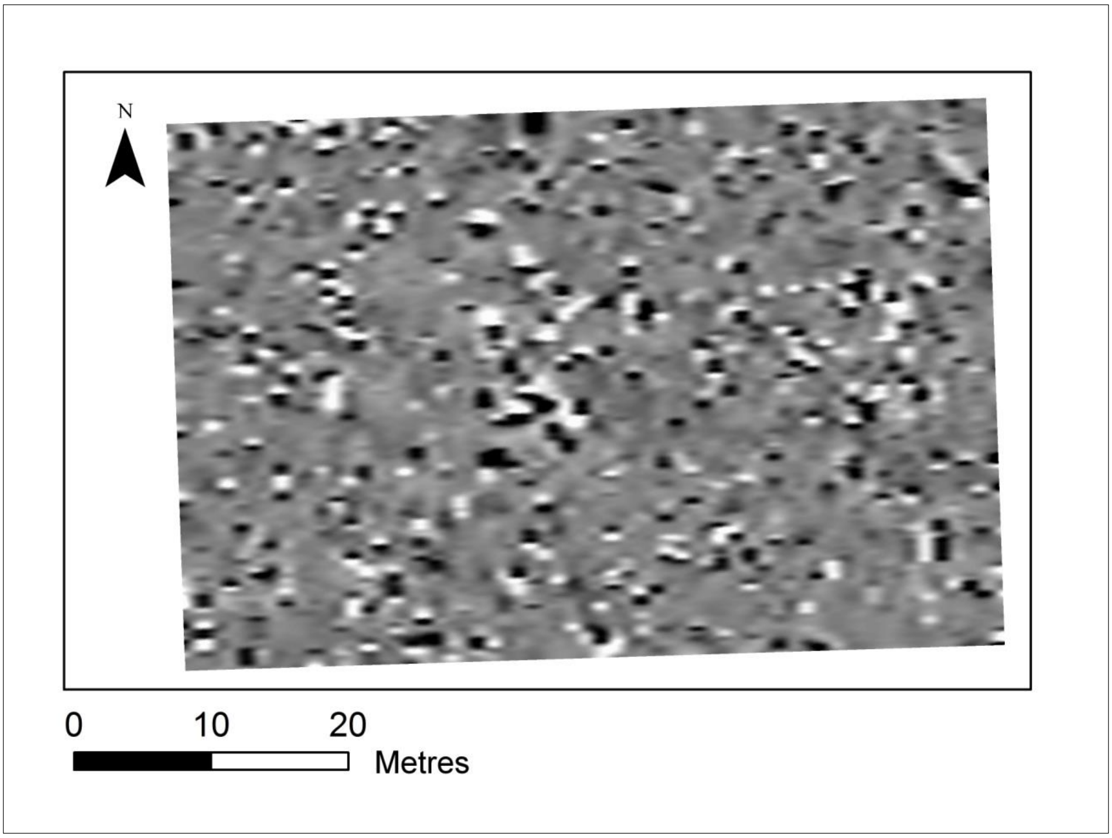


Figure 8.7: Magnetometry survey of Swap Hill stone setting. Produced by the author.

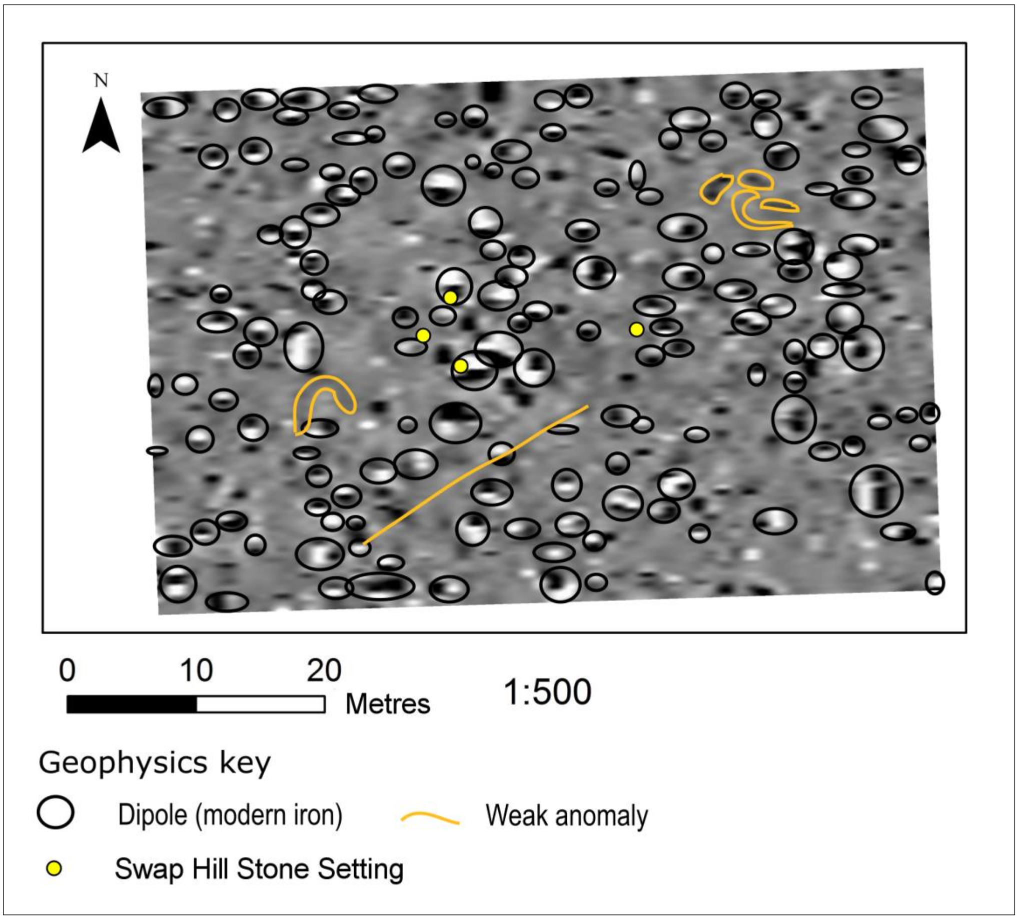


Figure 8.8: Interpretation drawing of Swap Hill magnetometry survey. produced by the author.

Given the intense shelling of the site visible on the magnetometry, the resistance results are equally difficult to interpret with any confidence. The vegetation conditions in the survey area were favourable, consisting mostly of open areas of short cropped grass, although some isolated patches of reeds and rushes were present which have caused noise and contact problems in the results. Despite these issues, there are some high and low resistance readings which require explanation (figure 8.9 and figure 8.10). The one low resistance anomaly in the central area of the survey might represent a pit, a scoop or an erosion hollow. The response is around 4-5m across, with stone A sitting just within the edge of the former, and therefore might be the result of animals using the upright stone as a rubbing post. Whilst one might expect an erosion hollow to focus more centrally on the upright stone, it could also represent a former stone location. If this was the case, any upright could have been re-set elsewhere or left recumbent nearby. The latter practice has been demonstrated in recent work at Furzehill Common and Porlock Circle (Gillings and Taylor 2011b: 3-5;

Gillings 2015a:13, 17). Whilst this is a somewhat tenuous suggestion based only on the geophysics (and given the shelling) it demonstrates the difficulty in interpreting these sites based only on their surviving surface plan. There are also frequent small high resistance responses scattered across the survey area, some of which seem to run in lines. Many of these have a subtle low resistance halo, suggesting that soil has been re-deposited from ordnance impacts, leaving the underlying rock more exposed in the centre (Gillings *et al.* 2010: 301). Nothing in the resistance data can confidently be interpreted as relating to activity in prehistory, although some of the slight more discrete medium or high resistance anomalies that do not exhibit the halo effect might reflect clearance heaps, small cairns or outcrops. Whilst there is a diffuse high resistance response just north of the centre, this is more likely to reflect a concentrated area of impacts on a high resistance area of underlying rock than a concentration of stone caused by activity in prehistory. Finally there is a subtle low resistance linear, which has a slightly uneven shape (shown dashed in figure 8.10). This is interpreted as an uncertain archaeological feature, it could represent a shallow slot or ditch. It is more likely this represents an eroded hollow, which has silted up, possibly a path or route used by animals, although interestingly it appears to stop at the stone setting. The resistance survey does demonstrate the setting here is again located on a high resistance band of underlying rock, with frequent small pieces of stone clitter visible in the area (which were surveyed with DGPS). One large natural outcropping stone slab was present a short distance north of the central area of the stone setting. This could be further evidence of a potential link between stone settings and natural rock outcrops as suggested previously at East Pinford by Gillings *et al*., although the large outcrop at the latter is a unique feature in the area (See Gillings *et al.* 2010 and Chapter 2).

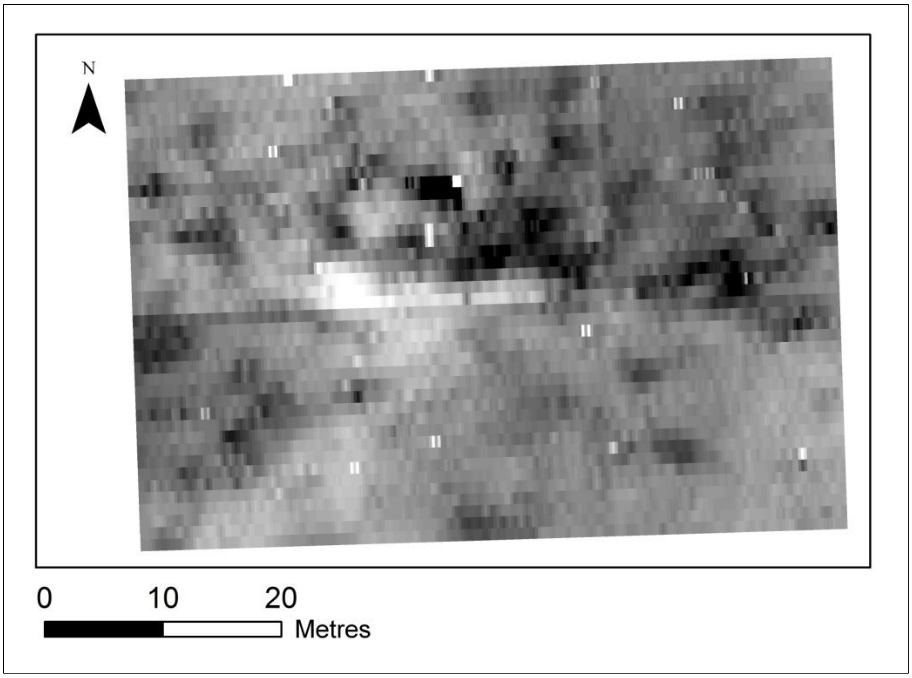


Figure 8.9: Resistance survey of Swap Hill stone setting. Produced by the author.

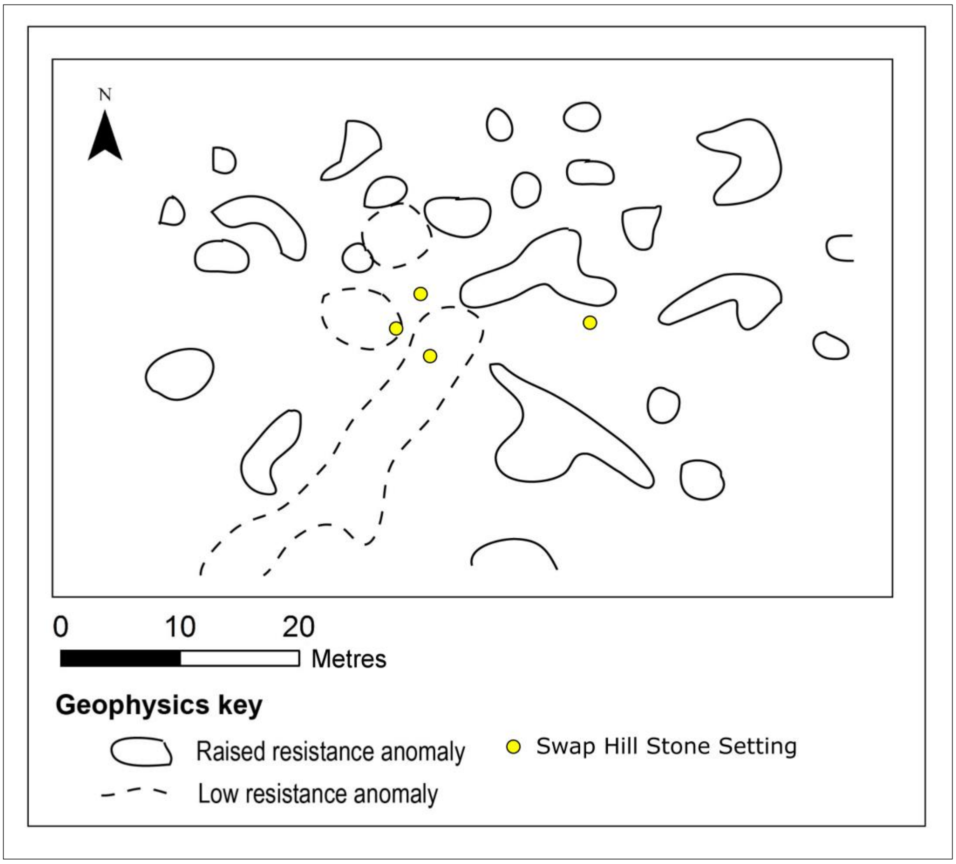


Figure 8.10: Interpretation drawing of Swap Hill resistance plot. Produced by the author.

At Swap Hill several surface features were also located and recorded to look at the wider context of the stone setting (figure 8.11 & appendix 7). A section of known field bank (ENPHER MSO6872) was investigated and found to consist of two lengths of low upstanding stony bank, whilst an adjacent mound and a potentially unrecorded standing stone were also surveyed (figure 8.12). It would appear the bank was once a single feature that has been truncated by later activity. The identified mound is close to this apparent truncation and has an irregular form. This is interpreted as a spoil heap, possibly the result of the deliberate removal of an area of the bank. The newly identified standing stone is a small slab c.20cm in height, located circa 1m from the end of the eastern extent of the L-shaped section of bank (figure 8.12 and figure 8.13). Whilst this is close to the recorded height of the nearby standing stone MSO7150, because the former is located roughly 75m north west of the field bank these are not thought to be the same feature. Despite the small size of the stone, there is no visible natural stone clitter in the immediate surrounding area, and it is comparable to the size of stone B at the nearby Swap Hill stone setting. What may be of greater significance is that the L shaped section of bank appears to be aligned on the upright stone. Whilst a rapid search was made to identify any other nearby banks, none were located, although the density of vegetation made this difficult. The area requires an extensive and close spaced walkover survey to identify if the field bank is part of a larger system. If the field bank was originally a single feature as suspected, the possibility has been suggested previously it may have formed a corner, perhaps as part of a larger boundary system or an enclosure (ENPHER HER MSO6872). SVF (Sky-View Factor) Analysis of LiDAR data revealed two potential scoops with slight raised areas circa 56m north west of the field bank remains, in an area with a different surface texture to the surrounding hillside (figure 8.14). There is also a very slight suggestion of upstanding fragments of a discontinuous boundary which may delineate the area containing the scoops, which might represent platforms within an enclosure. However the signature is extremely faint and the origin of this anomaly remains unestablished at the time of writing[35]. The area immediately north of the field bank is unclear on the LiDAR due to the uneven ground and vegetation density and the known bank is itself difficult to confidently distinguish from this background noise.

[35] These features need to be located and examined in the field to confirm their identity. It is also possible these are not archaeological and represent noise caused by vegetation and uneven ground.

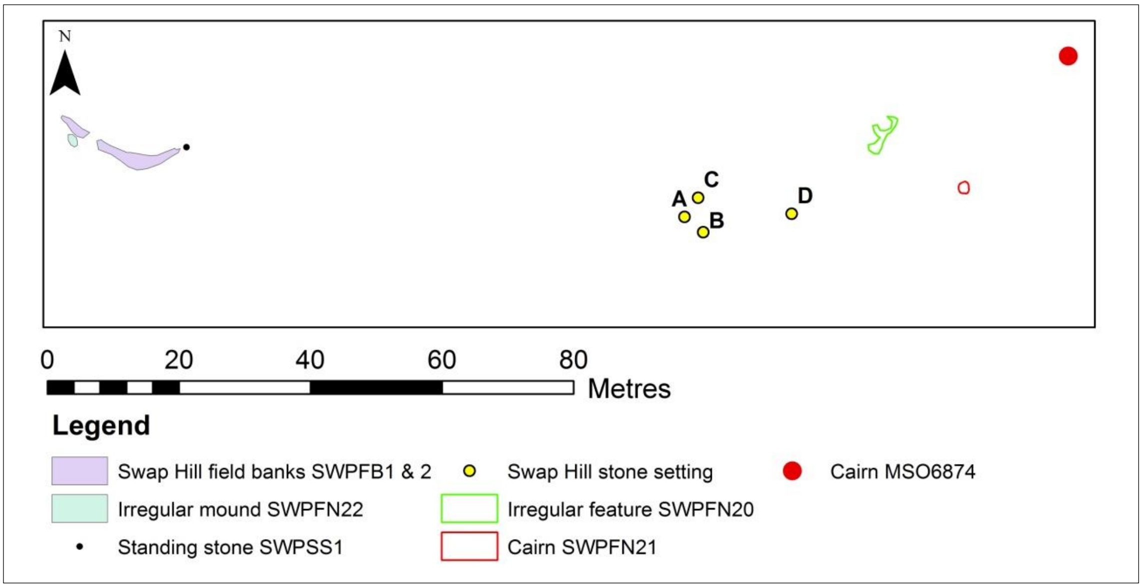


Figure 8.11: Survey plan of features around Swap Hill stone setting. Produced by the author using some data from ENPA HER.

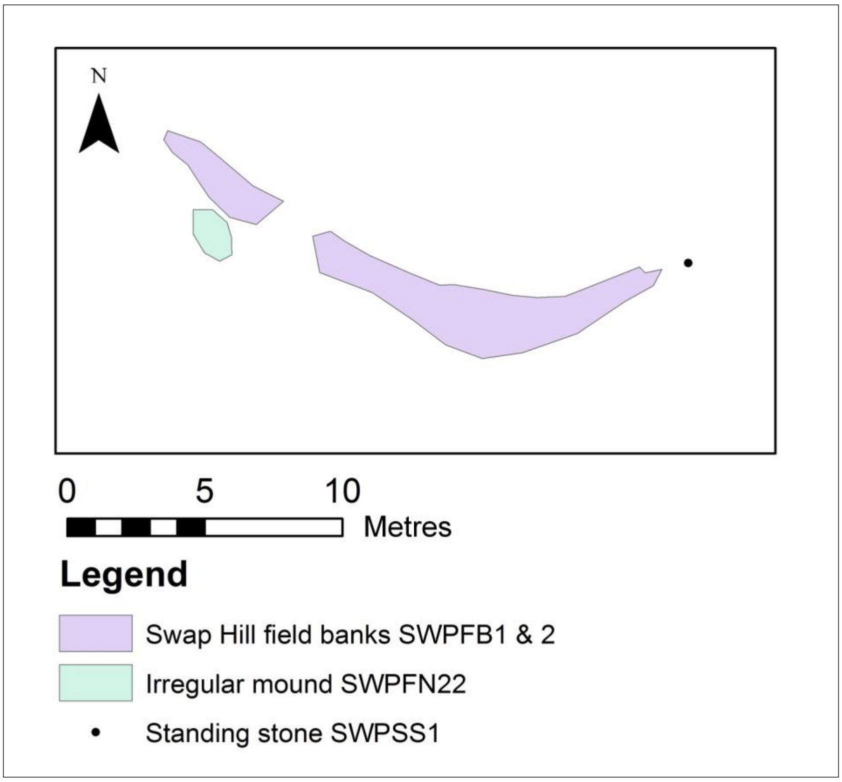


Figure 8.12: 1:250 plan of field banks and nearby features on Swap Hill. Produced by the author.

Figure 8.13: Photographs of the newly identified standing stone (SWP SS1). Note the weathered surface and lichen growth, indicating the stone has been in this position for a long period of time. Produced by the author.

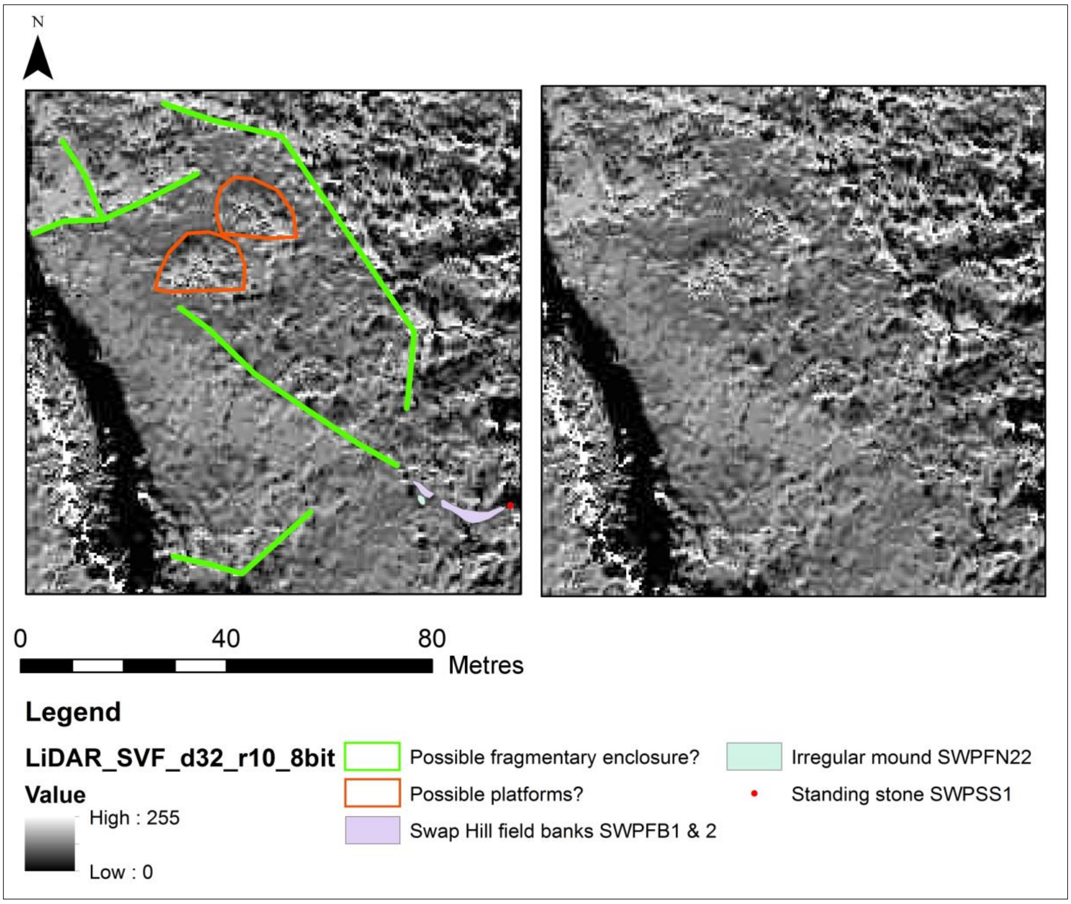


Figure 8.14: Possible features detected in LiDAR data after Sky View Factor analysis. Produced by the author using LiDAR data from the Environment Agency (© Geomatics).

Several potential surface features were also identified both east and north east of Swap Hill stone setting. SWPFN20 consisted of a slightly raised area with an irregular 'double C' shape in plan and is most likely a result of two adjacent ordnance impacts (figure 8.15). This does not have a distinct signature in the geophysics. Immediately east of the stone setting just outside the survey grid, a small round mound was noted, measuring 1.8m x 1.5m and less than 0.5m in height (figure 8.15). Probing suggested a dense concentration of stone was present throughout the feature, which stopped abruptly at the edge of the slight earthwork. This is interpreted as a small cairn (SWP FN21), known to occur on Exmoor near to stone settings (Riley and Wilson North 2001: 32; Gillings 2013: 44; Tilley 2010: 32). This small cairn is about 25m south west of another known cairn (ENPHER MSO6874).

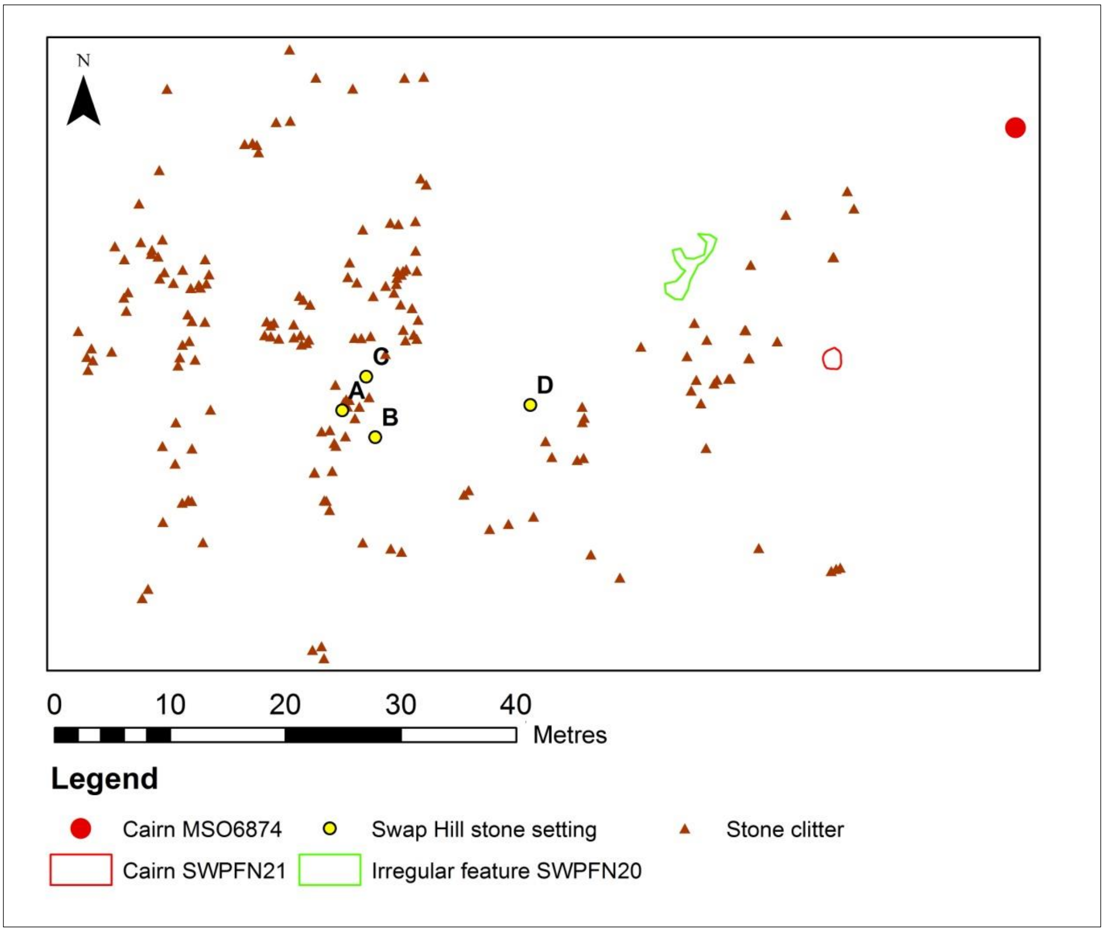


Figure 8.15: 1:500 plan of features near to Swap Hill Stone Setting. Produced by the author with additional data from ENPA HER.

8.2.2 Interpreting Swap hill - stones, assemblages and striated spaces

Considering the landscape of Swap Hill and the archaeological entities within this locale, a new kind of understanding can be formed through looking at these entities as a series of assemblages, considering the potential relationships within and between them. In terms of the processes of assembly, the newly identified standing stone (SWPSS1) may have been placed to mark the beginning of the bank, or alternatively the existence of the stone may have attracted the heaping and piling of stone in proximity to it. Their close positioning and the stones location at one end of the bank strongly suggests that there is a relationship between these assemblages. This relationship is echoed at East Pinford, where a small standing stone was interpreted as a layout marker for a field bank, whilst evidence of a formal closing down process was provided by further banks which cut through the former (Riley 2014: 1, 3-4, 6). This repeating pattern might suggest a wider link between these early clearance assemblages on Exmoor. Further, this repeated motif might indicate a deliberate attempt to create a recurrent citation (Lucas 2012 200-201; see chapter 3) i.e. the same elements brought together at different locales, drawing on the material presence of similar features elsewhere and further contributing to the territorialisation of small, possibly short lived clearance and farming episodes. Whether the standing stone (SWPSS1) on Swap Hill predates, was directly part of the clearance or boundary construction, or marked a closing event is unclear in the absence of dating evidence, but it is now very clear that small standing stones were involved in clearance and boundary construction on Exmoor, either directly or indirectly. For example, on West Pinford, Riley's work has demonstrated the association of field boundaries, standing stones and settlement features (2014: 6). Given this, it would be desirable to identify the LiDAR anomalies in the field on Swap Hill, to see if settlement remains and further boundaries are present. The evidence now suggests that clearance practices were not random and that banks were not simply a by product of haphazard stone clearance, but that a complex set of practices and concerns were involved. This suggests perhaps the importance of 'tying' these events into pre-existing features, or drawing on connections to previous farming episodes.

The gathering and piling of stone from the surrounding landscape also concentrated it in a single location, creating a curvilinear feature from a previously dispersed group of materials and thereby contributing to the formation of a new kind of space bisecting the landscape. Through creating this feature, the people involved were also part of a much wider assemblage operating at a much bigger scale, transforming the landscape on Exmoor through the creation of the first linear boundaries and fields. Drawing on Deleuze (2013; Chapter 3), the interpretation favoured here is that this transformation marks the emergence of a new kind of space, a striated space, demonstrating a change in people's relationship to place, from a landscape that was previously made up of a smooth space (Deleuze and Guattari: 443-451; 501-506; Bonta and Protevi 2004: 144, 151; see also chapter 3), probably defined by large cleared areas but with some significant woodland patches surviving, to one that became increasingly bisected by boundaries and field systems, along with enclosures particularly in the Middle Bronze Age. Given the significance of stone to the everyday life of people during the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, with some probable continuity of this into the Middle Bronze Age, care must be taken not to apply a modern understanding of materials uncritically. These communities would have had a very different understanding of stone to our own, so it would be misleading to interpret clearance heaps on purely functional grounds; they may well have been more important than an accidental by-product of needing to clear stone to cultivate an area. Finally, the lack of any other banks in the area, typical of many of these features on Exmoor, might also suggest the processes giving rise to them were short lived. Deterritorialising forces were also active, as the bank appears to have been truncated, with the nearby irregular mound perhaps a spoil heap derived from the gap in the bank. This could have taken place in prehistory, perhaps as a result of slighting and decommissioning it as a feature; although it could also have been cut through by a much later route across the moor.

The stone setting on Swap Hill, demonstrates another example of the assemblage of multiple scales within the repertoire of generally small standing stones on Exmoor. Described as an irregular kite shape (ENPHER MSO6873) with a triangular group and a single outlier, on the ground the site is infinitely more complex, with many other visible stone stubs which might be part of the setting or natural outcrops. Placing too much significance on the surviving arrangement would be unwise given the damage to the site caused by military training. The surviving form contrasts with that of East Pinford (see section 8.3.1), which has a more convincing and distinct rectangular shape. Stones A (0.75m) and D (0.92m) at either end of the grouping tower above the other stones B and C (table 8.6 and figure 8.16). It thus demonstrates the deliberate juxtaposition of scale, emphasising the tiny size of B and C, and the many other stubs in the area. A second small thin slab, next to stone A is aligned on the same axis, which might represent a deliberately placed pairing rather than a packing stone (figure 8.17). Again, as at East Pinford, the site is constructed in an area of subtle outcropping stone which is close to the surface (See figure 8.15), with a large, probably natural, slab lying immediately north east of the site (circa 2 metres in length). The presence of a number of small cairns in the vicinity of the setting might further demonstrate the significance of these sites as a focus for further activities, contributing to the territorialisation of future events, although their temporal relationships are unknown.

Table 8.6: Size data for Swap Hill stone setting. Measured using a hand tape.

Stone setting size	Individual stone	Height (m)	Width (m)	Thickness (m)
Site length 16.3m between stones A and D, width 5.3m between stones B and C. Measured in ArcGIS 10 using the DGPS data.	A	0.75	0.52	0.13
	B	0.28	0.29	0.11
	C	0.17	0.15	0.12
	D	0.92	0.54	0.12

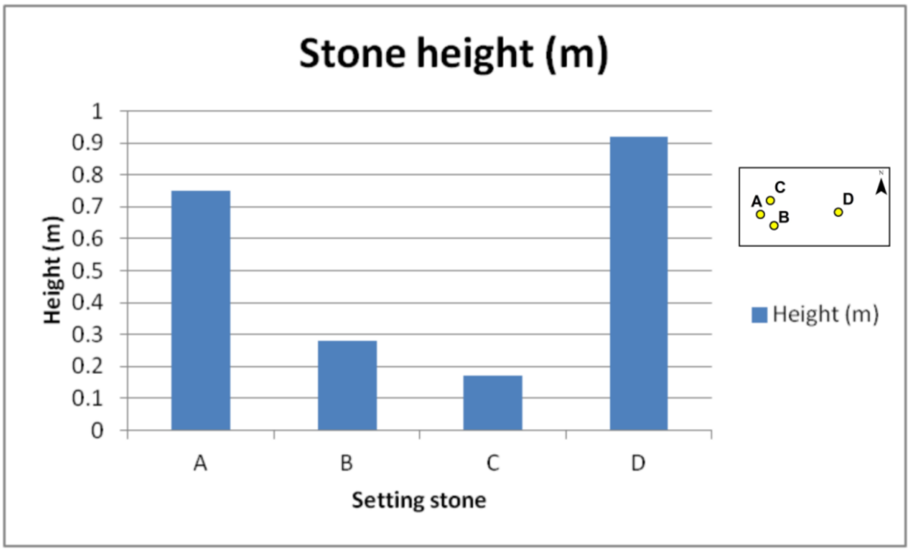


Figure 8.16: Graph showing the height of the stones within Swap Hill stone setting.

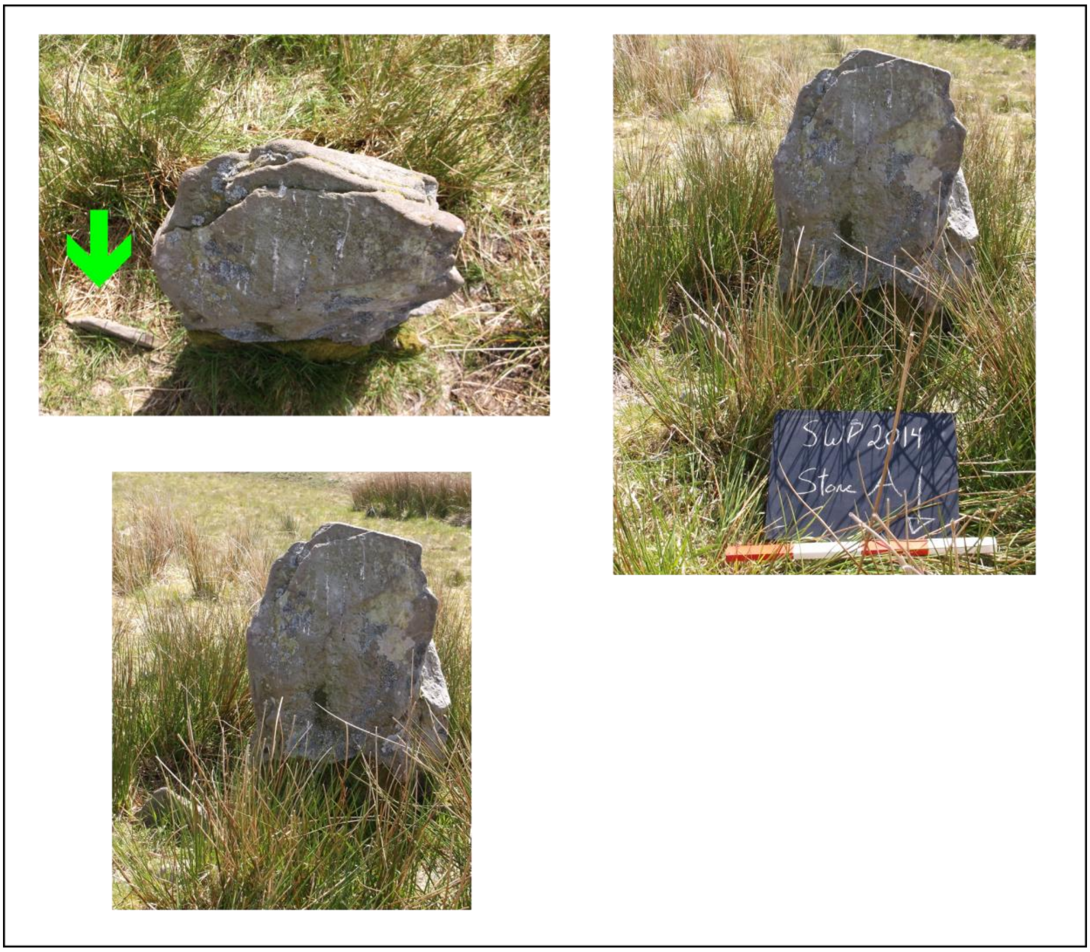


Figure 8.17: Photographs of stone A, Swap Hill stone setting, with the adjacent small upright thin slab marked by the green arrow.

8.3 fieldwork at East Pinford - Character and context of a stone setting

East Pinford is a long gradually sloping hill spur, the tip of which curves to the west, located in a remote area of open moorland in the central portion of study area B (see section 8.1.1, figure 8.1). It is defined topographically by a series of deeply incised coombes and streams, with the lower, northwesternmost extent of East Pinford overlooked by the steep slopes of Trout Hill. The area has a number of known prehistoric features, including cairns, field banks and enclosures as well as the well preserved East Pinford stone setting (ENPHER MSO6820). The latter had been the subject of previous research, which included a geophysical survey and the exploration of a potential link to the nearby, unusually large (for Exmoor) rock outcrop (Gillings *et al*. 2005 & 2010; see chapter 2 for detailed discussion). In order to build on this it was decided to conduct further fieldwork at the site, re-surveying the setting to extend the previous survey area in order enhance the clarity of the results, which had been affected by the density of vegetation at the time of survey (Gillings *et al*. 2010: 305 fig 6). This was complemented by photographic recording of the setting and rock outcrop along with DGPS[36] and hand-held GPS recording of features.

8.3.1 East Pinford stone recording - results

The photographic recording focused on the setting stones and the nearby rock outcrops (figure 8.25), in order to produce a more detailed record of the marks first identified by Gillings *et al.* whom argued that similarities between them and an impression on one of the setting stones, might indicate that the outcrop was the source of the component stones (2010: 303-304; see chapter 2). In addition to the known panel, further hollows on a second rock panel were also identified during the 2014 survey and recorded photographically (figure 8.26)[37]. It was noticeable that when dry these depressions had a distinct pinkish surface colour, clearly different from the

[36] Due to technical issues with the Topcon DGPS equipment on site (including signal loss and software problems), the DGPS survey of the grid and features was kindly undertaken by Hazel Riley who by chance was surveying in the same area for the ENPA (see Riley 2014).
[37] Attempts at using photogrammetric methods to produce a 3d image of the overall form of the rocky outcrop and one of the setting's stones was attempted but proved unsuccessful.

grey, heavily weathered surface of the rock belonging to the hangman sandstones formation (see figure 8.27). There were no obvious signs of pecking or striations that might indicate percussion or working with the hollows likely being a result of erosion or weathering processes. The distinctive colour of these features however may well have been noticeable to people in the past, especially given the unusually large nature of the rocky outcrop and the apparent concern on Exmoor with setting up groups of standing stones within bands of shallow, outcropping rock (cf. Gillings *et al.* 2010). Unfortunately they could only be located with a handheld GPS due to technical issues encountered with the DGPS equipment (see footnote 36). The recording of the stone setting itself, focused on recording the character of the different stones and their topographic setting with photography along with metrical survey of the stones (table 8.7 and figure 8.18). The results of this revealed two key details of the settings character. First that there is a high degree of variation in the size and shape of the six stones which form the rectangular box (or three parallel pairs). Both this and the apparent difference in the alignment of the long axis of stones C and F, A and D, (cf. Chanter and Worth 1906: 543; Gillings *et al.* 2010: 303; figure 8.19) could imply that this setting had a complex history of construction and engagement. This idea is further suggested by the previous discovery of an additional four stone pairs, partially within the setting, consisting of small stubs which might be artificially set or naturally occurring outcrops (Gillings *et al.* 2010: 303; figure 8.20). Repeated visits during this project suggested that whilst the additional stone stubs are small, their upright orientation gives them a subtly different appearance to the spread of stone clitter running through the site (figure 8.21). Given the latter two discoveries, it would appear that the East Pinford setting adheres to the multiple size motif identified in chapter 7, with both smaller and larger stones incorporated into the site. The alignment of the individual stones might also suggest there is some significance to the pairing of stones between the two rows. Stones A and D appear to reflect a mirror image of each other, with a north east-south west (stone A) and south east-north west (stone D) alignment respectively. Stones B and E are generally parallel with one another, following the line of the rows and the fairly close East-West alignment[38] of the monument as recorded

[38] The original survey recorded the alignment of the longest diameter to be within 0° 30' from East and West (Chanter and Worth 1906: 551).

by Chanter and Worth (1906: 551). Finally, stones C and F are both aligned north-east, south-west consistently with one another.

The second key characteristic is the sites distinctive topographic setting, something which previous research has remarked upon, with a visible rock outcrop, a natural knoll to the north west, and the way the area is topographically bounded by Trout Hill and the rising slope of East Pinford (Gillings *et al*. 2005: 4). Photographic recording of the views from the setting gives an impression of these characteristics (see figure 8.22 and figure 8.23). A 3D GIS visualisation was created to explore the topographic setting of this site, using LiDAR data as a basis from which to extrapolate a three dimensional model from the height values (see figure 8.24). The stills from multiple directions demonstrate these characteristics which form the basis of the interpretation tendered in section 8.3.3.

Table 8.7: Stone height data for East Pinford stone setting. Measured with a hand tape during the survey.

<table>
<tr><th>Stone setting size</th><th>Individual stone</th><th>Height (m)</th><th>Width (m)</th><th>Thickness (m)</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">Circa 9.5m in length and 4m wide (measured in ArcGIS 10 from the DGPS data).</td><td>A</td><td>0.66</td><td>0.36</td><td>0.11</td></tr>
<tr><td>B</td><td>0.33</td><td>0.21</td><td>0.10</td></tr>
<tr><td>C</td><td>0.43</td><td>0.20</td><td>0.10</td></tr>
<tr><td>D</td><td>0.60</td><td>0.34</td><td>0.16</td></tr>
<tr><td>E</td><td>0.37</td><td>0.43</td><td>0.12</td></tr>
<tr><td>F</td><td>0.63</td><td>0.34</td><td>0.18 (east side), 0.11 (west side)</td></tr>
</table>

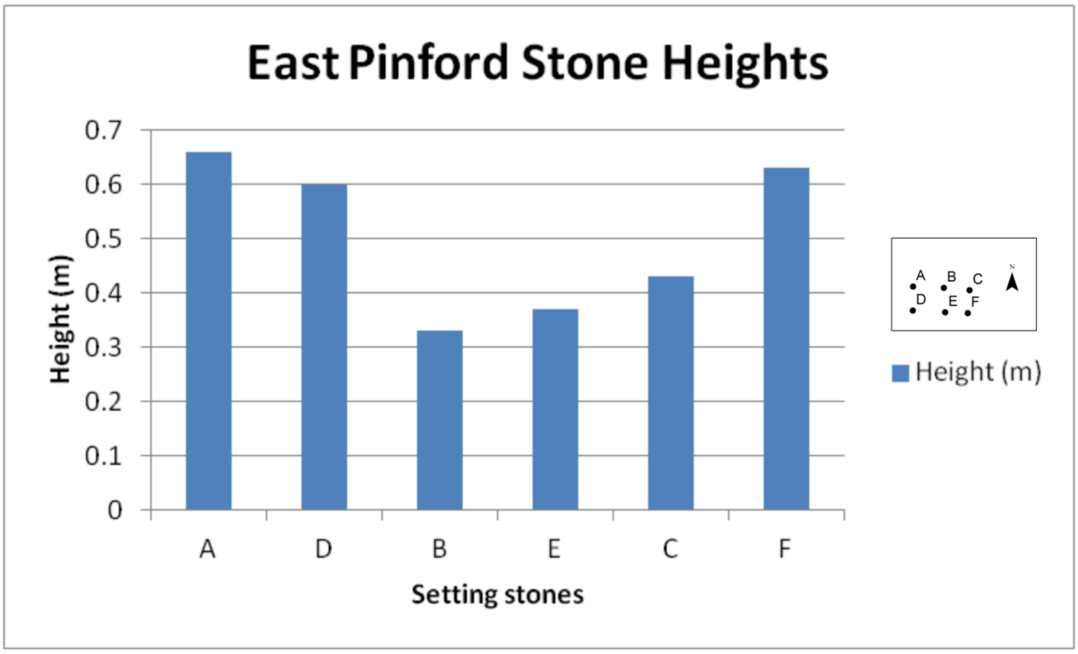


Figure 8.18: Bar graph showing the height of the stones at East Pinford. Data arranged in the stone pairs from the north west end, beginning with stones A and D.

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 8.19: Surveys of East Pinford stone setting. Panel A shows the original survey by R. H. Worth and J.F. Chanter, panel B the RCHME survey. A From Chanter and Worth 1906: plate V. B from Quinnell and Dunn 1992.

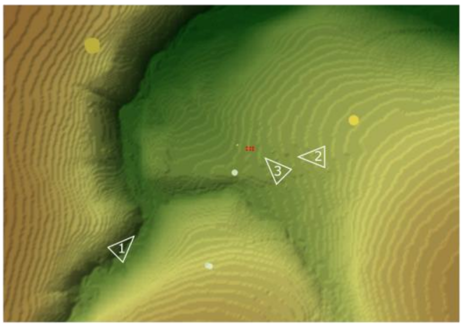
Image removed due to copyright

Figure 8.20: Results of the 2005 survey showing the additional four stone pairs. From Gillings *et al.* 2010: 305 (fig 6).

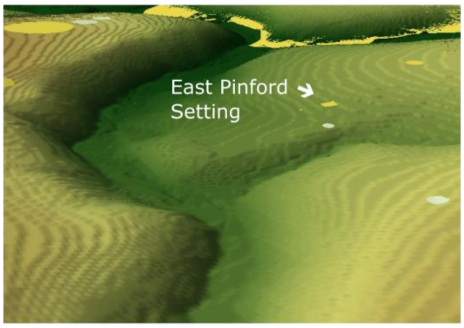
Figure 8.21: East Pinford stone setting in October 2013 marked with orange arrows and the additional stones with yellow arrows. Photograph by the author.

Figure 8.22: Photographic panorama showing the view across East Pinford setting, facing west. Photograph taken by the author.

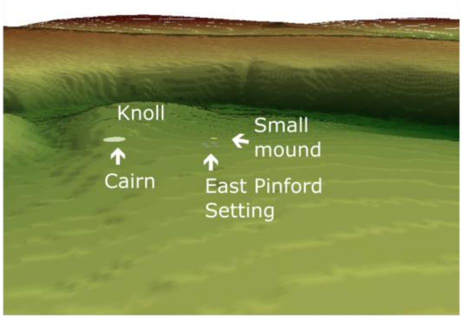
Figure 8.23: Panoramic view across East Pinford with the stone setting centre left, facing south east. Photograph taken by the author.



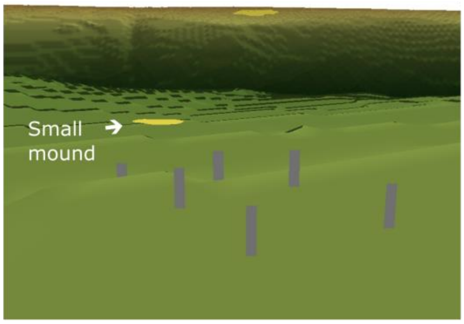
Map of East Pinford (stone setting in red). Arrows show the orientation of views 1-3.



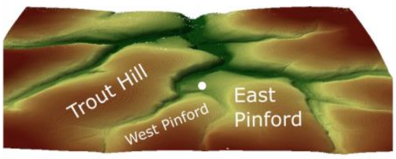
1) East Pinford stone setting from the South. Monuments shown in yellow and pale blue.



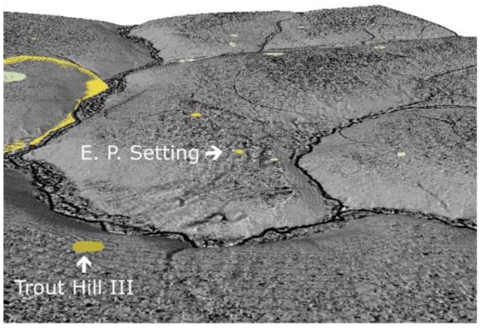
2) View from the East, setting marked with arrow. Note natural knoll top, centre left, and nearby cairn and small mound.



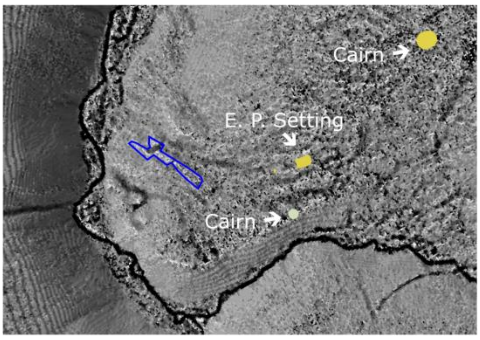
3) View of East Pinford setting from the south east (stones shown as grey pillars, height relative to real stone heights).



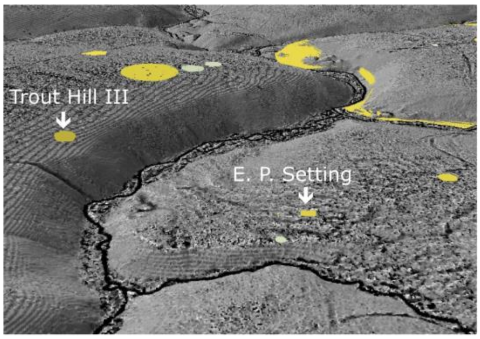
Topographiy of the upper reaches of Badgworthy Water centred on East Pinford stone setting (marked by white dot).



View of East Pinford from the West (Trout Hill). Note Trout Hill III stone setting overlooking East Pinford.



Map of East Pinford with LiDAR overlay, showing the rock outcrop in blue.



East Pinford viewed from the south (from West Pinford) with LiDAR overlay.

Note on LiDAR images
Black = low values
White = high values

Figure 8.24: 3D GIS visualisations of the topographic setting of East Pinford. The LiDAR images were generated using Sky View Factor analysis with the setting shown as a yellow rectangle. Produced by the author using data from the Environment Agency (© Geomatics) **and ENPA HER.**

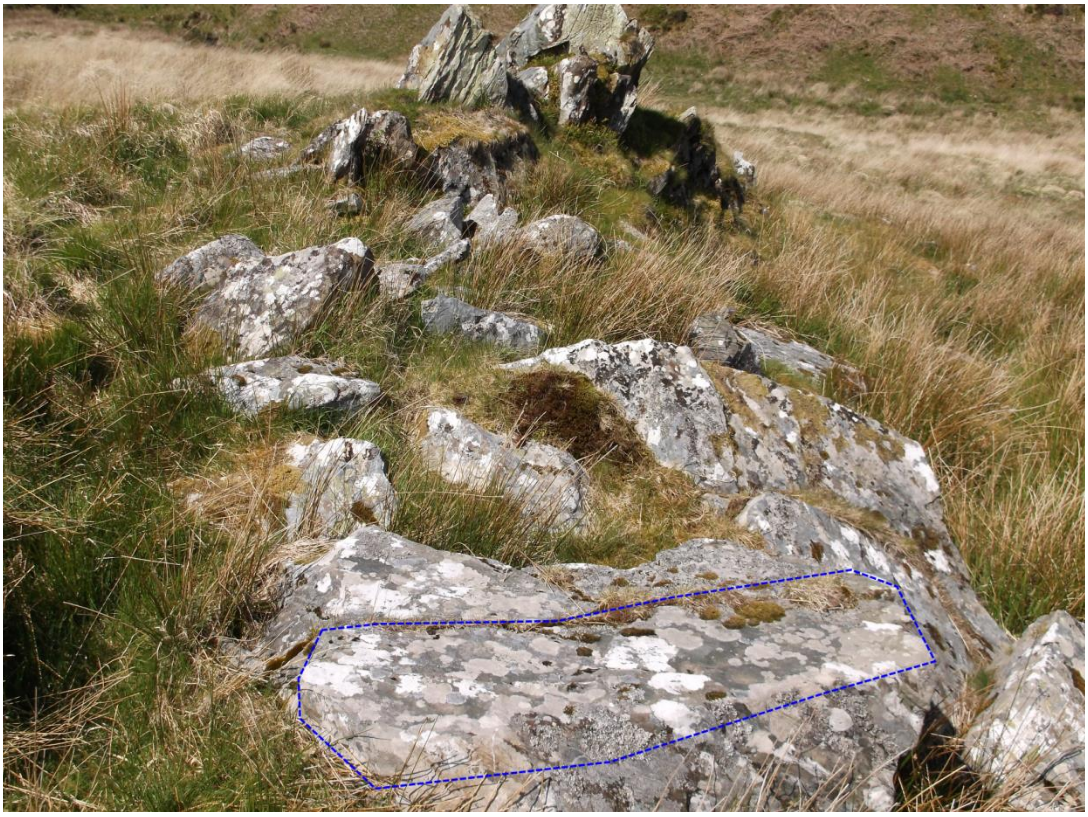


Figure 8.25: View along rock outcrop showing the panel with the scoop marks as noted by Gillings *et al.* (2010). Produced by the author.

Figure 8.26: Location of rock panels with scoops and hollows. FN1 is marked in blue dashes and FN2, newly identified during the survey, is outlined with black dashes. Produced by the author.

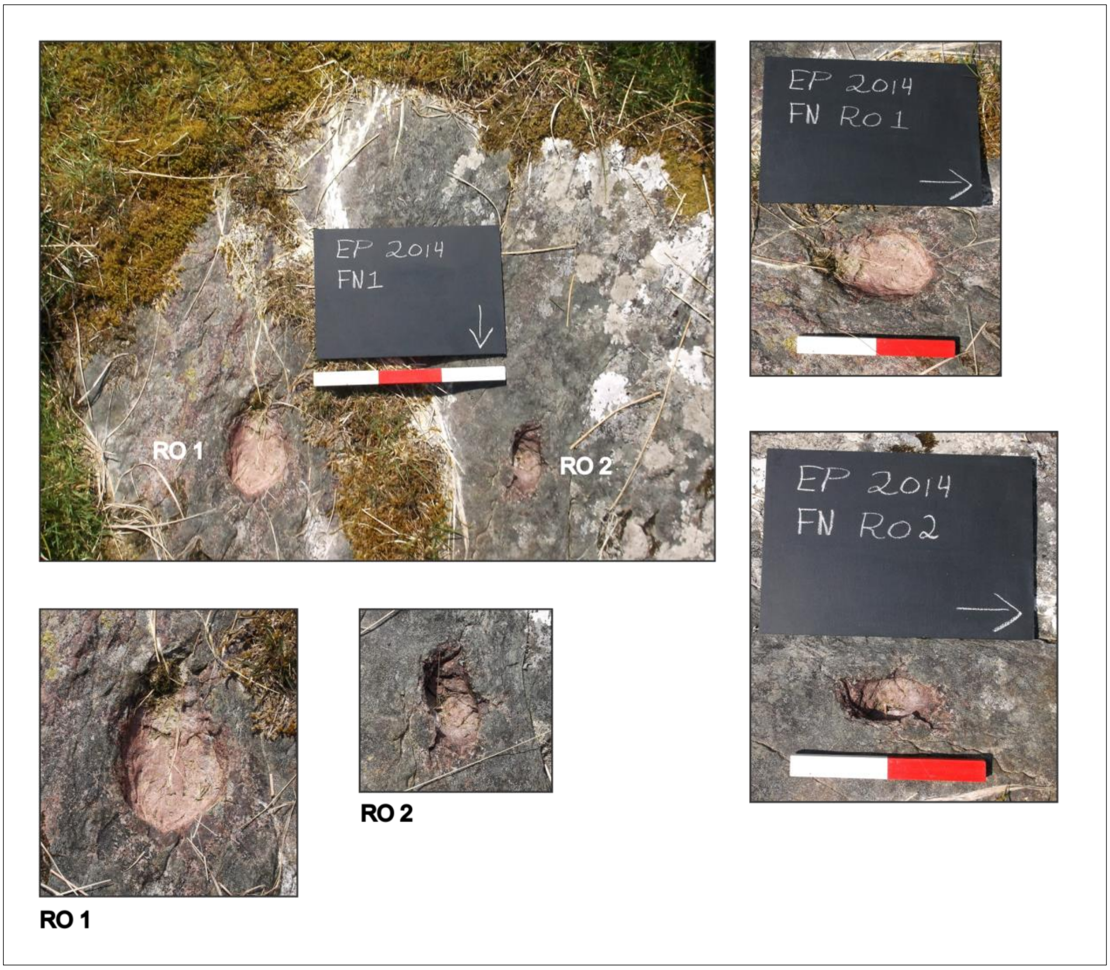


Figure 8.27: Details of the newly identified hollows RO1 and RO2 with distinct pinkish colour. Produced by the author.

8.3.2 Geophysical and DGPS survey at East Pinford stone setting

Geophysical surveys revealed little in the way of potential archaeological features, but have helped to elucidate the geological surroundings of the stone setting and clarify the pattern identified in the earlier work at the site (Gillings *et al.* 2010). Figure 8.28, figure 8.29 and figure 8.30 show a better definition of the underlying geological trends due to the expanded survey area. The magnetometry shows the area contains a lot of iron disturbance, fragments of shrapnel and shell casings resulting from military training in the area indicated by the frequent dipoles (figure 8.28). Several broad linear trends are also visible which represent the underlying geology, incorporating a transition from an area of clitter and outcropping surface stone to an area with a differing geological signature. This pattern is more clearly shown by the resistance plot which demonstrates that the stone setting sits within a broad high resistance band of outcropping stone, running through the grid (figure 8.29). A clear transition can be seen to an area of low resistance in the south western half of the survey plot. This area has a much greater soil build up and moisture content, and might be explained by an underlying geological change to clay, perhaps underneath peat. In terms of archaeology, some of the high resistance patches around the setting stones, appear to indicate small concentrations of stones in the hollows around the uprights caused by animal rubbing. This concentration of small stones was particularly noticeable during the survey which was undertaken in May 2014 (a dryer part of the year) and some of these features might represent further evidence of the use of excessively large packing stones used to mark stone hole positions during cycles of erecting and decommissioning as argued for by Gillings (2015b: 17). It is interesting to note that when visiting East Pinford during the wetter winter months, when the upland soils swell up with moisture, much of this is not visible on the surface. In terms of future research, this highlights the importance of understanding the differences in the visibility of surface features that may be encountered depending on when any fieldwork is undertaken. Only a single potential new surface feature was identified and surveyed with DGPS; a slight, small mound with some visible stones immediately north west of the stone setting, measuring 3.4m by 2.6m (figure 8.31 and figure 8.32). This feature does not appear to have a magnetic signature and has only a slightly raised resistance reading with a few points of higher resistance, although the proximity of it to the setting is suggestive given the known association of settings and small cairns (e.g. Riley and Wilson North 2001: 32; Gillings 2013: 44; Tilley 2010: 32). It is, however, noticeably different to the raised areas of resistance in the background readings generally and cannot be interpreted certainly as a cairn on the evidence available here, although if the feature is made up of soil or turf rather than stone, it may not produce a very clear geophysical signature.

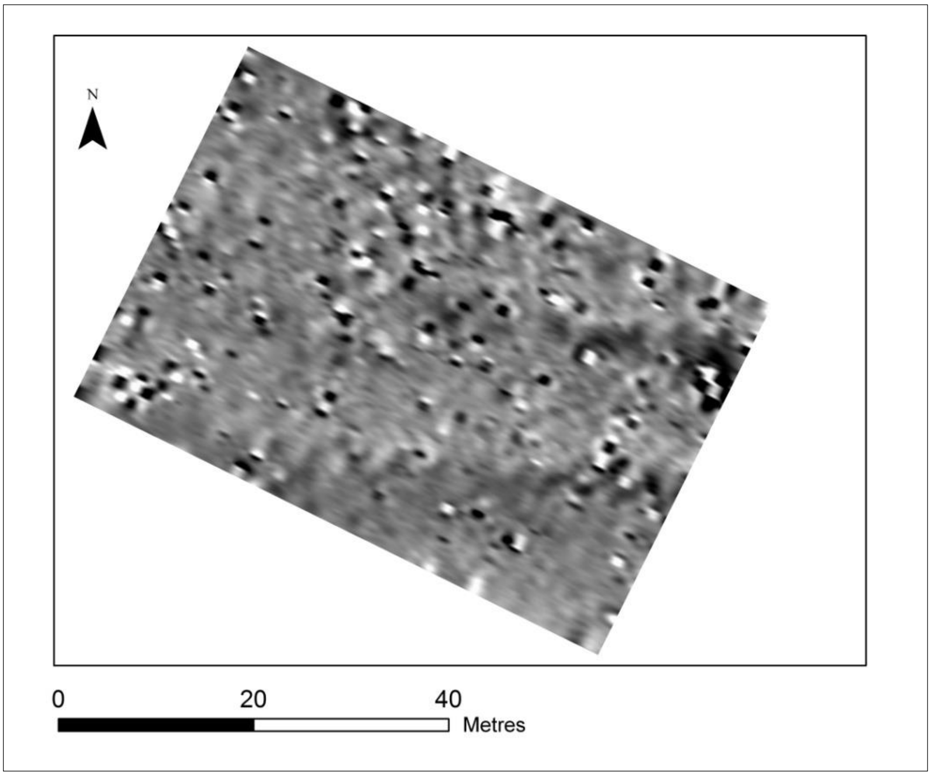


Figure 8.28: Magnetometry survey of East Pinford stone setting. Produced by the author.

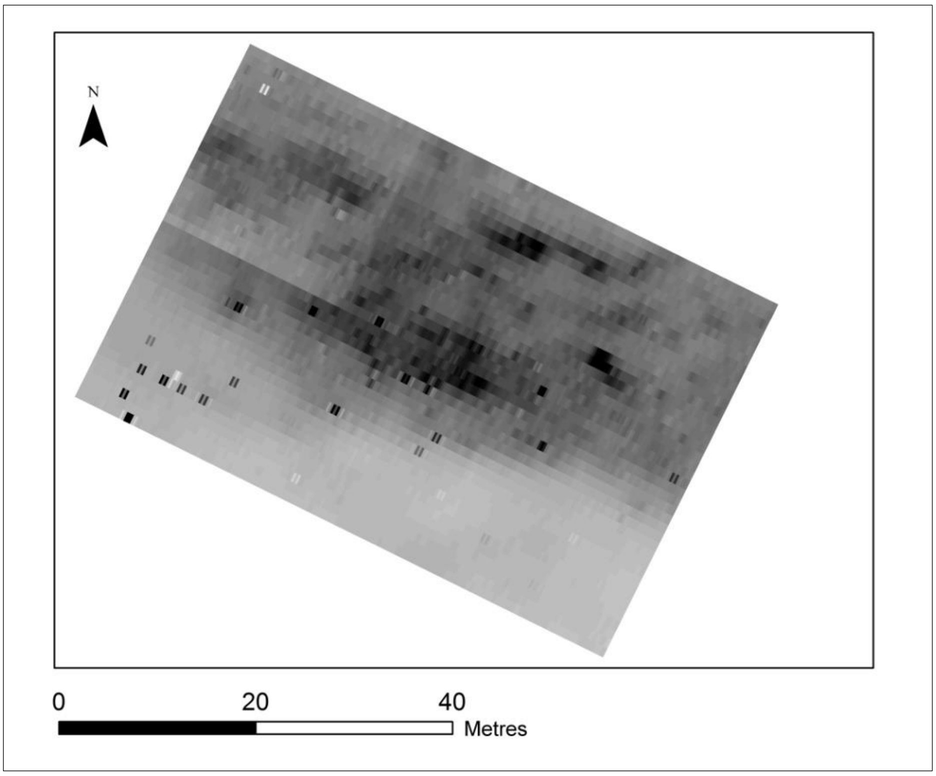


Figure 8.29: Resistance survey of East Pinford stone setting. Produced by the author.

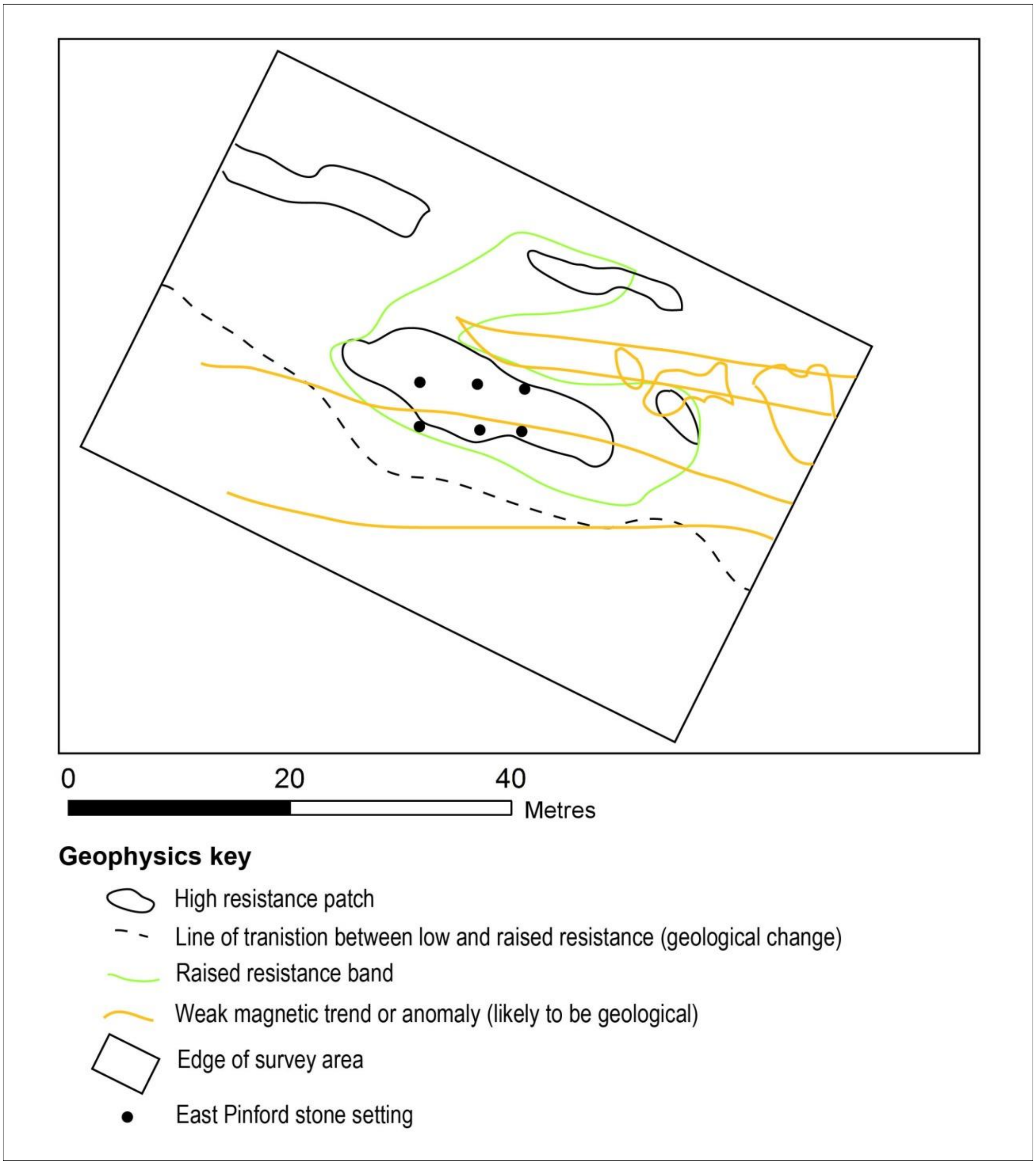


Figure 8.30: Interpretation drawing of East Pinford magnetometry and resistance survey. Produced by the author.

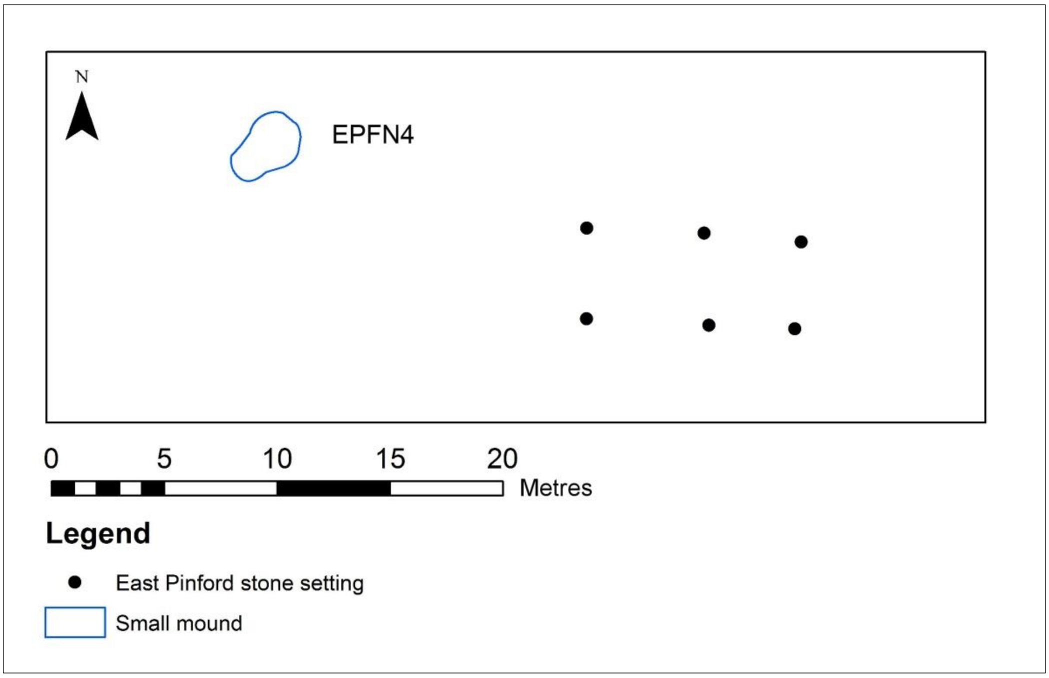


Figure 8.31: A survey plan of East Pinford showing the small mound. Produced by the author using data collected by Hazel Riley on behalf of the ENPA.

Figure 8.32: Photographs of the small mound (EPFN4). Note the visible stone content. Photographs by the author.

8.3.3 Interpreting East Pinford - Assemblages, miniatures and landscape boxes

To conclude the East Pinford case study, the potential implications of the current data will be explored, building an interpretation which draws on the significance of assemblages, miniatures and landscape boxes (see chapter 4). If we consider the setting and its surroundings as a series of assemblages at different scales, then it allows the potential relationships between and within them to be explored. Despite the lack of dating and artefactual evidence that might add further detail to the phasing and kind of activities taking place in this area, or at the setting specifically, exploring these possibilities allows the evidence to be understood in entirely new ways.

Taking the largest of these assemblages, the landscape itself, the topographic setting of East Pinford is spectacular and distinctive. Whilst the East Pinford setting does confirm to the wider known pattern, being located on an upper coombe slope (e.g. Riley and Wilson-North: 24), the locale is noteworthy for the way in which the setting appears to be topographically enclosed, by the gradually rising ground to the East and South, and by the steep side of Trout Hill which overlooks the site to the west (cf. Gillings *et al.* 2005: 4; see also figure 8.24). In terms of the potential affective capacities of the landscape, they may have contributed to the territorialisation of an affective field by generating a sense of arrival in a defined space, perhaps best described as a large-scale, naturally enclosed arena. The presence of a steep backdrop (provided by Trout Hill), with the flatter more gradually sloping shelf upon which the stone setting was constructed and a natural knoll overlooking the site to the south west, gives this locale a distinctive character, something akin to a natural amphitheatre. These factors could have led to the emergence of a very distinctive set of atmospheres and affective fields as groups encountered these features. Whilst no evidence exists to elucidate the how people on Exmoor might have understood unusual features such as the large rock outcrop, or the natural knoll, given the interest in natural features in prehistory demonstrated in other south western landscapes (e.g. Tilley 1995 and 1996; Tilley *et al.* 2000; Bender *et al.* 2007) it seems a reasonable argument to suggest that distinctive natural landforms would have been significant on

Exmoor during the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods. However it would be a mistake to see the topography and landforms of East Pinford as a passive backdrop onto and against which their actions and intentions took place. These landforms were probably understood as resulting from previous activities and constructions, perhaps related to origin myths, or the activities of ancestral or other worldly beings that may have been a part of the beliefs held by prehistoric communities on Exmoor.

The stone setting at East Pinford might therefore be interpreted using the concept of the landscape box, i.e. as a kind of landscape diorama (see Bailey 2005: 32-35; see also Chapter 4). Further, given that the stones are small in relation to the human body, and the wider surrounding landscape, they might also be thought of as a miniature landscape nestled within this wider area. From this perspective the stones have far greater prominence in the immediate rectangular area of ground that they define. If the setting is considered as a miniature landscape, the miniliths character is transformed, they become large megaliths within in this miniature world. Perhaps the small size of the cairns which are associated with settings, which might be represented here by EPFN1, were deliberately constructed at a small scale, so that they did not overshadow the stones, ensuring that they were *appropriate* to the scale of the settings. The site of this miniature landscape of stones and earth might suggest the existence of another world, yet one that exists within the wider landscape (cf. Stewart 1993: 54), the situation within the former serving to enhance the powerful affects and affective fields that small scale things or miniatures can provoke when experienced. The enclosing landscape and steep hillside backdrop of Trout Hill emphasised the small scale of the stones, glimpses of which occur silhouetted against the hillside when approaching from the East, when within a few tens of metres of the site. Thus the kind of affective field that might emerge through experience of the site is defined by a small scale rectangular area, set within a much larger enclosing landscape, an interplay of scales that might have been intended to provoke thought, to unsettle or surprise. The setting may also have had the opposite impact depending on what was expected in terms of seeing a group of standing stones. If, for example, one expected to see stones that were larger than the human body (see Bailey 2005: 28-29; discussed in chapter 4) the stones may have fleetingly appeared larger against their backdrop, before their true size was visible, depending on the viewers perspective. This might represent what Stewart described in terms of miniatures giving a sense of the existence of worlds within worlds, ever increasing levels of significance (1993: 54; See Chapter 3), or to use Deleuzian terms, seeing the world as a series of interrelated assemblages at different scales, ever changing, emerging and dispersing (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 21; DeLanda 2006; see chapter 3 for detailed discussion).

A series of apparent size relationships seem to connect the complex assemblages that make up the area of East Pinford. The setting demonstrates the juxtaposition of scale on multiple levels, with both larger uprights (A 0.66m in height) and smaller set stones further defining the rectangular area, along with a series of smaller stumps which may be natural or artificial settings and a further potential link to the outcrop as the source of the stones suggesting wider relations between these assemblages. These materialised traces might act through mechanisms of recurrent citation and association (Lucas 2012 200-201; see chapter 3), both in demonstrating the links between these assemblages and to contribute to their territorialisation and emergence. If the stone setting acted like a landscape box, given further significance by both its small scale in relation to the human body and the juxtaposition of scales, it might have been a locale at which groups could pause for reflection to interact with the site. The territorialisation of these activities generated further assemblages and transformed existing ones, adding to the already dynamic and rich landscape of the area. This connected their practices and activities into the landscape, physically connecting them into an area of stone clitter and shallow outcropping rock revealed by the geophysics and previous research (figure 8.30; Gillings *et al.* 2010: 303-304). The people that created these sites on Exmoor, appear to have placed importance on connecting their upright stone arrangements into the landscape in a manner that is perhaps unhelpfully described as being in some way 'sensitive' to it. The upright stones also connected the band of outcropping stone, perhaps partially visible or shallowly buried, to the sky and the world above the ground, encouraging the rock below to emerge and perhaps grow further. The presence of at least two nearby cairns suggests activities taking place that might have included clearance, burial and boundary construction in the vicinity of the setting. Both of the cairns contain burnt material as suggested by the 2005 magnetometry results, whilst the second (MSO10904 HER) also appears to have a 'tail' implying a linear spread is aligned on it (Gillings *et al.* 2005: 13-17). The temporal relationships between these features and the setting are unknown, but it does suggest a strong connection between settings, cairns, clearance and, potentially, farming. It might suggest the significance of standing stone arrangements as being highly mutable and dynamic with a capacity to attract further activities, the sites being defined as having a high level of connectivity to join or interact with other assemblages. The sequence at East Pinford could be read in several ways, for example as wider activities around an earlier stone setting, acting like a centre of gravity in contributing to the territorialisation of further assemblages in the vicinity, as a direct and contemporaneous feature with the cairns and possible boundary construction, or even the setting marking a final phase, a closing down event of the wider activities in the area.

8.4 Lanacombe - Investigating the wider landscape

The focus of chapter eight so far has been on looking at the character of the stone monuments in area B, their context and immediate surroundings. During the second half of this chapter, emphasis will shift to examining the character of activity in the wider landscape. This will focus first on a detailed case study of the results of an excavation conducted for this research project on the western end of Lanacombe. Following this, a wider scale analysis of spatial and chronological relationships will be conducted across area B to bring the chapter to a close.

8.4.1 Introduction - the western end of Lanacombe

As this thesis has made clear in chapter 2 and in section 8.1, Lanacombe has witnessed by far the most sustained and detailed study of any of Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes (e.g. Gillings *et al.* 2010; Gillings and Taylor 2011a; Gillings 2013 and

2015b). However this work focused on the south east facing slopes towards the eastern end of the Lanacombe spur, around a group of at least five stone settings (Lanacombe I, II, III, IV and V) as shown in figure 8.1. Previously the western end of Lanacombe had received little attention, apart from the identification of a field system defined by small cairns and segmented stony banks, possibly forming fields and enclosures (ENPHER MSO7102). During 2013 geophysical survey on a completely unprecedented scale on Exmoor was commissioned by the Exmoor Mires Project, covering some 10ha and incorporating the known field system (magnetometry with two smaller areas of resistivity; Carey 2013: 5). In short, the results suggested the survival of an extensive buried archaeological landscape underneath the peat (ibid 2013). Given the opportunity that this presented to examine unknown features in the wider landscape away from the stone settings, it was decided that this area (shown in figure 8.33) should be the focus of the excavation work[39]. The excavation of two trenches[40] were undertaken, targeting specific magnetic anomalies as detailed in appendix eight. Due to space constraints a summary of the key results only is presented here, with a full description of the features and relationships in each trench reproduced in the separate excavation report (Mitcham 2014c unpublished; see appendix 8).[41] The account here focuses on the wider interpretation of the results, with the excavation strategy and methods also presented in appendix 8. No artefactual material or dating evidence was retrieved during the excavations.

[39] This was undertaken as an alternative to excavating within study area A, when it became unfeasible to carry out an excavation there during the available time period.
[40] An additional trench, labelled A, was not excavated.
[41] A full stand alone excavation report was submitted to the ENPA HER.

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Figure 8.33: Site locations on the western end of Lanacombe. Produced by the author using data from ENPA HER, the Exmoor Mires Project and Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

8.4.2 Excavation of trench B - the rectangular geophysical anomaly

Trench B targeted a possible rectangular enclosure defined by positive and negative magnetic anomalies as shown in figure 8.34. It was positioned to characterise a possible linear feature defining the former and to sample possible internal features that were initially interpreted by Carey as indicating a possible in-situ heating event (2013:12). Archaeological deposits were encountered in trench B directly under the turf layer and were defined by a series of stake holes (F1-11, F21) and stone spreads (F13 and F35) (figure 8.35-figure 8.38 and table 8.8). Further archaeological deposits were present underneath this horizon, some of which were covered by the layers of silty loam into which the stake holes were cut. The stone spreads were stratigraphically above and partially within this silty loam horizon. The sealed, and therefore stratigraphically earlier, deposits were only exposed in a small slot along the northern end of trench B, although not all the features here were sealed by these deposits (figure 8.36, figure 8.39 and figure 8.40; see appendix 8 for a full detailed description of the features and potential relationships within trench B).

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Figure 8.34: Location of trench B on gradiometer anomalies. Produced by the author using data from the Exmoor Mires Project.

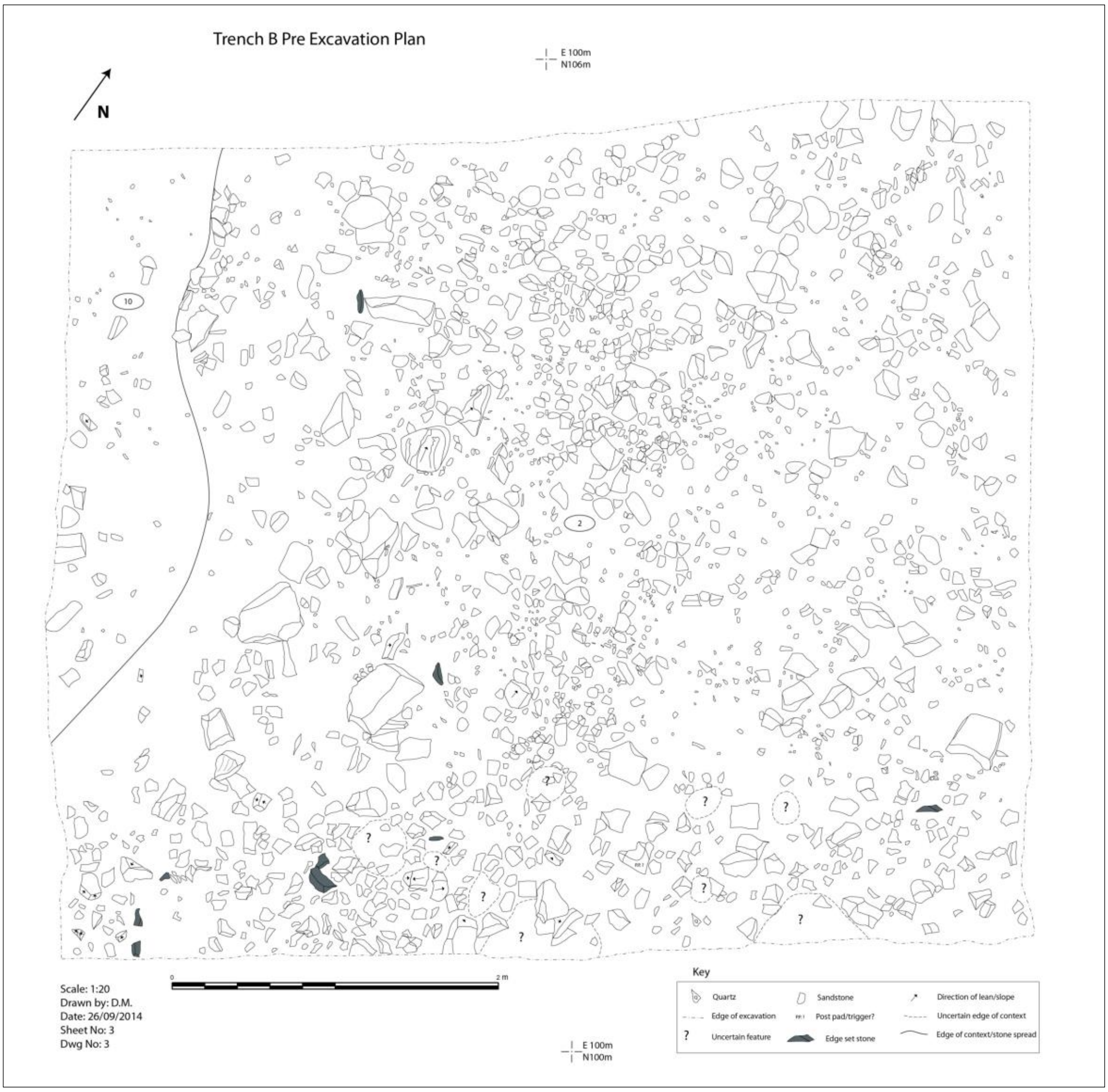

Figure 8.35: Trench B pre-excavation plan. Figure produced by the author.

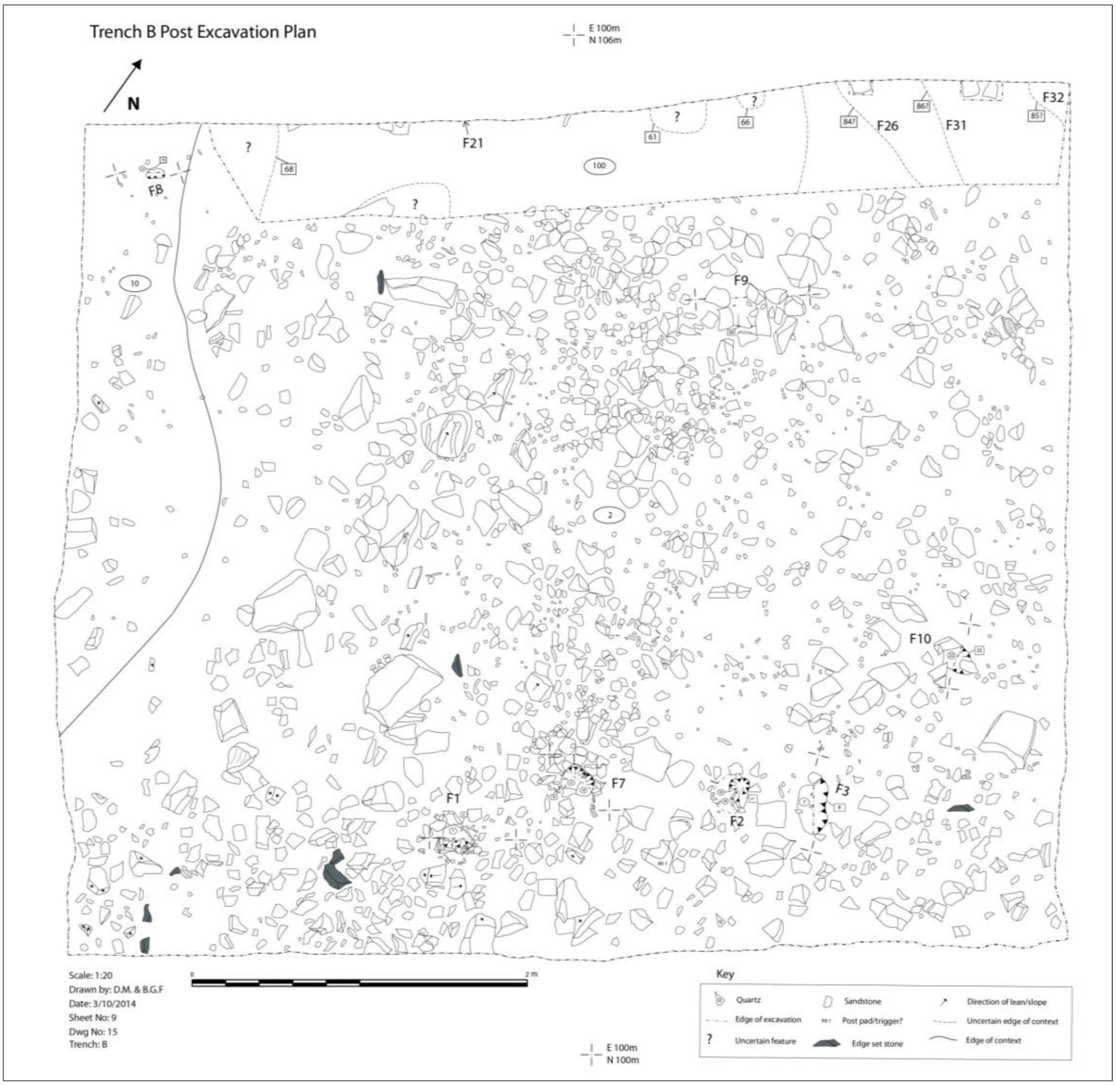

Figure 8.36: Post excavation plan of trench B. Produced by the author.

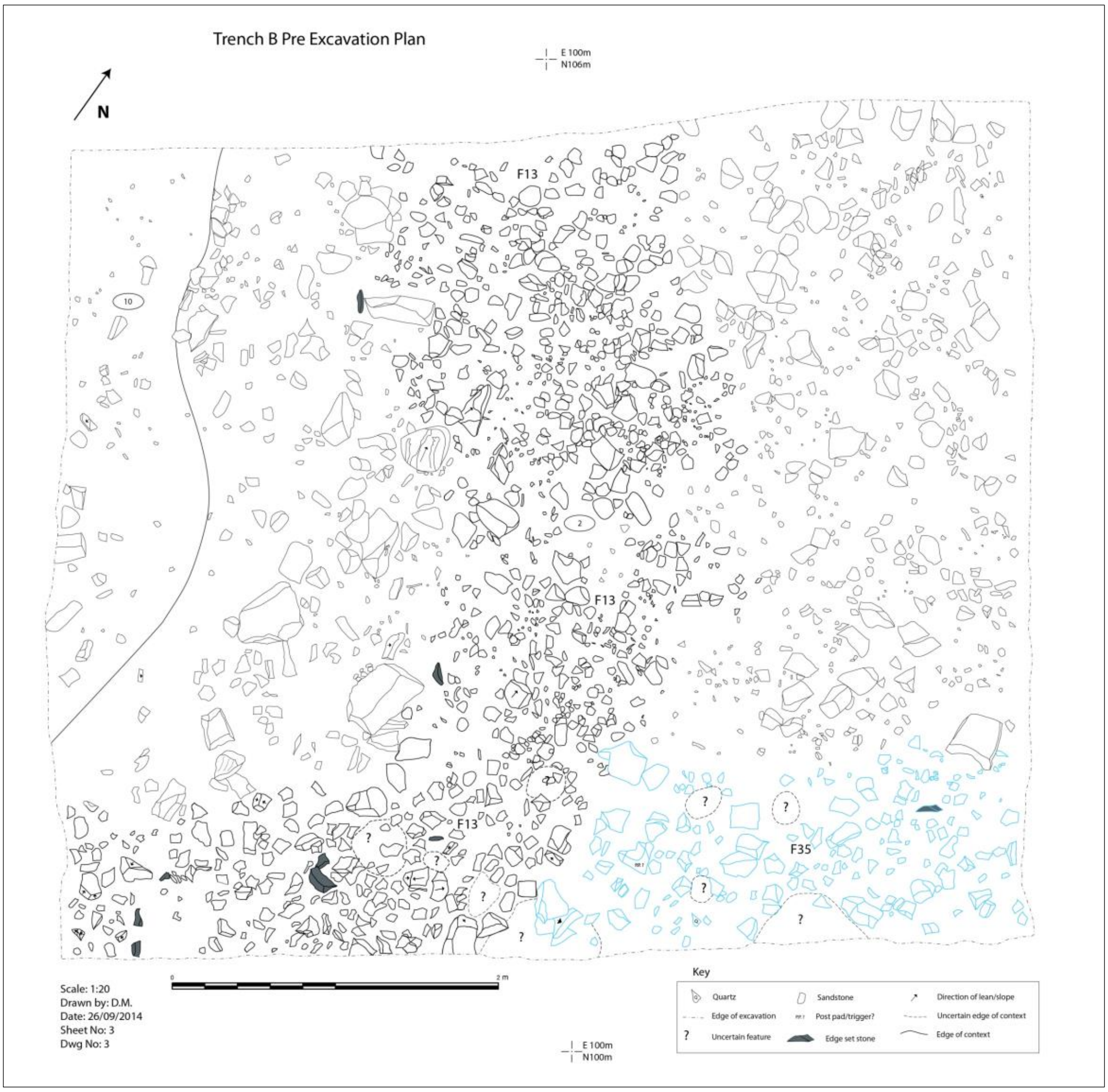

Figure 8.37: Trench B pre-excavation plan with F13 highlighted in black, and F35 shown in blue. Their full extent and definition is unclear. Any potential relationship between F13 and F35 is not understood at present. Figure produced by the author.

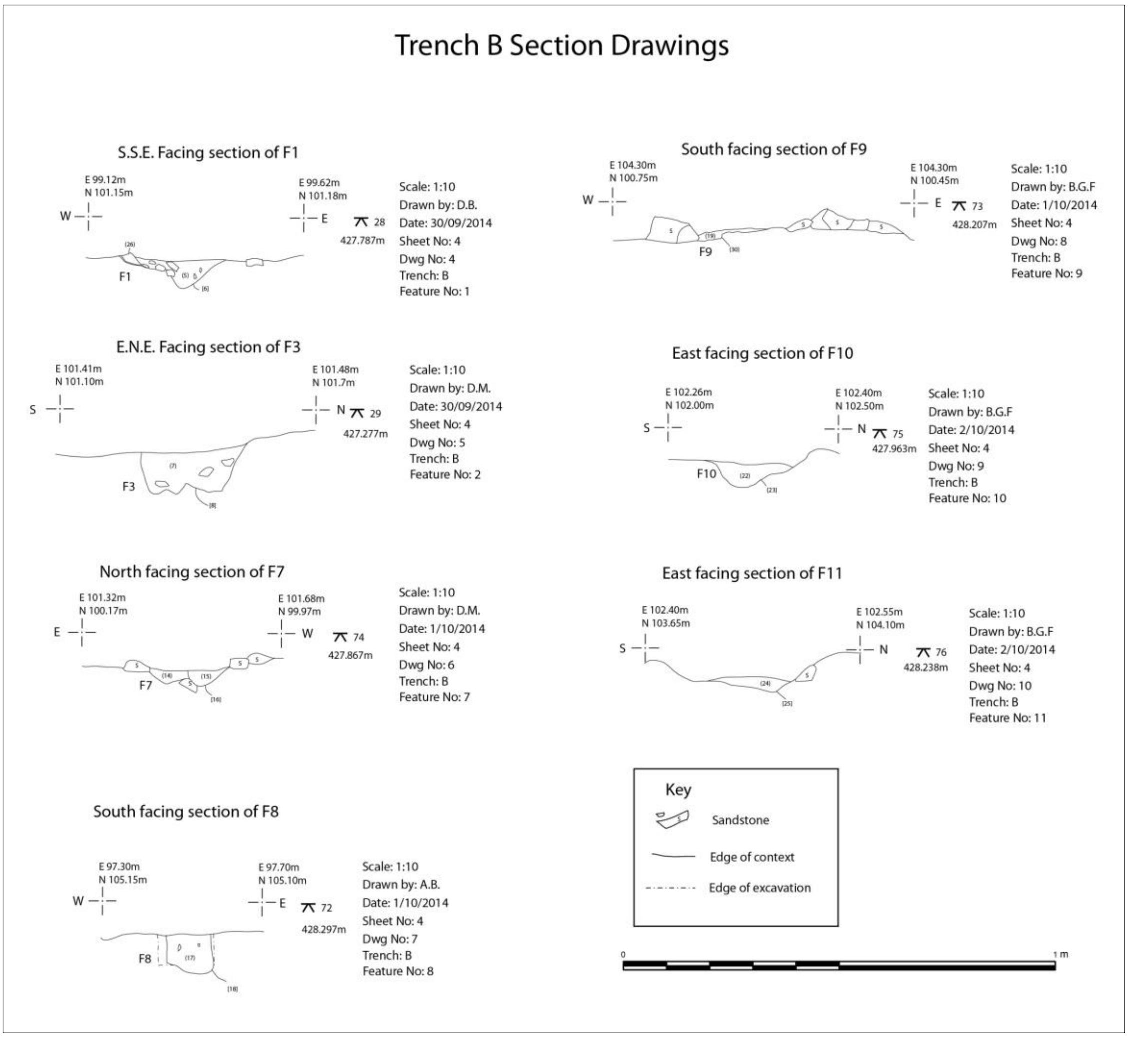

Figure 8.38: Section drawings of features in trench B including a number of stake or post holes (F1, F3, F7, F8, F10). F11 might be the destroyed remnant of a further example but is not conclusively identifiable as such. F9 was a shallow deposit surrounded by a concentration of stone that is of uncertain archaeological validity. Produced by the author from field drawings undertaken by the excavation team.

Table 8.8: Summary of features in trench B.

Feature No	Feature type	Description and Interpretation
F1	Stake or post hole	Small stake hole or post hole with surrounding packing deposit of small sub angular sandstone fragments. Profile suggests F1 might have held two stakes but no stratigraphic difference in fills was observed.
F2	Stake or post hole	Small stake or post hole. Partial packing stone deposit around cut. Small size of F2 indicates it could only have supported a small upright. Nearby angular blocks might have been used as post supports, but no in-situ supporting structure remained.
F3	Stake or post hole	Small stake or post hole. A stepped feature base suggests F3 might have held two adjacent stakes, or that one was replaced at a later time, although no difference in the fills was observed. May have held one stake set at angle, with sandstone fragments bridging the crest of the step in the base.
F7	Stake or post hole	Small stake or post hole, with sandstone fragment pressed into the stepped base, separating a post pipe from the fill of the rest of the feature. Sandstone fragments pressed into surrounding surface of F7

Feature No	Feature type	Description and Interpretation
		possibly to create a supporting surface. A single larger sandstone fragment was lying on top of the feature, adjacent to the post pipe, overlying partially the remaining fill, interpreted as a trigger or packing stone.
F8	Stake or post hole	Small stake or post hole. F8 had a U-shaped profile, vertical sides, and a flat base. No evidence of packing stones within or around F8. Interpretation uncertain as area had visible root disturbance, although F8 appeared to be a well defined, deliberately cut feature.
F9	Uncertain/possibly natural	Loose arrangement of small angular sandstone blocks, on top of a small thin layer of silty sand. Although the appearance of the stone arrangement was curios, noticeably different from the other stone spreads in trench B, no clear evidence of human interference was located. F9 is interpreted as a natural feature, although the stone blocks could have been placed deliberately.
F10	Stake or post hole	Small stake or post hole. Single fragment of sandstone on the edge of the cut, may be a remnant packing stone. F10's northern edge had a more gradual slope than its southern edge, possibly indicating that it held a stake at an angle.
F11	Stake or post hole	Possible stake or post hole. Single sandstone fragment lying on the base/ edge of the cut, possibly a packing stone or wedge. Northern side of cut gradually sloping, possibly indicating stake set an a low angle. Densely packed deposit of small sandstone slabs next to F11 appeared to be a remnant of a supporting structure. Dispersed spread of stone around F11 might suggest this was once more substantial, with a small cairn like structure placed around the stake for support.
F13	Stone spread	Band of dense, small angular pieces of sandstone forming a vague arc across trench B. It is unclear if this is entirely natural or partially a result of stone clearance, or if this is a separate feature to F35.
F35	Stone spread	Band of sandstone fragments, comprising a less dense spread across the bottom of trench B, with a greater concentration of larger pieces. It is uncertain whether this is anthropogenic in origin or a natural occurrence as this was only partially exposed in trench B.
The following features were only partially exposed in section at the northern end of trench B, and are therefore not fully excavated or understood:		
F15	Cut	Uncertain feature cut.
F16	Cut	Uncertain V-shaped cut.
F17	Cut	Uncertain V-shaped cut.
F18	Uncertain ditch/linear?	Uncertain feature cut, possible ditch or linear slot.
F19	Uncertain ditch/linear	Uncertain re-cut of F18
F20	Cut or layer?	Uncertain shallow slot or layer
F21	Stake or post hole	Stake hole with possible post pipe and stone packing.
F22	Cut	Uncertain cut feature, truncated by F23.
F23	Cut	Uncertain cut feature, truncated by F24.
F24	Cut	Uncertain cut feature.
F25	Cut	Uncertain cut feature, heavily truncated by F24. Could be a continuation of F23.
F26	Cut or disturbance?	Uncertain, irregular shaped cut or disturbance.
F27	Cut of pit?	Uncertain cut feature, possible pit in corner of trench B.

Feature No	Feature type	Description and Interpretation
F28	Cut	Uncertain, small cut feature, only partially exposed.
F29	Cut?	Uncertain, possible re-cut of F28.
F30	Cut?	Small cut feature only partially exposed, uncertain.
F31	Cut of pit or re-cut?	Uncertain cut feature, possible pit or re-cut of F27. Two large sandstone blocks within fill.
F32	Cut of pit or re-cut?	Uncertain cut feature, possible pit or re-cut of F32. Sandstone fragments appear to indicate material slumping into F32.
F33	Layer?	Shallow deposit, unclear what this represents.

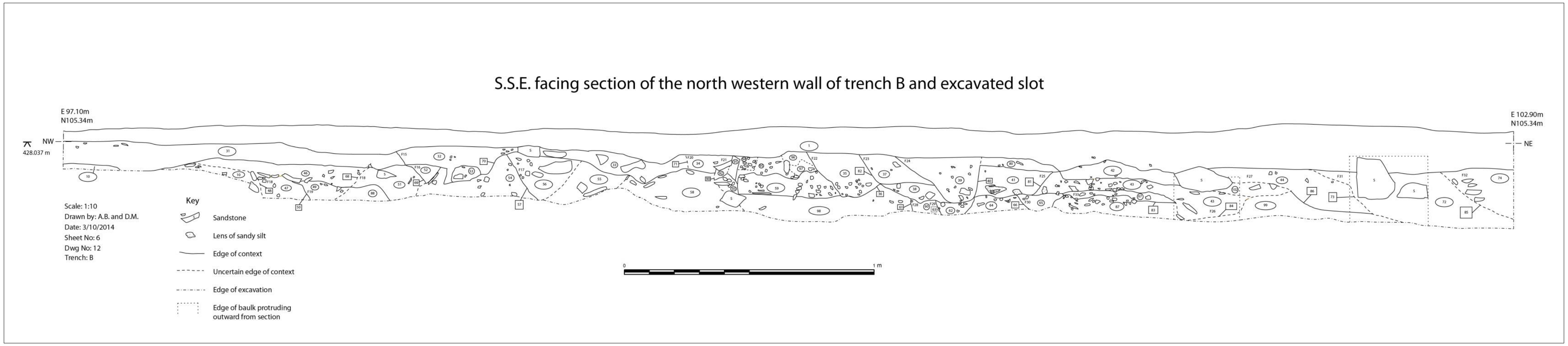

Figure 8.39: Northern section of trench B. Figure produced by the author from field drawings and photographic recording.

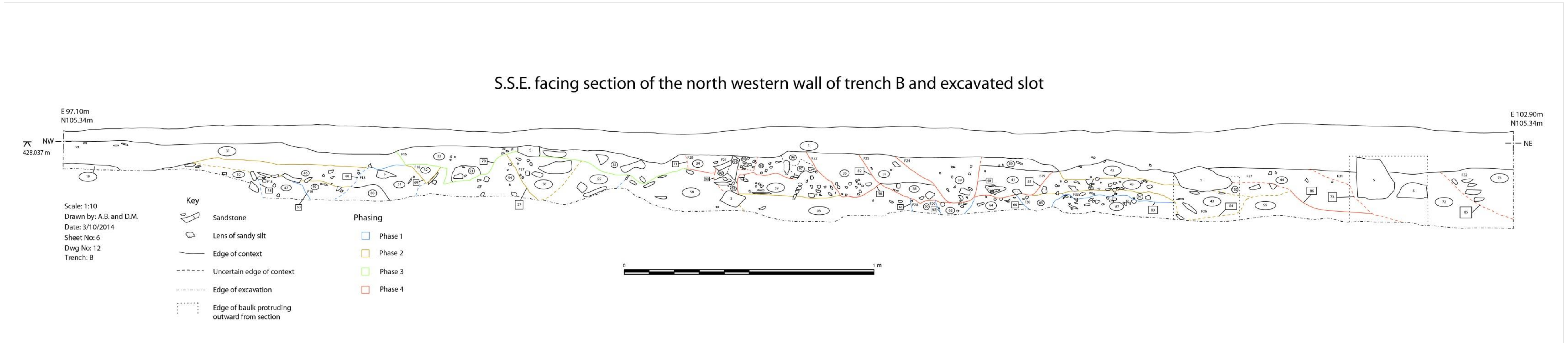

Figure 8.40: The northern section of trench B, showing phasing and feature numbers. Figure produced by the author from field drawings and photographic recording.

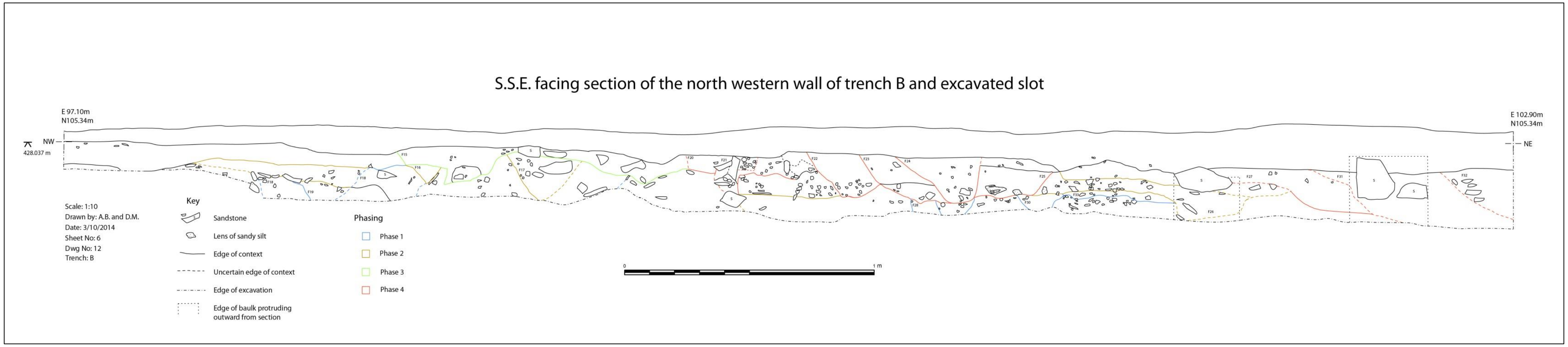

Figure 8.41: Simplified version of the northern section of trench B, showing feature cuts only. Figure produced by the author.

8.4.3 Excavation of trench C - circular enclosure

The second excavated area, trench C (figure 8.42), investigated a small part of a large discontinuous magnetic anomaly that had been interpreted as a possible circular enclosure measuring circa 74m in diameter defined by a series of pits (Carey 2013: 11). Due to constraints on time and resources trench C was not opened to the full extent shown in figure 8.42 with the southern area not investigated. After turf removal and cleaning a series of sandstone blocks and fragments were revealed, although none appeared to be within features or to have been placed artificially upright (figure 8.43). Indeed the edge set or upright stones present looked to have reached their positions due to geomorphological processes. The only likely feature initially located was F5, defined by a loose heap of stones in the north west corner of trench C (figure 8.43). No further features were visible that might correspond to the geophysical anomalies and so after planning the stone spread, a circa, 1m wide slot was excavated against the northern trench wall to establish the presence or absence of the anomalies (figure 8.44 and figure 8.45). This exercise could not identify any clear source for the anomaly, other than a few unconvincing features which included a possible small cut in the section which had an usually dense fill of sandstone fragments (figure 8.46). This did not appear to be archaeological in origin (full details in appendix 8). At this point it became clear that layer (4) was potentially sealing features in trench C, although time constraints prevented any further investigation. However, the excavations were continued by South West Archaeology, as part of the work commissioned by the Exmoor Mires Project and the results of this allow an interpretation to be built in section 8.4.4. In short, this identified a sequence of intercutting pits as the source of the anomalies underneath layer (4), along with post holes and a dense stony spread within a hollow; it also suggested the trench was misplaced; a consequence of the error margins involved in the georeferencing of the anomalies and their horizontal displacement from the features generating the responses (Walls 2015: 21; figure 8.47 and figure 8.48). For clarity, the original location of this projects trench C is shown on figure 8.48.

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Figure 8.42: Location of trench C on gradiometer anomalies. Produced by the author using data from the Exmoor Mires Project.

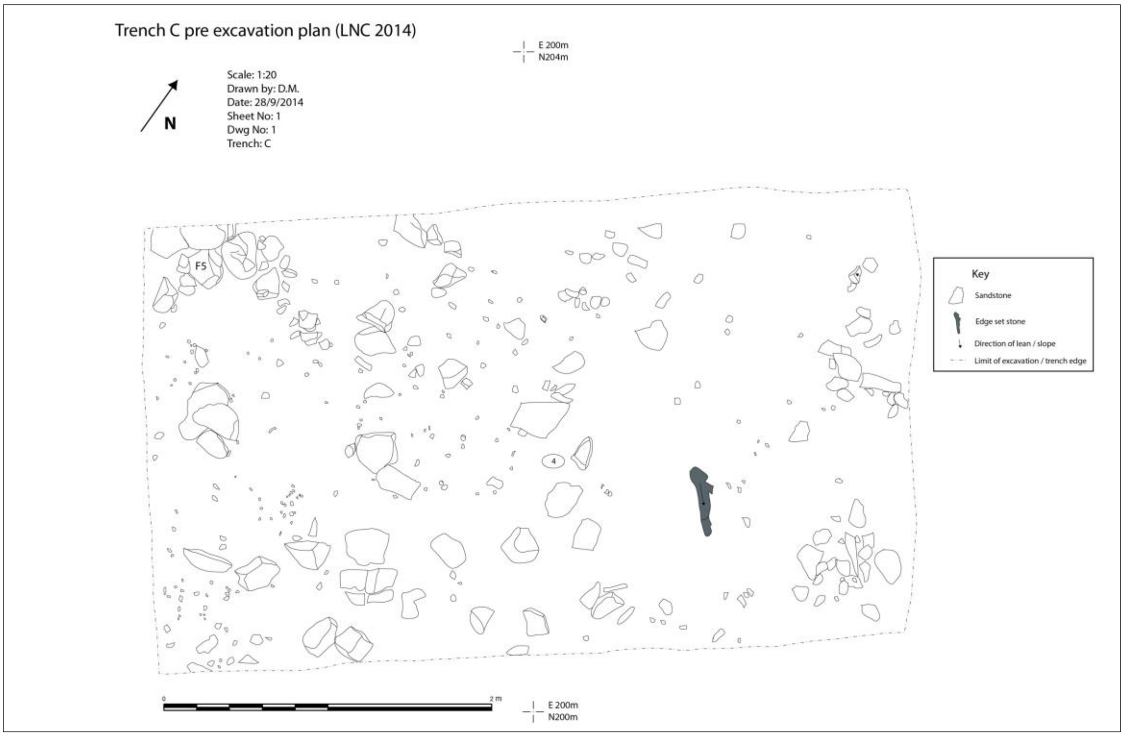

Figure 8.43: Trench C pre-excavation plan. Figure produced by the author.

Figure 8.44: Trench C pre-excavation plan of level 2 in excavated slot. Figure produced by the author.

Figure 8.45: Trench C post-excavation plan. Layer 4 was not excavated beyond the sondage and the stone spread above/within is not shown here only to enhance the clarity of the plan. Figure produced by the author.

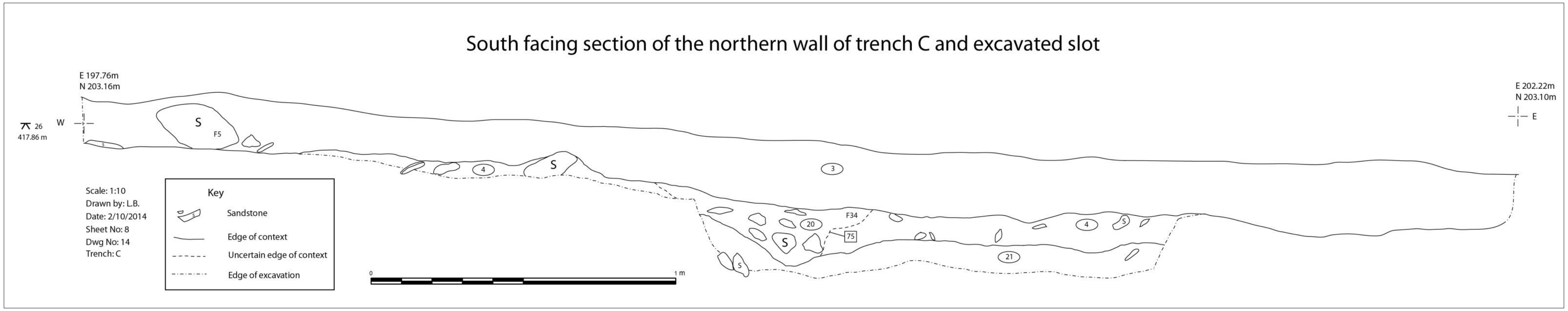

Figure 8.46: Section of northern wall of trench C, showing excavated slot. Figure produced by the author from a field drawing produced by the excavation team.

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Figure 8.47: Section drawing and plan of intercutting pits. From Walls 2015: 19.

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Figure 8.48: Plan and section of the results of the extended work on trench C (named trench 4 in SW report) undertaken by South West Archaeology. The original trench C is shown in red. From Walls 2015: 19 with modification by the author.

8.4.4 Excavation - interpretation

Given the limited understanding obtained in terms of the presence or not of the geophysical anomalies in trench B (see appendix 8 for the full account) interpretation will focus on the results of trench C, for which more detail is available as a consequence of the results of the subsequent Exmoor Mires Project excavations (see Walls 2015 and appendix 8). A number of key questions remain unanswered regarding the chronology and purpose of the features uncovered in both trenches; given the lack of any artefactual or dating evidence they cannot be resolved here. The very limited extent of the excavated areas is equally problematic, being confined to a minimum evaluation of the first archaeological horizon underneath the turf in trench B, and a very restricted sample of features underneath which in trench B were not fully excavated. There is also the wider issue that the excavated areas represent a tiny sample of a much larger buried landscape of features as suggested by the geophysics (see Carey 2013). Whilst it cannot be conclusively proven, the context and character of the excavated features and their stratigraphic position in both trenches strongly suggest they are prehistoric. A Bronze Age date is most likely for the field system (ENPHER MSO7102) which the features in trench B may, or may not be associated with. The interpretation favoured here is that the trench B features are most likely a part of this Bronze Age field system. Due to space constraints and the unclear results of trench B, it is not possible to develop any further interpretation and the reader is referred to the separate report in appendix 8 for further details. The activity in trench C and the large circular enclosure are also likely to be Bronze Age although again, no dating or artefactual evidence was recovered (cf. Walls 2015: 21). Given the unusual character of the large enclosure, perhaps best described as a pit circle rather than a continuous enclosure, an earlier date cannot be ruled out.

The results of SW Archaeology's excavations in trench C proved the existence of the pits indicated by the geophysics, revealing the intense recutting and deliberate backfilling of features and a number of post holes which comprised the latest phase of activity, cutting into the upper fills of pit [411] (Walls 2015: 17-18, 21). Whilst only a small area has been investigated, the interpretation followed here is that these pits from part of a large circular area, defined by the digging of intermittent pits in a circa 74m oval, with a possible annex on the eastern side[42], the extent of which was revealed in figure 8.49 by the geophysical survey (see Carey 2013). Although there is no dating evidence to prove their contemporaneity, and only two areas of this much larger anomaly have been excavated, it is difficult to justify how this large circular arrangement might have occurred accidentally through random activity over time. It is argued here therefore, that this could only have occurred through a deliberate and coherent attempt to excavate a series of pits in order to define a circular area, or through creating a series of features which respected or followed something that was already defining or filling that space in the landscape. The occurrence of wooden posts after the infilling of one of these features might be entirely coincidental and unrelated,

[42] Excavation for the Mires Project showed this annex consisted of a stone bank, interpreted as being later than and possibly replacing a series of pits or ditches (Walls 2015: 21).

although it could also be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to mark the location of the former pits. Only more excavation could tell if this pattern is repeated elsewhere at different pits around the circle, or whether a pit circle was ultimately replaced or re-instated as a circle of timber posts.

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Figure 8.49: Map showing the gradiometer anomalies and surface features in relation to the trenches. Figure produced by the author using data from the Exmoor Mires Project.

Although the evidence is admittedly rather inconclusive, a number of interesting possibilities can be explored in considering the emergence and dispersal of these features as assemblages, by considering the key details of the evidence and then exploring an interpretation utilising the former framework. First, the pit sequence as shown in figure 8.47 was interpreted as demonstrating the initial construction of a large pit [411], followed by a period of silting which suggested the feature was left open and then deliberately backfilled by various dumps of densely packed stony material and re-deposited natural (Walls 2015: 18, 21). This large pit cut through earlier features, with [412] being interpreted as post hole or storage feature with a stone lined base (ibid: 18). The excavators interpreted this as demonstrating the deliberate backfilling and re-cutting of pits with the placement of thin stones on the base of the pits (ibid: 21). Three post holes were later dug into the upper fill of pit [411] and an earlier feature, a dense surface spread of stone within an apparent hollow running north-south was also uncovered (see figure 8.48, labelled (402)) (ibid: 18, 21). The latter contained several partially upright stone slabs, corresponding to those visible on the initial plan of the trench undertaken by this project prior to removal of the sealing layer (4) (see figure 8.43). This deposit was cut by, and is therefore earlier, than the large pit [411], with the excavators commenting on the apparent natural appearance of the spread but arguing that it was difficult to account for how it could have formed without anthropogenic influence, with larger pieces left standing proud (ibid: 17-18, 21). The interpretation favoured here is that this apparent confusion between a natural and an anthropogenic deposit might have been the intention. Given the known interest in placing small standing stones in outcropping bands of geology (e.g. Gillings *et al.* 2010; See Chapter 2), perhaps this deposit was a deliberate attempt to mimic one of these bands of stone clitter and outcropping rock. By dumping stone into an irregular hollow and placing some larger blocks or slabs within it, standing proud, the deposit mimics an outcrop, quite deliberately not utilising the techniques of stone erection evidenced at the stone settings (see Gillings *et al.* 2010; Gillings and Taylor 2011a&b; Gillings 2013). Despite the complexity of the sequence and the lack of any chronological understanding, the data here allows an opportunity to explore the relationships between people and different materials in creating architectures in the wider landscape. This builds a wider contextual understanding of activity away from the standing stone monuments, which form the key focus of large parts of this thesis, although the temporal relationship between the two are unknown. The excavators argued for an early prehistoric date for some of this activity (ibid: 21) and the character of the archaeology in trench C whilst undated, is consistent with what might be expected in a Neolithic or Bronze Age context.

What is clear from the data is a repeated concern with the territorialisation and creation of pits which cut into the earth and disturb the natural layers, creating a new assemblage of an open space in the ground, which is then allowed to silt up. This does not appear to have been a focus of deposition for anything, although if anything was placed in the pit it may have been subsequently removed or simply not survived given the acidic ground conditions. This seems fairly unremarkable, but the feature is then subject to a series of dynamic changes, an interplay between territorialising, deterritorialising and re-territorialising forces which change and adapt it through the creation and transformation of a series of assemblages. This involved the transformation of the open, partially silted pit, into a densely packed assemblage of stone, re-deposited natural and humic material, apparently undertaken in a deliberate series of dumping events (see Walls 2015: 18) The feature was not apparently backfilled exclusively with what was removed from it when originally dug, but mostly with angular stone fragments which, as the excavators noted, were absent from the natural substrate in the trench (Walls 2015: 18). This implied that a deliberate attempt was made to gather angular stone fragments, probably from the wider area of Lanacombe specifically for the purpose of this backfilling event. Perhaps the backfilling event involved a complex set of relations involving multiple individuals, bringing material in and each contributing to the dumping of material into the pit in a very ordered, rather than random manner. This would imply that the presence of the open pit as an assemblage contributed to the territorialisation of a series of other assemblages, including both the groups of soil and stone that were dumped into the pit, and the short lived assemblage of people connected by complex relations, in enacting a series of actions and emotions, the open pit forming a centre of gravity, drawing in the formation of new assemblages. In terms of thinking about wider relations, there is arguably a parallel here between the treatment of, and engagement with, outcropping stone as evidenced at the settings on Lanacombe and elsewhere (see chapter 2) with the setting of upright stones in areas of natural outcropping stone, in that there was a common concern or belief that in undertaking certain activities in the landscape, it was important to attend to these features appropriately. It also suggests the possibility of long term caring or maintenance taking place. Returning to the pit sequence, perhaps the disturbance of the earth in creating what may have been a discontinuous pit circle, had ultimately to be closed down and then reformed in a specific way that was tied into local understandings and beliefs regarding the landscape and the local environment on Lanacombe. Perhaps the subsequent re-cutting and backfilling events reflect these practices, and the creation of upright posts, perhaps deliberately cut into the in-filled pit as it remained visible as a slight hollow, was part of a processes of transformation of this older feature into something new, marking the pit's position and drawing on the significance of past events. Only future fieldwork will tell if the replacement of pits with posts is consistently repeated, or if the posts have any relationship to the activity represented by the pit circle. Clearly the complexity revealed by the limited excavations and the geophysical survey imply that multiple phases of activity could be represented that cover a large span of time; it is not at all clear if the apparent pit circle or enclosure represents an as yet unknown form of prehistoric monument or whether it might be related to the Bronze Age field system.

8.5 Conclusion and summary

In conclusion, this chapter has conducted detailed analysis and developed interpretations for three specific zones within area B, focusing on the character and context of the Swap Hill and East Pinford stone settings, along with the investigation of the character of the wider landscape at western end of Lanacombe, away from the locales of the known stone settings of Lanacombe I to V. In doing so this chapter has addressed key aspects of the research questions, for example in exploring the character of Exmoor's lithic monuments and exploring the rationale behind their construction, use and meaning. The study of East Pinford specifically examined the landscape context of the setting, whilst all three case studies examined wider features beyond the lithic monuments, including cairns, field banks, rock outcrops, enclosures and field systems. In doing so, spatial relationships were highlighted, for example the tendency for settings such as that on Swap Hill to occur near to possible boundary systems of fields defined by banks and cairns, but not to form a direct part of the actual boundaries themselves. Similarly the fieldwork revealed yet more evidence of very small cairns in close proximity to settings at East Pinford and Swap Hill, along with an unrecorded standing stone on Swap Hill, which appears to be related closely to a field bank. This provided further evidence on Swap Hill that small standing stones were employed as part of boundary or field clearance episodes, possibly as layout markers, or as closing events comparable to the example on East Pinford (see Riley 2014). Finally, the temporal relationships between the two types of feature are a key priority for future work, it is not clear whether the single standing stones are earlier or contemporaneous with the banks on Swap Hill or at East Pinford (see Riley 2014: 6).

Chapter 9 The Longstone landscape and Parracombe Common

9.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses primarily on the analysis and interpretation of new fieldwork undertaken in three specific locales within study area A, complemented by the synthesis of pre-existing datasets and research. The aim is to address RQ's 1, 2 and 3 examining the character and form of the lithic monuments and other features, exploring their landscape context and finally, where possible, investigating key spatial and chronological relationships. The lithic monuments in area A have not seen the same extent of recent research compared to that undertaken in area B (see chapter 8). However area A contains some of the most important surviving Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes on Exmoor, comprising several large round barrow cemeteries such as the Chapman Barrows and Wood Barrow groups, stone settings and the unusual 3m tall Long Stone, as well as various enclosures and settlements (Grinsell 1970: 59-60; Eardley Wilmot 1983: 23; Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 10-11, 30, 39; Green 2009a&b). This chapter focuses on three detailed case studies, examining in detail the character and context of a stone setting immediately south of the Chapman Barrows (ENPHER MDE1044), a large standing stone known as the Longstone (ENPHER MDE1280) and an unusual rectangular enclosure (ENPHER MDE12830) on Challacombe Common. Finally it examines a large circular enclosure that has variously been interpreted as a possible class I henge, disc barrow or 19th century tree ring enclosure (Wainwright 1969: 126; Grinsell 1970: 25-26; Eardley Wilmot 1983: 27-28; Harding 1987: 121; Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 34).

9.1.1 Topography of study area A

Study area A covers an area of about five square kilometres on the western side of Exmoor National Park, close to the village of Parracombe. As can be seen in figure 9.1 the most prominent topographic feature in area A is defined by a part of the major east-west ridge which bisects the central part of Exmoor (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 39). This ridge dominates the topography, overlooking the lower slopes of Parracombe, South Common and Ilkerton Ridge to the North and Challacombe Common to the south. Major coombes extend in both northern and southerly directions from this ridge, for example immediately south of the Chapman Barrows with tributary streams flowing into the River Bray. To the north of the Woodbarrow group, from an area known as Woodbarrow Hangings, streams flow northwards within a major coombe into the River Barbrook. The highest ground is located along the major ridge with an elevation of circa 480m recorded at the eastern end of the Chapman Barrows group and in the area of Wood Barrow. Circa 1.6km East of Woodbarrow Gate lies one of the wettest and highest areas on Exmoor, where the ground rises to circa 486m in an area known as The Chains.

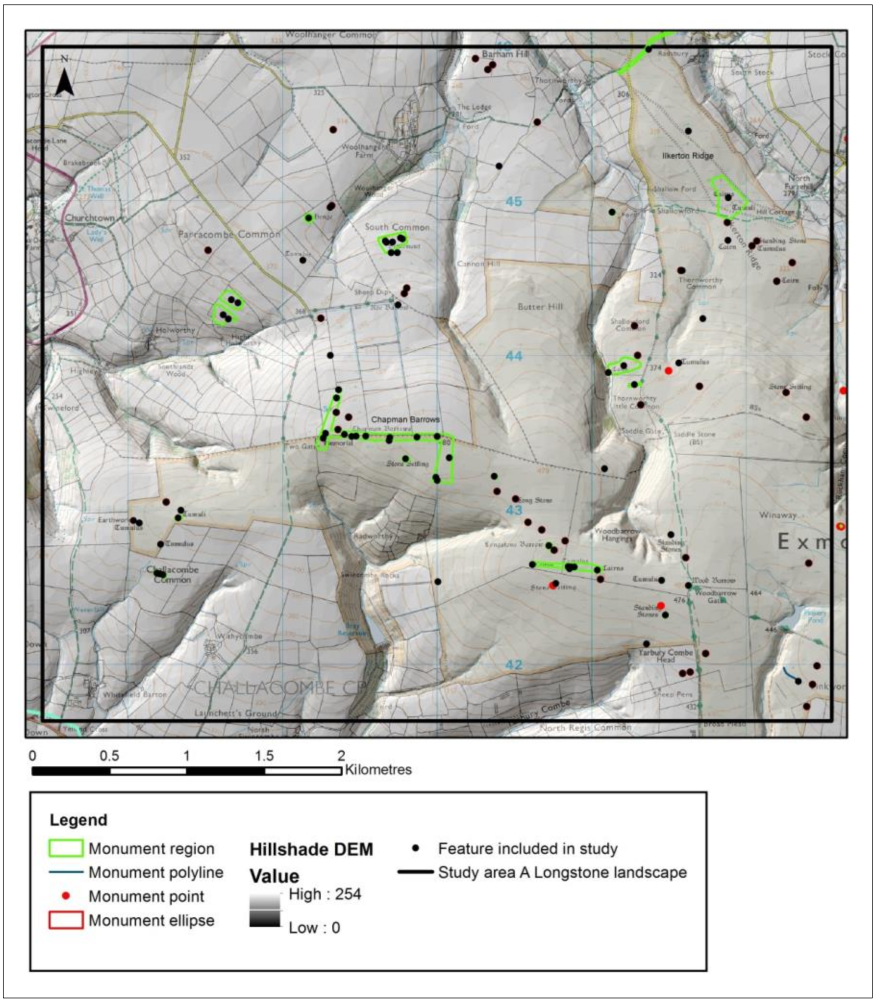

Figure 9.1: The topography, land use and extent of area A with the sites included in this study represented by black dots. Figure produced by the author using data from ENPA HER and Ordnance Survey. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.)

9.1.2 Synthesis of area A - site distribution and character

In common with study area B (see chapter 8) the nature of later activity has had a marked effect on the survival and distribution of prehistoric monuments, especially in the Post Medieval and Later Historic periods. Figure 9.1 demonstrates that the distribution of surviving features is strongly skewed towards the remaining areas of open moorland (shown with an beige-orange outline in figure 9.1) with for example, major groups of barrows and stone monuments in the vicinity of the Chapman Barrows and Woodbarrow Hangings, with further groups of stone monuments and other features on Ilkerton Ridge and Thornworthy Little Common. Beyond these areas the survival of prehistoric features is very restricted, although not entirely absent within the enclosed and improved landscape. The latter include important Bronze Age settlement remains on South Common and the enclosed settlement at Holworthy Farm (Green 2009a&b; see chapter 5), along with the circular enclosure (ENPHER MDE1064), house platform (MDE10874) and barrow on Parracombe Common (MDE1063). Many of these features on enclosed land have been significantly reduced by ploughing and there is a marked difference in the state of preservation of, for example, the Chapman Barrows which are situated on the remaining open moor and features on the enclosed and improved land to the north of the major boundary that follows the line of the Chapman Barrows (see ENPHER MDE1061 and MDE20790). Like Area B, given the heavily skewed distribution it was decided that area A was unsuitable for conducting any formal spatial analysis comparable to that applied to area C (see appendix 5). Finally it should be noted that the potential for features to be hidden underneath blanket peat is significant; the remaining areas of open moor and the area around the Longstone being especially waterlogged, with a large surface bog and peat in evidence. As for depth, recent coring carried out by the ENPA suggested maximum peat depths of circa 0.69m north of the mortuary enclosure (ENPHER MDE12830), with an average of about 0.36m on this northern transect.

The stone monuments in area A comprise a varied collection of arrangements, with both a limited number of settings that might be described as geometric or nearly geometric in terms of their layout, such as the quincunx's and both linear and rectangular forms (table 9.1 and figure 9.2). The settings in area A are perhaps less well preserved than those in area B and several have suffered considerable damage, in some cases quite recently (including fallen, displaced or missing stones) (e.g. MDE1044 see section 9.2.1). At least one site, a triangular stone setting recorded by Chanter and Worth on Challacombe Common, appears to have been either destroyed or subsumed under the peat sometime after 1957 (1905:390-391; Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 18; see ENPHER MDE1050). In terms of size and scale, all of the lithic monuments with multiple component stones engage with both the intimate and gigantic in terms of the size of the stones used and the distances spanned by their layout (i.e. length and width of the groupings) (table 9.2). Many of the stones within the settings in area A are very small, with an average minimum stone height of 0.22m, maximum of 0.57m and overall average of 0.41m (table 9.4). The latter figure is closely comparable to that noted in chapter 7 for study area C. In common with study areas B and C, most of the stone settings incorporate both larger and smaller stones into their fabric although the patterning is less clear and hampered by a lack of data for some of the sites (table 9.3 and figure 9.3). The use of small stones is taken to the extreme at the single stone row on Thornworthy Little Common with a maximum height of 0.25m, and although no specific height data is available with regard to the minimum, the majority are described as barely protruding above the turf (See MDE8974; Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 27). This practice is comparable to the small size of stones used within Porlock double row (see chapter 7) and within the White Ladder double stone row (MSO6810), circa 6.9 km to the south east. The Longstone, a circa 3m tall standing stone, is a completely unique feature to area A, with no other comparable large standing stones that might be described as 'megalithic' existing anywhere else on Exmoor, other than perhaps the Whit Stones (see chapter 7; cf. Riley and Wilson North 2001: 30-38; see also Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 62). The nearest directly comparable feature in terms of scale lies beyond Exmoor circa 10.5 km to the west at Mattocks Down in North Devon. This comprises a large (originally 3m high) upright block of quartz which probably belonged to a more complex setting that was destroyed, with a second 2.8m long but now recumbent standing stone situated around 180m away (Chanter and Worth 1905: 382-386; Devon and Dartmoor HER MDV2062 and MDV2040).

Table 9.1: Layout types for multiple stone arrangements in area A. Contains data from ENPA HER.

Monument ID (ENPHER number)	Name	Monument Type	Layout Type
MDE1044	Quincunx above the River Bray	Stone setting	Quincunx
MDE1050	Triangular stone setting on Challacombe Common	Stone setting	Triangular or kite shaped
MDE1278	Double Stone Row or Stone Setting at Winnaway	Stone setting	L shaped
MDE1280	The Long Stone, Challacombe Common	Standing stone	Paired
MDE1285	Quincunx Near Woodbarrow Hangings	Stone setting	Quincunx
MDE1317	Stone setting southwest of Longstone Barrow	Stone setting	Linear
MDE1319	Rectangular stone setting on North Regis Common	Stone setting	Rectangular
MDE8974	Stone row on Thornworthy Little Common	Stone alignment	Single row

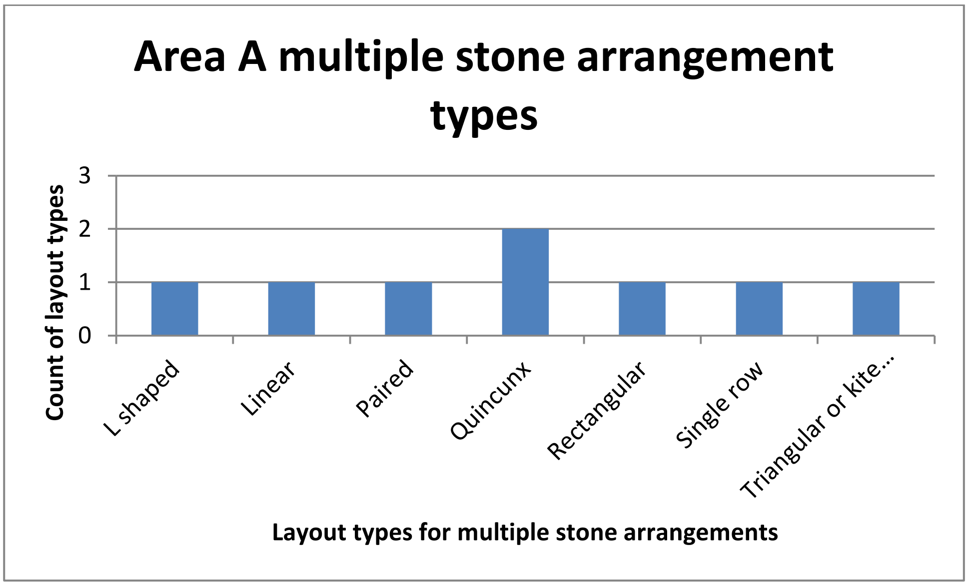

Figure 9.2: Graph showing the count of layout types for multiple stone arrangements in area A.

Table 9.2: Table showing scale and size data for stone monuments in area A. (Contains data from ENPA HER and Quinnell and Dunn 1992).

Monument ID (ENPHER number)	Name	Monument Type	Length (m)	Height (m)	Width (m)	Intimate scale	Life sized scale	Gigantic scale
MDE1044	Quincunx above the River Bray	Stone setting	26.4	0.89	25.9	1	0	1
MDE1050	Triangular stone setting on Challacombe Common	Stone setting	17.68	0.15	16.46	1	0	1
MDE1278	Double Stone Row or Stone Setting at Winnaway	Stone setting	15.9	0.85	7.8	1	0	1
MDE1280	The Long Stone, Challacombe Common	Standing stone	0	3	1.2	1	0	1
MDE1285	Quincunx Near Woodbarrow Hangings	Stone setting	7	0.7	6	1	0	1
MDE12864	Standing stone on Shallowford Common	Standing stone	0	0.9	0.4	1	0	0
MDE1288	Standing Stone on Ilkerton Ridge, south of Hill Cottage	Standing stone	0	0.9	0.4	1	0	0
MDE1317	Stone setting southwest of Longstone Barrow	Stone setting	9	0.33	0	1	0	1
MDE1319	Rectangular stone setting on North Regis Common	Stone setting	22	0.5	9	1	0	1
MDE8966	Probable rubbing post at the source of the River Heddon	Standing stone	0	0.7	0.7	1	0	0
MDE8974	Stone row on Thornworthy Little Common	Stone alignment	44	0.25	-	1	0	1
MDE8975	Standing Stone on Thornworthy Common	Standing stone	0	0.9	0.4	1	0	0
MDE8987	Possible Standing Stone, North of Ruckham Combe	Standing stone	0	0.42	0.38	1	0	0
MSO10461	Stone southeast of Pinkworthy Pond	Standing stone	0	0.6	0.35	1	0	0
MSO10462	Stone southeast of Pinkworthy Pond	Standing stone	0	0.7	0.5	1	0	0

Table 9.3: Minimum and maximum stone height data for area A. (Contains data from ENPA HER and Quinnell and Dunn 1992).

Monument ID (ENPHER number)	Name	Monument type	Minimum stone height (m)	Maximum stone height (m)
MDE1044	Quincunx above the River Bray	Stone setting	0.19	0.89
MDE1050	Triangular stone setting on Challacombe Common	Stone setting	0.051	0.15
MDE1278	Double Stone Row or Stone Setting at Winnaway	Stone setting	0.45	0.85
MDE1280	The Long Stone, Challacombe Common	Standing stone	0.7	3
MDE1285	Quincunx Near Woodbarrow Hangings	Stone setting	0.1	0.7
MDE1317	Stone setting southwest of Longstone Barrow	Stone setting	0.32	0.33
MDE1319	Rectangular stone setting on North Regis Common	Stone setting	-	0.5
MDE8974	Stone row on Thornworthy Little Common	Stone alignment	-	0.25

Table 9.4: Average height data for settings and lithic monuments in area A.

	Stone settings			All lithic monuments
Average type	**Av Min height (m)**	**Av Max height (m)**	**Combined Av (max and min) (m)**	**Av Max height (m)**
Mean	0.22	0.57	0.41	0.79
Median	0.19	0.60	0.33	0.70
Mode	None	None	None	0.7

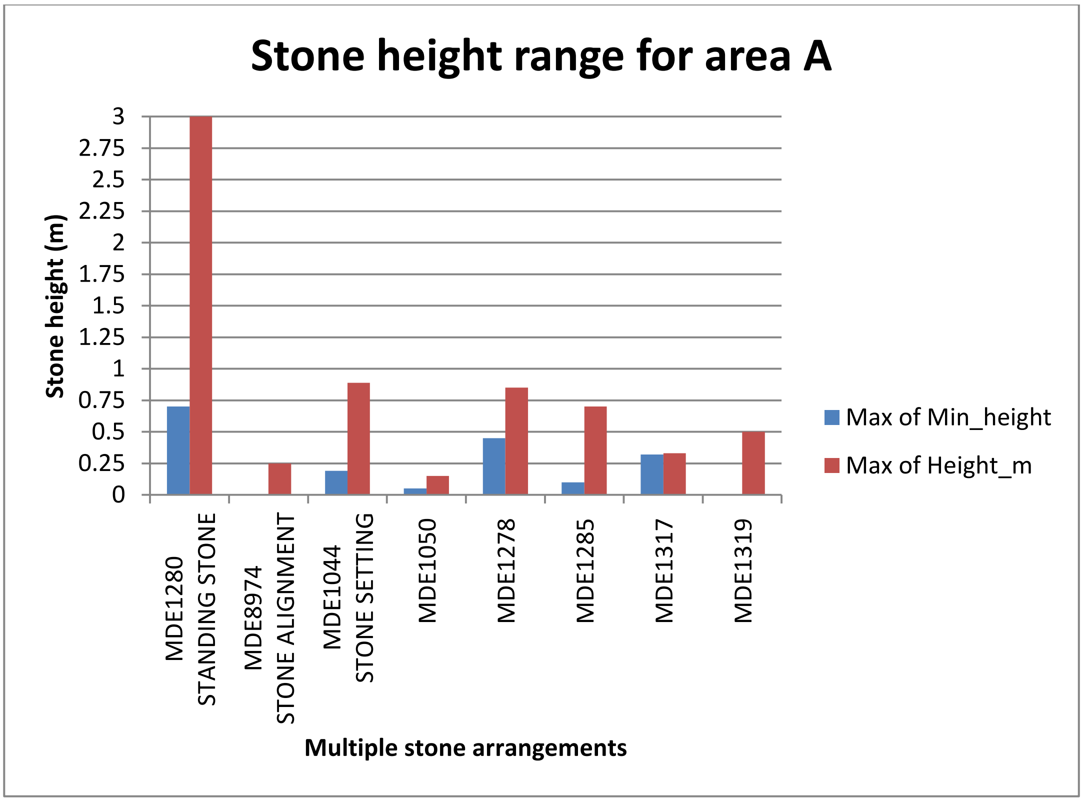

Figure 9.3: Graph showing the range of stone heights in multiple stone arrangements in area A.

The restricted distribution meant that any formal spatial analysis was of limited value and was not undertaken. However analysis of the feature database suggested that 50% of the stone settings have possible associations with cairns, whilst 66.67% might have associations with either mounds or barrows, the majority being associated with cairns or small mounds (table 9.5). Given the very small number of sites, it would be problematic to place too much significance on these figures, although the data does suggest an association between settings and cairns or small mounds. Several sites in area A are close to major barrows, including MDE1044 near to the Chapman Barrows (see Riley and Wilson North 2001: 24) and MDE1317, a setting close to Longstone barrow. Finally, a single standing stone on Ilkerton Ridge (MDE1288) is also close to barrows and cairns, whilst the Longstone itself is situated between major barrow groups (the Chapman Barrows, and the Longstone Barrow groups) which are partially visible from the former (see figure 9.1).

Table 9.5: Stone settings and standing stone with nearby cairns, barrows or mounds in area A.

Monument ID (ENPHER number)	Name	Associated feature? Cairn	Associated feature? Mound/ barrow	Monument type
MDE1044	Quincunx above the River Bray	1	1	Stone setting
MDE1050	Triangular stone setting on Challacombe Common	0	1	Stone setting
MDE1278	Double Stone Row or Stone Setting at Winnaway	0	0	Stone setting
MDE1280	The Long Stone, Challacombe Common	0	0	Standing stone
MDE1285	Quincunx Near Woodbarrow Hangings	0	0	Stone setting
MDE12864	Standing stone on Shallowford Common	0	0	Standing stone
MDE1288	Standing Stone on Ilkerton Ridge, south of Hill Cottage	1	1	Standing stone
MDE1317	Stone setting southwest of Longstone Barrow	1	1	Stone setting
MDE1319	Rectangular stone setting on North Regis Common	0	1	Stone setting
MDE8966	Probable rubbing post at the source of the River Heddon	0	0	Standing stone
MDE8974	Stone row on Thornworthy Little Common	0	0	Stone alignment
MDE8975	Standing Stone on Thornworthy Common	0	0	Standing stone
MDE8987	Possible Standing Stone, North of Ruckham Combe	0	0	Standing stone
MSO10461	Stone southeast of Pinkworthy Pond	0	0	Standing stone
MSO10462	Stone southeast of Pinkworthy Pond	0	0	Standing stone

Stone settings	Cairn	Mound/ barrow
Total records with nearby feature	3	4
Total stone settings in study area A	6	6
Percentage of stone settings in area A with nearby feature	50.00%	66.67%

Standing stones	Cairn	Mound/ barrow
Total standing stones with nearby feature	1	1
Total standing stones in study area A	8	8
Percentage of standing stones in area A with nearby feature	12.50%	12.50%

9.2 The quincunx above the River Bray - character and context of a stone setting

9.2.1 Introduction

The quincunx (MDE1044) is located immediately to the south of the major linear barrow cemetery known as the Chapman barrows in area of open moorland (see figure 9.4). The site comprises five stones arranged on the points of a diamond or kite shape, with one located in the centre, all of which were originally upright. One was broken when originally recorded in 1905 and stones B, D and E were noted as deliberately broken by the time of the 1989 survey (Chanter and Worth 1905: 388, plate III, 391; Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 17). According to the 1905 survey all the stones were oriented east to west and the site itself was oriented fairly close to a north-south, east-west alignment (Chanter and Worth 1905: plate III, 391; see figure 9.5 panel A; Eardley-Wilmot 1983: 23). However the 1989 survey records stone C on a different orientation and the HER record notes the possibility it had fallen and been incorrectly re-instated (see ENPHER MDE1044; see figure 9.5 panel B). The site has deteriorated rapidly in recent years with stones B, C and D falling by 2006 and stone A after 2006, being almost recumbent by 2012 (Teage 2006: 2, 39; Pearce 2012: 6-7). By 2012 stone E was broken into three pieces with one fragment still upright and stone C could not be located (Pearce 2012: 6). The close proximity of the quincunx to the major barrow group was unusual (cf. Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 24) and prior to this study none of the quincunx variant of stone settings had been investigated using geophysical survey techniques. It was therefore chosen as a case study with the principle aim of testing whether the setting was an isolated feature. The dilapidated condition of the site provided an additional urgency to the investigation and a salient reminder of the ever present threat of damage to these fragile sites (see Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 4). The site should be considered a priority target for future fieldwork and consolidation is needed to ensure the remains are preserved and fully investigated before the total loss of this site.

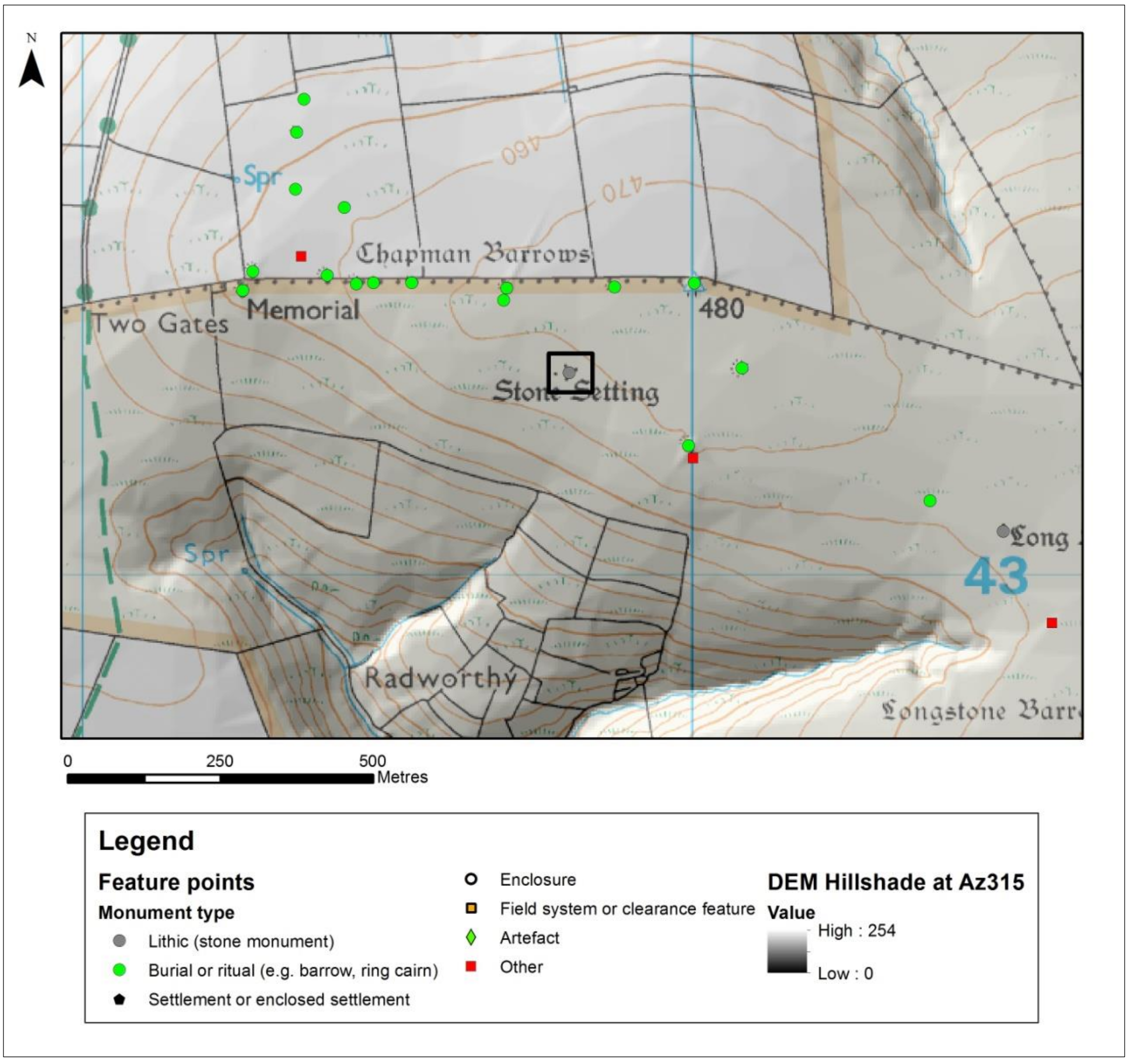

Figure 9.4: Map showing the location of the quincunx MDE1044 (highlighted with a black square) and nearby features. Produced by the author using data from ENPA HER and Ordnance Survey. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2016. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.)

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Figure 9.5: Panel A shows the 1905 survey and panel B the RCHME survey undertaken in 1989. Recomposed from Chanter and Worth 1905: plate III and Quinnell and Dunn 1992.

9.2.2 Geophysical and DGPS survey at the quincunx above the River Bray

The resistivity survey revealed a striking v-shaped high resistance anomaly (figure 9.6 and figure 9.7, A-B) immediately to the east of stone C, the south-east line of which continues beyond the surveyed area. The resistance anomaly is very clear, and could be defined by a concentrated band of stone. The internal point of the v-shaped feature shows an area of raised resistance (figure 9.6), with some suggestion of variation between high and low readings. This may be a result of disturbance and spreading out of material. This contrasts with the concentrated blanket high resistance readings which make up the V shaped band. The position of the V seems to respect the location of the stone setting, although whether the two features are certainly related cannot be revealed by the geophysics. A number of small high resistance anomalies run through the centre of the survey area (figure 9.7, C-M), which sit within more diffuse and broader areas of slightly raised resistance. These rather amorphous high resistance anomalies may represent areas of outcropping rock, which are covered by a thinner area of soil. Together this creates an unusual, almost boat or canoe shaped anomaly which runs from the outer edges of the V, through the stone setting (figure 9.8). This part of the survey is difficult to interpret, and it is not clear whether it represents geological trending or any kind of archaeological feature. The fact that a slight reversal of this pattern is present across the northern end of the survey grid, partially defined by diffuse areas of low resistance, may suggest a geological explanation is more likely. However, there does seem to be a direct link between the location of the quincunx and this potentially geological pattern, the monument itself sitting within a slight area of raised resistance. A similar reversed pattern is present in the southern part of the survey area, with the background readings in this area trending along the same SSE-WNW alignment.

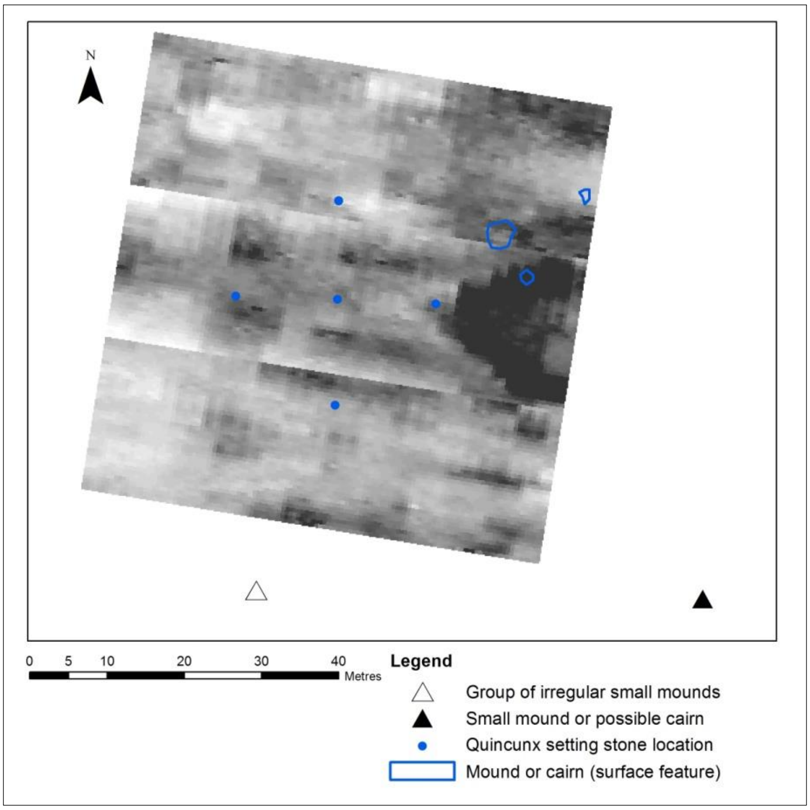

Figure 9.6: Earth resistance and DGPS survey results of the quincunx above the River Bray (ENPHER MDE1044). The stones and surface features are shown in blue. Produced by the author.

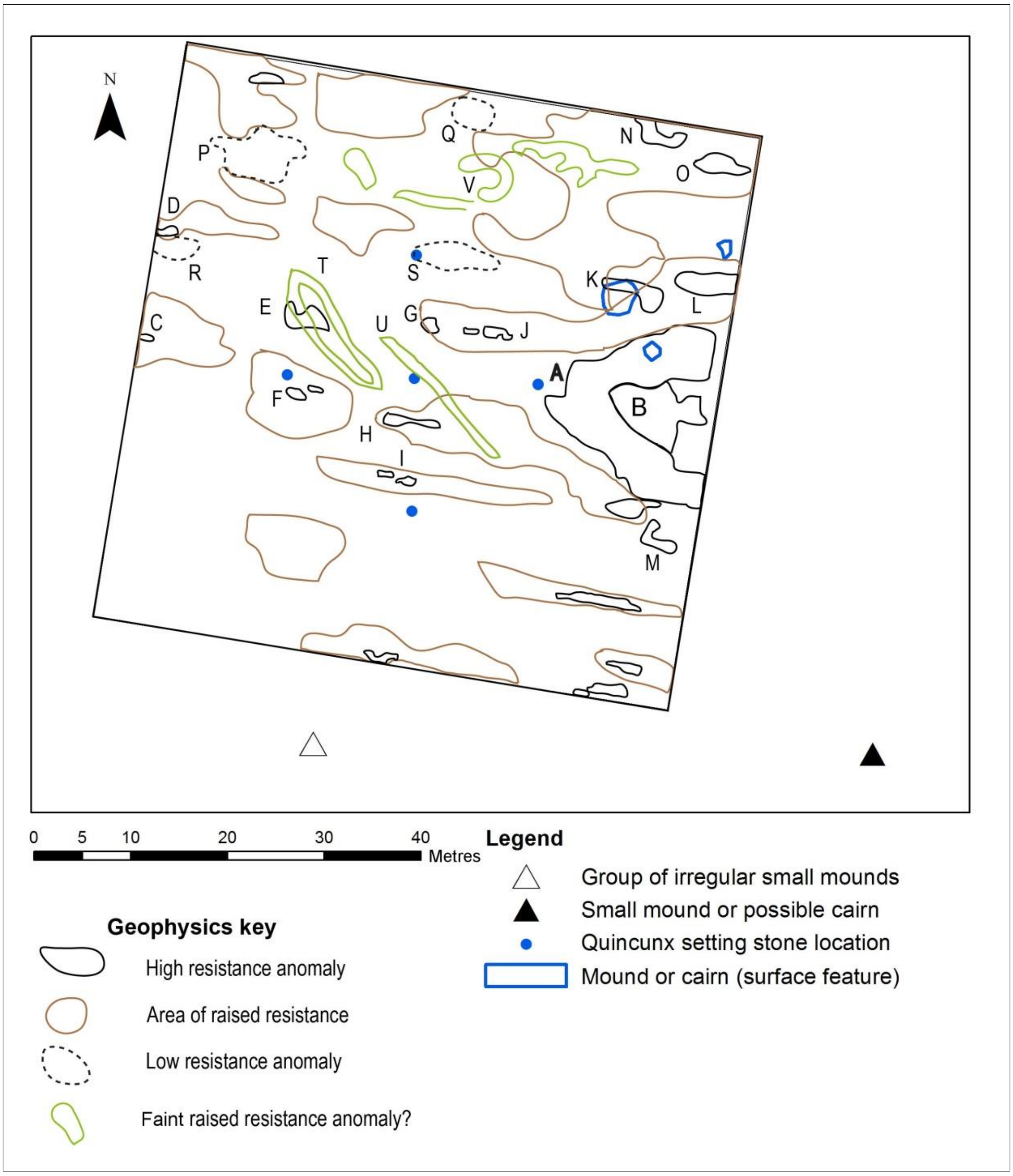

Figure 9.7: Interpretation of the earth resistance and DGPS survey results at the quincunx above the River Bray (ENPHER MDE1044). Produced by the author.

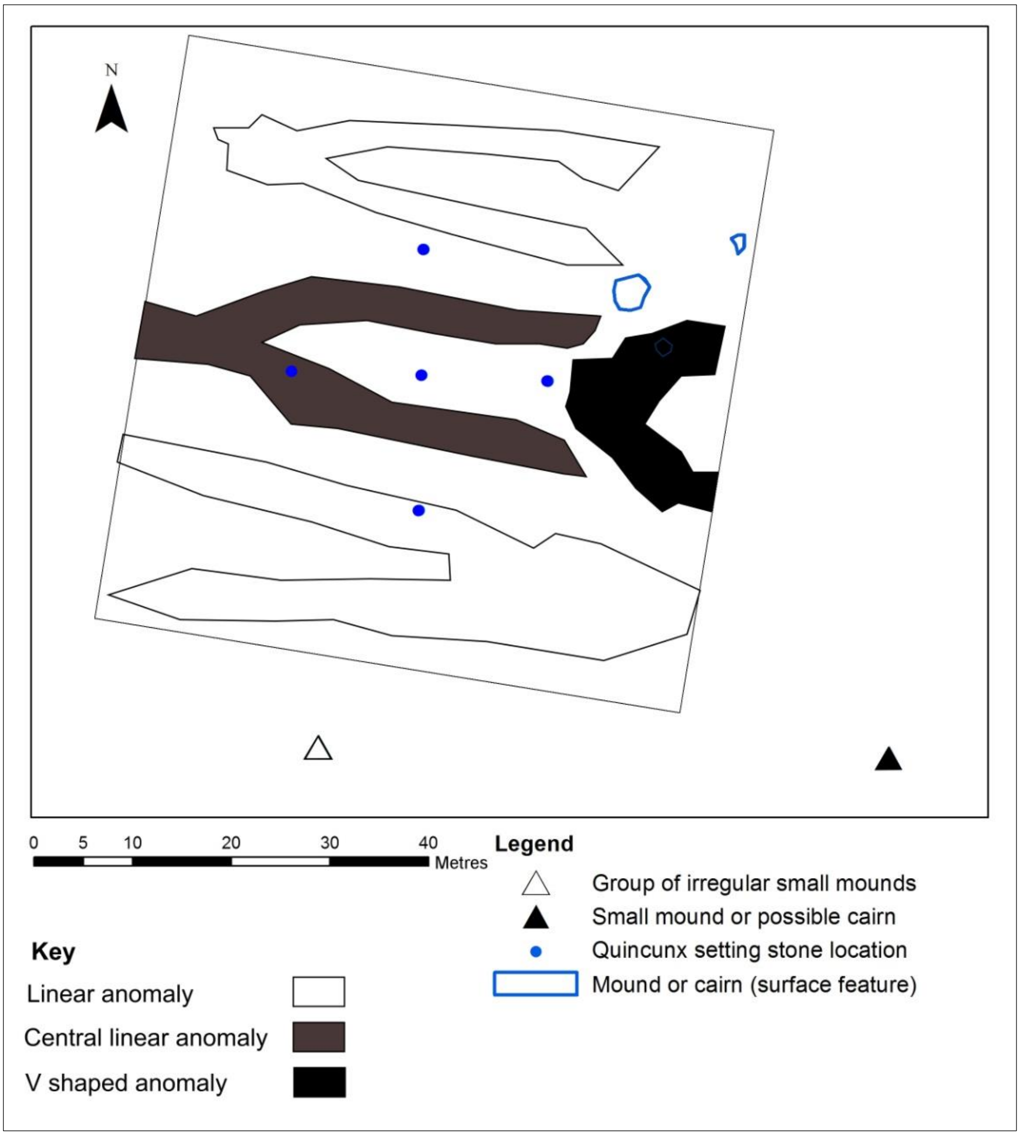

Figure 9.8: Simplified interpretation of the quincunx (ENPHER MDE1044) earth resistance survey. Produced by the author.

A number of high resistance anomalies are also present within the north east corner of the survey area (figure 9.7: N, O, K and L). 'K' extends across the northern end of a low round mound visible at the surface. Whilst this feature seemed a likely candidate for a low cairn based on its surface appearance, it does not closely match with the resistance plot. One explanation for this could be the spreading out or destruction of a feature, although this remains unclear (see section 9.2.3). The other very slight high resistance features in the area (N and O) are rather irregular in shape, and it is difficult to say whether these are archaeological. The four low resistance anomalies (P, Q, R and S) may simply reflect either areas of slightly wetter ground, or geological background trends. However, no especially wet or boggy areas were present at the time of the survey, so some of these could be archaeological features. Their diffuse shapes might suggest irregular scoops rather than discrete pit features.

Several amorphous areas of raised resistance are also present across the area (light brown in figure 9.7), which may reflect variation in soil depth or geological trending rather than features of archaeological interest. Noticeable variation in the surface vegetation was evident, from larger open areas of lush short cropped grass, to some isolated patches of reeds probably reflects the underlying geology. Two very subtle linear features are present in the centre of the survey area, partially within the stone setting on a north west-south east alignment (figure 9.7, T and U). These are extremely subtle responses, but seem to be running on a different alignment to the geological trending. Whether these are archaeological features it is extremely difficult to say. They are not easily interpretable as such. The final thing to note is a number of extremely subtle raised resistance anomalies, especially in the northern end of the survey area (figure 9.7, in green). The most convincing is 'V', an extremely faint semi-circular shape (figure 9.7). The amorphous and irregular response immediately north east of 'V' is highly irregular, and not obviously interpretable as archaeological. Whilst these subtle responses may not correspond to archaeological features, caution must be exercised before totally dismissing them.

The magnetometry survey of the stone setting revealed little, with a few curvilinear trends probably indicating former paths, with one passing close to what would have once been the most visible stone. The results are characterised by a rather noisy area of high and low responses scattered in a random manner (figure 9.9). One possible anomaly was revealed, an oval feature with a core defined by a high magnetic response in the south eastern corner of the survey area (figure 9.9 and figure 9.11). The anomaly appears to have a very slight partial halo of lower magnetism. It did not correspond to an obvious surface feature and there is no high resistance anomaly at this point which might indicate a concentration of stone. It is not a dipole and therefore unlikely to be an in situ heating event or intrusive iron fragment.

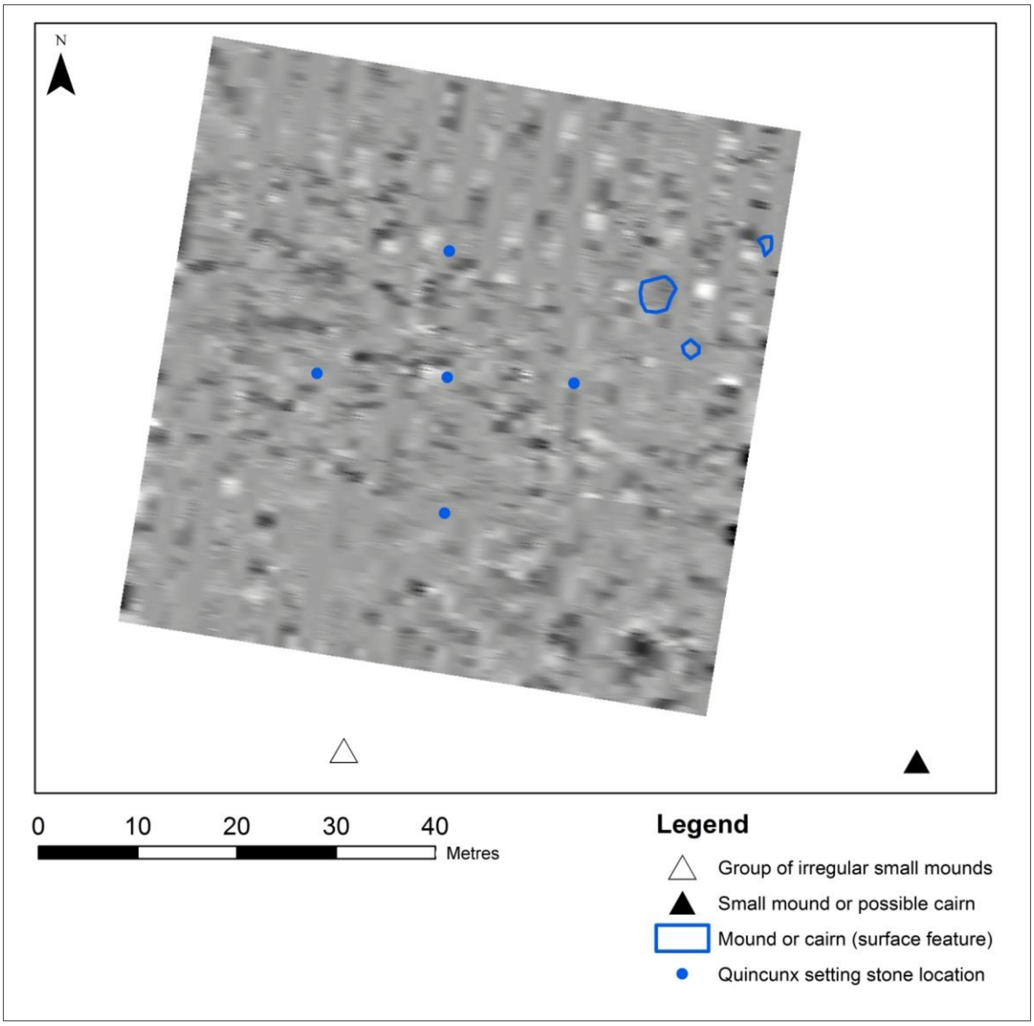

Figure 9.9: Magnetometry and DGPS survey results of the quincunx above the River Bray (ENPHER MDE1044). Produced by the author.

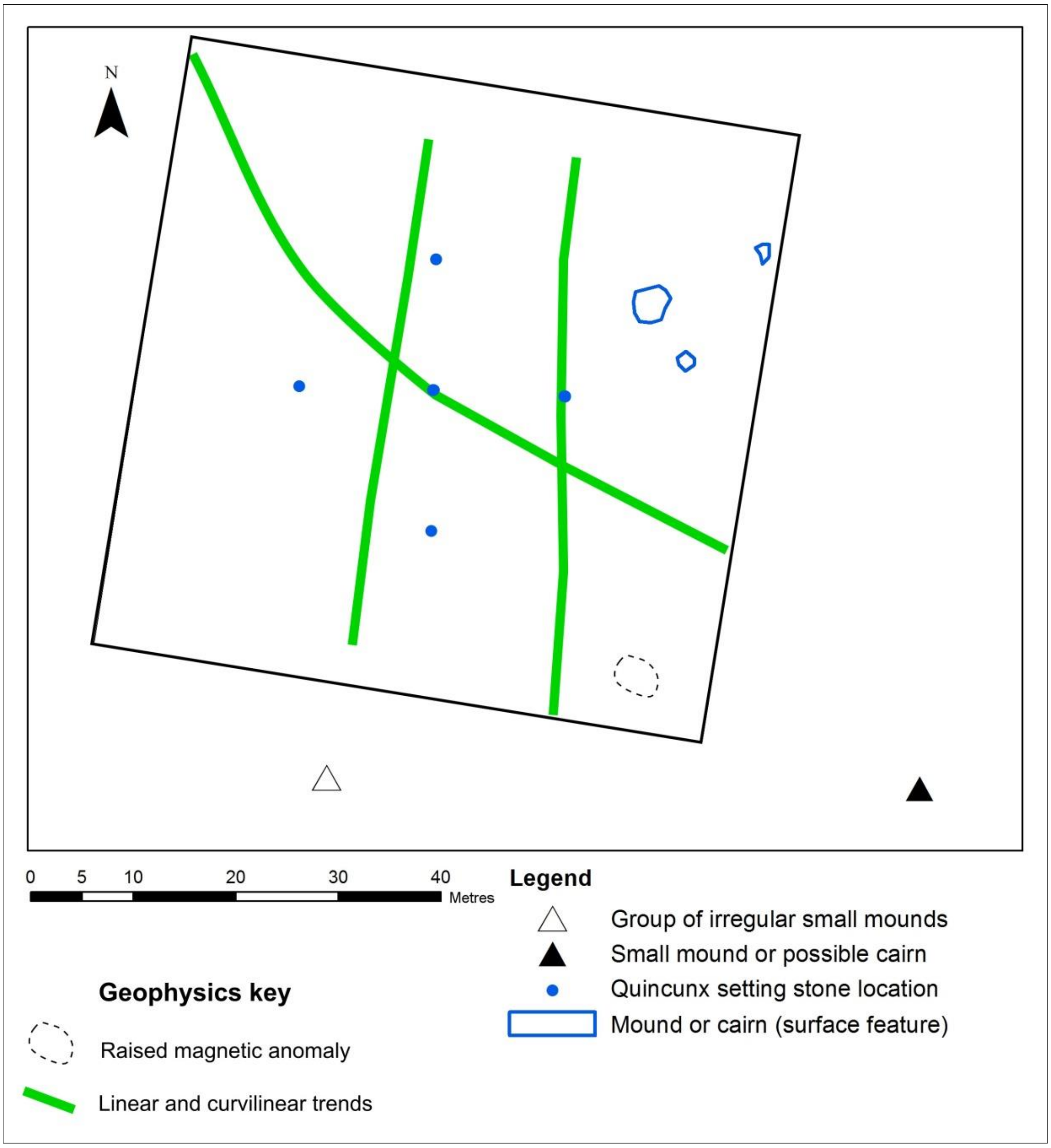

Figure 9.10: Magnetometry survey interpretation of the quincunx above the River Bray (ENPHER MDE1044). Produced by the author.

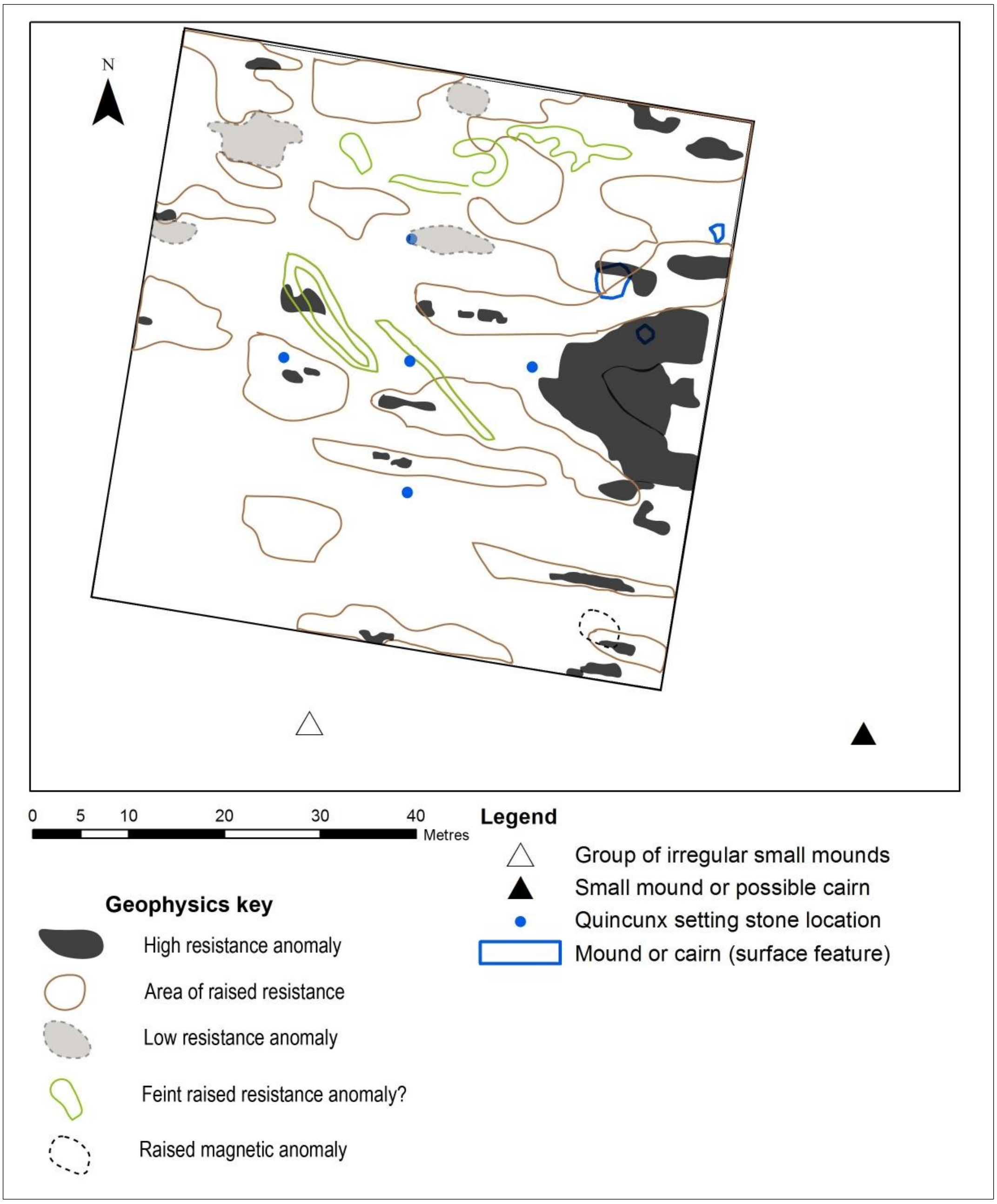

Figure 9.11: Combined resistance, magnetometry and DGPS survey results of the quincunx above the River Bray (ENPHER MDE1044). Component stones and surface features are shown in blue. Produced by the author.

9.2.3 Interpreting the quincunx - wider context

Drawing on the results of the survey work, stone recording and further analysis of the LiDAR data, this discussion seeks to build an interpretation of the quincunx through examining some key details of the fieldwork results, followed by a specific interpretation drawing on the ontology of assemblages. First the resistivity results strongly suggest that the quincunx may not be an isolated feature (figure 9.11 and figure 9.12). Whilst the geophysical survey results do not confirm the nature of the 'V-shaped' anomaly, the strength of the response indicates it is highly likely to be archaeological in origin. The strength of the anomaly (very high resistance) would suggest a dense concentration of stone, possibly the result of the spreading out of a number of small cairns. This could only be confirmed by extending the survey area to the east and by carrying out excavation to define and characterise the anomaly. This idea is supported however by the fact that one small mound was present as a surface feature, directly on top of the V-shaped anomaly. Another possible larger cairn or slight mound was also present to the north of this. This feature is very close to the location of the 'small barrow' recorded on the original plan which was excavated by Chanter and Worth revealing a pit containing charcoal (1905: 391; see figure 9.5). Using the measurements on the 1905 plan and the stones current positions which were surveyed with DGPS during the fieldwork, plotting the distances from the stones in the project GIS suggests this feature is within circa 4-5m of the given distance from stone C whilst the measurement given for the distance from stone A falls within the feature. This is admittedly complicated by the probable movement of stone C since the 1905 survey which partly explains this discrepancy along with the differences in accuracy between modern electronic survey methods and the traditional compass methods employed in 1905, and errors produced in measuring the location of the small barrow using tapes across a slope from two points only (see figure 9.5). If this interpretation is correct, the apparent difference between the surface signature and the resistance anomaly might imply a substantial portion of the mound was removed and the spoil possibly dumped towards the eastern side. Alternatively the mound was described as only being 0.53m high by 2.74m wide and so may never have been a very substantial feature, shown as an idealised representation on the 1905 survey (Chanter and Worth 1905: 391; figure 9.5). The locations and details of these surface features are given in appendix 6.

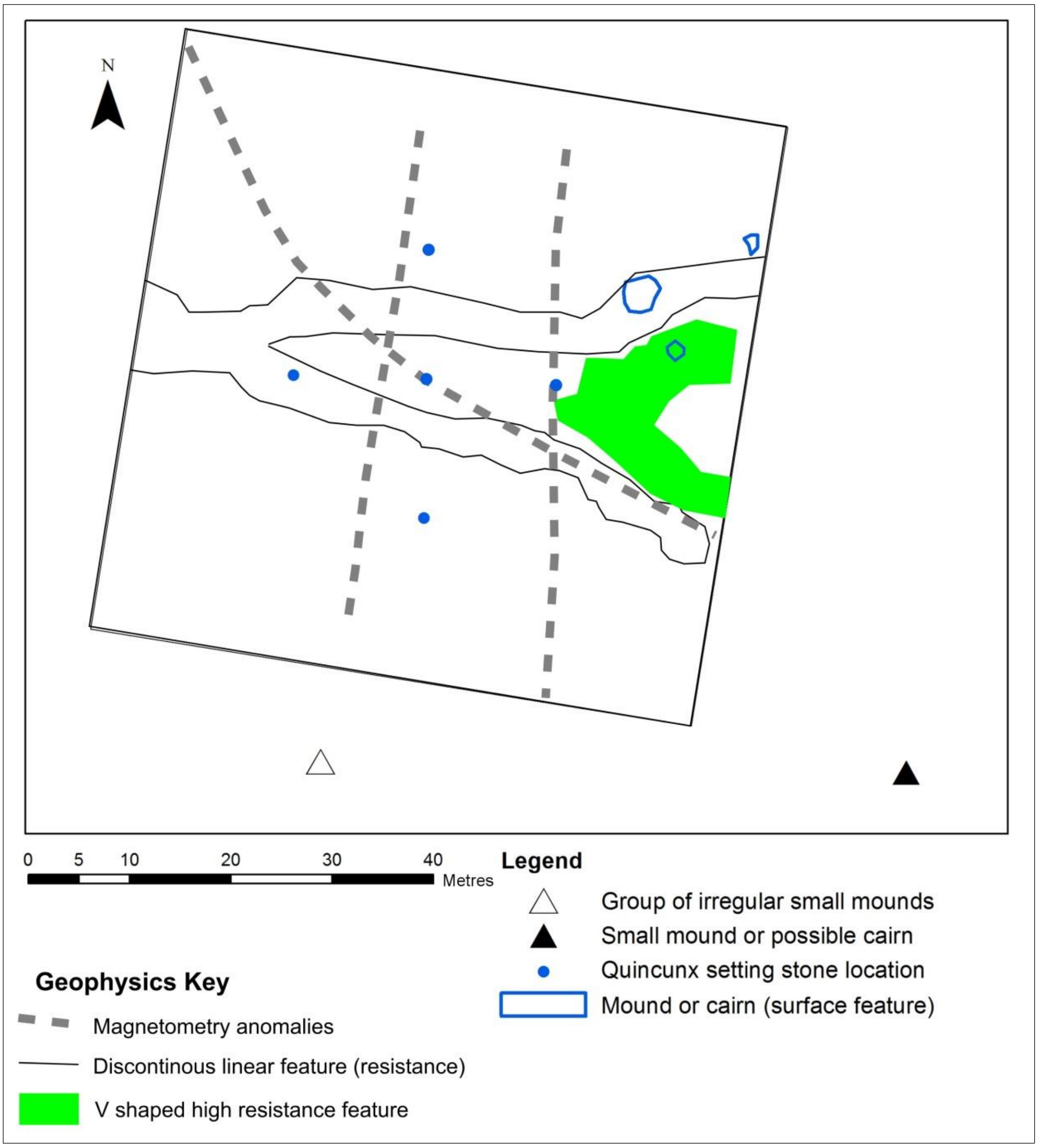

Figure 9.12: Simplified interpretation of potential features at the quincunx above the River Bray (ENPHER MDE1044). Produced by the author.

Another interesting point to note is that the northern most end of the V would appear to stop just before the edge of the survey, whilst the southern extent seems to continue beyond the surveyed area. Analysis of LiDAR data for the area suggests that a series of subtle but discontinuous linear anomalies extend for some distance to the east (circa 300m towards the barrow). These share the same E-W alignment as the resistance anomalies and the orientation of the V (figure 9.13). This is interesting given the quincunx's apparent close orientation on the cardinal points (E-W, N-S; See Chanter and Worth 1905: 390-391 and 1906: 541). This anomaly would benefit from close inspection on the ground, as it is not clear whether it is of archaeological interest. It appears to consist of discontinuous lines, which demonstrate a slight stepping down the slope. Whether this stepping is natural is not clear, but the fact the anomalies cross, and do not follow the contours is a suggestion it may be artificial. There are a few hints of a rectilinear pattern, most clearly an interesting anomaly running NE-SW circa 50m west of the barrow top right of centre in figure 9.13. If this feature is a subtle trace of some kind of cultivation or field system it could date anywhere from prehistory to the post medieval period, especially considering its close proximity to the abandoned settlement of Radworthy, which is visible in the south west corner of figure 9.13 (ENPHER MDE10873). There are a further series of extremely subtle trends in the LiDAR including linear, rectilinear and circular anomalies which are highlighted in figure 9.14. Many of these cross the contours rather than follow the line of the slope and appear to be aligned differently to the boundaries of the Radworthy settlement. The LiDAR data here was processed to reduce the native 0.5m resolution to 1m, to try and clarify these trends from noise in the data. Caution is needed before making any definitive interpretation of these responses as some may not be of archaeological interest and future field reconnaissance is needed to see if any can be identified as surface features. A much larger area of geophysical survey to the east of the quincunx would need to be undertaken to investigate these potential features further, along with some targeted excavation to characterise what is giving the resistance signals and LiDAR responses.

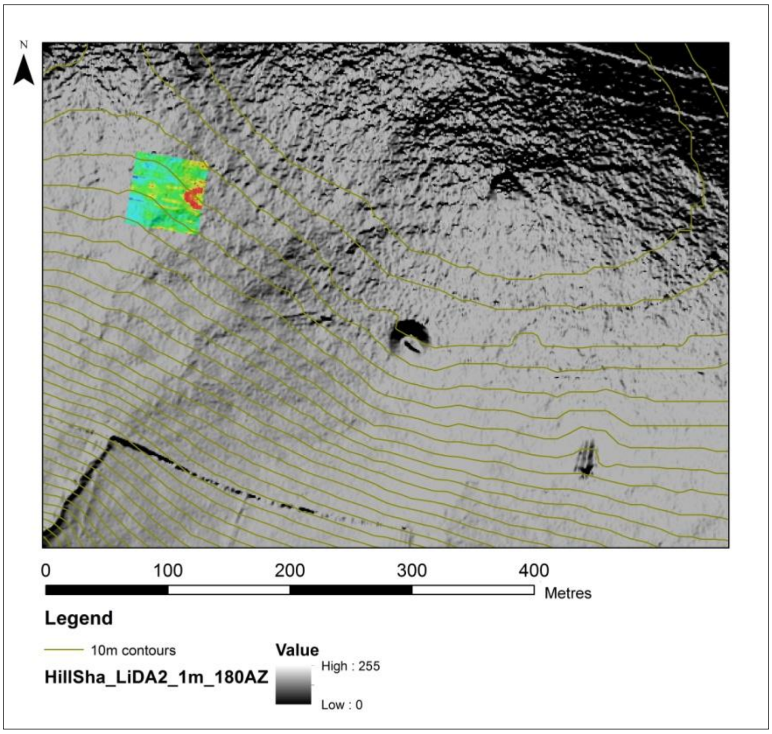

Figure 9.13: Hillshade analysis from a 180 degree azimuth of LiDAR data resampled to a 1m resolution, overlain with resistivity results and 10m contours. Produced by the author with the contours derived from Ordnance Survey DEM data (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service). **LiDAR data obtained from the Environment Agency** (© Geomatics).

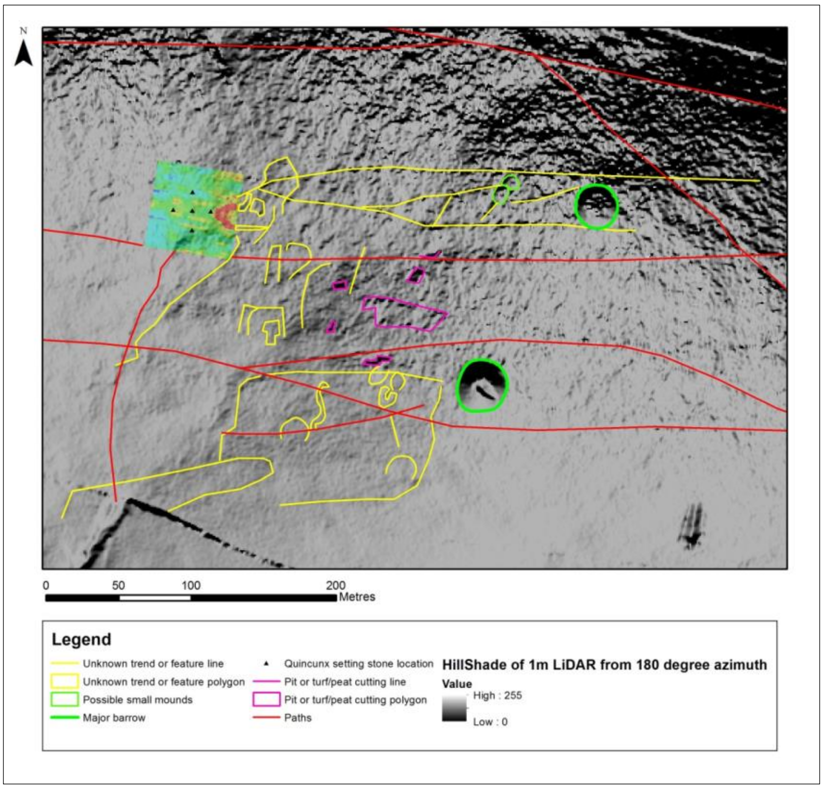

Figure 9.14: An interpretation drawing of the LiDAR data shown in figure 9.13. Produced by the author using LiDAR data obtained from the Environment Agency (© Geomatics).

Some of the more subtle anomalies which appear to form a canoe shaped discontinuous raised resistance anomaly running east west through the setting from the V shaped feature could also be significant. This might be fortuitous perhaps caused by some areas of buried stones, but would benefit from excavation. It is not clear at all what this might be. The resistivity plot also suffers somewhat from an imbalance in the background readings across the survey, which the author could not completely remove in post processing. The subtle anomaly (figure 9.6, 'T') which is north-west, south-east in alignment is reminiscent of slightly irregular petal-like features detected on Exmoor at Porlock stone circle (Gillings and Taylor 2012: 198). The feature here is less well defined especially at its south-eastern extent, but it is similarly difficult to explain, either in archaeological or geomorphological terms. Similarly the subtle semi-circular feature V, a faint raised resistance anomaly, is potentially of interest. It has a neatly defined shape, but its weak response is quite different to the stone ring structure detected at Lanacombe III (Gillings *et al.* 2010: 307-308, 309 fig 9). The latter had a diffuse but distinct response, of fairly high resistance readings (see ibid 2010: 309 fig 9). The origin of V is therefore uncertain, and it cannot be completely ruled out that it could represent an archaeological feature.

9.3 The Longstone and a rectangular enclosure - Character and wider context of a standing stone

9.3.1 Introduction

This section focuses on investigating the character of an unusual rectangular enclosure (ENPHER MDE12830) and the wider context and character of the large megalith known as the Longstone (MDE1280). The former comprises a U-shaped bank with a single open end and entrance scarp, which is surrounded by an external ditch, the overall earthworks measuring around 42m in length and 21m wide (figure 9.15). The sites are situated within a saddle between the higher hilltops which are crested by the Chapman Barrows and the Longstone Barrow and Woodbarrow round mound groups (see figure 9.1 and figure 9.16). They sit along the ridge which forms the major topographic feature in area A, in a locale that is very wet with significant peat development and surface bog (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 30; Eardley-Wilmot 1983: 23; see chapter 2 section 2.4 and above section 9.1.2). The enclosure had previously been interpreted as a possible Neolithic mortuary enclosure, or dismissed as a misidentification of relict turf cuttings (Eardley-Wilmot 1983: 23; see ENPHER MDE12830). However, an earthwork survey by English Heritage and a geophysical survey (at a 1m x 1m resolution) in 2009 confirmed beyond any doubt that the site comprised a stone and earthen bank partially surrounded by a ditch (Pullen 2009: 10, 21, 18, 22-27). The results of the previous resistance survey suggested further features to the north continuing beyond the survey limits and that the site was complicated and possibly multiple phase (Pullen 2009: 18, 25). The unique form of the feature on Exmoor, combined with its potential to be one of the earliest known field monuments (i.e. Neolithic) meant that investigating the site was critical to understanding the development of study area A, and the wider context of the Longstone, situated circa 180m east of the enclosure. Thus in order to build on the understanding gained from previous work at the site (e.g. Pullen 2009), a larger area of resistivity survey at a higher resolution (0.5m x 1m) was undertaken to clarify the character of the monument and surrounding features. This was complimented by magnetometry survey which had not previously been attempted due to the difficult ground conditions and dense vegetation (Pullen 2009: 17).

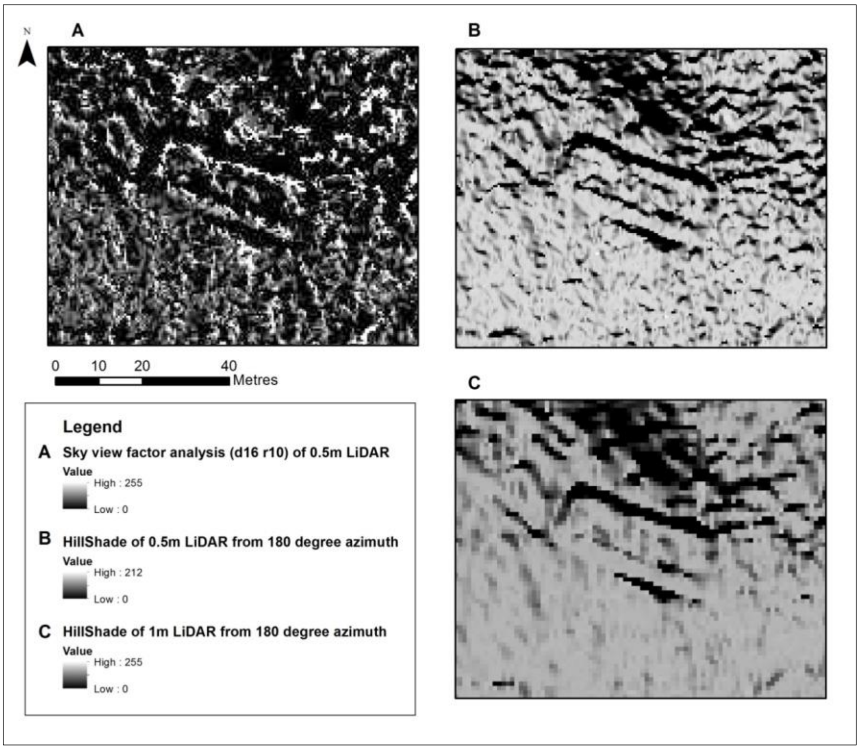

Figure 9.15: LiDAR visualisations of the rectangular enclosure MDE12830 using Sky View Factor (SFV) analysis (A), and the ArcGIS hillshade tool (B and C). In C the resolution has been re-sampled to 1m to reduce noise caused by uneven ground and the dense clumps of molinia especially to the north of the site. LiDAR data obtained from the Environment Agency (© Geomatics).

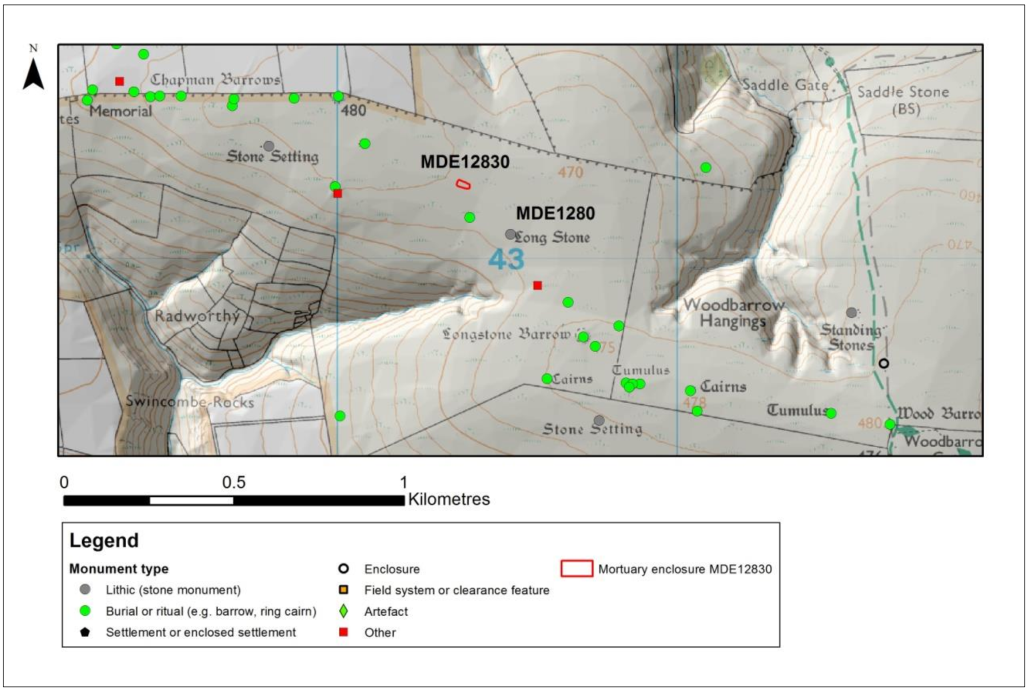

Figure 9.16: Map showing the location of the rectangular enclosure (MDE12830) and the Longstone (MDE1280). Produced by the author using data from ENPA HER and Ordnance Survey. (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

9.3.2 Geophysical survey at the rectangular enclosure

The results here are limited by the fact that due to data loss they only cover part of the actual survey area. The resistance survey did not therefore provide the complete clarification of features to the north of the enclosure evident in the previous survey, although this previous work covers some of the missing area of the current grid (see Pullen 2009: 18, fig 4). Despite this limitation, the new survey has clarified the details of the enclosure considerably (figure 9.17 and figure 9.18). Distinct bands of high resistance along the outer edge of the enclosure banks could suggest stone facing, or perhaps surviving areas of displaced orthostats (figure 9.18). These are in two distinct areas at the south west, and north west corners. Generally speaking the results match closely those of the previous resistance survey (Pullen 2009: 18, fig 4), whilst the higher resolution has revealed new information and greater detail. This could suggest that a number of the subtle features which were detected by both projects are more likely to be real archaeological features, as opposed to localised wet areas or changes in vegetation (see Pullen 2009: 22-29). The enclosure banks are clearly visible as distinct but discontinuous high resistance anomalies which are in places quite varied. This is perhaps consistent with a stone and earth construction which has a varied matrix. The surrounding ditch shows as a faint but varied anomaly, with a low resistance signature in places, and a high resistance signature elsewhere. These high resistance readings could reflect the slumping of stone from the bank into the ditch. In places the outer ditch slope appears as a high resistance reading, perhaps defining such concentrations of stone. There could have been a stony surface or slight bank on the outside of the ditch, which has slumped into the edge of the ditch. The base of the ditch appears as a low resistance feature where it is definable on the plot.

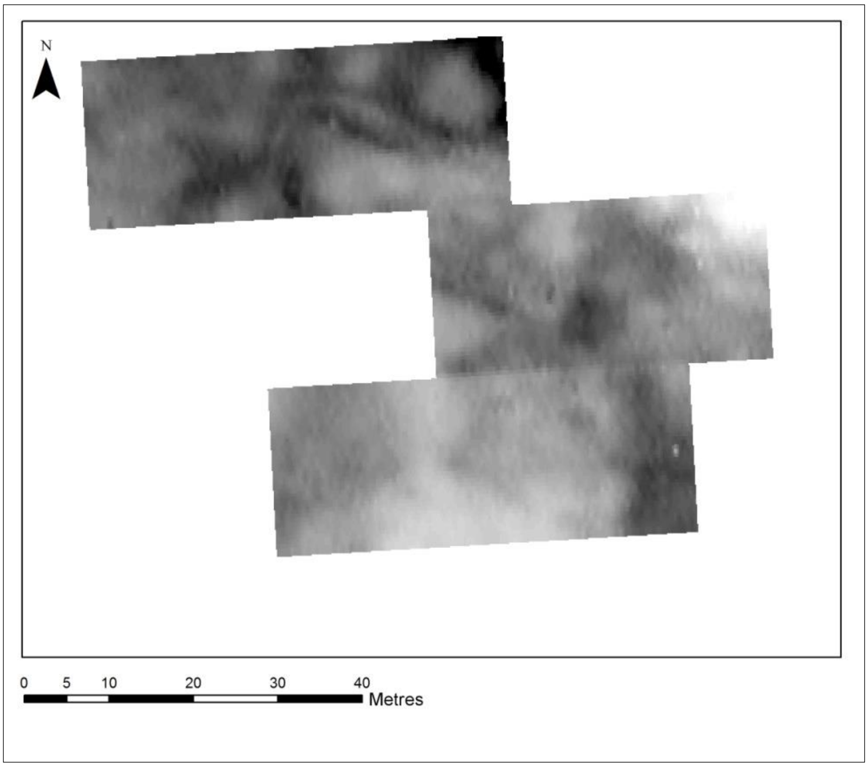

Figure 9.17: Earth resistance survey results of the rectangular enclosure (ENPHER MDE12830) after processing with the clip, despike and interpolation functions. Produced by the author.

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Figure 9.18: Earth resistance results of the rectangular enclosure (ENPHER MDE12830) in relation to the earthworks. Produced by the author, with earthworks redrawn from Pullen 2009.

The survey has not clearly demonstrated the presence of any internal features, corresponding with results of the previous survey results at a lower 1m x 1m resolution, with the exception of a single low resistance anomaly (Pullen 2009: 18 fig 4; 23 fig 5). Beyond the open end of the monument the survey detected faint (I) and medium high resistance (H) features. Response I may be a subtle platform or constructed surface outside the enclosure, perhaps resulting from the clearance of stony material from an area. This is likely to be an ephemeral stony spread, rather than a dense concentration of larger stonework. A broad low resistance anomaly is present at the enclosure's entrance (J) although this could be the result of a wetter area of ground. One extreme low resistance anomaly (K) reflects the edge of a very wet boggy area to the east of the monument.

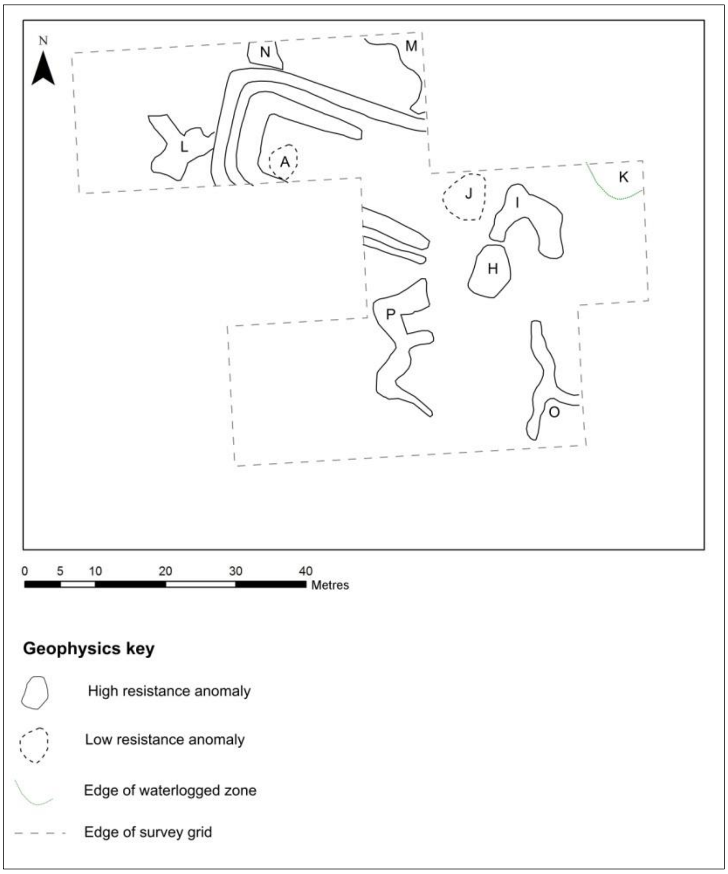

Figure 9.19: Interpretation of the resistance survey of the rectangular enclosure (ENPHER MDE12830). Produced by the author.

Another broad high resistance anomaly was detected to the west of the enclosure and it is not clear as to what this represents (L). The signature is diffuse and similar to those at the open end of the monument. Several interesting high resistance anomalies were detected to the north of the enclosure, partially surrounding areas of low resistance (M and N). The high resistance signature would suggest that these are less likely to be ditches and more likely to be concentrations of stone. It is interesting to note that these particular anomalies partially coincide with a large curvilinear anomaly in the magnetometry survey (see figure 9.20). The same series of diffuse, rounded, low resistance anomalies detected in 2009 (Pullen: 23) are also present around the enclosure in the current dataset. Finally a large high resistance anomaly is located in the bottom right hand corner of the surveyed grids, with a small low resistance anomaly within (O). There are a few very faint raised resistance responses in the central southern area of the survey (P), showing a similar series of vague right angles which are also present in the magnetometry survey. On the basis of the plots here it is difficult to tell if they reflect archaeological features or fortuitous areas of slightly stonier ground. The right angles do appear different in their form to the general background changes in resistance, so these responses could be archaeological in origin.

The rectangular enclosure had not been previously surveyed with a gradiometer and the results are informative (figure 9.20). The enclosure clearly shows as a rectangular response (figure 9.21, 1), the shape of which closely matches the existing earthwork survey (see Pullen 2009: 10 fig 3) and the nature of the visible earthwork in the field. The enclosure banks have a medium to high magnetic response, consisting of a discontinuous pattern of high magnetic anomalies, interspersed with lower readings. This pattern suggests the banks are made up of a mixture of stone, and earth or turf. The lack of stone in certain areas suggests either a combined matrix or different materials, or the fact that some material has been lost to erosion. The external ditch of the enclosure shows partially as a wide band of low magnetic values surrounding the outside of the bank (figure 9.21, 2). These readings co-inside with the outer slope of the bank which drops into the ditch. Within the enclosure no conclusive evidence of internal features are evident, apart from a distinct area with a low magnetic response in the south west corner, abutting the southern bank (figure 9.21, 4). This corresponds with the anomaly in the resistance survey (figure 9.19, A).

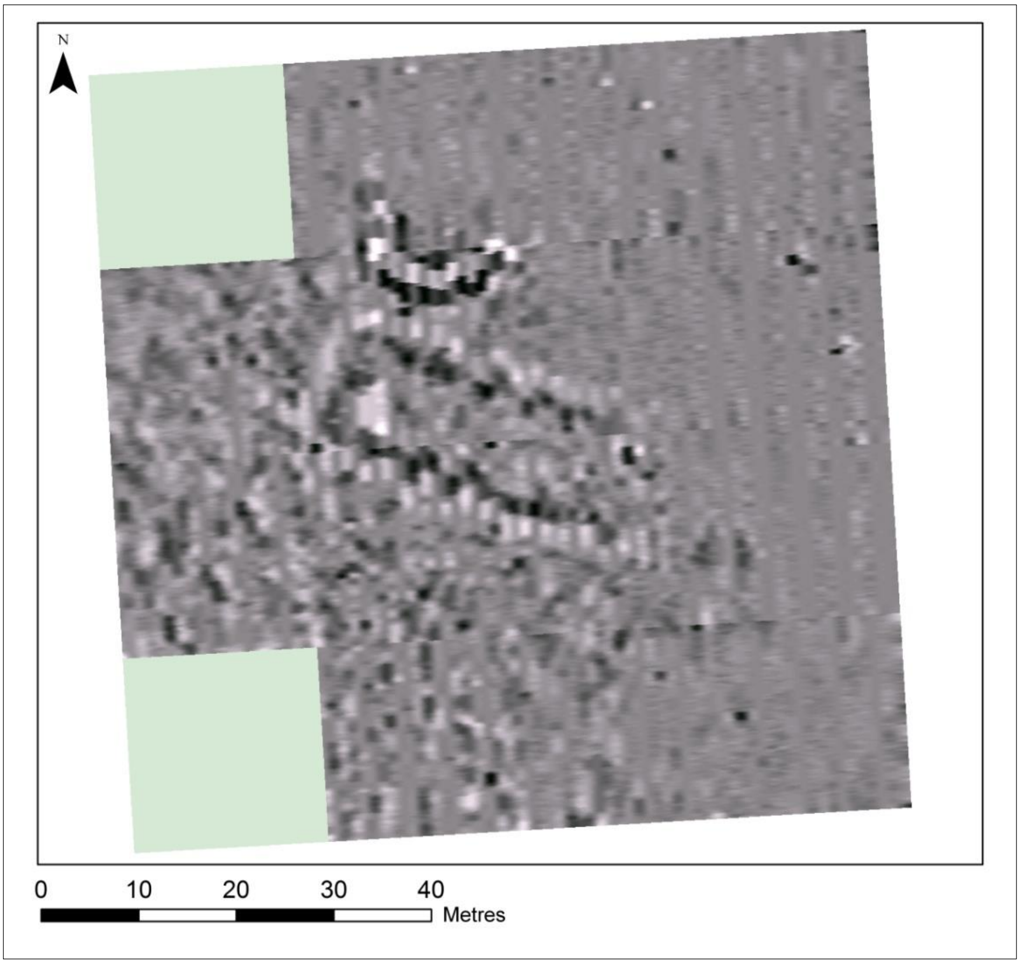

Figure 9.20: Magnetometry survey of rectangular enclosure. Results processed using the clip, despike, and destripe functions. Produced by the author.

The most interesting feature outside the enclosure is a large ‘C’ shaped anomaly of positive and negative values (figure 9.21, 3). The anomaly is defined by discontinuous high readings, with a core of low readings. This is highly likely to be an archaeological feature and the response is considerably stronger than the enclosure itself. It does correspond with the suggestion of features in the resistance survey, although they are weaker in the area of the ‘C’. This suggests it is not defined by a dense concentration of stone. The feature could represent a number of things which might include burning.

Finally there are a few very subtle magnetic responses (in blue and grey) which are uncertain, but could be archaeological. These comprise some very weak linear and curving trends in the results (figure 9.21, 7 & 8, 5 & 6). These responses may be geological although it cannot entirely be ruled out that 5 and 6 are archaeological; these are interpreted here as possible but uncertain features. Of these 5 is the most interesting, a faint curving arc with a subtle but varied signal. A second possible arc appears next to the first (figure 9.21, 6). These could represent a pair of enclosures, perhaps marked by posts in a shallow slot. It is possible that 7 may be a field drain or path. However the earthworks of the enclosure would appear to be in a good state of preservation, without any obvious truncation or damage to the site. Anomaly 8 may represent the position of a former path.

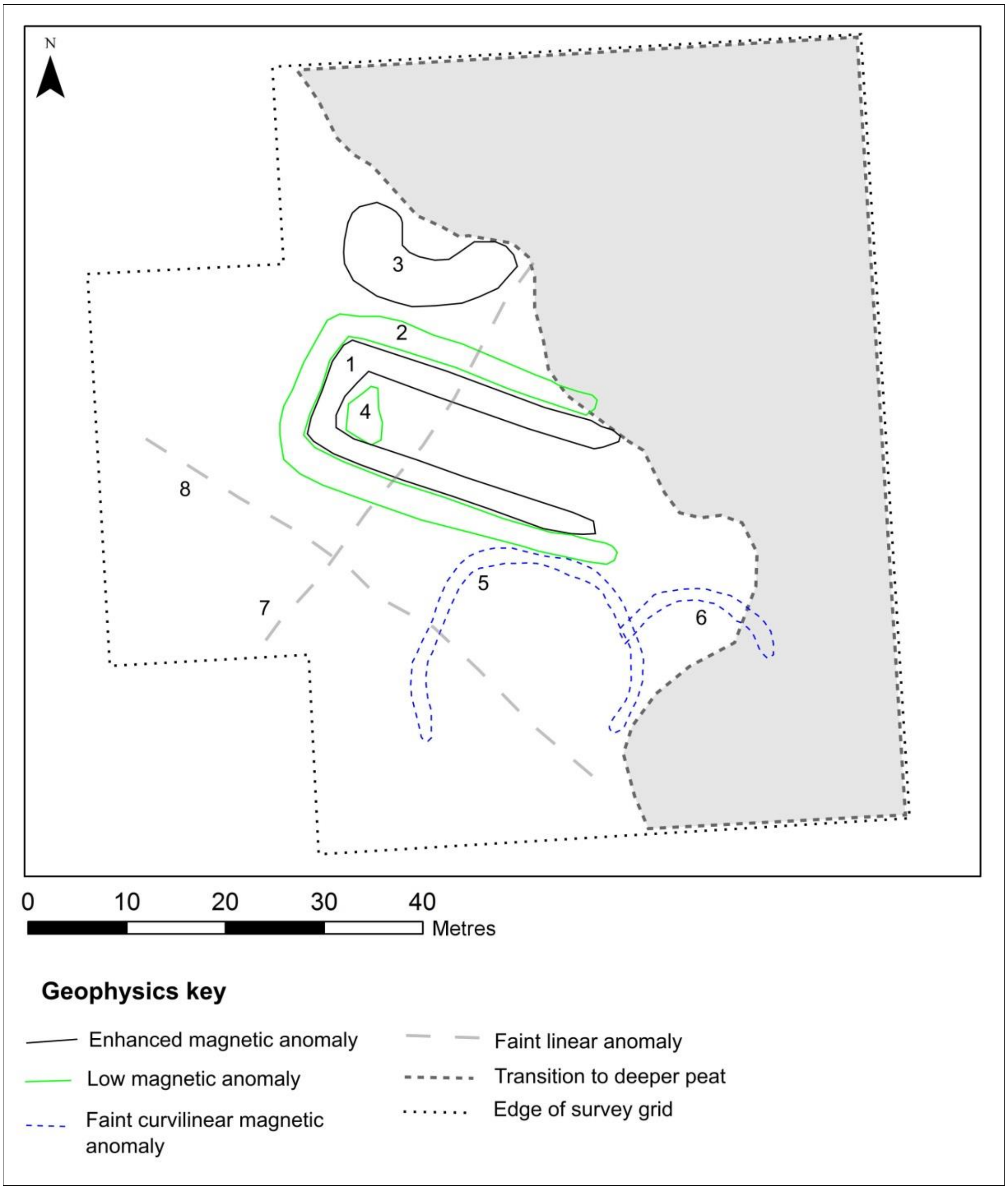

Figure 9.21: Interpretation of magnetometry results from the enclosure. Produced by the author.

9.3.3 Interpreting the Longstone landscape

Despite the partial coverage of the resistance data, the results clarify the details of the site. Taken together with the magnetometry results, they suggest a number of intriguing possibilities (figure 9.22). Firstly the enclosure may have had stone facing or orthostats around some areas of the outer edge of the bank; most convincing in the south west outer bank corner. If this was constructed of the smaller stone so typical of Exmoor, it could easily be buried under the turf. The fact this pattern is not present all the way around the bank might suggest robbing of stone from the site, or that this was never completed. Such an idea would have to be investigated by excavation, and can only be suggested as a possibility here. The enclosure at Little Hangman, interpreted as a tor enclosure, is a local example of a site with some surviving areas of edge set stone within an earthwork (see ENPHER MMO1635). It is interesting to note that the outer slope of the ditch is defined by a diffuse band of raised resistance. This might suggest a build-up of a fill with a higher stone content, or an area with very little soil build up, close to the bedrock. It may also be a trace of a slight stony bank on the outside, which has slumped into the ditch. The ditch bottom for the most part shows as a well-defined low resistance linear, with a few raised resistance patches. This might suggest the ditch is filled predominantly with peaty soil, rather than indicating large scale slumping of stone from the earthwork itself.

The combined magnetometry and resistivity results only revealed a single internal feature, with little conclusive evidence of other internal features being evident. A subtle low resistance area in the south west corner, coinciding with a broad low magnetic anomaly, might suggest a shallow pit or scoop in this area. The idea the site could be a kind of dwelling or long house structure was suggested as an alternative interpretation by Pullen (2009:26). The magnetometry results, which revealed nothing to suggest there is a hearth within the enclosure, may be very significant. It is also possible that two dipoles within the C shaped feature to the north are heating events, although whether the former has anything to do with the enclosure is not yet clear. The exposed location of the site at circa 470m above sea level however would seem to preclude the idea that the feature is a large building as it seems an unlikely location for a dwelling, although any such structure may not have been intended for habitation.

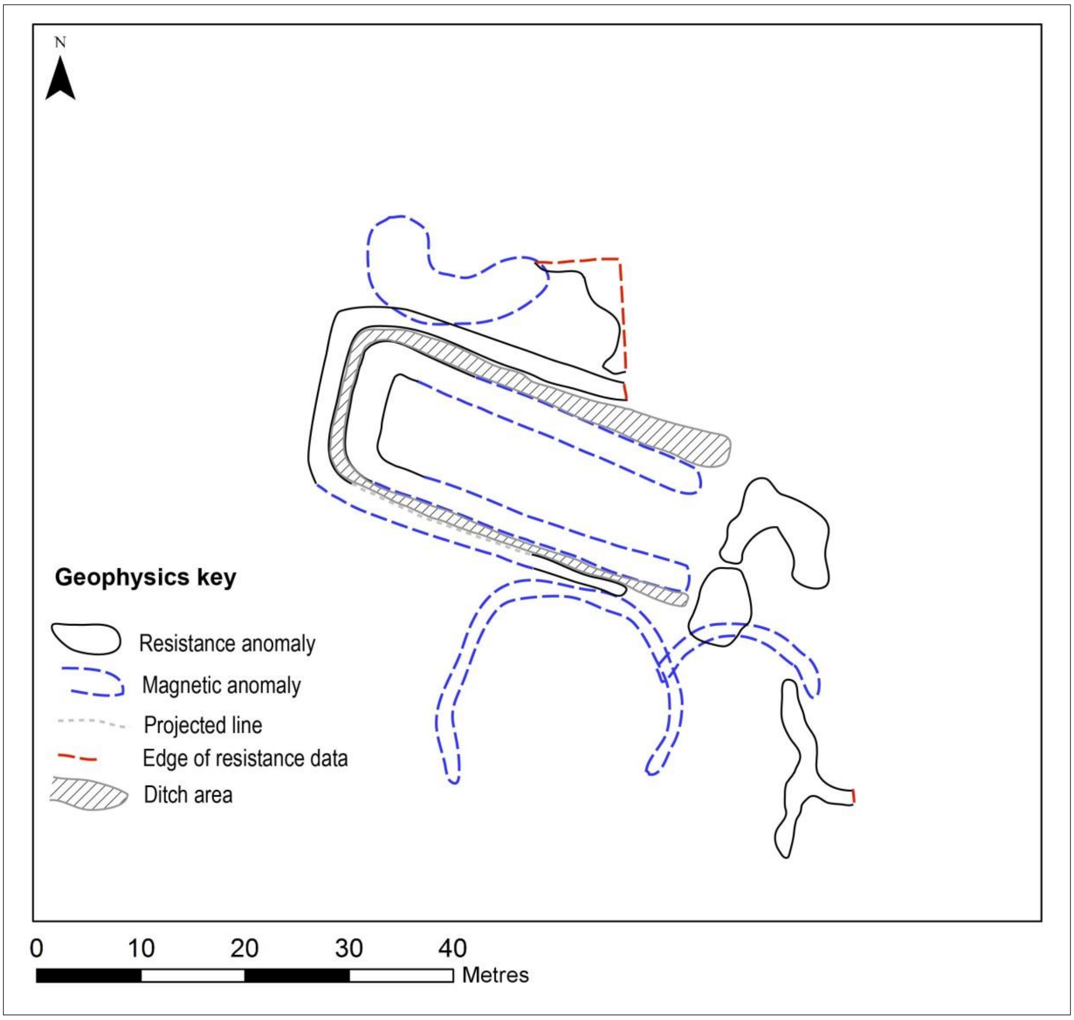

Figure 9.22: Simplified interpretation of key features from both resistivity and magnetometry. Produced by the author.

Indeed, taken together the results of all the surveys support strongly the interpretation of the site as a mortuary enclosure of Neolithic date, with the layout and form of the earthwork fitting closely the class description of this monument type (Darvill 1988). At present with no certainly dated Neolithic monuments on Exmoor the site remains difficult to identify definitively. That is despite indications from the lithic evidence that people were present on Exmoor at this time (see chapter 6). Whilst the stone banks may well have been reduced over time by slumping into the ditch and robbing, the fact that the feature has an open end, with low banks ending in neat rounded terminals, would argue against it being intended as defensible in any way.

Whilst there could have been some kind of timber palisade, there is no indication in the geophysics of large stone packed post holes which might have supported such a structure. Overall the evidence points towards the site having a mortuary function or an association with death or funerary activity. Whilst this remains the most likely interpretation, the only way to examine this issue further is by excavation.

What is of particular interest is that the results suggest that there is significant and extensive preservation of archaeological deposits around the enclosure, and that the site may have been one element of a larger set of features that are not visible at the surface. Whilst the relationship between them cannot be revealed by the geophysics, the possibility exists that features around it (especially L, P, and O) may be traces of rectilinear boundary systems, defined by subtle spreads of stone. Certainly the shapes of these anomalies are suggestive, and may be consistent with derelict and spread boundaries, once defined by small cairns and potentially timber posts, perhaps similar to those detected at Lanacombe (Gillings 2013: 43 fig 2). These may not be contemporary with the enclosure, and could reflect further evidence of the layout of embryonic boundaries and small fieldsystems in the Early to Middle Bronze Age period. Given the exposed location and potential mortuary activity, if they were broadly contemporary with the enclosure such boundaries could also have had a totally different purpose to delineating field plots or pens. If the two faint circular features detected to the south are enclosures, then a key question is to resolve which structure came first. It is not clear from the results here, but it is possible that the larger circular anomaly may have a direct relationship to the rectangular enclosure which can be examined by excavation. It suggests that whatever the relationship, this part of the landscape remained a focus for activity over a long period of time.

The most striking feature was revealed to the north of the enclosure by magnetometry; a large and complex anomaly (figure 9.21, 3). It is unfortunate that the resistivity results do not extend further north in this area, however both techniques seem to be detecting activity in this area, although they do not exactly match in terms of spatial extent. The feature forms a partial 'C' shape with an internal area of low magnetic readings. The external part of the southern arc is defined by an almost continuous area of high magnetic readings; with the internal arc to the north defined by some high partially discontinuous readings. The internal low readings are slightly stronger than the low readings given by the mortuary enclosure's external ditch. Given the similarity of the two, it is suggested that the feature consists of an internal curvilinear ditch or cut feature. The external and internal part of the arc may be defined by discontinuous concentrations of stone. A dipole, on the western side, and two others at the eastern end of the feature could be from heating events, and might represent in situ hearths or fires.

This interpretation will focus on the most tangible and certain archaeological features (i.e. the rectangular enclosure MDE12830, the 'C' shaped magnetic anomaly and the Longstone MDE1280). It is emphasised here that the date and character of these features is unknown, and the Longstone itself can only be broadly placed in the Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age period (see chapter 5). The temporal relationship between the 'C' anomaly and MDE12830 is also unknown, although it appears C might abut or partially overlie part of the enclosure ditch. The interpretation favoured here is that 'C' is a later feature, possibly a Bronze Age burnt mound, with the majority of these sites being Middle or Later Bronze Age in date although Late Neolithic and Iron Age examples are also known (Topping 2011: 3; Ripper and Beamish *et al.* 2011). The burnt mound on Spooner's Moor has recently had an Early Bronze Age radiocarbon date obtained from charcoal within the mound matrix which suggests that construction took place in the Late Early Bronze Age or Early Middle Bronze Age (Steinmetzer 2014; Bray 2015 pers. comm; see chapter 5). The rectangular enclosure is suggested here to be an earlier feature, probably a variant of the linear monument forms such as cursus and long and short mortuary enclosures, and might be Middle or Later Neolithic in date, although the possibility of this being an EBA monument directly associated with the barrow cemetery cannot be discounted. With all these limitations in mind, an interpretation of the rectangular enclosure and the Longstone is presented in section 9.5.2 which considers them as assemblages, looking at the relationships within and between them.

9.4 Parracombe Common Enclosure - Investigating the wider landscape

9.4.1 Introduction

The Parracombe Common enclosure is situated on the upper slope crest of a north east facing spur in the north central area of study area A (see figure 9.1 in section 9.1.1). The north eastern half of the site survives as a subtle earthwork bisected by a field wall, consisting of an external bank (3.4m wide and 0.4m high) and an internal ditch (circa. 4m wide and 0.3m deep) 40.4m in diameter (ENPHER MDE1064; See figure 9.23). As noted previously, various interpretations have been suggested ranging from a class 1 henge monument and a disc barrow, to a 19th century tree ring enclosure. Certain identification has proved elusive due to the partial survival of the earthworks and their reduction by ploughing (Wainwright 1969: 126; Grinsell 1970: 25-26; Eardley Wilmot 1983: 27-28; Harding 1987: 121; Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 34). Because of this it was not clear if the enclosure had an entrance or whether the bank and ditch continued on the southern side of the field wall as subsurface features. It has remained an important and open question as to whether henges formed a part of the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age landscapes on Exmoor as no other certain henge sites have been identified on Exmoor to date (Riley and Wilson North 2001: 34; although see chapter 5 table 5.1). Therefore the clarification and investigation of this feature through geophysical survey was considered a priority.

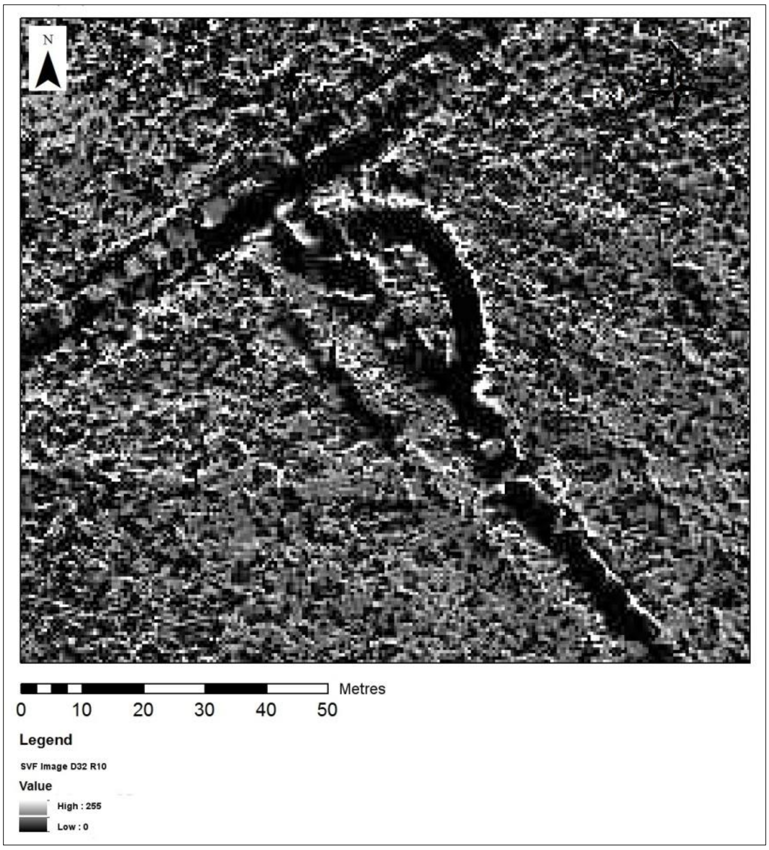

Figure 9.23: LiDAR image of the circular enclosure (MDE1064) after Sky View Factor analysis. Produced by the author using data from the Environment Agency (© Geomatics).

9.4.2 Geophysical survey at the Parracombe circular enclosure

The results of the survey of the enclosure are interesting for a number of reasons. The bank and ditch are clearly represented in the resistance plot to the east of the field wall which bisects the site (pale blue area in figure 9.24). The bank is represented by a high and medium resistance signature. The ditch is less clear, but is nonetheless visible as a broad and diffuse low resistance anomaly which follows the curving arc of the bank. The diffuse nature of the bank's resistance signature suggests that its matrix is predominantly made up of earth; there are no very high resistance areas which might suggest a high quantity of stone. It is therefore likely that the bank was constructed predominantly of earth dug from the ditch. Also of interest is a diffuse low resistance band to the east of the site which seems to partially surround the outside of the bank. This could be evidence of a second ditch at the site. This is by no means clear, but it could have been a shallower feature; there is certainly no surviving earthwork evidence of a second ditch. Alternatively, this could have resulted from material being scraped up from outside to supplement the ditch derived material in building the bank.

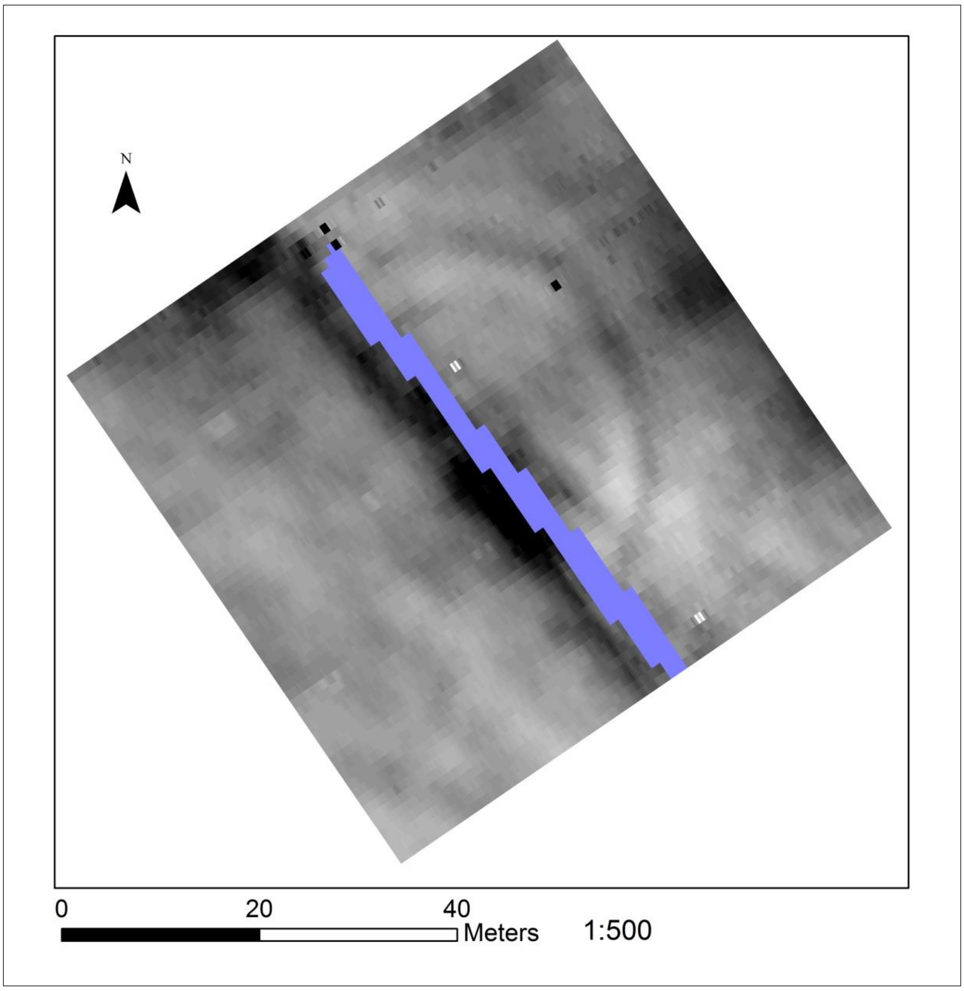

Figure 9.24: Resistance survey of circular enclosure. Produced by the author.

Turning to the western half of the site, the resistance plot does suggest heavy disturbance from agricultural activity. Several deep plough furrows (visible on the surface) run on the same alignment as the boundary which bisects the site, and are clearly visible in the resistance results[43]. These features seem to have destroyed a

[43] The plough furrows are visible as subtle earthworks and were recorded on the earthwork survey of the site (ENPHER MDE1064).

significant portion of the site, especially in the north western area immediately west of the boundary line. The south western area reveals more, despite being truncated by the plough furrows. A subtle low resistance anomaly follows the same arc as the ditch, suggesting a portion survives for about one third of the western half of the site. It also appears to be disturbed and truncated (cut by the plough furrows), suggested by the widening of the signature and the lack of a clear edge. Whilst it is difficult to say for sure, there are a few potential sections of surviving bank (figure 9.27). It is difficult to interpret these as certain, but the fact some of them are at slight angles to the ploughing suggests it might well be the case. The concentrated area of high resistance close to the boundary line in the central portion of the site most likely represents the roots of the trees in the boundary wall alongside areas of stone tumble from the boundary wall itself, with some loose pieces of stone visible on the surface in the area. The high resistance linear in the northern half immediately west of the boundary wall is also likely to be a combination of tree roots and collapsed stone. Alternatively it might suggest the boundary wall has been rebuilt, on a slightly different line at the NW edge of the survey area. The high resistance anomaly on the western side of the gap in the end of the wall might well be collapsed stonework, or roots from the substantial hedge which runs along the north western edge of the survey area. There is a noticeable erosion hollow running through this gap in the field wall, but it is not clearly picked up in the resistance results.

Two very subtle raised resistance linear anomalies appear to be running on a roughly east to west alignment into the western half of the site, and their close spacing and non-alignment relative to the present field pattern make it unlikely they are field drains. The magnetometry shows geological trending on a similar alignment, however these features do seem different from the underlying geological trending. There are also several subtle medium and faint resistance anomalies which are uncertain, but possible archaeological features. A broad and diffuse curvilinear anomaly in the south east corner of the survey is similar in form to anomalies detected around Porlock stone circle (Gillings and Taylor 2012: 198), although it is not possible to see the full extent of the former in the current data. A small circular discontinuous raised resistance anomaly in the north western part of the grid might represent a small cairn. Certainly satellite cairns around larger barrows are common features in many landscapes (including Exmoor, See Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 40) and some henges do have barrows inserted close to them, such as at Arbor Low in Derbyshire (Harding 2003: 10 fig 4). Whilst the results are not clear because of the plough truncation, it looks likely that this was just outside the extent of the enclosure and if there was an entrance into the earthwork it might have been located in this area. This possibility could tested with excavation in the future.

The magnetometry results (figure 9.25) demonstrate a lot of disturbance from modern iron, including a wire fence in the hedge of the northern edge. There is also a spread of small dipoles across the survey area most likely modern iron fragments. This is not surprising on enclosed and improved farmland and some large fragments of iron, most likely from farm machinery, were noted in the area. A couple of these larger dipoles could be of archaeological interest but it is difficult to say for certain. The most distinct feature is the enclosure itself, although this has only a weak signature. A slightly raised circular area of magnetic disturbance represents the enclosure, and it can be seem in both halves of the site. There is a possibility of a break in the circuit matching the resistance survey, but it is difficult to tell as this area is obscured by a dipole.

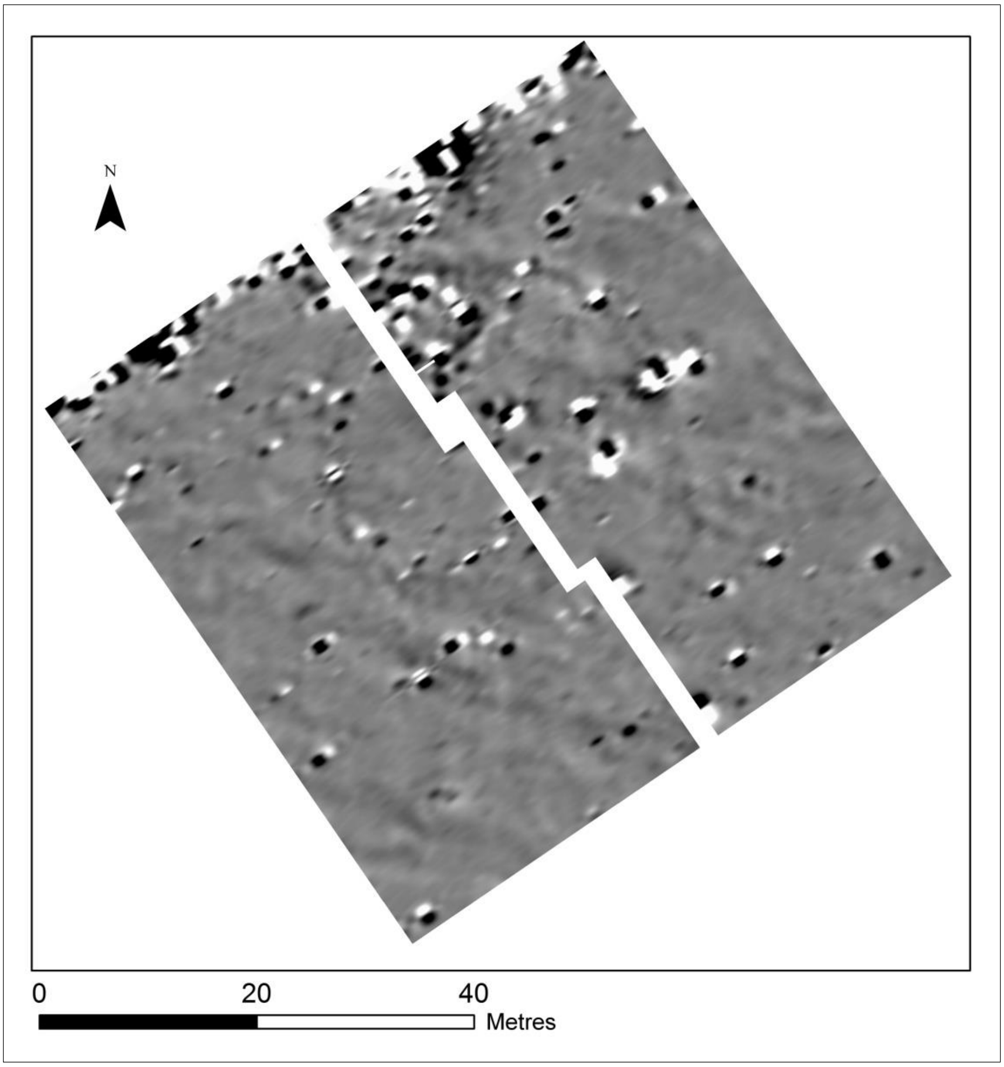

Figure 9.25: Magnetometry survey of circular enclosure.

Geological trending is also evident in the results, in a series of weak linear and rectilinear anomalies spread across the survey on a WNW-ESE alignment. Some of these seem to have small high magnetic anomalies in their corners (different to the dipoles, high magnetic core with slight low halo) but their small size makes them difficult to interpret as archaeological features. A small number of subtle rectangular shapes might be a result of geology, but in alignment and character they appear quite different to the linear geological trends. It cannot be ruled out that these are archaeological features, perhaps small square plots or structures. This could only be established by excavation and extending the survey to see if the pattern continues over a larger area. The survey area was not extensive enough to determine whether these were geological or not.

Figure 9.26: Interpretation drawing of magnetometry survey of circular enclosure. Produced by the author.

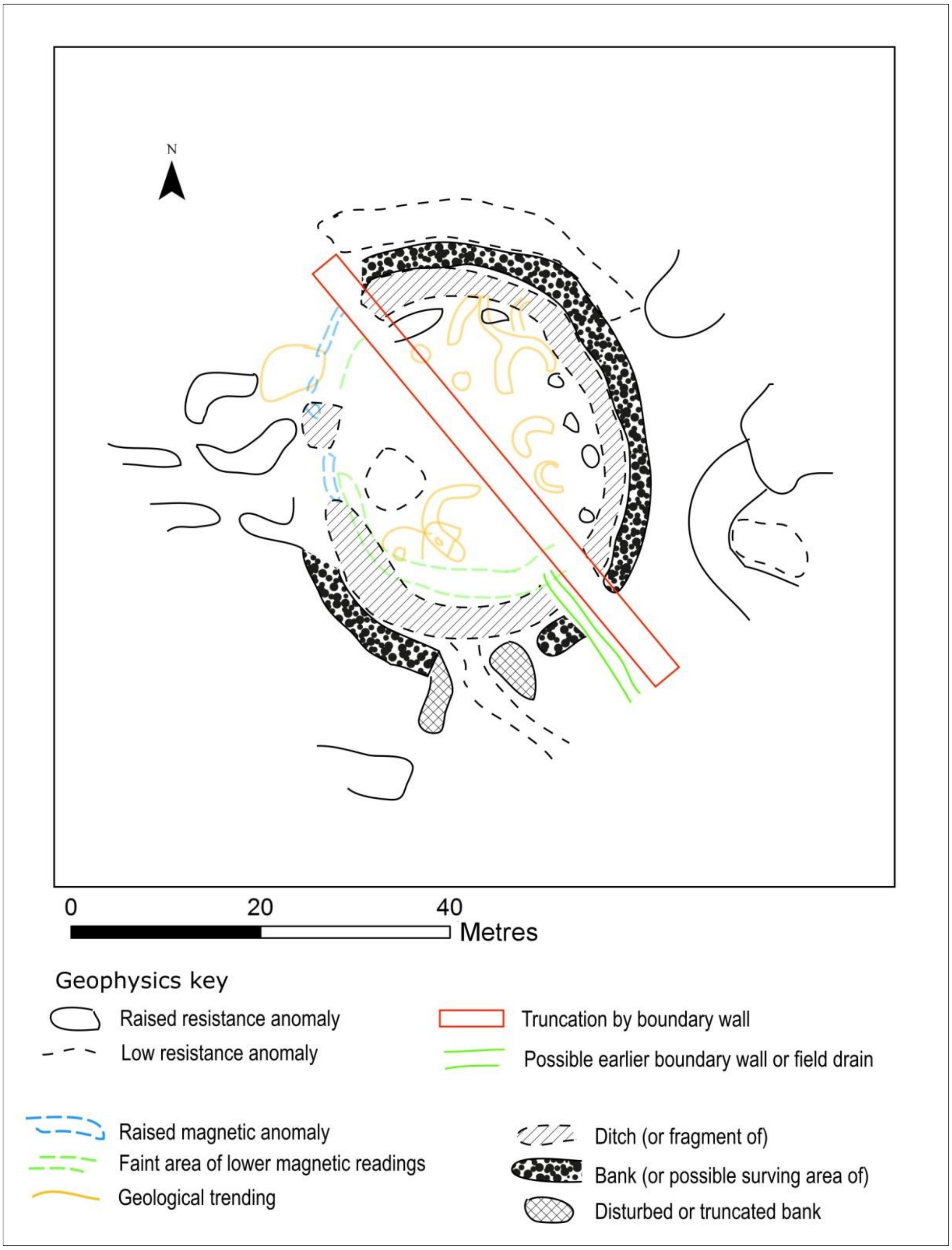

Figure 9.27: Interpretation drawing of survey of circular enclosure. Produced by the author.

9.4.3 Discussion and Interpretation

This section presents a summary of the results, followed by an interpretation of the site using the framework of assemblages. First the geophysical survey of the circular enclosure suggests that despite the levelling of one half of the site, and truncation by ploughing and a field boundary, potential areas of surviving archaeological deposits remain. Whilst the interpretation presented here is at best tentative, slight traces of the bank, and potential surviving areas of the ditch are present. It is also possible there is a second ditch around the outside of the bank. Such an occurrence is a known feature of some henge sites with partial or discontinuous outer ditches, for example at all of three of the Thornborough henges, and others such as Nunwick, Hutton Moor, Newton Kyme and Cana Barn (Harding 2003: 99 fig 71). However multiple ditches can also be a feature of some Neolithic round barrows (Harding 2003: 19).

There are several raised resistance features which are outside the enclosure, and an expansion of the geophysics is needed to shed more light on their character. Whilst it is difficult to say with any certainty if the proposed entrance and gap in the enclosure ditch is real, it would appear that a linear anomaly seems to be heading towards this area, perhaps delineating an access route. This needs confirmation by extending the survey to see if this is a distinct feature, as the alignment is similar to the geological trending present. Assuming this is a henge, linear monuments such as a cursus or avenues/stone rows are known to occur either aligned on, or leading towards, henge entrances as at Stonehenge (Barrett 1994: 42) and the Beckhampton and West Kennet Avenues at Avebury (Barrett 1994: 10). Linear monuments also sometimes occur nearby, for example at Maxey, Dorchester on Thames and at the Thornborough henges (Harding 2003: 89 fig 64 and 91 fig 65). Alternatively, the form of the site and potential entrance location are similar to a large platform cairn which is the most easterly of the five Barrow Group, which also has an external bank and internal ditch encircling a domed mound (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 37). This would, however, require an explanation as to why there is no trace of a mound within the Parracombe enclosure, even in the half where bank and ditch survive as subtle earthworks.

Given the uncertain identity and chronology of the feature, any specific interpretation is inherently difficult to substantiate without further fieldwork (i.e. excavation). Whilst admittedly inconclusive, the available evidence strongly suggests that MDE1064 is either a henge or a disc barrow, most likely dating to the Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age. The form of the earthworks with an external bank and internal ditch argue against a Bronze Age enclosure and it is very different in character to the nearby excavated hillslope enclosure at Higher Holworthy (Green 2009a&b; see chapter 5). Similarly the lack of any evidence of an internal mound, despite prior claims to the contrary (see ENPHER MDE1064) might indicate that the site is a henge rather than a disc barrow. Whilst no resolution to this question can be presented here, interpretation as a henge at the very least, provides a series of hypotheses and questions which could be tested with further fieldwork. With this in mind, the discussion in section 9.5.3 considers the feature as an assemblage.

9.5 Interpretation

9.5.1 The quincunx above the River Bray

The form, layout and orientation of the quincunx suggests a formal layout process, although whether the construction sequence was a single event or consisted of multiple phases is unknown. The specific layout of the quincunx seems to have been of importance. Given the small size of the outliers, this might suggest this involved at least four people, or perhaps the use of temporary wooden posts as layout markers, given the difficulty of being able to see the small stones from any significant distance. The assemblage of construction exhibited a high degree of territorialisation, with a strong sense of a formal process and a deliberate intention to align the monument and the individual stones. It appears coding played a significant role as a sub-process of this set of territorialising forces; the deliberate E-W alignment of all (or four) of the stones and the E-W, N-S alignment of the monument are interpreted here as the formation of a meaning, beyond the physical properties of the stones. The stone size data (see table 9.6) strongly suggests that miniaturisation played a key role in both the territorialisation of the structure, and that it was deliberately deployed in the fabric of the monument to generate very powerful affective fields and distinctive atmospheres at the site (e.g. time distortion, sense of other worlds, drawing in the viewer). Taking into account the damage to the stones and fact that the central stone (A) was originally considerably taller than the outlying stones B, C, D and E, the juxtaposition of scales draws attention to this difference. If we accept recent arguments made for Lanacombe that the settings were bound up in animal landscapes of pause and movement (see chapter 10; Gillings 2015b), this might represent the relationship between people and a herd of animals, or the relationship between adult and juvenile animals. In this schema the stones of the quincunx were active agents in fluid human and animal worlds situated in movement corridors between coombes and plateau's, with their size being appropriate to the sheep herds they were erected on behalf of (Gillings 2015b: 100-103). Following this line of argument, at the quincunx, stone A may have represented the human scale, whilst B, C, D and E the smaller animal scale, with one key difference. At the quincunx, the deliberate juxtaposition of scale and deployment of miniaturisation may have been intended to code these relationships into the monument (contra Gillings 2015b: 102). This might show the intertwining or human and animal worlds rather than implying any distinct separation. An alternative, although not necessarily incompatible idea, given the sites quite specific alignments and prominent central stone, is that the quincunx was an important place to mark time and temporality in terms of daily and seasonal cycles, birth or death (both animal and human) events, or important points in the agricultural cycle all of which were likely closely intertwined in peoples understanding of the world. If the site was constructed in an open landscape, the shadow cast by the central stone and the gradual movement of the shadow during the course of the day in relation to the outlying stones, might have indicated important moments within daily routines or specific social events tied to the site. Perhaps the marking of temporality was enacted by peoples engagement with the site, movement around the outlying stones representing important cycles for the wider community. On multiple levels the quincunx absorbed and became 'sticky' with temporality, something akin to a time sponge, a place where the movement of time and the passage of important cycles could be marked, observed and interacted with, both in terms of past and future events. The temporal relationship between the funerary monuments in the area and the setting here are unknown, but if the features are partly contemporaneous, the site may have been involved in funerary rights or ceremonies taking place in the area.

Table 9.6: Stone height data for the quincunx (MDE1044). Data from in field measurements and Chanter and Worth 1905: plate III & 391; Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 17; Pearce 2012: 6.

Stone	Height/ length (m)	Width (m)	Thickness (m)	Estimated or original height (m)	Condition/further information (dimensions in metric and imperial)
A	0.89	0.23	0.05-0.06	0.84	Now recumbent. 0.8m high according to Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 17. In 1905 33" high, 15" wide x 3" thick (Chanter and Worth 1905: plate III).
B	0.03	0.28	0.05	0.32 (est. B+B1)	Broken, upright in situ. (Labelled B, F1 by Pearce 2012). In 1905 16" wide x 1 1/2" thick, broken off near ground level (Chanter and Worth: plate III)
B1	0.29	0.21	-	-	Fragment of B. (Labelled B, F2 by Pearce 2012).
C	0.39	0.17	-	0.30	Now recumbent (hidden under grass). In 1905 12" high, 10" wide x 3" thick (Chanter and Worth: plate III).
D	0.2	0.14	-	0.56	Now recumbent (hidden under grass). 0.27m long according to Pearce 2012. In 1905 22" high, 8" wide x 3" thick (Chanter and Worth: plate III).
E	0.19	0.13 (top) 0.15 (base)	0.03	0.43	Broken, upright in situ. Labelled E, F1 by Pearce 2012). In 1905 17" high, 9" wide x 2" thick (Chanter and Worth: plate III)
E1	0.2	8	-	-	Fragment of E. (Labelled E, F2 by Pearce 2012)
E2	0.32	8	-	-	2nd fragment of E. (Labelled E, F3 by Pearce 2012).

Notes on data
1 For B the estimated height was calculated by adding the height of the in situ stump to the length of the fragment. Field inspection suggested this fragment had fractured off the top of the stump, with a similar fracture at one end of the longest axis of the broken piece. This fragment was not disturbed or moved. 2 Individual dimensions were recorded prior to the damage by Chanter and Worth (1905) and were used for the original heights column. Quinnell and Dunn recorded the range of sizes as from 0.05m to 0.08 high, 0.2m to 0.4 wide, 0.03 to 0.1m thick (1992: 17) 3 For E. Unclear if the fragments have broken off only the top or also the side, as fracturing has taken place as a result of vegetation growth and freeze thaw (see Pearce 2012: 6-7).

If the interpretation proves correct that further activity was taking place outside the quincunx (especially immediately east) it suggests that the site exhibited wider relationships, acting through a process of containment (as a territorialising force) to contribute to the formation of further assemblages close by. But as this activity remained outside the area defined by the standing stones, the setting may have acted like a firewall (Lucas 2012: 200). Perhaps if the site did act as a go between, a collusion of worlds and forces, animal and human blurring together, it was inappropriate, dangerous or taboo to conduct certain activities within the area of the setting. Finally, the repeated occurrence of the quincunx form of stone setting on Exmoor, although individually rather variable in terms of layout and alignments, suggests wider relationships between events and activities taking place on different parts of the moor, perhaps linking past events to the present through recurrent association and recurrent citation. Rather than thinking of the quincunx as a type, it would be useful to think of them as individual singularities, resulting from similar morphogenetic processes (e.g. DeLanda 2002; see chapter 3 table 3.2). The repeated occurrence of this varied yet distinctive form, might suggest the existence of universal singularities defining extreme forms that stone settings could take, perhaps transmitted by the beliefs, traditions and the specific morphogenetic processes which gave rise to each.

9.5.2 Mortuary enclosure and the Longstone

The size and scale of the rectangular enclosure with its substantial ditches and banks (up to circa 4.5m and 3m wide respectively), suggests that the assemblages of construction involved a set of territorialising processes operating at a communal scale. These features would have required a great deal more time and labour to create, the assemblages of construction enduring for considerably longer than those associated with the stone settings on Exmoor. The construction involved a major re-sculpting of the earth, deterritorialising materials from their natural strata and bringing them together in a new assemblage, principally defined by a substantial bank and the negative space of the ditch, from which the bank material likely originates. The rectangular enclosure may have been an important transformational space, an assemblage which was highly dynamic, potentially providing a strong deterritorialising influence on other assemblages, particularly the human body. If the enclosure was a focus for mortuary activity, this might have included processing or temporary containment of the deceased, perhaps involving the break down and transformation of the body or primary stages of funerary rights prior to burial or cremation elsewhere. Such themes are prevalent in discussions of Early Neolithic funerary practice and treatment of human remains (see Harris 2010: 363 for a summary). It is also apparent the enclosure provided a strong territorialising force, through containment in providing a space attracting the formation of further assemblages within and around it, although the nature and chronological relationships between the enclosure and further activities suggested by the geophysics are admittedly unknown. The large C shaped magnetic anomaly to the north is best interpreted as a burnt mound, which may have been a highly dynamic assemblage comprising various transformative processes such as the use of fire to heat stones and then perhaps water. Such sites have been variously interpreted as cooking sites, sweat lodges, bathing, purification, tanning or brewing sites, as having possible associations with copper production, and more recently the Shetland sites have been re-interpreted as powerful, symbolic and transformative places (Barfield and Hodder 1987: 371-374; Ó Drisceoil 1988; Quinn and Moore 2007; Thelin 2007; Topping 2011; Wilson-North and Carey 2011: 9; Doughton 2014). The location of this feature might be fortuitous in its proximity to the enclosure or alternatively it might be directly associated with it, perhaps playing a role in purification or transformative rights. Perhaps it was located here specifically because of the enclosure, drawing on the prior significance of it, or more prosaically, the nearby enclosure bank may have been used as a source of stone. The elevated location away from a stream, contrasts with the siting of other known burnt mounds on Exmoor such as that situated in Hoccombe Coombe (Wilson-North and Carey 2011: 11; see Mitcham 2014a unpublished report: 25 in appendix 6). However subsequent analysis of LiDAR data has suggested the presence of a slight curvilinear feature running down the slope which passes immediately north of the C shaped anomaly, which is most probably a slight gulley or hollow caused by a small stream running down the slope (figure 9.28). This seems to originate from a low anomaly further up the slope, which might be the location of a spring, which is in turn, partially surrounded by a very slight, larger oval anomaly (which can tentatively be interpreted as a attempt to enclose or delineate this spring feature) (see also figure 9.28). If this interpretation proves correct, then the C shaped anomaly might have been deliberately placed next to a stream that drained towards the lower saddle area down the slope. A slight LiDAR anomaly which appears to leave the gulley in the direction of the C shaped feature, might actually be a deliberately cut feature to encourage water to flow in this direction.

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 9.28: Processed LiDAR images of the enclosure showing the geophysical and LiDAR anomalies. Produced by the author using data from the Environment Agency (© Geomatics). **The enclosure earthworks were redrawn from Pullen 2009: 10, fig 3.**

The landscape setting and orientation of the enclosure, suggests the presence of wider relationships between the former and other assemblages and features in the landscape. As noted earlier, the rectangular enclosure is situated between the area of a lower saddle along the major ridge and the hilltop which is crested by the Chapman

Barrows, seemingly placed quite deliberately in the central area of the rising slope (figure 9.16). The site is oriented broadly perpendicular to the rising slope in a WNW-ESE direction with the enclosed end facing upslope. Following the centre line of the site along this longest axis suggested it partially intersected barrow 10 of the Chapman Barrows (MDE1061). Whilst this may simply be fortuitous (especially given their uncertain temporal relationship) and the site is not obviously aligned on another visible archaeological feature along this axis in the opposite direction, the open end points directly towards the high ground of the Chains circa 3km distant on this alignment. Of potentially greater significance is the fact that this alignment leads directly towards the highest central part of the hilltop, now containing the Chapman Barrows. This might suggest a relationship between different areas of very high ground both being associated with funerary activity (although not necessarily exclusively) and further relationships between these very high spaces and slightly lower areas nearby (such as the saddle area containing the Longstone). This could imply that these spaces were considered as in some way different from one another. This further supports the idea that the enclosure may have functioned as an important transformational and transitional space, which was constructed to facilitate such practices and was deliberately situated on the rising ground between the lower saddle and the hilltop proper, a transitional zone. The monument may have been intended to facilitate passage into the hilltop area, a space where incoming groups might pause and engage in any necessary rights or funerary activities. The temporal relationships between the Chapman Barrow cemetery and the enclosure are unknown. The majority of radiocarbon dates from Cornish barrows fall between circa 2200BC and 1500BC which might imply a similar date range for the Exmoor sites, although as noted no major barrows on Exmoor are dated (Riley and Wilson North: 21, 34; Christie 1988: 164-165; see Chapter 5 and appendix 1). Therefore the enclosure could be associated with earlier practices taking place on the hilltop in the Neolithic or equally could be a more unusual Bronze Age monument, constructed as part of the Early Bronze Age funerary complex.

The final aspect of this area to consider is the assemblage of the Longstone itself. It comprises a single circa 3m tall, thin, slate slab situated at the head of a coombe, accompanied by either a trigger or smaller standing stone, a question raised previously by Grinsell (1970: 47; Whybrow 1970: 12; Eardley-Wilmot 1983: 22-23; Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 30; see ENPHER MDE1280; table 9.7 and figure 9.29). Given the prominent position of the smaller stone, set at the southeast side, the interpretation favoured here is that this represents a deliberately placed small standing stone, rather than a trigger. At 0.7m in height this smaller stone is towered over by the 3m high Longstone, being more than double the height of the former. Whether both stones were erected at the same time is impossible to say, although it is a possibility that the smaller stone was a later addition. Regardless of the chronological sequence between the two megaliths, the interpretation favoured is that this represents the deliberate use of miniaturisation and the juxtaposition of scale and that the form of the feature draws the attention of anyone experiencing the site towards the difference in the size and scale of the two features. Thus miniaturisation here plays both a key role in the territorialisation of this assemblage in the landscape. It also allows wider connections to form, contributing to the territorialisation of further assemblages and events in the vicinity potentially generating powerful affective fields with distinct atmospheres at the site when visited. Of all the stone monuments on Exmoor which exhibit the use of very small stones and the juxtaposition of smaller and larger stones, the Longstone is arguably the most extreme and dramatic expression of this apparent concern with scale. Not only would this site have emphasised the very distinct kinds of affective fields (i.e. atmospheres) that could be experienced when encountered by a stone much smaller in scale than the human body (e.g. time compression, imaginative stimulus, sense of other worlds, questioning understandings) it is the only standing stone on Exmoor that is considerably larger than the human body in terms of height. The Longstone is exceptional in size for Exmoor (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 30). This pairing of large and small is key to understanding the importance of this feature because here it was most dramatically and emphatically demonstrated. This characteristic might have made it one of the most important lithic sites to the communities living throughout the Exmoor region, and it may well have been a major focus for communal gatherings at important times or least marked this locale as distinctive or different. The landscape setting is clearly significant; at the head of a coombe, near the source of the River Bray and in proximity to springs (Eardley-Wilmot 1983: 23). This suggests the placement of this linked pair of megalith and minilith might be connected with the significance of the locale as a source or origin of the river, the difference in scale of the two perhaps representing a coding of greater meaning contributing to their stabilisation as an assemblage and their wider significance and relationships. For example, this might be read as a belief in the growth or emergence of stone from a highly potent locale that was seen as on origin point for water that was vital to life, the smaller stone being planted in the belief that it might one day grow to the size of the Longstone, or that after a period of development it might be moved and reset elsewhere after absorbing some of the former's significance. Alternatively they could have marked a transition point, a location where transformations took place or were affected. Finally here, there is a possible link or relationship between the form of the quincunx (ENPHER MDE1044) and the Longstone pair (MDE1280). This might represent further coding of meaning through a recurrent citation (Lucas 2012: 200-201; see chapter 3 section 3.4.3). Here we see the repeated occurrence of the size relationship, of a single stone (the central A and the Longstone itself) that is considerably taller than the other stones at both sites. As the chronological relationship between these features is unknown, the question of which feature potentially referenced the other is impossible to define further.

Table 9.7: Height data for the Longstone (MDE1280). Data from ENPA HER and Quinnell and Dunn 1992: 18.

Stone	Height/length (m)	Width (m)	Thickness (m)
Longstone	3	1.2	0.25 (across base)
Minilith or trigger adjacent to the Longstone	0.7	0.5	0.15

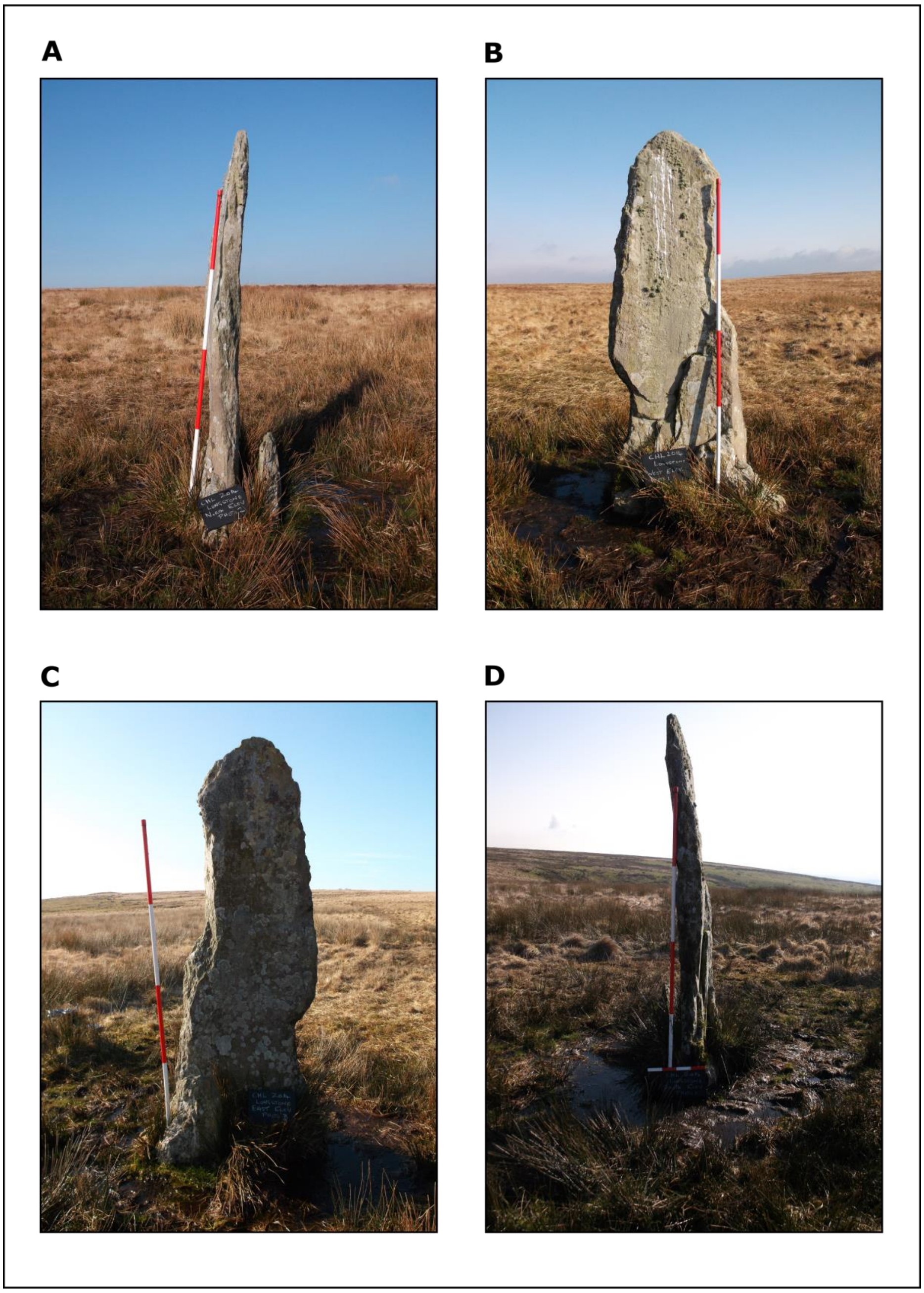

Figure 9.29: Views of the four main elevations of the Longstone (A,B,C & D). Note that the second minilith or trigger is visible in panel A and slightly in panel D, behind the Longstone. Photographs by the projects survey team.

9.5.3 The Parracombe Enclosure

The circular enclosure, comprising a substantial external bank and internal ditch (ENPHER MDE1064) implies that the assemblage of construction was potentially a communal affair, creating a structure that was gigantic in scale. This represents a major deterritorialisation of the earth through the excavation of a wide ditch and the dumping and reterritorialisation of a large quantity of this material to form an encircling bank. The construction likely involved a significant number of people, whose intention appears to have been to delineate a relatively flat area on a rising slope, the bank's external position perhaps intended to keep something within, or to obscure the view of activities inside (Warner 2000; Gibson 2004: 72-73, 78-79; Bradley 2011: xviii). Whilst from the geophysics the presence of internal features cannot be proven, it would appear the site acted as a strong territorialising force towards the emergence of further, possibly quite ephemeral or short lived assemblages within it, in the form of communal gatherings and rights, funerary or otherwise, which may have entered through a possible entrance on the western side of the monument. The site may also have acted as a strong territorialising force towards the formation of further assemblages nearby, including linear features which head towards the possible entrance and higher ground, and a possible barrow or small enclosed space on the north west side. The arrangement of internal ditch and external bank, may have contributed more strongly towards the formation of further assemblages and gatherings within because it would have kept people, things and other entities within once inside through a process of containment. Both physically through the striated space formed by the enclosure, and through the coding of meaning this landscape locale obtained as a result, perhaps more effectively than it would have kept other deterritorialising forces out (like excluded groups or forces not within the site). One possibility is that this assemblage came into being as a result of a concern with containing and controlling powerful forces or spirits, perhaps connected to the dead, with architectural elements being used to wrap or enclose certain spaces as has been suggested for henges and stone circles (Warner 2000; Gibson 2004: 78-79; Pollard 2012: 94, 99, 100, 103, 104 and 2013: 190-191; Richards 2013: 16-23). The external bank may have played a highly active role in wider assemblages because the visibility of the bank and invisibility of what was inside may have drawn attention towards it, perhaps ultimately leading to the deterritorialisation of any assemblages within and the creation of quite distinct affective fields and atmospheres, the site becoming a contested and exclusive space in the landscape. In attempting to enter the site or to access what was going on inside, excluded groups may have acted like machines, trying to open out the assemblage of the monument and those it contained, to join it or to disperse their components into new assemblages in other places (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 457-459, 593-595; See also Bonta and Protevi 2004: 107; see chapter 3 section 3.3.1 and table 3.2).

9.6 Summary and Conclusion

Chapter nine has explored in detail the character of study area A, in terms of the construction and use of specific archaeological entities, focusing on a stone setting (MDE1044), a rectangular enclosure (MDE12830), a paired large/small megalithic setting (MDE1280), and an unusual circular enclosure (MDE1064). Primarily this has been achieved through new fieldwork and synthesis of existing datasets and literature, allowing more detailed interpretations of the features to be constructed. Important developments included demonstrating that the quincunx above the River Bray (ENPHER MDE1044) appears not to be an isolated feature, and that both the rectangular (MDE12830) and circular enclosure (MDE1064) have potentially complex features in their vicinity, but little convincing evidence of internal ones. Whilst little development in understanding the chronological sequences has been possible here, exploring the wider context of specific sites has suggested that their landscape setting is highly specific and deliberate, for example the location of the Longstone and rectangular enclosure, the latter apparently very deliberately situated in relation to the topography, perhaps indicating a role as an important transformational space. The magnetic survey of the rectangular enclosure (MDE12830) and LiDAR analysis strongly suggest that a burnt mound is situated quite deliberately to the immediate north of the enclosure, using a spring and associated gulley. Moving on to the circular enclosure (MDE1064), although it is not possible to prove conclusively if the site is a henge or a disc barrow it appears to have a significant level of surviving features on the entirely levelled southern side and the geophysics has strongly suggested the bank and ditch continue. Although difficult to interpret with certainty, the site may have an entrance which might be delineated by a linear feature running towards it. An adjacent feature to the west might be a barrow or small enclosed space next to the site.

So far so good, but this has been more than simply and exercise in refinement, classification and mapping. Hamstrung though we are by the lack of dating evidence, by examining the results through the lens of assemblage theory an attempt has been made to push beyond the plan configuration to consider how these features may have come into being and been folded into the broader relationships that comprised everyday life in this landscape. For example, this chapter has also suggested that the deliberate use of miniaturisation to create assemblages of small standing stones which might have produced very distinctive affective fields and atmospheres at the quincunx and the Longstone, the latter being the most extreme deployment of a very small minilith adjacent to a large megalith.

Chapter 10 Discussion and Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

The driving thread throughout this thesis, has been to conduct a detailed synthesis of the available evidence concerning the Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes of the National Park. Following a theoretical framework that was based strongly in Deleuzian assemblages (see chapter 3; Deleuze and Guattari 2013) has encouraged the development of interpretations of the processes of territorialisation and deterritorialisation that governed the construction, use and abandonment of the specific monuments, structures and lithic scatters on which this study has focused. As a result, developing interpretations has formed a prominent and integrated theme in the data chapters presented. In this chapter I will explore the results of the research through a discussion structured around the research questions (see chapter 1 and table 10.1). This begins with a succinct summary of the key results highlighting the original contribution to knowledge within the work, before going on to examine their wider implications for our understanding of Exmoor, and placing the Exmoor evidence in a wider regional context. Second it aims to connect and tie together the different forms of evidence (i.e lithic data and monuments) through considering the potential relationships between the different interpretations developed at a wider scale, to elucidate the key wider themes which characterised the 3rd and 2nd Millennium BC on Exmoor. The second part of this chapter will assess the contribution this study has made to present understandings of Exmoor, and to wider understandings of monumentality in the 3rd and 2nd Millennium's BC in Britain, with a particular focus on the theoretical implications of this research. The final section evaluates the methods, issues and limitations of this work, using this as a springboard to explore where we go from here, in terms of future fieldwork and research priorities.

Table 10.1: Research questions.

Number	Research questions
1)	Explore in detail the reasons for the very different character of the lithic monuments on Exmoor, and interrogate the rationale behind their construction, use and abandonment.
2)	Investigate the spatial and chronological relationship on Exmoor between the stone monuments and smaller scale structures, such as cairns, stone spreads, linear boundaries, activity areas, house structures and cairns.
3)	Interrogate in detail the landscape context of Exmoor's stone monuments. This includes topographic, environmental and artefactual evidence (lithic finds).
4)	Analyse the relationship between Exmoor's stone settings and more conventional megalithic monuments on other upland areas of the south west and more broadly. Investigate the reasons for these differences

10.1.1 Summary - lithic monument character on Exmoor

This thesis has argued that whilst contemporary Exmoor is typified by a lack of surface stone, this was almost certainly more abundant and visible to the builders of the stone monuments, and that neither massive stone blocks or large visually distinctive rock outcrops were essential to this practice (chapter 7). Instead, it has been argued that the nature of stone itself was more important, characterised by features such as transformability and mutability and small groups of standing stones acting as highly dynamic and changeable assemblages (chapter 7). Following Bailey's tripartite division of scale (2005: 29; see chapter 4) the majority of the stone arrangements engage primarily with the smallest scale, whilst it is only through their spatial extent that some of the sites reach the gigantic scale (chapter 7). The key defining features of the stone monuments on Exmoor are their sheer variability, the deliberate juxtaposition of scale and use of miniaturisation, and a tendency to commonly utilise very small stones as part of these arrangements, whose size ranges from typically 0.5m to minimum heights circa 10-20cm or less. This thesis has quantified the evidence regarding the recognised association with small cairns, supporting the view that there is a strong association between these features (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 24; Gillings *et al.* 2010 and 2013). It has also uncovered further evidence of a connection between the creation of small standing stones and the layout of clearance and or boundary features, as on Swap Hill (chapter 8).

This suggests that small standing stones were deployed in varied ways alongside other features and that therefore thinking of lithic monuments such as rows, settings and circles as isolated and distinct typological classes of entity might be unhelpful. Instead these features have complex relationships with their landscapes and with larger aggregations of assemblages nearby, for example Porlock Circle (e.g. with pre circle activity, an adjacent cairn and stone row; see chapter 7) and close relationships between stone settings and developing farming landscapes of small cairns and linear boundaries at Lanacombe (Gillings *et al*. 2010; Gillings 2013; see chapter 2). The available evidence has produced glimpses that the Lanacombe late Early, Early-Middle Bronze Age field system may not be unique, with the frequent presence of small cairns in the vicinity of settings generally, such as at Swap Hill (including a nearby field bank; see chapter 8); whilst geophysical survey results have suggested further possible candidates for similar activity structures to that excavated at Lanacombe III, at Furzehill Common, Lanacombe IV, and Almsworthy Common (Sembay 2005 unpublished report: 8; Gillings and Taylor 2011a: 32-33; Gillings and Taylor 2011b: 6-7; Gillings 2013: 56-62; see chapter 2). Whether such field systems were widespread or unique to Lanacombe remains an open question that only more sustained, large scale geophysical surveys between the settings in other areas, coupled with sustained excavation programmes, can resolve.

Through drawing on an ontology of assemblages, I have attempted to explore how the builders of the sites, may have been seeking to create connections and relationships to other events, marking locales with an expectation that the standing stones would be re-worked as part of ongoing inhabitation of the landscape (see chapter 7). To achieve this, I explored how the processes of assemblage formation, stabilisation and dispersal might be represented in the form and structure of the sites, by identifying the physical presence of territorialising forces, such as coding and exploring the possibility that recurring themes might exist which would allow relations between and within different monuments to be explored. This included mechanisms such as recurrent citation and association, containment and features acting like semi-permeable firewalls and others such as miniaturisation. The same set of processes and mechanisms were also used to consider the impact of these sites on the territorialisation and deterritorialisation of further assemblages in their vicinity, as well as the characteristics of the affective fields that may have emerged as people experienced the sites. For example, a GIS method for exploring the spatial extent and the probability of the emergence of affective fields was presented at Porlock Allotment II and this was used to demonstrate the potential emergence of further assemblages in the vicinity of the site (see chapter 7). It was argued that the stone monuments were defined by a low threshold of deterritorialisation, which allowed frequent and varied unexercised capacities to emerge, including distinct kinds of affective fields being experienced by people. Specific interpretations were developed for a series of case study sites, which are summarised in table 10.2. This included, a study of Almsworthy Common stone setting, which argued the site might have grown over time, giving the atmosphere that might have been experienced a quality of intense temporality, heavy with the reverberation of past events. Further, the layout of the monument might have fostered an illusion of movement and been an important locale for the retelling of origin myths and re-affirming community identity (see chapter 7).

Table 10.2: Summary of interpretations.

Monument ID (ENPHER number)	Name	Monument Type	Interpretation
MSO7898	Porlock Stone Circle	Stone Circle	Circle constructed from outcropping boulder, coding a belief in the emergence/growth of stone over time. Taller and very small stones represent mature and juvenile entities, the former watching over the latter. Circularity suggests importance of cycles e.g. seasonal, agricultural, life, celebrations and gatherings etc.
MSO6727	Almsworthy Common	Stone Setting	Quality of intense temporality, with reverberation of past events, stones possibly added over time. Important for marking events and retelling of community identities and histories? May have given an illusion of stone movement in its most developed phase.
MSO7923	Porlock Allotment II	Stone Setting	Deployment of miniaturization may have led to the emergence of affective fields characterised by distortion of time perception, with an increased productivity/stimulation of thought, thinking through everyday concerns. Placed in subtle outcrop/clitter band, stone a highly affective material, placing uprights an appropriate response to mark the origins of stone.
MSO6873	Swap Hill	Stone Setting	An arrangement of standing stones deliberately deploying the assemblage of multiple scales emphasising the small size of stones B and C. Creates an effect of confusion between the small standing stones and the frequent stone stubs and clitter. Stone A is potentially a large and small size pair, suggesting miniaturisation and the juxtaposition of scales was deployed at multiple scales, the site overall and at individual standing stones.
MSO6820	East Pinford	Stone Setting	Variation in form, size and alignment of stones suggest complex constructional history, and possible stone pairing. The setting might represent a miniature landscape diorama, transforming the miniliths into megaliths, suggested otherworld's and spaces embedded within the landscape. The topographic siting created a complex interplay of scales from the smallest, to the wider enclosing landscape. Connecting uprights into the landscape, joining the shallow outcropping stone with the world and the sky.
MDE1044	Quincunx above the River Bray	Stone setting	Distinct geometric motif suggests formal layout process and that this assemblage had a high degree of territorialisation, with multiple size motif suggesting the occurrence of coding through the deployment of miniaturisation, implying the intertwining of human/animal worlds, and the locale may also have been important for marking time and cycles.

Monument ID (ENPHER number)	Name	Monument Type	Interpretation
MDE1280	The Long Stone, Challacombe Common	Paired standing stone?	Paired standing stone, demonstrating the deliberate juxtaposition of scale, drawing attention to the small size of the adjacent stone. Perhaps coding a belief in the growth of small stones into larger ones. Character very distinct only upright stone visible from distance and that is larger than the human body, engaging with the gigantic and intimate scales. May be marking a space in the landscape that is different and important.

Through drawing on a limited body of new fieldwork, existing data and previous research, this thesis has demonstrated that there was far more complexity, variation and dynamism taking place within the phenomenon of raising, lowering and arranging standing stones on Exmoor than has been previously acknowledged. This in turn supports many of the findings from the limited but important work carried out previously, especially that based on small excavations and remote sensing (Gillings *et al.* 2010; Gillings and Taylor2011a&b; Gillings 2013; Gillings 2015a&b). Moreover, the evidence presented has supported the view that the stone monuments on Exmoor have a distinctive character, and that the stone settings in particular, have rightly been seen as a distinct local tradition that appears to have no clear direct parallel, although small stone monuments in themselves, are not unknown in other areas (Grinsell 1970: 46-47; Eardley-Wilmot 1983: 34-35; Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 23; Tilley 2010: 346-308, 347; Gillings 2015c). However, expressing their uniqueness has not been particularly helpful in interpreting the sites more specifically.

10.2 Factors influencing the character, use and construction of Exmoor's stone monuments

10.2.1 discussion of assemblage formation processes

It is clear on Exmoor that the local geology has had a significant impact on the character of the monuments, typified by an apparent lack of large surface stone; larger outcropping blocks generally being very rare and the majority of the stone comprising smaller posts, slabs and angular fragments (Chanter and Worth 1905: 389; Grinsell 1970: 12; Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 42). There is no apparent concern with extracting large megaliths in the limited areas of Exmoor where large blocks of stone could have been extracted such as in the unique Valley of the Rocks, or from the major river beds (Grinsell 1970: 12, 38; Tilley 2010: 347). This tendency is evident at just two of Exmoor's stone monuments, the Longstone on Challacombe Common and the Whit Stones on Porlock Hill[44] (see chapters 7 and 9) Both of these sites are unusual and completely atypical when compared to the rest of Exmoor's stone monuments. The Longstone for possessing unusually prominent visibility from distance with a height of 3m, the Whit Stones for their large size and prominent position, leaning at a low angle, which might imply the latter are naturally outcropping slabs. Rather than dismissing the small character of the sites as simply an incidental result of using what stone was locally available, as some have done (e.g. Grinsell 1970: 12) i.e. the typically small slabs, posts and small angular fragments, this thesis has identified a number of characteristics that suggest the very deliberate use of small stones in order to effect and enact a juxtaposition of scales, including the preferential use of very small stones (even within the range of generally small stone present). Throughout it has been argued this was done to create very specific affects to encourage the emergence of very distinctive atmospheres when experienced by people and animals. To dismiss the scale of the sites as accidental would deny what is arguably the key aspect of their character, in effect what made them such prevalent, dynamic and powerful locales in the landscape. To do so would be to use an arbitrary size criteria to effectively ignore or relegate small standing stones to a lesser role, not subjecting them to the same rigour of recording and interpretative effort as their larger counterparts (Cooney 2010: 64-65; Gillings 2015c: 209, 210, 212-213, 230-231).

[44] This site is uncertain and could equally be a natural outcrop. Only excavation could determine if these are humanly set or naturally occurring. However the presence of a small cairn a few metres from the Whit Stones, might imply that if not humanly set, they were perceived as such, or marked as an unusual and significant outcrop (see chapter 7).

Seeing the local geology as the sole defining influence encourages a line of argument that treats the lithic monuments as a homogenised group i.e. one that simply regards the stone settings as a unified group with a single purpose. This fails to adequately acknowledge the second key aspect of their character, their sheer variability and diversity. The detailed synthesis undertaken here has demonstrated that the stone settings are anything but a coherent group that can be adequately classified via a traditional typological approach, which sees monuments as static, finished constructions. The implication of this is that the evidence of the scale of variation evident within the local tradition of raising small standing stones and the apparent dynamism of this practice, including potentially the decommissioning, movement and resetting of stones (see also Gillings and Taylor 2011b; Gillings 2015a&c) suggests the development of a distinct lithic monument phenomenon on Exmoor. This was the result of a complex, multi causal series of processes and assemblages operating at multiple scales, where the nature of the local geology was just one of many factors. These included local beliefs and traditions, the affirming of community identities and origins, shared wider beliefs and practices across Britain, and the movement of people and idea's in and out of the Exmoor area. The second key implication here is that the stone settings cannot be adequately understood by any unified grand theory that assigns them all a single purpose (such as hunting locations see Tilley 2010 and Chapter 2; See Gillings 2015b:103), a view which is strongly supported by the evidence presented in this thesis. Their variability instead implies that their meanings, functions and purposes could have been quite different and distinctive, situated within the concerns of the local communities, the corollary of this is that interpretation is best attempted at a local scale, on either an individual basis or where groups of sites seem to have demonstrable similarities such as at Lanacombe (see Gillings 2015b). This more site specific interpretative approach has been followed throughout this thesis, which through a consideration of the emergence, change and development of the sites has allowed specific interpretations to be explored. This is despite the challenging lack of specific evidence about what was taking place (if anything) at the sites, an issue upon which the artefactual record, has been almost completely silent[45], itself partly a reflection of the near absence of modern excavation.

The varied tradition of stone engagement on Exmoor was influenced by processes both at the scale of the local community (e.g. individual coombes, perhaps small family groups), the wider region (e.g. Exmoor and the surrounding areas of North Devon and Somerset) and nationally. The latter might include the spread of megaliths, stone circles and henges and the changes and developments in beliefs they might imply during the later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, the adoption of metals and metalworking, and the development of more permanent, large scale farming landscapes, field systems and boundaries in the Middle Bronze Age. This complex set of processes and influences led to the appearance on Exmoor of familiar forms of monument that were widespread in Britain such as stone circles, standing stones and stone rows (Burl 1976, 1993 & 2000; Bradley 1993 and 1998; Barnatt 1982 & 1989; Bradley 2007: chapter 3; Scarre 2007; Richards 2013). In addition, such a complex set of processes and forces also led to the distinct and varied regional phenomenon of the stone settings, apparently unique to Exmoor, demonstrating the development of a very distinct regional tradition of monument building, with local communities perhaps re-affirming a distinct identity whilst drawing on shared wider concerns, beliefs and imperatives (Williams 1988: 54; Bradley 2005: 113, 2011: 97 and 2007: 172-175; Tilley 2010: 346-347; Gillings 2015b: 102 and 2015c: 209). Such developments were taking place at as yet undefined moments, most likely within a time range spanning the Late Neolithic, Early and Middle Bronze Age periods, the specific date range of the settings themselves remaining unknown (Tilley 2010: 308; Gillings 2015b: 90, 102; see section 10.3 for a detailed discussion).

[45] A single piece of flaked quartz was recovered by excavation from around stone H, at Lanacombe I (Gillings *et al.*2010: 310).

Another highly significant factor in understanding the reasons for the very different character of the lithic monuments on Exmoor, is the understanding held by the local communities of the stone from which they were constructed, and the stones that were used to make flaked and polished tools (e.g. predominantly from imported flint and chert, see chapter 6) and grinding/processing implements such as querns (Riley and Wilson North 2001: 46; Green 2009a:78-79 & 2009b: 29). It is clear from the lithic collections studied in chapter six and the careful techniques of standing stone construction that stone was a significant substance on Exmoor in prehistory, a substance which had great potential to facilitate many vital tasks and processes in everyday life, such as lighting fires, scraping and cutting, drilling, crushing, grinding, hunting and interpersonal violence. It would have been especially the case in the Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age, before metal tools become more widespread in their general availability. It is argued here that these characteristics of stone: to hold many potential unexercised capacities; to be highly adaptable, transformable, mutable; and to form connections and transform relationships to other things through acting as powerful territorialising, deterritorialising and re-territorialising agents in assemblages, forms the key to understanding why it was so important to the communities on Exmoor.

It is also clear that the people who raised small standing stones on Exmoor had a strong interest not only in the process and end result, but also the origins of this material in the landscape. Previous research had already demonstrated that many stone settings were located in distinct bands of shallow, outcropping rock that would have been visually distinctive as a result of vegetation regimes (Gillings *et al.* 2010: 313-314; see chapter 2). The data presented in this thesis has served to provide further support to this pattern, clarifying the underlying geological changes at East Pinford (chapter 8 section 8.3.2) and indicating that Swap Hill stone setting is similarly located within a high resistance zone, indicating shallow underlying geology (chapter 9 section 8.2.1). Whilst no geophysics was undertaken at Porlock Allotment II, a subtle band of stone clitter was visible running down the slope from the site (see chapter 7 section 7.4). Further evidence was also examined, which has pointed towards an interest in the origins of stone. For example with the interpretation put forward in chapter 7 that the recumbent stone 13 at Porlock Circle might be a natural outcrop around which the circle was constructed (see section 7.3.3) and other examples of settings in study area C where stones were erected in proximity to rare, larger outcropping blocks (see chapter 7 section 7.5).

In terms of the meaning and significance of stone, it is suggested here that different forms of stone were chosen in order to negotiate the varied encounters and challenges the landscape presented. Thus the varied rocks which were encountered across Exmoor were highly significant because they could be used to negotiate different places, events and encounters within the landscape. The variability of the stone arrangements might imply that upright stone arrangements were deployed as a response and dynamic medium through which different places and events could be negotiated. For example, the variability of the stone settings suggests that they not only had quite different purposes and meanings, but coupled with the clear, but difficult to date, evidence of stone decommissioning, re-setting and potentially movement, strongly suggests that that at least some of the sites were created with an expectation they would be reworked in ongoing and future events. When the sheer number of sites (currently 61, see table 5.1 in chapter 5) and their wide distribution across the remaining areas of open moor is taken into account, it implies that the settings were of great and ongoing importance to the inhabitation, farming and ritual practices undertaken by the local communities (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 24). Taking this argument further, it is suggested here that stone was, or could at certain times have been seen as a sentient being, a being that was changing, growing, developing and emerging, perhaps in a similar way to animals and trees. None were regarded as occupying separate ontological planes or being necessarily separated from the human sphere. The results of this research and the line of argument followed here strongly supports Connoller's view that stone was not a homogenous concept in prehistory, it did not have a single meaning that was applied to all stones (2011: 82). Building on Conneller's perspective, I argue here that the mutability and the many varied capacities of different stones to do different things made it the perfect medium to negotiate a hugely varied range of concerns such as community identity, encounters with other worlds, animals, other groups and communities. It was also therefore the ideal material to help negotiate, between different kinds of spaces, such as liminal places, meeting places, transitional spaces, striated spaces of boundaries and farming activities, spiritual places such as springs and bogs, and so on. The relationship between place and monuments on Exmoor is discussed in further detail in section 10.3.2 .

Finally, it remains here to consider factors operating at larger temporal and spatial scales, such as the nature of, or changes within subsistence and mobility regimes, environmental change, and the occurrence of crisis or catastrophes linked to the latter. The nature of subsistence regimes and mobility patterns on Exmoor at this time (I.e. Neolithic and Bronze Age) are poorly understood, with little or no bone (animal or human) assemblages surviving and little direct evidence of the presence of cultivars. At present we have a few grains (2 of barley, 13 of wheat) that were recovered from a dated Middle Bronze Age context (4209, fill of 4208, see appendix 2) along with pollen evidence from weeds associated with cultivation and disturbed ground at Holworthy Farm (Green 2009a: 84-85). Earlier indirect evidence is also provided by a barely grain impression on the Culbone Beaker (Helbaek 1952: 199, plate xxib, 226; Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 23; see chapter 6). Tilley argued that Deer hunting was the key explanatory factor behind the stone settings, therefore implying a high degree of mobility in the nature of the subsistence regime, downplaying the evidence of the probable Middle and Later Bronze Age settlements and fieldsystems evident on Exmoor (2010: 299, 334-347; see Gillings 2015b: 88-98 for critique; see also chapter 2). Gillings recently tested Tilley's hunting blind hypothesis as well as critiquing a number of aspects of this interpretation, arguing that the settings were not located in hidden areas that would imply their use as such (Gillings 2015b: 88-98 & 2015d; see chapter 2). Alternatively, Gillings argued that the stone settings at Lanacombe were strongly connected to the movement and herding of sheep, situated in ecologically distinct, more open movement corridors, within which the settings were intended as a flexible architecture used to create moments of pause and gathering (see Gillings 2015b: 98-103). However, Gillings also emphasised that this interpretation should not be applied universally to all the settings across Exmoor (2015b: 99, 103-104). This thesis is able to offer no further evidence to elucidate the nature of settlement or farming practices during the Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age beyond the limited insights drawn from the lithic collections in chapter 6. However, the argument followed here is that the frequent, albeit poorly understood evidence of small cairns in proximity to stone settings, plus fragmentary field banks sometimes occurring within the same wider areas (e.g. on Swap Hill see chapter 8) would strongly suggest a predominantly pastoralist regime with some limited cultivation of suitable crops, as has previously been suggested by Riley and Wilson-North (2001: 23, 46-47). Whilst it is impossible to confirm, this would imply that at least during some parts of the year during the Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age and Early Middle Bronze Age, groups of people would have been highly mobile driving herds between winter and summer pastures, as well as moving and exchanging groups of animals with other communities. Other members of the community may been more sedentary at certain times, tending small areas of cultivation, harvesting and processing the resulting products. The archaeological evidence at Lanacombe, might imply that the embryonic field system that appears closely connected with the stone settings was in use for a relatively short period of time, although defining this further is impossible given the limitations on the dating (see chapter 5). This might have been perhaps a few years of repeated visits, with the cairning having multiple phases, implying some possible consolidation or development over time (Gillings 2013: 63). Gillings also argued that the ephemeral activity structure at Lanacombe III reflected a short lived presence (2013: 60). It is suggested here that significant changes occurred within the nature of subsistence practices on Exmoor during the late Early Bronze Age and Early Middle Bronze Age, with an intensification of pastoral farming creating a strong territorializing force towards the emergence of the first visible field systems and clearance structures such as those at Lanacombe.

Whilst it has not been possible to consider the palaeoenvironmental evidence in detail as part of this research[46]; it is clear this proxy offers the best available evidence to assess human impact upon the landscape in prehistory, the nature of landscape inhabitation, and to consider the impact of any environmental change as a potentially significant factor with regard to the character of the monuments. A cursory review of the literature enlightens two critically important issues raised in this discussion. The first is the date of the onset of peat formation which on Exmoor appears to start in the Neolithic (possibly at the beginning of the 3rd Millennium BC on the Chains), whilst pollen evidence indicates various tree clearance phases and human disturbances with reductions in tree species and expansions in grasslands taking place in both the Neolithic and the Bronze Age; although the evidence is highly localised and the overall picture one of variability (Fyfe and Davies 2011; Davies 2011: 60; Merryfield and Moor 1974: 439; Francis and Slater 1990: 18; Fyfe 2012: 8; Fyfe *et al.* 2003a: 215, 227-228; Riley and Wilson-North 2001:22-23; Straker and Crabtree 1995: 45). Evidence for cereal cultivation is extremely limited and pastoralism is thought to have been predominant (Fyfe and Davies 2011: 18-19). Whilst the lack of any specific chronology for the majority of Exmoor's stone and earthen monuments make it difficult to draw connections with evidence from the few locales where detailed palaeoenvironmental study and reconstruction has taken place, it remains a possibility that some forms of monument construction were a response to ongoing peat and bog formation, particularly with regard to the Longstone and the mortuary enclosure studied in chapter 9. This might suggest such spaces were perceived as different, an idea which is discussed in detail in section 10.3.2. The second important point is that whilst there

[46] This was due to the complexity and extent of the palaeoenvironmental data which requires a detailed specialist study in its own right.

are locally distinct, specifically dated phases of human clearance and vegetation change demonstrated by the palaeoenvironmental data that do imply farming episodes in both the Neolithic and Bronze Age, it is very difficult and problematic to draw any specific and direct link between these and the archaeological record. Based on pollen analysis from three sites in the wider environs of the Five Barrow complex (Moles Chamber, North Twitchen Springs and Commerslade), Fyfe has demonstrated that a semi open landscape existed in the Early Bronze Age, but with significant surviving areas of woodland, whilst at Commerslade a reduction in woodland and expansion of grassland from circa 1500BC was interpreted as evidence of an intensification in landscape exploitation (2012: 2768, 2771). This picture is, however, highly localised and complex, with abandonment or only very low level grazing evident in this phase at North Twitchen Springs, where heath replaced grassland (Fyfe 2012: 2771-2772). Fyfe suggested that a major transformation took place around 1500BC with a shift to sedentary farming, enclosure and intensification, and that whilst no archaeological evidence of field systems or settlements were known in this specific area, it was supported by the evidence of field systems and settlements on other parts of Exmoor and rare detailed evidence from sites such as Holworthy Farm and Lanacombe (2012: 2772). The subsequent dating of the Lanacombe II field system as Early-Middle Bronze Age (see Gillings 2013: 49-51) has given greater support to the view that a wider phase of intensification was directly associated with the first farming landscapes (like that at Lanacombe) and potentially, features such as the stone settings. However given that the chronology of the monuments, settlements and field systems on Exmoor is so poorly defined, further fieldwork is needed to enhance our at present, very limited understanding of the transition to the Middle Bronze Age on Exmoor.

In conclusion whilst the geological conditions on Exmoor undeniably placed certain constraints on the nature and character of the stone monument building tradition, this was not the sole determining factor. Variability and dynamism characterised Exmoor's small stone arrangements, including their hugely varied layouts, the deliberate use of smaller and larger stones (sometimes in close juxtaposition), the deliberate deployment of miniaturisation, the apparent pairing of larger and smaller stones (e.g. Porlock stone circle; see chapter 7), not to mention the increasing evidence of the movement, decommissioning and potentially re-setting of miniliths at various sites, such as Porlock Circle and Furzehill Common (Gillings and Taylor 2011b; Gillings 2015a; see chapter 7). This implies that their very different character is not simply an incidental result of the local geology, which generally lacks (although not entirely) the very large slabs of stone found in granite landscapes such as Dartmoor or Bodmin Moor (Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 42; Tilley 2010: 296, 346-347; See Newman 2011: 4-5 and Axford 1975). Instead the key factors were the interaction between processes operating at local scales within communities on Exmoor, and the influence of the wider phenomenon of raising standing stones into different configurations that spread across Britain in the 3rd and 2nd Millennia BC. Their character was significantly influenced by the understanding of stone that was held by these communities, with a strong interest in the origins of outcropping stone where it was effectively emerging, as well as an appreciation of stone as a highly affective and transformable material, that could readily form relationships with wider features, substances and assemblages. The variety of lithic monuments, with stone settings frequently being placed in subtle areas of underlying outcropping stone (see Gillings *et al.* 2010), or more rarely standing stones placed near to larger visible natural blocks (see chapter 7), implies that this potent material needed to be attended to in a very varied set of ways. Finally, the distinct Exmoor tradition was also marked by the use of stone and stone arrangements to mediate between a multitude of different encounters and spaces in the landscape, for example potentially between humans and animals at Lanacombe (see Gillings 2015b) and between other times and events at Almsworthy Common (see chapter 7).

10.3 Spatial and chronological relationships on the moor

10.3.1 Summary and discussion

Investigating the spatial and chronological relationships between the variety of stone arrangements and other structures on Exmoor (RQ2 see chapter 1 and table 10.1) has proven to be one of the most challenging questions to explore. The interpretations that have been put forward and their implications regarding these relationships are significantly limited by both a general lack of dating evidence and the extent of the surviving evidence. Later activity has acted as a significant deterritorialising force on the prehistoric landscapes, leaving a distribution pattern that is strongly clustered and heavily skewed towards surviving areas of open moorland. Whilst the latter pattern is well known and was highlighted by previous work (see chapter 2 and Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 24-25), this thesis has been able to demonstrate just how strongly clustered the distribution is within such areas (which predominantly although not exclusively, consist of open moorland). This pattern is strongly related to the distribution of later features that have potentially destroyed significant areas of evidence, rather than human behaviour in prehistory. For example, within study area B, it was clearly demonstrated that the prehistoric evidence survives only in areas devoid of 19th and early 20th century drainage ditch systems (see chapter 8). These factors prevented any formal spatial analysis being attempted in study areas A and B as the heavily skewed distributions meant that obtaining meaningful results from the overall distribution within these areas would have been impossible. In practice only limited progress has been made in examining spatial relationships beyond what was already known (see chapters 2, 7 and appendix 5) it has only proved feasible to do so on a fine grained scale, through field survey at specific sites. This was achieved by examining the immediate surrounding areas of some of the lithic monuments through field survey, and exploring some interpretative possibilities based on this evidence. For example, such as whether the presence of Porlock Allotment II stone setting acted as a significant territorialising force towards the stabilisation and emergence of further assemblages in its vicinity (chapter 7).

Whilst limited, some other key findings have been achieved, which in general support previous research exploring spatial relationships (see chapter 2 and chapter 7). For example quantifying the known pattern of small cairns occurring in the vicinity of stone settings, with around 50% of stone settings in the three study areas having nearby small cairns or mounds, supports the long claimed association between the two (see Riley and Wilson North 2001: 24; chapters 2 and 7). In area C this figure rises to 62.5% and here, where a detailed spatial analysis was conducted, 50% of the settings had a mound, barrow or cairn within 100m, and 75% had these entities within 250m (see appendix 5 and chapter 7). In Area A this pattern accounts for 66.67% of the stone settings, including several which have a more unusual location near to major Barrow groups (see Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 24; chapter 9). Perhaps the most significant new contribution regarding spatial relationships between specific features is the discovery of a new small standing stone on Swap Hill, which appears to have a direct spatial relationship with a curvilinear field bank (chapter 8). This suggests further evidence that the deployment of small standing stones was part of the development of field clearance or field boundaries, although their temporal relationship is unclear (see chapter 8 and Riley 2014). This key relationship has only recently gained recognition on Exmoor, the evidence here supporting a similar recent discovery on East Pinford, where Riley argued that a standing stone was used as a layout marker for a field bank which may have later been formally closed down by further banks cutting through it (2014: 1, 3-4. 6; see Chapter 8). Perhaps the most important contribution this thesis can make regarding spatial relationships, lies within the wider, more theoretical exploration of relationships between monuments and other structures at different scales and the relationships between these structures and the wider landscape. These have been partly explored through the development of specific interpretations, such as at East Pinford (chapter 8) and at the rectangular enclosure and the Longstone on Challacombe Common (chapter 9). A consideration of the relationships between space, place, and landscape with the formation and dispersal of monuments and other structures as assemblages on Exmoor is presented in section 10.3.2, which seeks to draw together these themes and explore the idea of different forms and space and place on Exmoor in prehistory.

Developing a greater understanding of the chronological relationships between the features on Exmoor, and refining how the landscapes developed over time remains the greatest gap in present knowledge, and this thesis has not been able to make any substantial progress on this issue. However, it has been able to synthesise the present evidence together for the first time, demonstrating a much greater number of radiocarbon determinations are now available since the last review in 2001 (see Riley and Wilson-North: appendix 2, 182). It has also been able to undertake a critical assessment of the evidence, highlighting that the key issues at present are both the limited number of dates and the very restricted number of sites and forms of feature which have any absolute dates at present (see chapter 6). This is both because of the difficulty of obtaining any material (i.e. bone) suitable for scientific dating in a highly acidic soil environment and the very limited number and extent of modern excavations that have taken place. Whilst obtaining dateable material is very difficult, the excavation results discussed in chapter 8 being a case in point, the few more sustained and larger scale interventions that have taken place (such as at Shallowmead, Holworthy Farm, Lanacombe II and III, and Porlock Circle; See chapter 6; Quinnell 1997; Green 2009a,b; Gillings 2013; Gillings 2015a) have located suitable material (including charcoal, and more exceptionally Trevisker Ware ceramics at Holworthy) which have allowed 'coarse' chronologies to be elucidated. Whilst previous authors have highlighted the issue that any material (be that artefactual or ecofactual) which might help to date features has been rarely found, this is not surprising given that only a tiny sample of features have ever seen any intervention at all. This is compounded by the fact that the recovery rate of any such material (such as bone, or ceramic) is likely to be low or absent due to the acidic soil conditions. The consequence is that dating programs have had to rely on the recovery of charcoal from bulk samples which permit only the establishment of coarse TPQ's for events (see chapter 5 for discussion).

It is critical however to acknowledge the value of the present dating evidence on Exmoor, even though it has clear limitations. It must not be judged against the fine grained chronologies which have recently become possible through the use of bayesian statistics and careful sampling where environmental conditions are more favourable (e.g. Whittle *et al.* 2011). Instead, the dating of features to within a few centuries on Exmoor represents a considerable step forward in understanding the chronologies of landscape development, which otherwise can only be placed into much longer, arbitrary blocks of time by drawing analogy with other landscapes (see chapter 5). Arguably the greatest weakness of this thesis is that it has not been possible to refine or explore the chronology of the stone monuments and it is emphasised here that this remains an open and pressing question (see chapter 5 for discussion). Only future fieldwork can help to understand exactly where in time the stone settings belong, whether they are Later Neolithic-Early Bronze Age, whether they represent a distinct Late Early, Early Middle Bronze Age or even later (e.g. Late Bronze Age-Early Iron Age) phenomenon, or whether they represented a long lived tradition which develops and persists throughout these periods. No definitive statement can be made here, and the same can be said about the chronology of the stone circles, standing stones and stone rows which cannot be adequately defined other than to general time periods (see chapter 5 for discussion).

10.3.2 Assemblages of space, place, structures and transformation on Exmoor

Different forms of monument had a complex relationship with the wider landscape on Exmoor, as demonstrated at East Pinford in Chapter 8 and at the Longstone and mortuary enclosure complex on Challacombe Common (chapter 9). The theme of space, and that of different kinds of space emerging and dispersing has occurred in several places in this thesis (see chapter 8 and 9), and here, I develop a fuller understanding of this theme to help join together the distinct interpretations which were put forward for specific sites. Exmoor's monuments can partly be seen as a response to, and a negotiation with, different kinds of spaces and places which already had become imbued with significance and meaning, going well back into the Neolithic and probably the Mesolithic. Thus some of these assemblages discussed emerged from a complex set of processes, with considerable historical time depth, with the significance of places on Exmoor drawn out of many generations of landscape inhabitation. This certainly included both hunting and clearance/farming as well as processing tasks, implied by the lithic collections (chapter 6) and the palaeoenvironmental data. Whilst the specific chronologies of the lithics are uncertain, the evidence suggests short lived task specific activities taking place, both in the Neolithic and in the Early and Middle Bronze Age. In contrast the palaeoenvironmental evidence demonstrates significant change and longer term human impacts upon the vegetation regimes in the Neolithic and Bronze Age, with a general reduction in woodland and an increase in grassland, and various clearance/disturbance episodes, for example, with a distinct improvement phase (with an increase in improved ground and a reduction of heath) lasting for 100 years between 1980-1890 cal BC identified at North Twitchen Springs (Fyfe *et al*. 2003a: 230-231; Fyfe 2012: 2768-2772). The significance of these sources of evidence, although impossible to reconcile or link together directly in time, strongly suggests that the first monuments on Exmoor were not constructed in an untouched wilderness as implied by Tilley (see 2010) but in landscapes that had already seen a strong human impact. With clearance and farming episodes, and through many generations and events, different places and spaces gained different kinds of significance. No doubt many landscape features were named and had associations with origin myths, community histories, past events, powerful forces or ancestral spirits.

It is argued here that the significance of place on the moor was an important influence on the emergence of a variety of different architectures and monuments as assemblages during the Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age and Middle Bronze Age. The influence of places with a pre-existing meaning, and the ongoing development and negotiation of such meanings, formed a key set of territorialising and deterritorialising forces. These had a strong influence over the emergence of new forms of assemblage. Thus a number of key historical processes strongly connected to places and spaces within the landscape potentially operated across significant gaps in time and space, having their emergence perhaps centuries before. Such key historical processes which had a critical impact on the moments of actualisation that saw some of these new assemblages emerge, included not only the significance of places over time, but the development of and changes within inhabitation and farming regimes (pastoral/arable, likely mixed with emphasis on the former), long term and short term mobility patterns (e.g. seasonal herding, harvesting, generational movements, breaking new ground), as well as wider changes in belief and society. These processes operated at various scales, for example, with differences occurring between and within communities, whilst external influences, such as incoming groups of people or ideas from outside the region also likely played a role. Whilst specific evidence of external influence or contact is scarce, the small number of Portland chert artefacts, like the leaf shaped arrowhead from Selworthy, and a possible dagger fragment from Kentisbury Down, imply direct or indirect long distance contact, in this case to South Devon (see chapter 6). In summary it is argued that different forms of emerging monuments, were partially a response to, and a negotiation with different kinds of space. Some of these had a pre-existing meaning, whilst ongoing changes in belief, farming, inhabitation and mobility, created new, distinct places and forms of space (cf. McFadyen 2006a,b&c and 2007a&b), as did ongoing environmental changes that resulted in the development of blanket peat, bogs and mires.

Table 10.3 Interpretations of spaces in relation to different forms of monument.

Monument ID (ENPHER number)	Name	Monument Type	Interpretation
MSO6873	**Swap Hill**	Field bank	Emergence of striated space of boundaries, clearance heaps and cairns?

Monument ID (ENPHER number)	Name	Monument Type	Interpretation
MDE12830	**Mortuary enclosure (Challacombe Common)**	Mortuary enclosure	Transformational space? in transitional place, on edge of emerging bog/mire?
MDE1280	**Longstone**	Standing stone	Marking a space with spiritual significance?
MSO6820	**East Pinford**	Stone Setting	A meeting and gathering space? on a movement route?
MDE1064	**Circular enclosure (Parracombe Common)**	Henge or disc barrow	A communal space for rites and gatherings? or a space for funerary activity?
MSO7905	**The Doughnut (Porlock Allotment)**	Enclosed platform/hengiform monument?	Communal gathering space, rites and ritual purpose?

In chapter 8 it was argued that the emergence of field banks such as the example on Swap Hill, and field boundaries, consisting of small cairns and ephemeral stone spreads, best characterised at present by the embryonic Lanacombe Late Early, Early Middle Bronze Age field system, might represent the emergence of striated space, a concept developed by Deleuze and Guattari (2013: 443-451; 501-506; see chapter 3 for definition and explanation; see Gillings 2013 and chapter 2 for Lanacombe). Whilst their use of the concept refers to the development ultimately of the state, and of its controlling authority, in this context, I intend striated space to mean the development of structures which bound or bisect the landscape, partially or fully (e.g. lines of cairns, or enclosures, field banks) (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 443-451, 501-506; see also Bonta and Protevi 2004: 144, 151). The deployment of specific forms of assemblages like cairns and banks, become at a larger scale part of a much larger assemblage which bisects, delineates and potentially increases control over that space e.g. a greater influence over animal herds, or the landscape in terms of cultivation productivity. Assemblages of stone and earth which make up this kind of striated space emerge through a variety of territorialising and deterritorialising forces, but they do not create themselves, and these earliest proto field structures and systems represent deliberate efforts by people to undertake more intensive, or different subsistence strategies. Thus with regard to these early field structures, they emerged out of long processes surrounding inhabitation, mobility, changing farming practices, and perhaps population growth. If the settings at Lanacombe were earlier, or already in place when the field system was constructed (the temporal relationship is unknown), it might suggest that this locale already had considerable significance, and the layout of these structures had to respond and respect their location. Alternatively, if the settings at Lanacombe were contemporaneous constructions, they might have been deployed as assemblages to mediate and negotiate with potent locations, potentially visually distinct areas (shallow outcropping stone bands, perhaps marked by distinct vegetation or being more open - see chapter 2 and Gillings *et al.* 2010 and 2015b) that were powerful and significant because these locales were origin points for the ongoing emergence of stone.

As table 10.3 makes clear[47], there are a number of other different forms of space which might have emerged on Exmoor, through a similar, complex interaction of territorialising and deterritorialising forces, at different scales, with both short and long term processes in operation. On Challacombe Common, the Mortuary enclosure was interpreted as an important transformational space, whilst the emergence of the Longstone pairing, was potentially a response or act of marking a distinct place, a point of origin for life (see chapter 9 for details). Both these features are unique on Exmoor, and their location suggests that this part of the landscape was perceived as being different or significant at certain times, possibly because of the ongoing development of peat and bog. The nearest evidence comes from the Chains where peat formation has been suggested, although not conclusively dated to, the beginning of the 3rd Millennium BC (Merryfield and Moore 1974: 439) . It was therefore potentially seen as a space of transition or transformation, and the possibility exists that the mortuary enclosure was not only constructed on a rising slope, a zone of transition to the high

[47] Although the available space prevents detailed discussion of the interpretations here.

ridge to the north west now capped by the Chapman Barrows, but deliberately on the edge of an expanding area of developing bog and peat, this transition being highlighted by the geophysical survey (see chapter 9). Perhaps this was in an attempt to negotiate and engage with this distinct locale or to draw upon its transformational potential. Whilst not specifically dated, the interpretation favoured here is that the rectangular enclosure is either a Neolithic monument, suggesting that hilltops may have then been associated with either the dead or mortuary practices (see chapter 9 for full explanation), or that is represents an Early Bronze Age feature that might be directly associated with the use of the barrow cemetery itself. Again the Longstone is not specifically dated, but perhaps indicates a continued need in the Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age to mark this space as being different.

At a much larger spatial scale, the area of the Chapman barrows and the adjacent saddle containing the former features, is situated on the west end of the major central ridge which bisects Exmoor, towards the margins of the uplands which marks out Exmoor as a topographically distinct place in the south west. This location may have further enhanced the character of the landscape as a transitional zone, perhaps on a ridge way that ultimately led out of Exmoor into the wider area of North Devon. Shifting the scale of analysis to Exmoor as a whole, the suggested interpretations in table 10.3, imply the assemblage of Exmoor as a landscape in prehistory was potentially made up of a whole series of areas or zones that were perceived as being distinct with a specific character. These zones were not necessarily demarcated with rigid boundaries, but had permeable edges which transitioned into one another. Here Deleuze and Guattari's discussion of the relationship between striated space and smooth space offers a useful analogy to understand their relationships, interacting in a dynamic way where different forms of space were always emerging and changing (see chapter 3; Deleuze and Guattari 501-506; Bonta and Protevi 2004: 144).

In conclusion It is clear that the lack of well dated sites and the limited number of modern excavations (both in number, and extent) is the greatest barrier at present in defining chronological and spatial relationships any further, both between specific features and in terms of how the overall landscapes developed over time. For example, the relationship between the substantial house structures on Exmoor (the house platforms and hut circles) and the stone settings is unknown (both having no dating evidence, other than at Holworthy for the multiple phase round house structures; see Chapter 5, appendix 1 and Green 2009a&b). If some or all of the stone settings do emerge at the beginning or during the Middle Bronze Age, these features could overlap in time, and therefore be related. The same can be said of the small cairns which have a strong spatial association with the stone settings, or perhaps vice versa, the only dating evidence and excavated examples being those at Lanacombe (chapters 2 and 5; Gillings 2013). It is unknown if the stone settings are earlier, contemporaneous or if the cairns pre-date, or are later additions to the settings. Only much more extensive excavations with rigorous environmental sampling and the recovery of any dateable remains, can allow these relationships to be defined and understood more fully.

10.4 Lithic evidence – returning people and practice

This study has undertaken the first detailed assessment, quantification and characterisation of the lithic collections from within Exmoor National Park, focusing on identifying material relevant to the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods. In so doing, this research has developed a greatly enhanced understanding of this source of evidence, which prior to the commencing of this project, had only been subjected to limited previous work (see chapters 2 and 6). The collections had never been recorded or catalogued fully or in detail, other than the lists and maps of diagnostic worked stone finds produced by Grinsell, which noted locations and counts of items such as arrowheads and axe fragments, and the finds from the excavations at Shallowmead, Holworthy, Lanacombe and Bratton Down[48] (1970: appendix C, 183-200; Quinnell 1997: 10-12 & 28-30; Green 2009a: 74-78; Gillings 2013: 67-68). Developing study of existing museum collections had been previously identified as an important research priority specifically for Exmoor National Park (key priority 5, see Wilson-North 2010: 22 and Wilson-North 2011: 4) and in the South West Archaeological Research Framework (SWARF aims 5 & 11, see Webster 2008: 278, 280). This study has made considerable progress towards, filling this clear gap in our knowledge of the period in question on Exmoor.

10.4.1 Summary - the character of stone working on Exmoor

Although the issues of dating what are entirely groups of surface lithics are a significant limiting factor that must be acknowledged, arguably the most important finding in chapter four was to highlight more fully something that has proved elusive from the archaeological record on Exmoor, a certain Neolithic presence. Moreover this evidence does extend beyond the Kentisbury Down scatter which has typically been regarded as the go-to example of possible Neolithic settlement activity, through reference to the leaf shaped arrowheads and a discoidal flint knife from the site (Grinsell 1970: 25, 188; Whybrow 1970: 8; Eardley Wilmot 1983: 9; Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 20, fig 2.6). Any specific interpretation of what the collections might represent in terms of human behaviour has, up until now, been limited to Grinsell's study (1970). This argued that the diagnostic finds suggested people moving onto Exmoor via river valleys from the surrounding areas and engaging in clearance activities (1970: 22-23, 27; see chapter 2). The systematic recording of all the assemblages, both large and small, has allowed a much more nuanced interpretation of what kind of activities might have been taking place, as a well as a refinement of the time depth that the scatters on Exmoor represent (see table 6.9, chapter 6 for a

[48] Whilst this is technically outside the present ENPA boundary, the paucity of excavated worked stone assemblages from known contexts means that it merits consideration here.

summary). To summarise briefly, the evidence from Kentisbury Down now suggests that arrowhead manufacture, maintenance and use was taking place (including Early, Middle and Later Neolithic forms) and that a strong emphasis on scraping tasks was evident, possibly in the Neolithic, Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age (see chapter 6). Two further examples of elaborate knife forms which have a Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age date range have been located (taking the total to three) and the presence of a number of burnt worked items might suggest the presence of camp fires in the area, although the understanding and interpretation of burnt worked and unworked stone from scatters remains underdeveloped (see Pannett 2011 for discussion). It is impossible to know how representative these burnt items are and whether a considerable quantity of burnt unworked stone is also present at the site, as this is unlikely to have been collected. Study of the other sites has suggested the possibility that many had a quite a task specific focus. For example at Ashton Farm, a focus on scraping tasks was evident during the late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age and Middle Bronze Age periods (appendix 3). This task specific focus is apparent especially at the smaller scatters which make up the majority of the lithic collections, for example the Early Bronze Age thumbnail scraper and undiagnostic debitage recently recovered from the Woolhanger Estate (appendix 3). All of the lithic scatters studied here are complex palimpsests which represent considerable time depth. For example, material at Kentisbury Down dates to the Late Mesolithic, Early and Later Neolithic, Early and Later Bronze Age, and the scatter at Higher Hopcott, contains Late Mesolithic, Early-Middle Neolithic and Later Neolithic-Early Bronze Age material (see chapter 6 and appendix 3).

The systematic study and recording of all the material (as opposed to focusing on diagnostic finds like arrowheads and axe heads) has allowed a much fuller understanding of the character of stone working on Exmoor during the Neolithic and Bronze Age. The lithic scatters have been demonstrated to be typically small (between 10 to 50 or 60 pieces) with only a few having more than a hundred pieces of worked stone, whilst the large scatter at Kentisbury Down is completely exceptional with circa 2625 pieces. Whilst the generally undiagnostic nature of much of the material has limited the interpretations possible, especially in regard to their chronology, the fact that the majority of the scatters are multi period complex palimpsests, might suggest that the processes which gave rise to the now deterritorialised remnants of many previous assemblages at Kentisbury Down might represent something different taking place at the latter site. The analysis has demonstrated that the lithic assemblages are characterised by a technological strategy that was adapted towards the limited raw material that was mostly brought in from elsewhere, splitting small pebbles and working very small pieces, which have a high degree of retouch, working exhaustion, and recycling or re-use. In terms of the distribution of the scatter sites across Exmoor, chapter 6 demonstrates that the larger sites are either located towards the edges of the upland, such as at Kentisbury Down, or close to potentially important access routes into the area such as the concentration of sites in the Porlock-Minehead area surrounding the Vale of Porlock with open access to the Bristol Channel. However, building any specific interpretation based on this is highly problematic, given the complex multi period nature of the scatters and the strong correlation between land use and scatter locations (typically on enclosed land subject to improvement and some level of ploughing). Now that the character of stone working has been elucidated, it will allow the material from Exmoor to be considered in wider perspective in future research, drawing on studies from the areas beyond Exmoor in the wider south west of Britain. It has the potential to contribute to a wider understanding of the role Exmoor played in the south west in later prehistory, and in elucidating further the nature of landscape use between the uplands and lowlands in the south west. What remains to be resolved here, is to critically examine these results in relation to RQ 3, in order to understand how the monuments and other features might relate to the lithic evidence, and the results highlighted here.

The lithic study presented in chapter 6 was the primary means through which research question 3 was addressed, in terms of attempting to place the monuments in their artefactual context. It is argued here that this research has been partially successful in achieving this aim. A key unresolved issue is how the lithic scatters relate to the landscapes of monuments which were examined in chapters 7, 8 and 9. As was noted lithic finds from within the project study areas are limited, to single isolated finds, such as the axe hammer from Leeball field, Challacombe (ENPHER MDE995) in area A, and the isolated Barbed and Tanged arrowhead recently collected from Ven Coombe circa 1km north of area C (Gardiner 2013 unpublished report). Beyond this, the only other lithic assemblages from within this project's study areas were recovered from the excavations at the Holworthy Farm hillslope enclosure and the Lanacombe III ring structure (Green 2009a: 78-74; Pollard 2013b: 67-68). Rather than seeing this disparity as a justification to reject studying the Neolithic and Bronze Age lithics entirely[49], it is argued here that understanding both these sources of evidence was vital to building a more nuanced understanding of the Neolithic and Bronze Age landscape on Exmoor, even if their spatial separation in the landscape and our poor understanding of the chronology of both sets of evidence meant that they could not be easily reconciled.

A key wider implication of the lithic study has been to emphasise and clearly demonstrate just how strongly the distribution of the lithic scatters relates to two specific factors. The first is that the larger scatters are strongly related to areas where flint collectors have been active in the past, a point made by Grinsell which is supported by the results of this research (see 1970: 24). The second implication is that the single most determinant factor regarding their distribution is the nature of landscape use in the post medieval and modern periods, the scatters being almost entirely confined to outlying areas of former moorland that have been enclosed and improved, and therefore subject to varying degrees of ploughing, a process which brings the lithics to the surface thereby making their collection possible. Therefore the

[49] This question of whether to study the lithics at all was raised at an early stage of this research project

apparent absence of finds from the higher more central areas of Exmoor, which remain unimproved and are managed as open moorland, cannot be accepted at face value, despite Grinsell's willingness to see this as lending support to his interpretation of the distribution of axe findspots (1970: 24-25). It must be acknowledged that the very same territorialising forces which have led to the preservation of the standing stones, cairns and other structures in the remaining areas of open moorland have created conditions through which large groups of lithics are unlikely to be found, as they would largely remain buried under the blanket peat and upland soils, unless disturbed by erosion or animal burrowing. Thus the presence of further Neolithic or Bronze Age flint scatters within the areas which contain the monuments cannot be known at present, but given the limited number of excavations and the tiny size of most of the interventions (e.g. mostly focusing on single standing stones as part of restoration work) it is perhaps not surprising that only the more sustained excavations have located any material. Only further excavations in and around the stone settings, standing stones, cairns and barrows can shine further light on the relationships between stone working, and the emergence, use and dispersal of these assemblages. Therefore the reasons behind the lack of spatial juxtaposition between the lithic evidence and the monuments remain unclear. As to how true or false this pattern is, there is a strong possibility that this picture is entirely a result of land use and management practices, and the fact that collection has only taken place in very limited areas.

A further issue and limitation with regard to the lithic evidence discussed in Chapter 6, is the difficult question of understanding the chronology of what are all surface assemblages that are clearly palimpsests. Indeed, some of the larger assemblages such as that from Kentisbury Down, contains material dating from the Mesolithic to the Bronze Age. This is further complicated by the fact that the diagnostic component of any lithic assemblage typically forms a very small percentage of the whole, typically focusing on specific parts of the tool element such as arrowheads. Whilst interpretations were made regarding the chronology of the material in chapter 6, it also made clear that many of these judgements were far from certain, and that they cannot be treated as definitive in terms of the suggested dates. Table 6.9 in chapter 6 highlighted that many of the smaller assemblages on Exmoor are very difficult to place chronologically because they contained few or no items that are chronologically diagnostic, being made up of debitage and a few retouched pieces, or common tool forms such as scrapers which occur in every period of prehistory (see chapter 6 and appendix 3; Butler 2005: 49). The existence of so few lithic assemblages from excavated contexts on Exmoor is clearly a significant present limitation of the wider understanding of the landscapes more generally. There is also lack of any well dated assemblages from the wider area of the south west, although given the task specific, distinct small assemblages from Exmoor, it is argued here that comparison with excavated material from landscapes further afield may well be of limited value, although considering material from the nearby areas of North Devon and West Somerset could well be useful. Whilst the lack of excavated assemblages is partly down to a lack of excavations taking place, it is interesting to note that a significant portion of the lithic assemblage from the Middle-Later Bronze Age site at Holworthy Farm came from the ploughsoil (30 pieces), whilst slightly more items came from stratified contexts (44 pieces) (Green 2009a: 74). The same pattern occurred at the Lanacombe III circular structure, where the lithics came from within shallow deposits or on surfaces (Gillings 2013: 59-60). Whilst too few excavations have taken place to suggest that this is typical for Exmoor, it implies that the future recovery of lithic assemblages is perhaps more likely to originate from either the topsoil, or on land surfaces that might preserve the spatial integrity of stone working, at least within areas of open moor that have not seen heavy disturbance.

10.5 Relationships between Exmoor's sites and other upland landscapes

At an early stage of this research, it was envisaged that a major comparative review would be undertaken to compare Exmoor to the published evidence from Bodmin Moor and Dartmoor. However as the research progressed, it became clear that a more detailed focus on characterising Exmoor was needed before such a wider comparative study could be attempted. For this reason, addressing RQ4 has not been possible within the scope of this thesis. Whilst a full comparative study cannot be attempted here, the following limited discussion attempts to place the character of Exmoor's stone monuments in a wider context in south western Britain. For reasons of space, the discussion is limited to some key themes regarding the practice of raising standing stones, focusing on placing Exmoor's particular variety of stone settings in a wider context. Standing stones, circles and rows are well known on Dartmoor and Bodmin Moor, although it is not feasible here to discuss their character, differences and similarities in relation to Exmoor in any detail (see Emmett 1979; Burl 1976, 1993 & 2000; Barnatt 1982; Herring and Rose 2001; Bender *et al.* 2007; Herring 2008; Johnson and Rose 2008: 29-34; Tilley 2010: chapter 8; Newman 2011; Carnes 2014). The brief discussion offered primarily focuses on Bodmin Moor, considering the theme of geology and stone monuments, particularly cultural structures in clitter spreads, which are one of the more unusual forms of stone arrangement that have been recognised in recent decades (e.g. Tilley *et al*. 2000; see also Blackman 2011 for a discussion of propped stones).

The potential importance of the relationship between geology and stone monument forms was recognised early on Bodmin Moor. In the 1970s it was recognised that the difference between megalithic structures and natural geological formations could be slight, and people could be easily deceived (Axford 1975: 65). This was due to the granite geology and the way natural stone outcrops weathered, basal joints running horizontally causing the columnar structure to break down on the surface, resulting in rectangular blocks (Axford 1975: 39-40). This resulted in piles of natural boulders, some overhanging or delicately poised, such as at the Cheesewring, on the western side of Stowe's Hill (Axford 1975: 44-45). Exploring the potential relationship between monuments and geological formations later formed the driving thread in developing specific interpretations of the landscape over time (Tilley 1995 and 1996; Tilley *et al.* 2000). It formed a defining theme for a major fieldwork initiative, the Stone Worlds Project, which highlighted the striking remains on Bodmin Moor (Bender *et al.* 2007). Recent interpretation on Bodmin Moor has revolved around a link between geology and the siting of monuments, which are argued to have drawn their significance by appropriating and referencing landmarks that were already important in the Mesolithic (Tilley 1996: 167). The idea of siting monuments to reference distinctive tors, as part of a broader landscape cosmology has also been applied to a cairn group on Stannon Down (Jones 2006: 341).

In later phases of the Stone Worlds project, attention shifted away from the settlement remains towards the extensive clitter spreads on areas of Leskernick Hill, in an attempt to identify cultural structures in the latter (Tilley *et al.* 2000). In 1997 forty patterned arrangements of stones were identified within clitter spreads or stripes (Tilley *et al.* 2000: 208). The distinction between natural and cultural was made through comparisons to stone arrangements made by geomorphological processes (ibid: 200-204). These consisted of circular or semi-circular arcs or rings of stones within clitter masses usually 5m diameter or less, sometimes defining a space entirely covered and surrounded with clitter (ibid: 208). In some cases a central stone was encircled, or arcs radiated out from a boulder or stone, but they were very irregular without perfect geometric forms (ibid 208-209). Such structures were extremely ambiguous and only visible from close by, seemingly defying the conventional natural-cultural distinction of archaeological interpretation (ibid: 219). The authors argued for the abandonment of opposing nature and culture, advocating a more analogical or metaphoric logic, which argued that the stones represented animate, sentient beings (ibid: 220-221).

In reviewing the evidence, some of the structures are more convincingly real than others, notably the 'Shrine Stone' (ibid: 214-216; Bender *et al.* 2007: 202-205). Their form seems fluid and they do not deploy formal techniques of construction such as triggers, or stones set upright in deliberate cut features, generally being loose arrangements of stone. They do not have obvious parallels with the settings on Exmoor which do display both some semi geometric shapes and less formal clusters, and formal construction technologies. On Bodmin, only three features were classified as stone settings by Johnson and Rose, comprising small settings of stones that do not share close similarities with the plethora of settings found on Exmoor (see 2008: 30, table 5, 31). Parallels however can be drawn in the practice and the manipulation of stone to mark out areas of geology, clitter or outcropping stone seen at some of Exmoor's settings, which could explain the lack of an obvious planned shape at many of these features in both landscapes (see Gillings *et al.* 2010). The significance of this is that a strong interest appears to be in evidence in the origins and emergence of stone, and the realisation that stone was potentially a highly affective material, that could rapidly join new assemblages and play a key role in territorialising and deterritorialising processes. Therefore this understanding of stone as a highly adaptive medium to engage with many different entities and situations had much wider currency in the south west beyond Exmoor. It also suggests that in different areas of the south west in the 3rd and 2nd Millennium BC, regionally distinct traditions of stone engagement were perhaps commonplace, alongside more shared and widespread traditions, albeit ones demonstrating regional variations, such as the construction of stone circles, rows and standing stones (see Burl 1976, 1993 and 2000; Johnson and Rose 2008: 33). On this point, it is interesting to note that stone settings do not appear to have been present on Dartmoor, whilst the standing stones there are rarely isolated features, often being associated with rows (Newman 2011: 36-37). Rows and circles also occur on Dartmoor in much larger numbers (circa 75-80 rows, 12 circles), compared to Exmoor (with nine rows, two stone circles and circa sixty stone settings) (See chapter 5 table 5.1; Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 23-24; Riley 2007; Newman 2011: 33, 37). However this lack of stone settings is partly dependent on how the evidence is classified. For example whether ring settings (small circles around a central feature) or multiple stone rings (multiple sets of concentric circles) are seen as distinct forms, or as stone settings in a general sense (see Newman 2011: 48-49). What this does highlight, is that regionally distinct forms of stone arrangement and engagement were prevalent in all three of the largest upland areas of the south west (Dartmoor, Bodmin Moor and Exmoor) and that the development of distinct traditions of monument construction was certainly not in itself, exclusive to Exmoor.

Whilst space does not allow a satisfactory regional or national contextualisation of the character of Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age lithic monument tradition, the brief sketch of the regional evidence of the two best known prehistoric upland landscapes in the south west, Dartmoor and Bodmin Moor, has at least demonstrated that on a regional level, Exmoor's tradition of stone settings represents a distinct local tradition. Finally, a concluding thought is provided by a recent overview of the evidence for the construction of small stone monuments in Britain, which demonstrated that small monuments are present elsewhere and that their variability has been overlooked, especially with regard to small stone monuments which have not been treated with the same level of interpretative rigour as large megalithic settings (see Gillings 2015c). The implication of this is twofold. First, that it is not only the small size of Exmoor's monuments that make them unique, although the focus on the use of some very small stones of 0.10m or less is generally quite unusual. It is argued here that a combination of their small size, the sheer variability of forms they take (which have no known direct parallel), and their use of the deliberate juxtaposition of scales to create unique affective qualities, gives them their distinct local character. The second implication is provided by the widespread nature of the tradition on Exmoor, with small stone settings comprising the dominant form of stone arrangement (see Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 24, 27). This again marks out Exmoor as different, not only because the area is almost entirely populated by small monuments, but because individual families may have each had their own monuments, completely intertwined with their daily inhabitation of the landscape.

10.6 Conclusion - reflections on Exmoor and Beyond

10.6.1 The limitations and challenges in understanding Exmoor

Chapters 1 and 2 made clear that there were a number of key limitations within present understandings of Exmoor, and that the nature of the evidence available from which to construct new narratives and understandings was challenging. The very limited dating evidence was highlighted in chapter five and the fact that with so few absolute dates, from a very restricted group of sites, it is simply not possible to construct a detailed regional chronology for Exmoor. Clearly the nature of environmental conditions on Exmoor are a significant limiting factor with the highly acidic soils and blanket peat, both in terms of what has survived in the ground (i.e. a lack of bone and ceramics) and with the potential for features to be masked and hidden. Clearly given the small size of some aspects of the Late Neolithic and Early-Middle Bronze Age features, such as the stone monuments, and the very small cairns, there is high potential for upstanding features to be invisible to traditional surface reconnaissance, although how much this is a problem remains unknown. Exmoor has never seen any long term sustained research interest during the 20th century, especially in terms of excavation, compared to what took place in other areas of the south west, for example, with the activities of the DEC in late 19th and early 20th century on Dartmoor (Newman 2011: 19-21). Interest in Exmoor has been more occasional, with just a few early excavations, of which the records and methods are rather variable in quality. For example, Gray's limited digging at Porlock Circle being very poorly recorded, whilst other interventions such as at Chanters Barrow have more detailed information (e.g. Gray 1928; Worth 1905; Elworthy 1896). Riley and Wilson-North highlighted that incidents of barrow digging are documented as early as the 13th century on Exmoor, and it is clear that a great deal of material and information has been lost over the centuries to treasure hunting activities (see 2001: 6-8). The extent of modern excavations was also very limited. Chapter 2 highlighted that whilst for much of the 20th century sustained interest in Exmoor has been lacking, the work that has taken place has tended to focus more on various forms of survey work, rather than direct intervention. Whilst a small amount of prehistoric ceramics, metal objects and other finds survive in museum collections from these early endeavours, no attempt has been made to study this material, other than the lists in Grinsell's book, much of which, especially the metalwork, comes from well beyond Exmoor (see 1970: 197-200). It is not known if any further material from the early 20th century excavations might survive to shed light on the results of these interventions, although some of the material is undoubtedly located in local museum collections (see Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 21-22). At the start of this research understanding of Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age was far more limited than present understandings of Dartmoor and Bodmin Moor in these periods, Exmoor having received considerably less research interest and excavation than either of these better known areas. The significance of this, is that any attempt at building specific interpretations of Exmoor, had to start from a much more limited body of knowledge and level of basic understanding.

10.6.2 What has this study achieved?

Drawing on an ontology of Deleuzian assemblages, including exploring their experiential qualities through the concept of affectivity and processes of miniaturisation, this thesis has developed a wholly new interpretative framework in studying Exmoor's monuments. This has demonstrated both similarities and differences with practices in other regions in the nature of monumentality in the Late Neolithic to Middle Bronze Age period, despite the challenging and limited evidence available. On Exmoor many phenomena that have much wider currency were taking place, such as incorporating different sized stones into monuments, or the use and construction of small monuments (Williams 1988: 32; Gillings 2015c: 210, 213; Herring 2008: 79-80). These practices were not totally unique, or inferior on Exmoor and nor were they backwards looking contra Tilley (see 2010: 346-347). Instead the same set of practices (e.g. raising stones, juxtaposing scales) were used in a different way. For example, rather than megaliths being raised in order to enact concepts of power or authority through controlling the choreography of a space and therefore bodily movement and visibility, on Exmoor the architecture of the stones actually facilitated people to have dynamic control and negotiation with the choreography of the stones themselves by the body, rather than vice versa (see Barrett 1994; Cummings 2008: 144-145, 147; Bradley 2011: xviii-xix; Jones 2012: 34, 56-57). Further, scale juxtaposition through miniaturisation was being used to encourage highly powerful affective qualities of such structures to emerge, such as affective fields defined by an experience of intense temporality, or intense productivity of thought. Megaliths were being used in a variety of situations, to negotiate a whole series of different encounters and challenges within the landscape. In utilising a Deleuzian concept of materiality, it was demonstrated that this material was potentially understood as a highly affective and powerful substance, an understanding which emerged through millennia of working with stone. As the following section highlights, this study contributes something entirely new to the present literature on Exmoor.

10.6.3 The place of this study in Exmoor's literature

As explained in chapter 2, previous studies in the mid and later 20th century had focused on providing descriptive overviews of the evidence, some of which whilst very useful, are short and make only very limited attempts to provide detailed interpretations of the remains, only rarely going beyond general statements (e.g. Whybrow 1970; Eardley-Wilmot 1983). Grinsell's more detailed study focused several chapters on prehistory providing detailed descriptive overviews, but avoided developing any specific interpretation of the stone monuments, especially the stone settings (see Grinsell 1970: chapters 2-5). This study also provided a limited interpretation of diagnostic lithic find distribution (see Grinsell 1970: 23-25, 27). Grinsell was also writing at a time when the evidence of settlement and fieldsystems was very limited and greatly confused by a number of dubiously identified hut circles, which were clarified through field investigation (see 1970: 50-51). This was before later developments in aerial and field survey located far more extensive evidence of settlement and field systems (see Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 40). Riley and Wilson-North's work, *The Field Archaeology of Exmoor*, provided a much needed update on Grinsell's study that was more specifically focused on upland Exmoor, and both remain important as key reference works. However, the latter focused once again on a descriptive overview of all periods, with one chapter covering earlier prehistory (2001: chapter 2). Whilst this remains of critical importance, publishing for the first time a great deal of new information and detail, such as an overview of antiquarian investigations into prehistoric sites, the purpose was not to provide detailed interpretations (see Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 6-11). The need for such an accessible account of the field archaeology as late as the beginning of the 21st century highlights just how poorly known the character of the archaeology remained in wider academic, professional and volunteer sectors of the discipline.

At the beginning of this project the only specific interpretative works regarding the stone monuments were Tilley's deer hunting hypothesis (2010: chapter 8), alongside Gillings *et al.'s* initial suggestions of a range of frameworks and concepts that might be useful in understanding them (2010: 315-316). Before, and since this project began, Gillings has continued to develop specific interpretative threads through targeted fieldwork (e.g. Gillings and Taylor 2011a&b; Gillings 2013; Gillings 2015a). This culminated in a critique of Tilley's 2010 interpretation, and the presentation of a detailed interpretation of the Lanacombe settings and early farming landscape (2015b&d). Finally Gillings has explored the phenomenon of small stones in monumentality more broadly in Britain and Ireland, placing the Exmoor evidence in a wider context (Gillings 2015c). This highlighted how the evidence of small stone monuments is more widespread than is generally acknowledged, and that small stones are rarely given the same detailed recording or interpretative attention as larger megaliths (Gillings 2015c).

This study marks a clear break from what has gone before, as never previously has a major detailed synthesis and interpretation which focuses solely on Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes been attempted. Previous interpretations have been more limited in scope, with Tilley's deer hunting hypothesis a single chapter within a much broader work which provided much descriptive detail of the stone monuments and the landscape (2010: chapter 7). I critiqued aspects of this interpretation in chapters two and ten, but surely the biggest weakness of the admittedly thought provoking hunting locale hypothesis, is the fact that Tilley does not engage in any serious detail with the lithic collections which might provide the strongest support for his interpretation (see Tilley 2010: 335). In contrast, this study has for the first time undertaken a detailed characterisation and study of the lithic collections, demonstrating that whilst evidence of hunting in terms of arrowhead use and possibly maintenance, finishing or part manufacture does exist, it is not ubiquitous, and plenty of evidence exists for everyday tasks, such a light scraping activities and clearance (although the chronology of this is far from certain) (see chapter 6 and appendix 3). Further, much of the lithic find groups where there are notable concentrations of arrowheads cluster on the upland fringes on the slopes and lower slopes surrounding the Vale of Porlock, arguably the most fertile area for arable farming on Exmoor (see Riley and Wilson-North 2001: 5). I argue that this area was also important as a sea access route (a rare occurrence along Exmoor's coast), and that this lowland zone was probably intensely settled and farmed by the Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age, given it is the most feasible area for crop cultivation although no specific archaeological evidence has been found to support this idea at present. The point here is that if this was an intensely settled and farmed area, it would not have been a good place in which to hunt deer. Finally, it is also worth noting that the distribution of stone settings does not enter this area, despite their being some isolated areas of higher moorland with surviving prehistoric evidence, e.g. with barrows and cairns (see Riley and Wilson North 2001: 25, 33). Riley and Wilson-North noted it was surprising that no stone monuments were present on Selworthy Beacon or on the very easternmost end of Dunkery Hill (2001: 24). Of course this could be an issue of survivability, but it may well also reflect a real pattern.

Through sustained research and new fieldwork, Gillings has provided detailed characterisation of a number of the stone settings and other stone monuments, exploring their construction, surrounding features and wider context, and has sought to encourage a more interpretative stance to these structures. This work has identified and suggested instances of stone movement, de-commissioning and re-setting, interpreting the lithic monument tradition as highly fluid, rejecting the need for a pre-conceived geometric rationale in their design and instead seeing the structures as being very changeable, reflected by their vague groupings. This work has been highly influential on the interpretations offered in this thesis (see Gillings *et al.* 2010; Gillings and Taylor 2011a&b; Gillings 2013; Gillings 2015a,b,c&d). This is perhaps not surprising, given the authors involvement in the excavations at Porlock Circle, seeing firsthand the compelling evidence for stone de-commissioning and the clear differences apparent from stones moved by damage (e.g. animal rubbing see chapter 7 and Gillings 2015a). Whilst in this thesis I have built on many of these ideas, especially the interpretation of moving, engaging and re-erecting stones, there are some critical differences in the approaches I have taken.

Gillings situated his wider contextual study of small stone monuments within the growing thread of broadly relational approaches, amongst others, that have become influential, arguing that like assemblages, monuments are a consequence of different ideas or motleys, and that there is a need to identify such expressions and consider the relationships between them, rather than focusing upon the resultant monument as the defining imperative (drawing on Lucas 2012 and Richards 2013). Similarly he characterised the Lanacombe settings as active agents in a fluid world of both animal and human movement (2015b: 102). I have followed a more specific framework, based on elements of Deleuze and Guattari (2013) and various scholars influenced by their work (such as McFadyen 2006a,b&c and 2007a,b; Conneller 2011; Lucas 2012 and DeLanda 2006), along with research into miniaturisation and the impacts of scale (e.g. DeLong 1981 and 1985; Bailey 2005; Jones 2012). Another key point of difference is that in order to explore the specific nature of the significance, experience and meaning of the use of small standing stones, I have deployed Harris and Sørenson's ideas on the emergence of affective fields, as another form of assemblage which could have emerged, in this case one that was part material, part emotional and experiential (chapter 4, Harris and Sørenson 2010). Perhaps the greatest difference lies within my approach to scale and the tiny size of the stones, so frequently used on Exmoor. Gillings rejected the concept of miniaturisation, and the notion that they should be seen as miniaturised versions of large megalithic sites, as Williams had previously argued for small stone monuments generally (2015b: 102; 2015c: 228; 1988: 32, 38). For Gillings, the size of the stones were instead, appropriate to the use they were put to, in terms of creating moments of pause and gathering for sheep and humans in partially natural movement corridors (2015b: 102-103). In contrast, I argued that miniaturisation is of profound importance in understanding their significance as a process, which was deliberately deployed to encourage the emergence of very specific and powerful affective fields, termed atmospheres. However, I also rejected the notion of seeing Exmoor's sites as miniaturised versions of large megaliths, drawing on Bailey's work on Neolithic figurines to demonstrate that the powerful affects which might have come into play result from the difference in size between the stones and the human body (see Bailey 2005: 29). The one instance of a large megalith on Exmoor, the Longstone, was interpreted as a paired standing stone, which appeared to deliberately emphasise and draw attention to the difference in scale between the two; evidencing the deliberate deployment of miniaturisation even when a megalith, larger in scale than the human body was constructed (see chapter 9). In this case the second upright may simply be seen as in a different state, one that was not fixed, instead emerging from the earth, perhaps indicating that stones could grow and that they were perceived as changing entities. But crucially here I have followed Gillings recent argument, that just because a stone was very small, does not mean that it should be relegated to a secondary role (see Gillings 2015c).

Gillings has recently questioned whether we should see Exmoor's stone settings as megalithic monuments at all and that their uniqueness within this arbitrary grouping as stone settings has been downplayed (2015b: 102-103). Instead he argued that at Lanacombe they formed a deliberately flexible architecture, where the stones were only raised when required[50] to create moments of pause and gathering for animals along movement routes, that were intertwined with emerging landscapes of cairns, boundaries and habitation areas during the Early-Middle Bronze Age (Gillings 2015b: 102-103). Perhaps the most important conclusion drawn by Gillings is that the settings might represent very different imperatives, rejecting notions of a common purpose based on shared characteristics and any over-arching explanation of settings as a uniform phenomenon, or a distinct, unique class of megalithic monument (2015b: 103). This raises the question of what these structures are if not monuments, and the way we understand monuments in present discourse, it also questions the validity of using the classificatory term of monument on Exmoor to refer to the settings, when discussing a phenomena that seems to have been strongly embedded within wider practices in the landscape. To his credit Gillings acknowledges the potential danger of taking this view to an extreme position, seeing them as purely functional, as something akin to 'road signs' at Lanacombe (2015b: 102). Everything about the character of the

[50] Gillings has highlighted the presence of large, oversized trigger stones (supporting or packing stones) that may have become standing stones in themselves when miniliths were decommissioned (removed and left recumbent), marking the location of the socket and prostrate stone (2015b: 103 and 2015c: 213, 228, 229). This questions if a simple distinction can be made between triggers (simply as supports) and miniliths, or implies that if a valid difference existed, the status of a minilith or trigger was changeable and not fixed (See 2015b: 103 and 2015c: 213, 228, 229).

settings and the other stone arrangements presented in this thesis, the care with which they were constructed, their widespread variability and highly imaginative, creative character of the settings, strongly suggests a deeper meaning and significance was present. After all, if they had only a simple functional purpose, for example as structures for animal rubbing in an increasingly cleared landscape, why are they so different, and so much more complex than much later rubbing posts that were generally simple single posts erected in the centre of fields (Grinsell 1970: 38; Williams 1988: 14).

The perspective followed in this thesis considers the potentially highly localised nature and meanings of the sites, and I too have rejected the idea of applying a general explanation for all the settings as a unified entity with a single purpose (Gillings 2015b: 96 and 2015c: 231). Throughout I have accepted the idea of different meanings and purposes, embracing variability as a defining characteristic, and in so doing proposed some very specific interpretations for different settings and other features. I share Gillings view that some of the sites could and did act like monuments, although characterising them as either monuments, or as stone settings as a homogenised group, simply promotes their similarities rather than their differences, encouraging them to be studied as an isolated and distinct set of entities in a manner that is unhelpful and stifles any attempt at understanding (see Gillings 2015b: 93-97, 103). However, abandoning the descriptive class of monument should not in any way be seen as diminishing the significance of these structures to the communities who created them, where they were of profound and great importance to their way of understanding the world and inhabiting the landscape.

10.6.4 Contribution to wider studies of monumentality in 3rd and 2nd Millennium BC Britain (a theoretical postscript)

The key to understanding the phenomenon and raising small standing stones on Exmoor lies in a bottom up approach that is relational, and is capable of considering relationships between all entities, both physical (e.g. animal, human, stone, tree, landscape) and otherwise (e.g. ideas, thoughts, emotions) at multiple scales. I have followed the view that interpretation needs to be local in focus and not applied to all the settings in this thesis, but a major question remains unanswered. Why did this phenomenon of highly varied arrangements of small upright stones, somewhat unsatisfactorily grouped together as stone settings, become so widespread across Exmoor with circa sixty sites now known (see chapter 6). What is it about this practice that led to it being so commonplace, with the emergence of highly localised forms and meanings in a very restricted geographical area, upland Exmoor. I argue that the answer lies in the ontological status of stone and the understanding of this material held by the communities on Exmoor, that might explain the emergence, spread and apparent popularity of this practice. I also argue that the theoretical framework followed in this thesis, based on assemblages, provides an effective way to interpret this phenomenon at multiple scales, from the individual stone, to an entire setting, a local community or the wider landscape. It also has considerable wider applications and implications in understanding the emergence and spread of a highly varied array of different 'monuments' during the late Neolithic and Early-Middle Bronze Age in Britain and Ireland. It promotes an understanding that examines relationships and looks at the emergence, change and dispersal of such structures, how they might have been related to wider lifeways, rather than considering them as fixed types; the latter unhelpfully promoting their study in isolation.

I have argued that the understanding of stone held by the communities living on Exmoor holds the key to understanding the variety and widespread nature of the stone arrangements they constructed. I have drawn on Conneller's work to argue that stone was not understood as a homogenous concept, it did not necessarily have a single meaning and that it might have been quite transformable as a material (2011: 82-83). It is argued here that the variety of stones and rocks found on Exmoor may well have had different understandings or significance, but also wider shared characteristics. This was that the stones used to construct upright stone arrangements had a low threshold of territorialisation and deterritorialisation, and a fairly wide ranging set of unexercised capacities, that allowed this material to participate in a variety of different assemblages at different times. The stone used was potentially perceived by the communities on Exmoor as a highly dynamic material, which was always undergoing a process of becoming. Stone was therefore potentially understood as a material which had some degree of agency, or a life of its own. But the meaning and state which different forms of stone held, was not necessarily fixed or permanent, nor as Conneller argued, was it always necessarily associated with features such as permanency, hardness or endurance (see Tilley 2004: 12; Conneller 2011: 83; Ingold 2013: 30; McFadyen 2006a: 130-131). For example, an upright stone could achieve a state of stability for a period of time, only to change and potentially transform at a later time through forces of deterritorialisation, such as by the deliberate decommissioning of the stones by people, or by direct engagement with animals (see Gillings 2015b: 101). The potential for stone to change or undergo transformations and the way it could easily join and move between different assemblages gave rise to another characteristic, that of mutability or adaptability. The changeable nature of stone, that could move between stable and unstable states, allowed this material to be used in a variety of ways. It could adopt new meanings and be deployed in response to a variety of situations, to negotiate between different encounters with other groups of people, to negotiate between human and animal worlds (see Gillings 2015b), or be deployed in response to other entities or distinctive features in the landscape, like the small uprights placed near to a natural boulder on Porlock Allotment (see chapter 7), or the very widespread practice of stone settings occurring within subtle bands of outcropping rock, potentially distinguished by their vegetation signature (see Gillings *et al.* 2010: 313). Such was the significance of these distinct locales where rock was perceived as emerging from the earth, it appears that at the western end of Lanacombe people may have attempted to create a deliberate deposit which mimicked these subtle outcropping areas (see chapter 8). Finally, the practice of raising standing stones and engaging with natural areas of outcropping rock, may well have emerged through many centuries of using and working with a variety of workable stones, like flint and chert (see chapter 6), and the increasing impact that flaked and polished stone tools had on transforming the landscape throughout the Neolithic. For example, the stone axes becoming powerful tools which brought about, through quite deliberate human action, the deterritorialisation and clearance of woodland, and quite possibly the tillage and restructuring of the earth itself.

There may have been critical moments of realisation of the power of such objects, beyond simply their practical function, which ultimately set in motion processes of change that led people to take an increasing interest in the small stone outcrops and slabs that were present in the local landscape on Exmoor, ultimately leading to a hugely varied tradition of standing stone arrangements. Interestingly, if one accepts the view that some of the stone settings may be late Early or Early to Middle Bronze Age in date, this tradition may have persisted for some time after the emergence of metals began to transform the nature of stone working, and ultimately usurp the value and significance of stone tools over time. The point of this being that it showed just how significant the standing stone tradition, and the nature of stone in the landscape was to the communities on Exmoor, and how this practice potentially may have resisted wider forces of change and deterritorialisation for some time.

Returning to the issue of wider implications, what does this imply for present understandings of monumentality in the 3rd and 2nd Millennia BC. Arguably the biggest implication is the potential this approach has to link different understandings and events at multiple scales within the narratives we construct of the past. This approach has very high potential to more fully explore the growing trend of seeing monumental projects as ongoing constructions, where the acts of creation were arguably just as important, if not more so, than achieving any finished state within a preconceived trajectory of monument design (see Barrett 1994: 13, 23; McFadyen 2006a: 123-125; Cummings 2008: 148-149; Ingold 2010: 255-256; Richards 2013: 4-7). Seeing such features as emergent and quite changeable entities, that did not necessarily have a finished state, or even a preconceived final form that was the intention from the outset, is arguably a much more compatible perspective with the nature of the evidence of some of the most well known monuments, such as Avebury and Stonehenge as well as Exmoor (see Barrett 1994: 13, 23; Parker Pearson *et al.* 2006; Pollard 2009: 338; Gillings and Pollard 2004). Such sites appear to have developed and changed greatly over time, whilst their meanings were likely transformed and renegotiated many times over many centuries and generations. It also suggests that the majority of people who were involved in constructing and using the sites never saw them in their final form. Such a final state therefore, reflects not the ultimate completion of a hylomorphic model of making, but the deterritorialisation and dispersal of the forces driving the ongoing changes and emergence of new, or re-organised monumental assemblages. The capability of an assemblage ontology to help elucidate the specific forces of change and dispersal of such assemblages, to make the elucidation of why assemblages attain stability for a time, only to later disperse at particular historical moments, makes it a powerful and productive theoretical approach in exploring the phenomenon of monumentality in general.

Another key implication is that an assemblage ontology can break down our tendency to conceive of, and study monuments and monumentality as a separate entity, or sphere of practice. This is because in assemblage theory, there are no separate types or entities which are totally separate, or permanently fixed, instead, relations (both internal and external) are the building blocks of all things, and these always undergo change. Whilst many features of monumental constructions have rightly been recognised as somehow different or unusual, the question of how this feature of society relates to wider practices in the landscape has been very difficult to explore. To simplify this problem, perhaps unfairly into extreme positions to demonstrate this point, should we see monuments as a totally separate phenomenon in essentially empty ritual landscapes, or completely enmeshed with wider habitation and practices running right through them (Bender 1998: 55; Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina 1998: 318-319; Chan 2003: 22, 27-28; Mitcham unpublished 2011: 21-24)? Particularly in lowland landscapes, understanding this has been very difficult, as in such areas subject to intense agriculture into the present, the majority of evidence for Neolithic and Early Bronze Age habitation and presence in the landscape comes from lithic scatters. Because such material has only a very coarse, vague chronological value, it has been difficult to conclusively prove if people were living in close proximity to the monuments at the time of their active use, or not at all (for discussion see Chan 2003: 278, 317). Exmoor provides an alternative perspective, where monumental practices, especially in terms of the stone settings were widespread and embedded closely with landscapes of farming and human action, of which evidence of the latter is much better preserved, at least where small scale excavation has taken place. The same can be said of stone rows. Whilst only one on Exmoor, Porlock Avenue, has seen any detailed investigation, it appears to have adjacent and potentially underlying earlier activity, that might through future fieldwork, shed new light on such problems (see chapter 7). Whilst understanding the specific relations between practices of monument building and wider action and beliefs may always be very difficult, an assemblage perspective at least poses the question of exploring wider relations at multiple scales, allowing specific interpretations to be explored, that take this into account, even if this is in a largely speculative, theoretical manner.

A perspective based in assemblages has increased potential to consider these wider relations between material culture, monuments, fields and habitation areas, to develop new ways of seeing the emergence of space and to explore at a landscape scale the emergence of relations between different kinds of spaces. This thesis has also demonstrated than an experiential angle can be productively combined with an assemblage ontology, that privileges neither thing, nor human, neither mind, nor matter, and allows other non human entities to have agency and play a role in building narratives of life in prehistory. Finally, using assemblage theory promotes developing specific interpretations of specific historical entities such as a specific stone circle, or stone row, rather than developing more generalist interpretations and assuming they apply to all instances of such entities. Crucially though, the assemblage approach also allows wider shared beliefs and practices to be incorporated, just as effectively as local ones, and it does not necessarily privilege either. Ultimately this is down to what scales of analysis are employed, and how their interaction is explored within the narrative created. However, this promotion of elucidating the specific historical processes of each specific assemblage also has limitations, in that it promotes hyper interpretation of everything. Taken to the extreme, this results in the wider relations, different scales of analysis and important themes becoming lost in a highly detailed narrative that interprets each individual assemblage, be that a cairn, or a pot, exhaustively. In general the use of an assemblage, or relational approach has become increasingly widespread, but these are not yet sufficiently well developed for a clear understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of this approach, or any detailed critiques of the present focus on relations, to have yet emerged.

10.6.5 Evaluation of research scope, methods and limitations

With the benefit of hindsight, the overall scope of this research project was ambitious. It was initially intended to explore the character and interpretation of a much greater range of features than those presented. It was simply not feasible to do this in the time or space available, whilst maintaining an effective narrative. Here the problem of hyper interpretation would have lead to the narrative being exhaustive in detail, but without any real clarity of wider themes emerging. Similarly a detailed comparison to published data for Dartmoor and Bodmin Moor was also not included, despite a substantial amount of necessary background writing on this being undertaken. In the end the narrative had to focus more specifically on the stone monuments, with some exploration of wider features where possible. The biggest single limitation is the weak chronological understanding available, which meant that much of what had been explored in this thesis had to caveat different possibilities and scenarios, without being able to develop any detailed understanding of overall chronological development or relationships. Further progress has been made with examining spatial relationships, although this has been limited to specific sites through new fieldwork. It was not possible to refine spatial relationships at a wider scale of analysis, for example across each study area as a whole, because the evidence is too fragmentary in distribution, and impacted by later activity such as large scale land drainage and military training. There is also the uncertainty as to what is potentially hidden beneath the peat. It is felt the overall methods employed have been broadly successful, but the traditional spatial analysis (attempted only for area C, see appendix 5) was certainly the least productive outcome. This contributes very little to the understanding and interpretations which are developed, beyond confirming and quantifying aspects of previously known patterning from Riley and Wilson-North's study (2001).

Aside from the dating issues regarding the field monuments, the decision not to consider the palaeoenvironmental evidence in detail is also a limitation. It rapidly became clear that the palaeoenvironmental data required a detailed specialist study in its own right. Whilst the latter would provide far greater chronological resolution than the lithic collections could, it would still have been very difficult to draw any certain links with the archaeological record directly, especially given how poorly dated the archaeological record is during prehistory on Exmoor. The greatest challenge that this research encountered was to attempt to build detailed and specific interpretations on the basis of very limited evidence, relying mostly on the form and the character of the field monuments themselves. Only a few sites had seen any excavation, so the availability of specific evidence was very limited and certainly impacted on the nature of interpretations which could be explored.

10.6.6 Future fieldwork and research priorities in ENP

The single biggest priority must be to conduct more extensive excavations in order to gather more specific data and evidence on both upstanding field monuments, and to continue to characterize the array of different sub surface features that have been revealed by geophysical survey to date. Areas of particular promise include the area immediately east of the quincunx (chapter nine), features in the vicinity of Swap Hill stone setting (chapter eight), areas adjacent to Porlock Avenue and Stone Circle (chapter 6; see Gillings and Taylor 20112; Gillings 2015a), and other areas such as Lanacombe IV, Furzehill Common and Almsworthy Common where geophysics has revealed specific, promising, but as yet unknown features (Sembay 2005 unpublished; Gillings and Taylor 2011a&b). As part of such investigations it is critical that detailed environmental and palaeoenvironmental sampling is carried out where possible, to maximise information obtained and to ensure any dateable materials, which are likely to be very scarce, are recovered. Similarly much could be learned from investigating some of the upstanding features, particularly field banks, small cairns (like those that make up the Lanacombe field system investigated in chapter eight), enclosures and house platforms, as these features are the most likely to preserve buried soils and potentially dateable remains. The Western end of Lanacombe is also a priority area for further work, as the small number of evaluation trenches undertaken here (see chapter eight) and by the Exmoor Mires Project (see Walls 2015) have only scratched the surface of a highly complex buried landscape, of which understanding is at present very limited.

It is not possible to push forward the understandings developed in this thesis further without large scale fieldwork examining a range of features more broadly and to continue the investigation of stone monuments where opportunities arise through their conservation and management. A detailed synthesis and study of the palaeoenvironmental data is also needed, supported by further sampling and detailed reconstructions. Finally, further archival research into the activities and results of the few early excavations on Exmoor, along with detailed study of the remaining artefactual collections (e.g. ceramics and metals) should be a priority.

10.7 Final conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the key findings of this thesis, and drawn together the different interpretations into a wider understanding of the variety of different forms of evidence that have been examined. It has highlighted that Exmoor's geology was not the sole defining factor behind the very different character of the lithic monuments, and that a complex set of processes led to the development of a highly dynamic, local tradition of raising and arranging standing stones. Fundamental to understanding the widespread practice of constructing settings across Exmoor is a detailed interrogation of the meaning and ontological status of the variety of stones the sites were constructed from, the significance of which is implied by the strong interest in the origins and emergence of this material in the landscape. It was argued to have been a highly potent material, characterised by a low threshold of deterritorialisation which could play a highly active role in further territorialising and deterritorialising processes, promoting the emergence of very distinct affective fields and making the practice of erecting standing stones a powerful way to negotiate encounters with many different materials, beings and spaces in the landscape. It is contended here that this study has made considerable progress towards developing a greater understanding of the Late 3rd and Early 2nd Millennium BC landscapes of Exmoor, particularly in reference to RQ's 1 and 2, and partially RQ3, through undertaking the first detailed characterisation of the lithic assemblages. This provided a fuller understanding of wider context, revealing evidence for Neolithic activity, which included hunting, tool maintenance and the finishing and use of arrowheads (chapter 6 and appendix 3). It also revealed plenty of evidence for processing tasks, like cutting, scraping and clearance taking place, more generally in the Neolithic and Bronze Age.

This thesis has undertaken the first detailed synthesis of Exmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes, using a relational approach. It has provided alternative interpretations that are locally specific, questioning the applicability of applying a single explanation, like Tilley's hunting hypothesis, for Exmoor's highly varied and locally distinctive phenomenon of constructing stone settings (see 2010: chapter seven). Instead, it was argued such structures result from hugely varied and locally distinct concerns, which for example, included marking time and temporality (see chapter nine), negotiating encounters with different entities (chapter 8) and marking different forms of space and place in the landscape (chapter nine). Further, the fabric and form of Exmoor's monuments were potentially deliberately constructed to encourage the emergence of very powerful, affective fields, deploying miniaturisation, not in reference to larger megaliths elsewhere, but in relation to the human body. Finally it was argued an understanding of stone emerged, through the recognition of the transformative and deterritorialising power of stone tools on the landscape and other entities within it during the Neolithic, that ultimately led to an interest in and exploration of slight areas of local outcropping stone. This understanding of stone was that it was highly adaptable and transformable material, that did not necessarily have a fixed state, with a low threshold of territorialisation and deterritorialisation, that led to it being employed in highly dynamic, changeable assemblages of upright stones. Finally, the close juxtaposition of standing stones with other aspects of activity in the landscape on Exmoor, question's the extent to which these features should be seen as a separate sphere of practice, and provides an example of a society where such practices were closely embedded within everyday worlds throughout the landscape.