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1 Scales of analysis: evidence of fish and fish processing at Star Carr

2

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17

18 Abstract

This contribution directly relates to the paper published by Wheeler in 1978 entitled 'Why 19 20 were there no fish remains at Star Carr?'. Star Carr is arguably the richest, most studied and 21 re-interpreted Mesolithic site in Europe but the lack of fish remains has continued to vex scholars. Judging from other materials, the preservation conditions at the site in the late 22 1940s/early 1950s should have been good enough to permit the survival of fish remains, and 23 particularly dentaries of the northern pike (Esox lucius L., 1758) as found on other European 24 sites of this age. The lack of evidence has therefore been attributed to a paucity of fish in the 25 lake. However, new research has provided multiple lines of evidence, which not only 26 demonstrate the presence of fish, but also provide evidence for the species present, data on 27 how and where fish were being processed on site, and interpretations for the fishing methods 28 29 that might have been used. This study demonstrates that an integrated approach using a range 30 of methods at landscape, site and microscopic scales of analysis can elucidate such questions. 31 In addition, it demonstrates that in future studies, even in cases where physical remains are lacking, forensic techniques hold significant potential. 32

33

Keywords: Mesolithic; Star Carr; Flixton Island, Fish remains; Seasonality; Use wear 34

- 35 1.0. Introduction
- 36

37 *Figure 1: location map of Star Carr.*

38

Grahame Clark excavated Star Carr from 1949-1951 (Clark 1954) (Figure 1). His discoveries
have led to what has become known as one of Europe's most famous Mesolithic sites. This
was due to the outstanding preservation of organic remains, including the discovery of a
brushwood platform associated with an extensive faunal assemblage and extremely rare
artefacts such as 'headdresses' made from the crania of red deer (*Cervus elaphus* L., 1758).
Clark noted that:

45

'No remains of fish survived. Negative evidence is notoriously dangerous in prehistory, and 46 47 never more so than when a substance so perishable as fish-bone is in question. Yet to judge from what was found on similar sites in different parts of northern Europe, traces might at 48 49 least have been expected for the lower jaws of pike, had these been caught. It should be 50 remembered though that the evidence for pike-fisheries among the later Maglemosian comes 51 from sites occupied during the summer, in the early months of which the fishing was carried on with leisters in temperate Europe down to modern times. The absence of pike remains 52 53 from Star Carr may therefore be a true reflection of the circumstance that the site was 54 abandoned during the summer months' (Clark 1954, 16, our emphasis).

55

In the 1970s and 1980s a number of articles reinterpreted the evidence from Star Carr, in particular reconsidering the seasonality of the site and importantly, suggesting that the site had been occupied during the spring and summer (Carter 1998, Caulfield 1978; Jacobi 1978; Legge and Rowley-Conwy 1988; Mellars and Dark 1998). This overturned Clark's hypothesis, as set out above, and with new interpretations of summer occupation, it became even harder to account for a lack of pike at the site.

62

In 1978, Wheeler, wrote a seminal paper entitled 'Why were there no fish remains at Star Carr?'. Importantly, he drew attention to the fact that pike can be fished all year round, which negated the seasonality argument. Therefore, he suggested that there were probably no fish present in the lake throughout the course of site occupation. His hypothesis was that fish, attempting to colonise up the riverine systems, would not have permeated the Lake Flixton basin because the water was too fast flowing at Kirkham Gorge, located roughly 40kilometres downstream.

70

However, Wheeler (1978) did not mention the presence of waterfowl, which can transport fish spawn via their feet. The Star Carr faunal assemblage contained at least seven species: white stork (*Ciconia ciconia* L., 1758), common crane (*Grus grus* L., 1758), red-breasted merganser (*Mergus serrator* L., 1758), red-throated diver (*Gavia stellata* P., 1763), great crested grebe (*Podiceps cristatus* L., 1758), little grebe (*Podiceps ruficollis* P., 1764) and a duck of similar size to the pintail (*Anas acuta* L., 1758) (Clark 1954). Thus fish could have colonised the lake via this method of passive dispersal.

78

The only potential (indirect) evidence for fishing is in the form of the barbed points. Clark found 190 barbed points and 1 harpoon at Star Carr (Figure 2). These were made out of red deer antler and manufactured so that they could be hafted onto wooden shafts for spearing or throwing. In some cases they may have been hafted in pairs or with the addition of a central bone point to provide a leister as has been observed at other sites in Europe: one such pairing of barbed points was observed by Clark *in situ* (Clark 1954, plate 12).

85

Figure 2: A range of the different types of barbed points/harpoons found at Star Carr including the harpoon in
the middle (scale: 5cm).

88

89 Further evidence for the use of barbed points and harpoons related to fishing practices derives from a number of other Early Mesolithic ('Maglemosian') sites in north-west Europe: 90 Holmegård, Lundby, Mullerup, Ulkestrup Lyng, Sværdborg, Vinde-Helsinge and Ögaarde (in 91 92 Denmark) and Duvensee, Friesack 4, Friesack 27a, Hohen Viecheln and Wustermark (in northern Germany) (Aaris-Sørensen 1976; Broholm 1924; Clark 1948; Gramsch and Beran 93 94 2010; Groß 2014; Jessen et al. 2015; Noe-Nygaard 1995; Robson 2015; Rosenlund 1980; Schuldt 1961). In addition, fish remains were also encountered at the majority of these sites 95 and are solely pike, or pike dominant. However, wels catfish (Siluris glanis L., 1758), 96 97 European perch (Perca fluviatilis L., 1758), tench (Tinca tinca L., 1758), carp (Cyprinidae 98 sp.), common bream (Abramis brama L., 1758), common rudd (Scardinius erythrophthalmus L., 1758) and European eel (Anguilla anguilla L., 1758) have also been identified (Aaris-99 100 Sørensen 1976; Broholm 1924; Gramsch and Beran 2010; Groß 2014; Jessen et al. 2015; Noe-Nygaard 1995; Robson 2015; Rosenlund 1980; Wundsch 1961). 101

In addition, there is a close correlation between pike remains and barbed points, similar to those found at Star Carr. For instance, at Sværdborg, Denmark, 80 upper and 64 lower pike jaw bones were found along with 274 leister prongs and 11 hooks (Clark 1952, 47). There are also sites where barbed points have been found in association with pike bones within the lake bed. Clark (1948, appendix 1) lists Calbe (Germany), Esperöds Mosse (Scania), and Kunda (Estonia). In two cases at the latter site barbed points were found impaling pike skeletons: one in the back of a large pike and the other in the skull (Clark 1952, 47).

110

In comparison, there is very little evidence in Britain for freshwater fishing, particularly in the Early Mesolithic. The only comparable example to the European evidence appears to derive from nearby Holderness: in 1903 an antler harpoon was found at Atwick, East Yorkshire and in 1932 further investigations were carried at the nearby site at Skipsea by Godwin and Godwin (1933, 39) who found 'fragments of *Pinus* bark, fins of pike (*Esox lucius*) and flint artifacts'.

117

In the later part of the British Mesolithic evidence for fishing freshwater species exists but these specimens are not found alongside barbed points: for example a single precaudal vertebrae of a pike was found at Bouldnor Cliff on the Isle of Wight (Momber *et al.* 2011, 52) and from the Severn Estuary Mesolithic sites a total of 513 identifiable fragments of fish were found including Salmonidae (salmon family), eel and a possible cyprinid (Cyprinidae sp.) as well as coastal species (Bell 2007, 166-168).

124

The reason for the lack of fish remains at Star Carr has therefore remained a mystery that has intrigued scholars and members of the public alike. A possible explanation for the absence of fish remains at Star Carr could be that Clark did not sieve the sediments, meaning that small specimens may have been missed. Sieving was not a common practice at the time; peat is extremely difficult to sieve because it is highly organic and does not easily pass through a sieve and therefore it is perhaps unsurprising that this was not attempted.

131

Renewed research since 2004 (Conneller *et al.* 2012; Milner *et al.* 2013) has provided further opportunities to test for the presence of fish remains at the site. Initially, it was considered highly unlikely that any fish remains would be found, even with sieving, due to the extremely acidic sediments that have formed over the last couple of decades (Boreham *et al.* 2011; High *et al.* 2015). Some bone and antler has become 'jellybone': the mineral has dissolved in the acidic peat and the collagen has turned to gelatin (Milner *et al.* 2011a). Furthermore, quantities of bone and antler are extremely low when compared to Clark's faunal collection, suggesting that much of this material has completely disappeared (Milner *et al.* 2011a).

140

During the last four years, three different lines of evidence have at last provided definitive evidence that not only a range of fish species were present in the lake, but that they were caught and processed by humans. Significantly, these lines of evidence came from completely different scales of analyses:

145

1. landscape scale: coring the lake sediments for environmental and climate records

146 2. site scale: excavations at Star Carr and at Flixton Island Site 2

147 3. microscopic scale: microwear traces on flint tools from Star Carr

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149 **1.1. Background to the sites**

Star Carr and Flixton Island Site 2 are two of a number of Early Mesolithic sites that have been recorded in the area around the palaeo-Lake Flixton, in the eastern Vale of Pickering, North Yorkshire, UK (Figure 3). The palaeo-lake formed at the start of the Windermere Interstadial (c. 14,700-12,800 cal BP; 12,700-10,800 cal BC), a warm phase at the end of the last Ice Age before the final cold period of the Younger Dryas (12,700-11,600 cal BP; 10,700-9600 cal BC), and it persisted as a water body until the end of the Mesolithic (c. 6000 cal BP; 4000 cal BC).

157

John Moore, a local amateur archaeologist first carried out investigations in the area in the late 1940s and identified 10 sites around the lake. Moore excavated a trench at Star Carr in 1948, and from 1949-1951 Grahame Clark from the University of Cambridge conducted three further seasons of fieldwork (Clark 1954). Moore also conducted fieldwork at Site 2 on Flixton Island which was published as a three-page summary at the end of the Star Carr monograph (Clark 1954).

164

Further work in the area has been carried out by the Vale of Pickering Research Trust since the 1980s, with the aim of mapping the extent of the lake and identifying further sites (for a full account see Milner *et al.* (2011b)). Since 2004, NM, CC and BT have been co-directing excavations at Star Carr and in 2012 the POSTGLACIAL project commenced: this is a five year, European Research Council funded project with the aim 'To implement an interdisciplinary, high-resolution approach to understanding hunter-gatherer lifeways within
the context of climate and environment change during the early part of the post-glacial period
(c. 10,000-8000 BC)'. In order to address this aim, further excavations have been carried out
at Flixton Island Site 2 (2012-14) and Star Carr (2013-2015), in conjunction with a
programme of coring lake sediments in order to reconstruct local climate and environmental
change.

176

Figure 3: The locations of Star Carr and Flixton Island Site 2 as well as all other known Mesolithic sites within
the Lake Flixton basin (lake area a reconstruction of the water at its maximum during the Holocene). Key: 1,
Star Carr; 2, Ling Lane; 3, Seamer Carr Site F; 4, Seamer Carr Sites L and N; 5, Seamer Carr Site K; 6,
Seamer Carr Site D; 7, Seamer Carr Site B (Rabbit Hill); 8, Seamer Carr Site C; 9, Manham Hill; 10–12,
Cayton Carr; 13, Lingholme Site B; 14, Killerby Carr; 15, Lingholme Site A; 16, Barry's Island; 17, Flixton
School Field; 18, Flixton School House Farm; 19, Woodhouse Farm; 20, VP Site E; 21, VP Site D; 22, Flixton
Site 9; 23, Flixton Island Site 1; 24, Flixton Island Site 2; 25, No Name Hill.

184

185 **2.0.** Methodology

186 2.1. Sediment coring

Between 2010-2013, alongside the lake-edge excavations, a sediment core-based palaeoenvironmental study was undertaken as part of the POSTGLACIAL project. The preliminary results of this research were reported by Palmer *et al.* (2015). During coring, a single fish scale was identified toward the base of sediment core C (Palmer *et al.* 2015).

191

192 2.2. Excavations at Flixton Island Site 2

In 2012, excavations were carried out at Flixton Island Site 2, approximately 500 metres east of Star Carr. A programme of sieving the archaeological sediments was carried out and a 50% sample was sieved using a 4 mm mesh in order to retrieve small pieces of bone or flint debitage, which otherwise would have been missed through trowelling. As the focus was on the lakeshore deposits, where fewer archaeological remains are generally found, a very small proportion of finds were retrieved in the sieve. However, a fish vertebra was discovered in the sieve from context 1003 (Mesolithic reed peat).

200

201 2.3. Excavations at Star Carr and the flotation of the dryland deposits

During the excavations in 2008 at Star Carr, the remains of a structure were discovered on the
dryland, which has become known as the 'Earliest house in Britain' (Conneller *et al.* 2012).
The structure was composed of a hollow in the ground, infilled with organic rich sediment,

and surrounded by postholes. It should be noted, that although significant quantities of mammal bone have been found on the dry land deposits, and in the structure itself, the preservation of the bone is generally extremely poor and most remains are unidentifiable either in terms of genus/species or in many cases element.

209

Sediment was sampled from the structure and processed in the laboratory using the bucket 210 flotation method. Volumes ranged from 1.5 to 2.5 litres. A 300 µ sieve was used to collect the 211 212 flot and a 1 mm sieve was used to catch the residue. Samples were dried in a drying cabinet for approximately 12 hours at 40°C. The flot was examined primarily for plant remains and 213 the residue for other biological remains. The content of each sieve was examined a small 214 fraction at a time under a stereomicroscope. Plant remains and any other biological remains 215 retrieved were extracted using tweezers and stored in a sealed glass tube, clearly labelled with 216 the site code and sample number in preparation for identification. A total of 11 fish remains 217 were recovered from grid square I3, context 149, by ET, and analysed by HR using the 218 219 modern reference collection housed at the University of York.

220

More recently, in 2015, excavations were carried out in the vicinity of Clark's trenches including a small area of unexcavated baulk and here two fish remains were recovered by hand during the careful excavation of context 312 (Mesolithic reed peat).

224

225 2.4. Microwear analysis

Microwear analysis is the study of traces that are visible on a tool and which develop through the course of the tool's use. Traces can vary depending on the contact material that is worked and the direction in which the tool is used. (Vaughan 1985). This is determined by comparing archaeological traces with those on experimentally used tools. It is this comparison that allows an analyst to make an informed inference about the function of artefacts (van Gijn and Little in press).

232

Identifying fish within prehistoric assemblages is recognised as difficult due to their vulnerability of the traces and a frequent lack of distinction from other animal processing activities (van Gijn 1986, 23). However, experimental work replicating different aspects of fish processing, such as filleting, gutting and scaling (see García Díaz and Clemente Conte 2011; van Gijn 1986) has enabled similar traces to be identified on archaeological lithic assemblages (Clemente *et al.* 2010; Högberg 2009). Recent research has even identified fish microwear traces on Neanderthal stone tools (Hardy and Moncel 2011), showing that fishprocessing tools have great antiquity.

241

242 **3.0.** Results

243 **3.1.** Sediment coring

The scale recovered from the sediment core had a characteristic ctenoid form and was 244 identified by DS as a scale from a perch. The scale was identified at c. 17.1 m.a.s.l around 245 705 cm below the current ground surface. The deposits in which it lay are carbonate-rich lake 246 sediments (Palmer et al.'s lithofacies 2a), associated with the Windermere interstadial 247 (equivalent to the European Bølling/Allerød chronozone and dating between c. 14,700-248 12,800 cal BP, or 12,700-10,800 cal BC). The scale sat within the earliest sediments of this 249 interval and reflects the presence of fish within the lake soon after the commencement of 250 climatic warming. Fish scales of Lateglacial age are relatively uncommon finds within 251 sediment cores in the UK, being first reported for Esthwaite Water in the English Lake 252 District by Pennington and Frost (1961), and this chance find was not repeated in any other 253 254 samples.

255

256 3.2. Flixton Island Site 2 and Star Carr ichythoarchaeological results

A total of 14 fish remains have been recovered from Flixton Island Site 2 and Star Carr (Table 1). Two of the remains were vertebral fragments that could not be determined to species. The following provides a brief summary of these data.

Taxon/skeletal element	Esox lucius	Esox lucius/	Cyprinidae	Perca	Unidentifiable	Totals
		Salmonidae		fluviatilis		
Lake Flixton						
Ctenoid scale				1		1
Flixton Island Site 2						
Caudal vertebra	1					1
Star Carr						
Caudal vertebra			2			2
Posterior abdominal vertebra	1					1
Pharyngeal tooth			2			2
Premaxilla	1					1
Rib			1			1
Tooth		3				3
Vertebral fragment				1	2	3
Totals	3	3	5	2	2	15

Table 1: Represented skeletal elements of the various taxa found during the excavations and in the post
excavation processing of bulk samples from Flixton Island Site 2 and Star Carr and also the ctenoid scale from
the sediment core.

264

Although neural and haemal spines were absent, the bone recovered from Flixton Island Site 265 2 was a caudal vertebra which was identified by HR and AKGJ as pike (Figure 4). The total 266 length (hereafter TL) of the pike was estimated as a function of bone size according to the 267 methods as set out by Morales and Rosenlund (1979) utilizing the regression equations as 268 stated by Zabilska (2013). The size of the vertebra, 12.1 mm across the greatest medio-lateral 269 breadth of the centrum, corresponded to that of an individual approximately 815 mm in TL. 270 271 Since adult pike normally range from 400 to 1000 mm in TL (Davies et al. 2004), this falls well within that range. 272

273

The vertebra was sent to Oxford Radiocarbon laboratory for direct AMS radiocarbon dating but unfortunately failed to produce a date due to a lack of collagen. However, a sample of willow (*Salix* sp.) from the same level was successfully dated to 9170-8570 cal BC (95.4% probability: OxA-X-2495-12, 9480 \pm 90 BP). This date is contemporary with the dates yielded for Star Carr.

279

280 Figure 4: SEM image of the pike caudal vertebra from Flixton Island Site 2.

281

All of the fish remains recovered from the bucket flotation method were less than 1 cm in size, and all but one was calcined. It is likely that the one that was not visibly calcined had been subjected to some burning in order for it to have survived in this dryland context.

285

Although largely incomplete, a premaxilla that could not be sided was identified as that of pike. This specimen was calcined and was dark grey, almost black, in colour. Comparison with modern specimens suggested that it derived from an individual that was less than 200 mm in TL.

290

Three isolated teeth were identified as likely to derive from Salmonidae: however, it must be noted that salmon and pike have very similar teeth and there is the possibility that these also belonged to pike. If they are Salmonidae there is a possibility that these remains could have belonged to either the anadromous brown trout (*Salmo trutta* L., 1758) or Atlantic salmon (Salmo salar L., 1758). All specimens were calcined, ranging from light grey almost white to
dark grey in colour.

297

298 A fragile, isolated pharyngeal tooth was identified as deriving from Cyprinidae (carp and minnow family). It was not possible to identify the specimen to species level. The specimen 299 300 was calcined and was dark grey in colour. Although neural and haemal spines were absent, 301 two caudal vertebrae were identified as Cyprinidae. The specimens were calcined and were 302 light grey, almost white and white in colour respectively. It was not possible to estimate the TLs, although they derived from an individual that was less than 200 mm in TL by 303 comparison with modern specimens. In addition, one rib was identified as Cyprinidae. The 304 specimen was incomplete, as only the proximal end was present. 305

306

In addition, one vertebra was identified as that of perch. The specimen was incomplete, as only half of the vertebral centrum was present. It was calcined, and was light to dark grey, almost black in colour. It was not possible to estimate the TL, although it derived from an individual that was less than 100 mm in TL based on comparison with modern taxa.

311

In 2015, excavations at Star Carr yielded a further two fish remains. Although fragile, the 312 313 first specimen, an isolated tooth with a portion of the pharyngeal bone was identified by HR as deriving from Cyprinidae. It was not possible to identify the specimen to the lower species 314 level or estimate the TL. The second bone, a posterior abdominal vertebra (Figure 5) was 315 identified by HR as pike. The TL of this specimen was estimated according to the criteria 316 317 outlined above (Morales and Rosenlund 1979; Zabilska 2013). The size of the vertebra, 11.4 mm across the greatest medio-lateral breadth of the centrum, corresponded to that of an 318 319 individual approximately 873 mm in TL.

320

321 **3.3.** Evidence that fish had been processed at Star Carr from microwear analysis

The current programme of microwear analysis of flint tools from Star Carr is the first since Dumont's studies (Dumont 1983, 1988). Microwear analysis of the flint in and around the structure has only just begun. Two flints with fish processing polish have already been identified a short distance from the structure (Figure 6). Neither of the tools (92184 and 91949) are retouched. One (92184) is classified typologically as a fragment; the other (91949) is a proximal blade fragment. The fish processing polish are presented in Figure 7.

329 The two tools from Star Carr were taken to the Laboratory for Artefact Studies at Leiden University to be blind tested by three experienced microwear analysts. None of the analysts 330 knew the original identification was fish processing. After independently analysing tool 331 91949, two analysts identified the wear traces as resulting from fish processing; the other said 332 'possibly fish processing'. The test was repeated for tool 92184, with two analysts identifying 333 fish processing and the third saying the polish was 'indeterminate'. When presented with the 334 conclusions from the other two analysts, this third analyst accepted that fish processing was a 335 336 strong possibility.

337

338 *Figure 5: Photograph of the pike vertebra in situ.*

339

Fish processing traces consist of randomly distributed lines of matt, dull polish often described as having a corrugated appearance (Figure 7a) sometimes located away from the edge (van Gijn 1986). Edge damage in the form of small flake scalar scars, which form a repeated but irregular appear along the edge of the flint, are visible on some tools (van Gijn 1986; Högberg 2009). Lately, analysts have observed another feature to fish polish: areas where fish scales adhering to the surface of the tool have prevented polish forming, resulting in rounded, scalar areas of unpolished surface (García Díaz 2014, 98; see also Figure 7c).

347

Although not located within the structure, the fish processing tools were located a short 348 distance from it and are from the same context as the calcined fish remains from within the 349 350 structure. Due to taphonomic processes such as bioturbation and the palimpsests of activity on the dryland, we cannot be sure that the tools and fish remains are contemporary. Future 351 microwear analysis of the flint assemblage from within the structure will determine whether a 352 contextual relationship exists between the remains and tools. As this analysis is ongoing it 353 also remains to be seen if future microscopic studies of the flint assemblages from other areas 354 of the site will reveal similar evidence for fish processing tools. 355

356

Figure 6: Structure at Star Carr showing the distribution of finds. Key: triangle, location of fish remains within
the structure; stars, lithics exhibiting fish processing traces.

359

Figure 7: Flint 92184 (above) and 91949 (below), both of which display fish processing polish. All micrographs
20x.

- 362
- 363 **4.0. Discussion**

364 4.1. The earliest evidence of fish in Lake Flixton

A particularly significant discovery of this research is that the evidence of perch in the lake 365 originates in the Windermere interstadial, roughly between 2000-4000 years before 366 settlement commenced at Star Carr. Native to Britain, perch are presently distributed across 367 the northern Palearctic, with the exception of the Iberian Peninsula, central Italy and the 368 Adriatic basin (Freyhof and Kottelat 2008). They occur across a diverse range of habitats, 369 including estuarine lagoons, lakes and medium-sized streams, spawning in NW Europe in 370 early spring when water temperatures reach a minimum of c. 10°C (Gillet and Dubois 2007; 371 372 Hokanson 1977) and the photoperiod conditions increase. As opportunistic feeders, they prey on a wide range of aquatic invertebrates, with larger individuals becoming piscivorous once 373 they reach 120 mm in length (Freyhof and Kottelat 2008). 374

375

The spread of Perca fluviatilis across Europe after the last Ice Age has been documented 376 using molecular techniques (Nesbø et al. 1999). This suggests that perch found in modern 377 378 day western Europe dispersed along the major river systems centred around the Vistula, Elbe, Rhine Rhône, Saône and Thames, with British perch originating from a southern glacial 379 380 refugium, probably located in France although the exact position remains unclear (Nesbø et al. 1999). A similar southern French refugium has been suggested for other freshwater taxa 381 today found in Britain, such as barbel (Barbus sp.) (Persat and Berrebi 1990), chub 382 (Leuciscus cephalus L., 1758) (Durand et al. 1999) and brown trout (García-Marín et al. 383 384 1999), with the molecular data implying rapid northward expansion through northern European riverine systems since the last Glacial Maximum in the UK. Here, it is suggested 385 386 that the presence of perch in Lake Flixton during the early Windermere interstadial could indicate colonisation through the Derwent river system. 387

388

389 4.2. The fish trophic system in Lake Flixton

This research also demonstrates the presence of pike, known from a number of Early 390 Mesolithic sites in Denmark. Pike can be found throughout Asia, eastern North America and 391 392 the majority of Europe. In Britain, it is the largest predatory freshwater fish, and consumes 393 invertebrates, lesser fish, aquatic birds, amphibians and small mammals. Although it occurs in lakes to larger ornamental ponds and from canals and slow flowing rivers to streams, it can 394 also reside in bogs as well as brackish lagoons and shallow, protected bays (Davies et al. 395 2004). It has a high tolerance to changes in pH and is capable of surviving in polluted waters, 396 including those with low oxygen content (Noe-Nygaard 1995). Whilst it is a solitary 397

carnivore, it is not territorial, often congregating in shoals to rest. Aided by its camouflaged
appearance, it hides in submerged vegetation, where it lurks near its prey. Mating takes place
between March and April when pike congregate and seek shallow water; it is during this time
when they can almost be caught by hand (Noe-Nygaard 1995). Both the presence of perch
and pike in Lake Flixton indicates a mature water body with an established trophic system.

403

Five of the fish remains have been identified to Cyprinidae. Although these specimens could
not be identified to the species level, other species routinely identified in contemporaneous
European faunal assemblages include the following: bream, white bream (*Abramis bjoerkna*L., 1758), Crucian carp (*Carassius carassius* L., 1758), common carp (*Cyprinus carpio* L.,
1758), roach (*Rutilus rutilus* L., 1758), rudd and tench. Cyprinidae are, in general, lower
down in the trophic level hierarchy, compared to perch and pike, and mainly feed on benthic
invertebrates, including worms, molluscs and insect larvae (Maitland and Linsell 2009).

411

412 Although we cannot be 100% certain at the present that we have trout or salmon, it is important to discuss them in case further discoveries prove their presence. Both are 413 anadromous species (migrate from the sea into freshwater to spawn) (Wheeler and Jones 414 415 2009). During their spawning runs, they can often become concentrated, albeit sometimes for a short period, making them abundant and prime targets for fishing. Atlantic salmon enter 416 417 freshwater from the sea and migrate upstream at different times throughout the year. Whilst this is largely dependent upon the flow of the river and the water temperature, they arrive at 418 419 the spawning grounds from November through February (Mills 1971). Here they are 420 extremely vulnerable to predation since they are in shallow waters and occupied by 421 spawning.

422

423 4.3. Fishing and consumption

424 Apart from the barbed points, there is no other evidence of fishing gear, such as nets, hooks, or traps, found at any of the sites along the former lake edge. However, some suggestions can 425 be made as to the possible techniques that might have been used. Since pike are known to 426 congregate within the littoral zone of a lake during their spawning period in the spring, they 427 could have been more easily exploited at this time (Noe-Nygaard 1995). The pike may also 428 have been attracted to some of the food waste, such as bones, which were deposited at the 429 lake margins and from these areas it may have been possible to spear the pike using the 430 431 barbed points found at the site. However, it should be noted that the barbed points found in the lakeshore deposits are not hafted and are therefore unlikely to have been lost during
fishing activities. In addition, it is possible that bows and arrows were used or blows via
clubs, and then collected (Aaris-Sørensen 1976).

435

436 Clark (1952, 48) recounts how Lapps spear pike from boats by targeting them when they sun themselves in the upper part of the water body. The use of boats is well established at this 437 time, since people used the islands on the lake and presumably accessed them by boat. Clark 438 439 (1954) also found what he thought was a wooden paddle at Star Carr: this is very thin but broken at both ends so difficult to estimate its full length. It has sometimes been dismissed as 440 a paddle due to its thinness, however, paddles of this shape are known to be favoured in some 441 place for navigating through reeds. Boats and paddles are also well documented for the 442 Mesolithic across Europe. 443

444

445 As well as spearing fish in the day, Clark describes how the Lapps also enticed fish to the 446 surface of the water at night by burning dry wood at the prow of the boat. An argument for night fishing has been suggested for pine tapers found on Irish Midland waterways linked to 447 night-time fishing/eeling activities (Little 2009). At Star Carr, numerous burnt birch bark 448 449 rolls have been found and analysed (Figure 8). Experiments have shown that plain rolls of bark burn for only a matter of minutes because the lack of oxygen in the middle of the roll 450 451 suffocates the fire. However, if strips of bark are positioned within the rolls the torches burn for longer though tend not to survive as a burnt roll (Figure 9). Research is ongoing to 452 453 determine whether the birch bark rolls from Star Carr could have been used for torches.

454

455 *Figure 8: Birch bark roll with evidence of burning from Lake Flixton.*

456

457 Clark (1952, 48) further mentions that the Lapps also catch pike using dragnets between two 458 boats. Although nets have not been found at Star Carr, there are a large number of birch bark 459 rolls some of which have not been burnt, and from ethnographical analogues, it can be 460 demonstrated that they can be used as net floats (Figure 10).

461

462 *Figure 9: experimental torch made from a birch bark roll.*

463

464 Figure 10: Picture of birch bark rolls used as net floats (from The National Museum of Finland).

The site has yielded a tantalising glimpse of fish processing, and presumably consumption, from the use-wear traces on two flint tools. What is interesting is that this has taken place near to the structure where the calcined fish remains have been found. Future analysis will help to determine whether there is further patterning to these processes; however, the nature of the remains means that we will not be able to say how extensive fish consumption was.

471

Excluding the scale recovered from the sediment core, a total of 14 fish remains have been 472 recovered from two archaeological sites located within the palaeo-Lake Flixton basin: Flixton 473 474 Island Site 2 and Star Carr. In comparison with contemporaneous Maglemose sites in southern Scandinavia the assemblage is small. However, we believe that there are several 475 reasons as to why so few have been recovered, and in particular from Star Carr: (1) Clark did 476 not sieve the sediments; (2) the increase in the acidity of the sediments since the 1950s is 477 likely to have destroyed any fish remains due to their delicate nature; (3) fish bones may have 478 been deposited on the dry land and it is highly likely that they would not have survived unless 479 burnt, as found in the structure; (4) we have previously demonstrated that ca. 5% of the site 480 has been excavated, and so the possibility exists that fish remains (and possibly associated 481 technology) may be present elsewhere on the site, possibly around the lake edge or 482 483 discarded in the deeper deposits further into the lake as has been noted elsewhere in southern Scandinavia, such as Ringkloster (Andersen 1998). 484

485

486 5.0. Conclusion

487 This paper has yielded a number of important conclusions:

- The evidence demonstrates that different species of fish were available in the lake
 during the Early Mesolithic and that these were exploited by the inhabitants of Star
 Carr. This data significantly adds to our understanding of Early Mesolithic economy
 in Britain.
- 492
 492
 2. The research demonstrates the importance of conducting flotation on sediments from
 493 dry land deposits and particularly from contexts such as structures. Although bone
 494 from this part of the site is generally very poorly preserved, the fish bone has been
 495 subjected to heating (in all likelihood it was thrown on a fire) which has meant that it
 496 has survived normal destructive taphonomic processes.
- 497 3. The application of use-wear analysis is of great importance for Mesolithic sites where498 faunal evidence is lacking. It holds the potential to uncover archaeological

499 information that is invisible to the naked eye, and answer economic questions that500 would otherwise remain unanswered.

- 4. By 3D plotting all artefacts using a Total Station and mapping using GIS important
 spatial relationships come to light that otherwise might be missed: the current
 evidence suggests people were processing the fish outside the structure, and then
 possibly cooking or consuming it within the structure before throwing the bones on a
 fire.
- 506

507 In sum, fish and fish-processing activities would have remained a mystery for Star Carr if it 508 were not for the multi-scalar approach applied to the study of artefacts and the 509 palaeoenvironment. Thus we believe the importance of combining micro- and macro-510 methods is critical when investigating hunter-gatherer settlement sites.

511

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- 522

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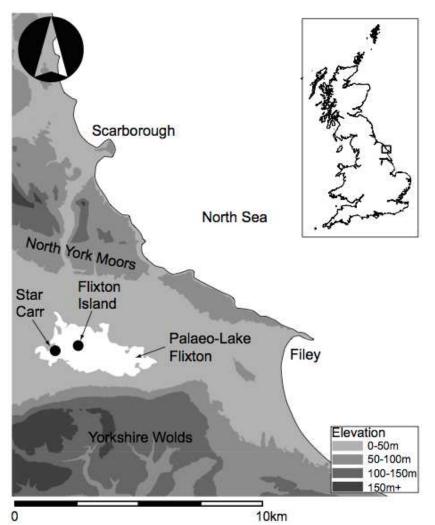
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- 721 Figure 1



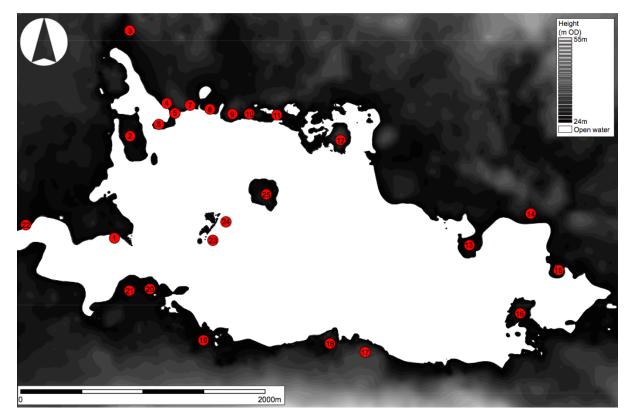


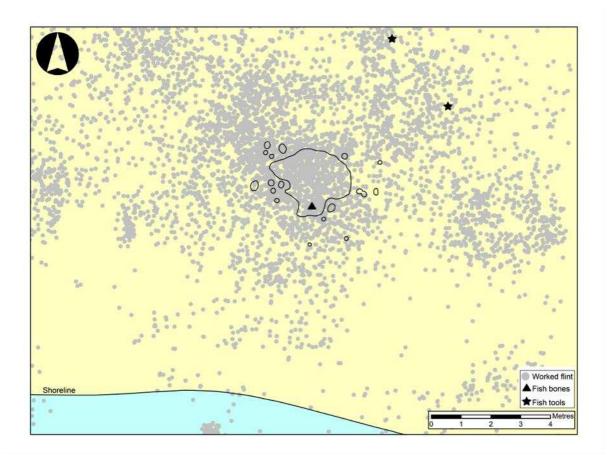
Figure 3

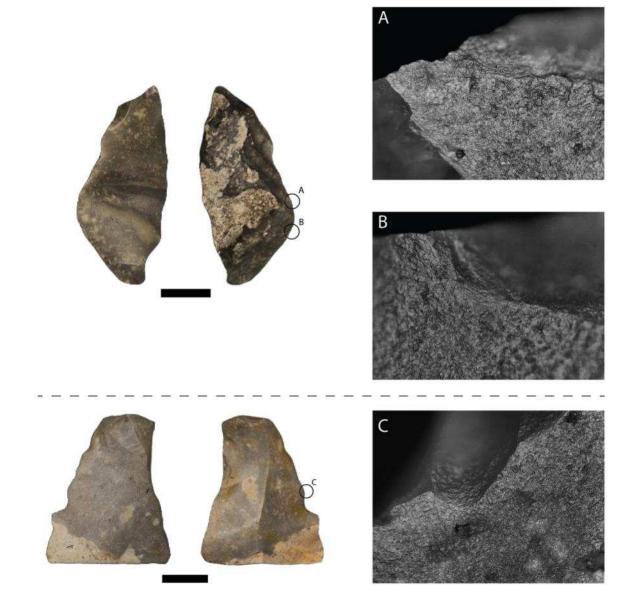


730 Figure 4



733 Figure 5





739 Figure 7



742 Figure 8





745 Figure 9



Figure 10