2.3 The Neolithic to Middle Bronze Age

by Andy Chapman

Introduction

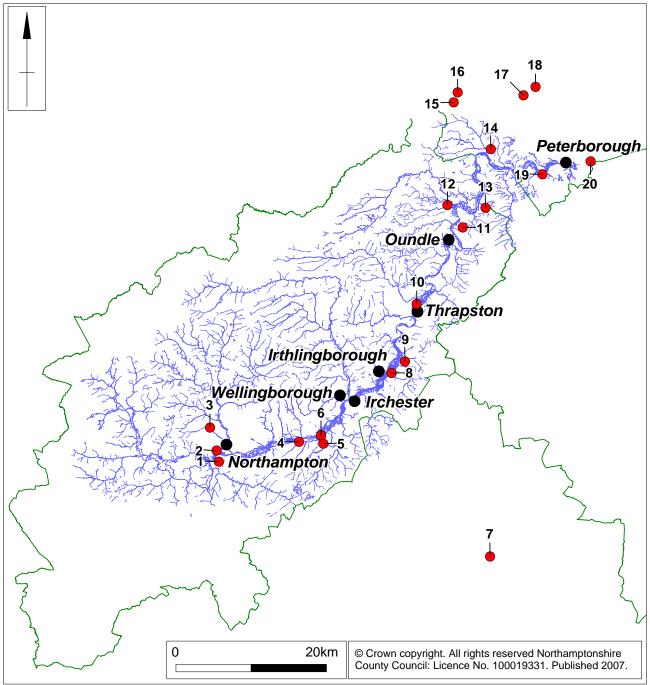
This chapter provides a general overview of the form and distribution of the Neolithic and Bronze Age sites along the floor of the Nene Valley (Figs 2.3.1 and 2.3.8). To see these sites in context it is also necessary to consider the contemporary sites along the valley sides as, on the middle reaches of the Nene in particular, many monuments are perched on the surrounding slopes, carefully located to overview the valley, often with extensive vistas and evidently interrelated with sites on the floor of the valley.

The broad state of archaeological knowledge up to the mid to late 1970s across the whole of Northamptonshire, for all periods, was summarised in the series of volumes prepared by the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments (RCHM(E) 1975, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982 and 1985). A similar approach had been taken on the lower Nene valley around Peterborough, to determine the nature of the archaeological resource in this specific area prior to the New Town development of the 1970s and 80s (RCHM(E) 1969). These studies drew on evidence from antiquarian records of chance finds, the then limited modern excavation evidence and the valuable new resource provided by aerial photography through the 1960s and 1970s, which had transformed our understanding of prehistoric activity in the Midland river valleys. From sparsely occupied wastelands, these valleys had become rich and diverse landscapes containing numerous individual sites and monument complexes.

Since that time there have been a number of major excavation programmes targeted on Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments and monument complexes along the Nene Valley, along with sporadic opportunistic finds, often from the excavation of later settlements of Iron Age, Roman and medieval date. The arable and pasture fields of the Northamptonshire uplands have seen little modern development, and knowledge of early activity here is largely limited to aerial photographic coverage generally unconfirmed by other fieldwork evidence, apart from some fieldwalking evidence.

Overlooking the Nene Valley at the junction of the upper and middle reaches, the Briar Hill Neolithic causewayed enclosure, at Northampton, was excavated in the mid to late 1970s (Bamford 1985). Further downstream, on the middle reaches, sites along the valley floor have mainly been excavated either in advance of mineral extraction or sometimes under rescue or salvage conditions during mineral extraction. A later Neolithic site, perhaps a small settlement, at Ecton was partially excavated in 1971-72 (Moore and Williams 1975). Further downstream a single early Bronze Age barrow at Earls Barton was excavated in 1969, and became the first Northamptonshire Bronze Age site subject to radiocarbon dating (Jackson 1984). On the opposite side of the valley, alongside a tributary stream, there have been a number of episodes of investigation, from the 1970s to the early 2000s, at the major Neolithic and Bronze Age monument complex at Grendon (Gibson and McCormick 1985; Jackson 1995; Last 2005; Jones and Chapman 2005).

Another extensive Neolithic and Bronze Age complex at Raunds and Stanwick was excavated between the mid-1980s and the early 1990s by English Heritage, Northamptonshire Archaeology and Oxford Archaeology as part of the Raunds Area Project (Harding and Healy 2007). This work included excavation targeted on a small group of known round barrows and the unexpected location and excavation of a greater number and diversity of monuments spanning the Neolithic and Bronze Age, which only appeared as a result of the large-scale excavation of the Iron Age and Roman settlement at Stanwick and the deserted medieval hamlet at West Cotton, Raunds. Some additional work has been carried out subsequently during a watching brief on the final stages of mineral extraction (Chapman 2004b).



Scale 1:500,000

- 1 Northampton, Briar Hill
- 2 Northampton, Duston
- 3 Dallington
- 4 Northampton, Ecton
- 5 Grendon
- 6 Earls Barton
- 7 Cardington
- 8 Stanwick
- 9 Raunds
- 10 Aldwincle
- 11 Tansor Crossroads

- 12 Southwick
- 13 Elton
- 14 Upton
- 15 Barnack
- 16 Uffington
- 17 Etton/Maxey
- 18 Northborough
- 19 Peterborough, Orton Meadows
- 20 Peterborough, Fengate/Flag Fen

The Raunds-Stanwick group included the only known long barrow on the middle reaches of the Nene. However, in addition to the Neolithic mortuary enclosure in the complex at Grendon, a mortuary enclosure and a small Bronze Age barrow cemetery at Aldwincle had been excavated at the end of the 1960s (Jackson 1976 and 1977), and a further mortuary enclosure, on the slopes overlooking the valley near Tansor, was partially investigated in the mid-1990s (Chapman 1997). Two round barrows on the valley floor at nearby Warmington were only subject to limited evaluation and a watching brief before and during destruction by mineral extraction in the late 1970s (NA 1979, 104 and NA 1981, 200).

Further downstream, a small Neolithic enclosure and nearby inhumation burials and pits were excavated at Elton in 1989 (French 1991). On the lower Nene, west of Peterborough at Orton Meadows, a Neolithic mortuary enclosure and a nearby Bronze Age barrow were excavated in the early 1980s (Mackreth *et al* forthcoming). Finally, to the east of Peterborough, there has been the long-term investigation of the Fen edge landscape around Fengate and Flag Fen carried out by Francis Pryor and his team from the 1970s through to the present day (Pryor 1974, 1978, 1980, 1984, 2001 and 2005). The results achieved at Fengate and Flag Fen have been extensively discussed elsewhere, and will not be reiterated in any detail in this account.

Chance finds from recent excavations of later period sites include pits containing Neolithic pottery at Wollaston (I Meadows pers comm) and a single barrow near Irchester Roman Town (Chapman 2003). In addition, there are two Beaker burials at Ashton Roman town, near Oundle, excavated in the early 1980s (Dix pers comm), and a further Beaker burial at nearby Warmington, excavated in the mid 1990s (Parry pers comm), which were not associated with ring ditches.

An overview of the accumulated Neolithic and Bronze Age evidence for the whole of Northamptonshire was compiled as part of East Midlands Archaeological Resource Assessment in the late 1990s (Chapman 1999), and this fed into the regional overview (Clay 2006 in Cooper (ed) 2006). However, an absence of funding for primary research limited the scope of this study to the more readily available published and unpublished data, with no opportunity to set the excavated evidence within the broader pattern provided by the aerial photographic coverage. A condensed version of the Research Frameworks paper, aimed at a popular audience, was published as part of a general review of archaeology in Northamptonshire (Chapman 2004 in Tingle (ed) 2004).

The most thorough and comprehensive analysis of the evidence from the Nene Valley, taking in excavated and aerial photographic evidence, and making extensive use of the local Sites and Monument Records, has been compiled as part of the analysis of the prehistoric evidence from the Raunds Area Project (Harding and Healy 2007). This study also includes comparative material from the adjacent valleys of the Welland and the Great Ouse, and beyond.

The overview provided below draws on all of the published material, but is particularly indebted to the work of Harding and Healy. In setting the Raunds Area in its context, the basic concerns of the present study; changes through time and space in the use of the Nene valley landscape, had already been considered in some detail, and the present author must acknowledge and thank Frances Healy for providing access to this text prior to its publication.

Chronology

The chronology used is that followed by Clay, in the East Midlands Research Frameworks (2006), with an additional sub-division between the Late Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age. The principle monument types constructed within each period are also listed. It must be remembered, however, that we are looking at an extensive period that saw slow but steady changes in customs that resulted in the development of new constructional styles and the reuse of earlier monuments, and changes in burial practice. The neat bracketing of dates and monument types is therefore a construct to help us make

sense of a much less rigid and more dynamic process of change and development, and the conventional schemes of periods and the dates attached to them show many minor variations from author to author.

Earlier Neolithic: c 4000 cal BC-2800 cal BC

Causewayed enclosures

Long barrows and mortuary enclosures Long mounds and long enclosures

Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age: 2800 cal BC-1500 cal BC

Late Neolithic: 2800 cal BC-2200 cal BC

"classic" henges

Reuse of earlier monuments

Early round barrows

Early Bronze Age: 2200-1500 cal BC

Round barrows

Middle Bronze Age: 1500 cal BC-1000 cal BC

Open cremation cemeteries

The Mesolithic to Neolithic transition

The association between the hunter-gatherers of the late Mesolithic and the first monument builders and agriculturalists of the earlier Neolithic has been long debated, with a paucity of associated hard evidence to provide any clear resolution of the dilemma. At one stage it was thought that the Neolithic agriculturalists were a new people, invaders from the continent with new ways, who had largely supplanted the Mesolithic population. Today, the favoured view is that the quantity of any incomers was small, and it was largely the indigenous population who adopted a new way of life based on the continental model (Parker Pearson 2005).

This way of life was probably dominated by a pastoral economy, based on cattle and sheep rearing, with the arable component initially of secondary importance, and based on the growing of crops on small plots, probably at least partially cleared by grazing. The natural cycle of hunting and gathering would still have been important within the controlled cycles of stock rearing and the search for grazing, as well as the need to sow and harvest the supplementary grain crops.

Circumstantial evidence for this process being the adoption of new ways by the indigenous population may be provided by the earliest pottery. While there were well-developed pottery traditions on the continent, it has been argued by Gibson (pers comm) that the pottery of the British earlier Neolithic exhibits none of the technological sophistication of the continental material, suggesting that it was indeed an indigenous population who were in the process of developing a new technological skill from first principles.

Within the Nene Valley evidence from two sites indicates both Mesolithic and Neolithic exploitation of the same blocks of landscape, although these instances do not in themselves prove any direct cultural link or a continuity of usage, as coincidental use or reuse of preferred locations is always a possibility.

Within the Raunds Area Project, the results of the extensive fieldwalking survey has provided an overview of finds deposition for all periods spanning the entire landscape of the middle Nene from the margins of the alluvial covered floodplain and up the valley sides and onto the top of the boulder-clay covered uplands (Parry 2006). Mesolithic flint was scarce within the fieldwalking assemblage, but a substantial group was recovered in excavation as residual material within the surviving Neolithic and Bronze Age mounds at West Cotton, Raunds, and some material came from the fills of

tree holes, suggesting a connection with woodland clearance. Smaller quantities of flint came from fieldwalking on the adjacent lower slopes near the tributary stream of the Cotton Brook.

At Northampton, within the flint assemblage from the Briar Hill Neolithic causewayed enclosure (Plate 2.3.1), on the southern slopes of the valley, there was a small group of microliths, which indicate that there was some Mesolithic activity on this hillside predating the construction of the causewayed enclosure (Bamford 1985, 79). However, assemblages of Mesolithic flint are also present on the northern slopes of the valley in Northampton, at Chalk Lane within the town itself, and to the west at Duston. The small assemblage at Briar Hill might therefore just be part of a broader pattern of Mesolithic exploitation of the valley side. The site at Chalk Lane lay close to the confluence between the main branch of the Nene and the northern branch of the river, suggesting a parallel with the situation at West Cotton. This area also lies at the junction of the upper reaches of the Nene and the broader valley of the middle reaches, and the concentration of Mesolithic flint may denote that this transitional zone was a preferred location at the end of the Mesolithic, as it was also in the Neolithic, as we will see below.

There is another strand of evidence at Briar Hill that may also be of relevance. The chronology of the enclosure was based on the radiocarbon dating of charcoals recovered from the enclosure ditches and other features. Three of these dates are tightly grouped in the mid-fifth millennium BC (Bamford 1985). Such an early date for the construction of the Briar Hill causewayed enclosure is widely considered to be unlikely, and it has been suggested that some residual fifth millennium cal BC charcoal may have been present when the enclosure was originally constructed (J Meadows 2003). However, if this material was residual, it begs the question as to what was happening on the hillside in the mid-fifth millennium BC? The combination of the Mesolithic flints and the radiocarbon dates may suggest that this hillside location was of some significance prior to the appearance of the causewayed enclosure. This prior usage was perhaps merely part of the suggested broader pattern of Mesolithic land use in this transitional zone, but another possibility is that the causewayed enclosure was built here because this location had already been established as a special place in the fifth millennium.

Elements of settlement and land use

While the Neolithic and Bronze Ages are blessed with a great diversity of substantial earthwork monuments, they are equally cursed with a lack of evidence for the homes and the day-to-day activities of the monument builders.

With so few structures surviving we must again turn to the patterns of flint distribution as a potential indicator of the broad patterns of land use, and potentially as indicators of specific settlement locations. It is the results of the fieldwalking from the Raunds Area Project that again provide our most comprehensive picture; spanning the full landscape range of the middle Nene (Parry 2006).

Neolithic flint is sparse on the boulder clay plateau, suggesting that these were perhaps still wooded, but flint is present across the lighter soils of the valley sides, particularly on the slopes overlooking the tributary stream of the Cotton Brook at West Cotton (see Fig 2.3.7). As summarised by Harding and Healy (2007), 'it is as if a distinction between an area of monuments, ceremony and pasture on the valley floor and an occupied zone on the valley sides developed during the fourth millennium and was reinforced late in the third'. So, even if people largely lived and worked on the valley sides, their lives were evidently focussed on the river valley itself.

At Raunds, West Cotton, a single monument, the later Neolithic Cotton Henge, lay on the valley side within an area of dense flint concentration, indicating that the division between monuments and living areas was not one of simple exclusion. Similarly, it must be recognised that the valley bottom monument complex in the Raunds-Stanwick area was exceptional, and one of only a few such complexes along the middle reaches of the Nene. It may be more appropriate to suggest that certain

lengths of the valley bottom were excluded from daily use by the presence of monument complexes, while extensive exploitation of the landscape may have run down onto the valley bottom at intervening locations.

The pattern seen in some detail at Raunds, with flints concentrated on the lighter soils of the valley sides, has been confirmed across Northamptonshire by the extensive fieldwalking programmes led by David Hall (Hall 1985; Martin and Hall 1980). In addition, there is another very specific instance of valley bottom monuments with a possible contemporary settlement overlooking them, has been located at Roe Farm, Cogenhoe (Hollowell 2001). Here there is an upstanding barrow mound on the valley floor, with other ploughed-out round barrows nearby, while a dense scatter of flint across the adjacent hillside may denote the site of the contemporary settlement.

Some direct physical evidence for settlement is also available. Either isolated pits or small clusters of pits which are not directly associated with larger earthwork monuments can often be dated to the Neolithic or Early Bronze by the presence of quantities of domestic debris in the form of pottery, flint and worked stone. The conclusion that they identify the locations of domestic settlement holds true even though such pits are unlikely to have been dug for the utilitarian process of rubbish disposal. They can be interpreted as marking the ritualised and structured disposal of occupation debris, either during occupation or perhaps immediately prior to the occupants moving on, as a ritualised cleansing of the site. In many cases it is evident that only a token offering has been made. This is particularly evident in some of the pits of Early Bronze Age date, as at Fenstanton, Cambridgeshire, in the Great Ouse valley, where a single pit produced sherds from some twelve Beaker vessels, only one of which could be reconstructed to a partial profile (Chapman *et al* 2005).

No systematic study of such features is available for the Nene Valley, but the broad conclusions from a recent study covering the East Anglian counties of Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk are likely to be applicable in the Nene Valley (Garrow 2006). Along the major river valleys there were more pits than on the higher ground, and these contained more cultural material than in pits away from the river, reinforcing the view that activity was focussed on the valleys. It was also noted that there was an increase in the number of pits in the Later Neolithic, those containing Grooved Ware, and this was maintained in the Early Bronze Age in pits containing Beaker pottery, with this indicating an intensification of settlement from the Later Neolithic that presumably reflects rising population levels.

Along the Nene Valley such pits have occasionally been found along the middle and lower reaches of the river. The absence of evidence from the upper Nene probably does indicate that there was less use of the upland zone, but the limited opportunities for large-scale excavation capable of recovering such evidence, and the presence of more widespread pasture on the heavier soils, which limits fieldwalking opportunities, are factors that will bias the image.

A characteristic example of pits along the Nene Valley comes from the extensive excavation of Iron Age and Roman settlement along the southern margin of the valley at Wollaston, where there were several pits that have produced Peterborough Ware, from the earlier 3rd millennium cal BC and Grooved Ware from the later third millennium cal BC, although there were no pits containing Beaker pottery of the late third to early second millennium cal BC (I Meadows pers comm). Other smaller excavations on the valley sides have produced single pits.

On the lower reaches of the river such pits are more common, but the known groups lie close to monuments and may reflect periodic visits to the monument centres of the lower Nene, and perhaps do not represent the overall settlement pattern. A small group of pits dated to the late Neolithic lay near a small Neolithic ring ditch at Elton, near Warmington (French 1991), while the numerous pits excavated in the Peterborough area during the gravel digging of early twentieth century produced the eponymous Peterborough Ware, as well as Grooved Ware and Beaker pottery.

On the middle Nene Valley we are left with a single site of unique character. At Ecton, east of Northampton, observation during soil stripping prior to gravel extraction located a number of features and associated Neolithic pottery, and a small area was excavated in 1971-72 (Moore and Williams 1975). The excavated features comprised shallow hollows, patches of burnt clay and at least one hearth, and the associated pottery was predominantly later Neolithic Peterborough Ware in the Mortlake tradition. To the south of the excavated area further patches of burnt clay and charcoal rich soils were observed during soil stripping, suggesting that the activity was spread over an area perhaps as much as 100m in diameter. Whilst interpreted as a later Neolithic settlement, the evidence is too incomplete to provide a full understanding of the nature of the activity.

Fieldwalking in the Raunds area, has also indicated the presence of a technologically simple flake industry on the higher ground, which suggests that an expansion away from the valley bottom and sides occurred in the second millennium cal BC, largely within the middle Bronze Age. Contemporary with this, a pattern of droveways and enclosures developed on the valley bottom at Stanwick, in the area later to be occupied by a major Iron Age and Roman settlement. However, the paucity of associated artefacts or structures indicates that the main settlement was still on the valley sides, and the evidence from the two extreme zones may be linked to a developed system of stock management that fully exploited the potential grazing from the floodplain to the plateau. Such systems of droves and bounded fields have been more fully explored around the Fen edge landscape, including the lower Nene at Fengate and Flag Fen (Pryor 2001 and 2005).

The distribution of the monuments

The Nene Valley sits between the Great Ouse, to the south, and the Welland, to the north, with all three rivers rising on the Jurassic uplands to the west and flowing north-eastward towards the Fen edge and then on to the Wash (Figs 2.3.1 and 2.3.8). They are all similarly slow-flowing rivers, quite different from the more vigorous Trent further to the north, and share similar histories of past land use. Away from the Fen edge, the Welland Valley is archaeologically still largely unexplored territory, as it has so far escaped the extensive gravel extraction that has run along much of the courses of both the Nene and the Great Ouse. Along both the Nene and the Ouse intensive exploitation of the gravels has helped to reveal much of the archaeology, and it is worth summarising the spatial sequence of Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments along the Ouse Valley, as it will be seen to have close parallels with the Nene Valley.

The general pattern for the distribution of Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments in the neighbouring valley of the Great Ouse has been briefly summarised by Malim (2000, 57, 81-86 and fig 8.1). There are no definite Neolithic monuments along the upper Ouse, west of Bedford and into north Buckinghamshire, perhaps as a result of the narrower river valley. However, this stretch of the river does contain numerous ring ditches of probable Bronze Age round barrows, while excavated barrow cemeteries on the river floodplain at Gayhurst/Newport Pagnell (Chapman 2007) and further upriver at Passenham (Taylor pers comm) have been shown to be new developments originating in the early Bronze Age, with little in the way of even residual worked flint to denote any intensive Neolithic utilisation of these river margin locations. At both Gayhurst and Passenham, the presence of pit alignments and Iron Age and Roman settlements on the adjacent valley sides, attests to the intensive later use of these landscapes.

On the broader reaches of the middle Ouse, and associated with braiding of the channel system and river confluences, there was a series of ceremonial complexes, which appear to be distributed relatively evenly along the river valley at intervals of 5-6km, with centres at Biddenham and Octagon Farm, west and east of Bedford. The only causewayed enclosure on the middle reaches is at Cardington, south of Bedford. There are further complexes at Roxton, Eynesbury, Buckden/Diddington and Rectory Farm, Godmanchester. At the Fen edge there was then a further major grouping or groupings of monuments at Barleycroft Farm, Over and Haddenham. While the

monument complexes of the middle Ouse were dominated by linear monuments, long enclosures and cursuses, other types dominate on the Fen edge, with a causewayed enclosure at Haddenham.

The Ouse valley therefore shows a distinct difference between the upper, middle and lower reaches, a pattern that we will see repeated, although with many differences in detail along the Nene Valley.

An examination of the most basic of distribution plans for Neolithic and Bronze Age sites along the Nene Valley and the adjacent slopes shows quite clearly the dearth of sites generally on the Northamptonshire Uplands in comparison to frequent sites along the lighter soils of the middle reaches of the Nene, and a further increase in site density on the lower reaches, commencing just within north Northamptonshire and extending across Peterborough to the Fen edge in Cambridgeshire (Figs 2.3.1 and 2.3.8). Below, the finer details of this distribution pattern are examined and explored.

The causewayed enclosures, long barrows and mortuary enclosures, and other Earlier Neolithic monuments (4th millennium cal BC)

Causewayed enclosures

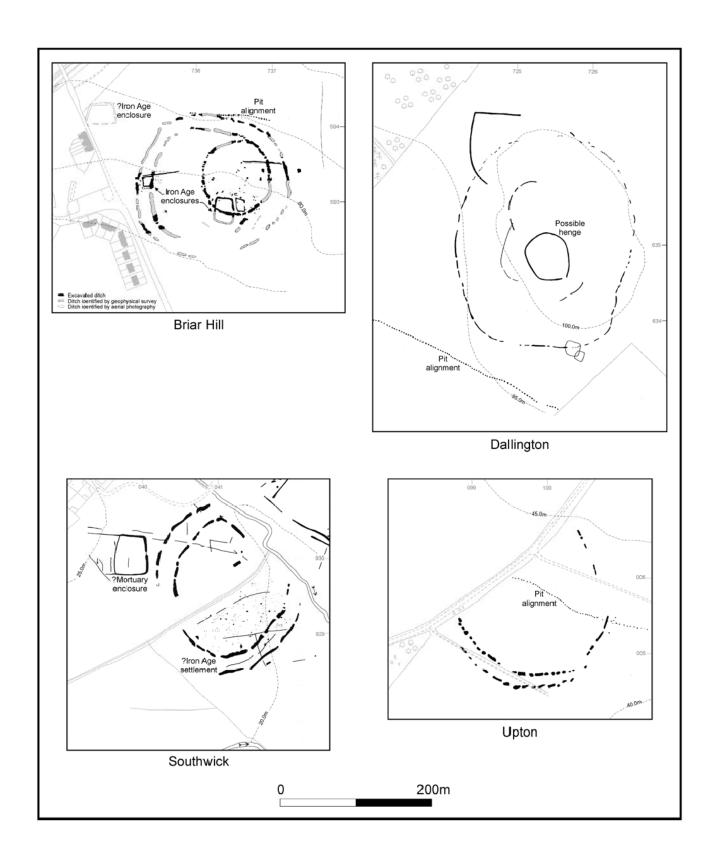
With the sub-circular to elliptical ditch systems of the causewayed enclosures, anything from around 100m to over 200m in diameter, we have the first appearance in the British Isles of the enclosure of open space with prominent and durable physical boundaries (Fig 2.3.2). However, whilst prominent and durable, the numerous openings through the interrupted ditch systems indicate that access to the space itself was not rigidly controlled by the ditches, which were boundaries but not effective barriers. This distinctive physical form, as well as the general absence of evidence for continuous domestic occupation, has led to these sites being seen as central gathering places, in which access was encouraged rather than denied. The causewayed enclosures can therefore be seen as the gathering places of the living, in contrast the contemporary long barrows and mortuary enclosures, which were the gathering places for the dead; although in Neolithic and Bronze Age society there was never such a simple physical or mental separation of the living from the dead.

The four causewayed enclosures that overlook the Nene Valley are situated at the junctions between the upper and middle reaches of the river and middle and lower reaches respectively, occupying what will be the two pivotal zones along the valley for its entire history (Fig 2.3.1). The location of the two major modern settlements, Northampton and Peterborough, in these same zones just reemphasises how important they have always been in regard to settlement location.

Around Northampton, at the junction between the upper and middle reaches, the Briar Hill enclosure lay on the southern slopes of the valley overlooking the river, with views across the entire valley floor. The enclosure at Dallington lay to the north, on higher ground to the west of the main northern tributary (Fig 2.3.2).

There are no causewayed enclosures along the 50km length of the middle Nene, but a further two examples, at Southwick and Upton are situated where the river starts to follow a more meandering course, as the valley widens and the gradient reduces on the approach to the Fen edge. The Southwick enclosure can be seen as marking the beginning of the lower reaches of the river. This enclosure is quite low lying and close to the river, a little to the west of the confluence with a major tributary stream, Willow Brook, flowing down from the higher ground to the north, while the Upton enclosure lies on higher ground.

The Southwick and Upton enclosures are closely paralleled by a cluster of causewayed enclosures at a similar topographic location, and only a few miles to the north, on the river Welland, at Uffington, and Barholm, with further examples on low-lying ground at Etton and Northborough (Oswald *et al* 2001). On the Great Ouse there are two causewayed enclosures. Cardington near Bedford, which lay



in an area rich in diverse Neolithic monument types, whilst west of Bedford Neolithic monuments are absent. To the east, the causewayed enclosure at Haddenham lay at the Fen edge, similar to the situation of Etton and Northborough on the Welland, but with no known equivalent on the Nene in the Fengate area.

The excavation of the causewayed enclosure at Briar Hill, Northampton (Bamford 1985) demonstrated the longevity of this site. The double outer ditch circuit and the eccentric inner circuit had been maintained periodically through the fourth millennium, with the elongated ditch segments shown to be the product of successive recuts (Fig 2.3.2 and Plate 2.3.1). At any one time its physical presence would have been negligible in comparison to the extent of the enclosed space, comprising rings of individual pits much more widely spaced than the overall plans would suggest, and these show the palimpsest of all phases of recutting, and perhaps with only a low continuous or discontinuous bank formed from the upcast from these pits.

It is notable that, in contrast to the contemporary mortuary enclosures, none of the causewayed enclosures were the direct focus for contemporary or later monument complexes. However, the enduring importance of the Briar Hill enclosure was evident in both the recutting of the ditch circuits and in the presence of internal features dating to the Later Neolithic and the Middle Bronze Age, as discussed below. Such evidence is not directly available for the other causewayed enclosures, although both Dallington, Northampton and Southwick have some evidence for either continuity or at least reuse in the later Neolithic, also discussed below.

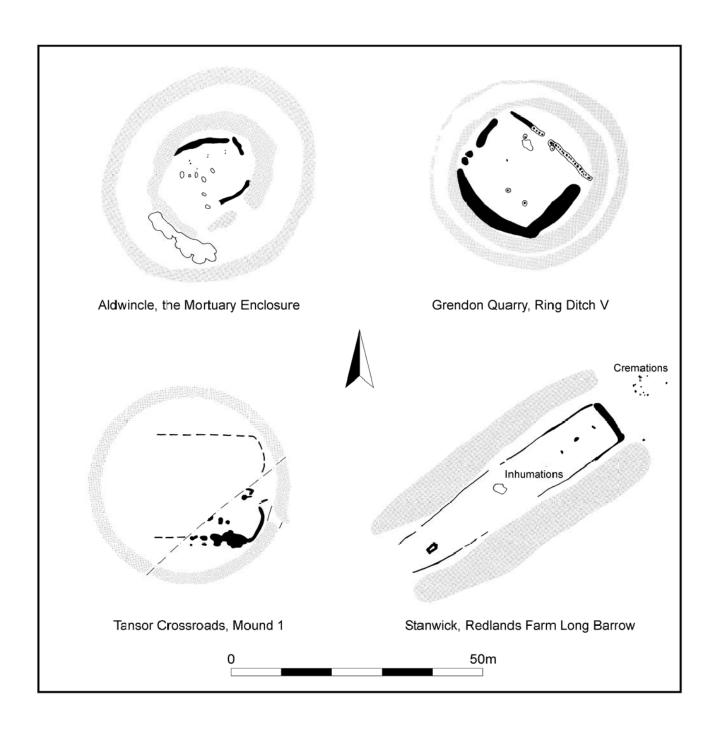
Long barrows and mortuary enclosures

With the causewayed enclosures seen to be occupying the two pivotal zones along the valley, we can examine the distribution of the other broadly contemporary monuments, the long barrows and oval mortuary enclosures that held the remains of the dead (Fig 2.3.3). Long barrows, like causewayed enclosures, were part of a widespread, in fact an international, phenomenon. They contained deposits of human remains, often including disarticulated bones in addition to intact inhumations, set within some form of timber mortuary house or enclosure that remained accessible for both the addition and the removal of further remains. These might be set behind some form of timber façade, usually facing to the east. Eventually, the mortuary deposit would have been sealed beneath the broader, eastern end of an elongated mound formed from the upcast from flanking side ditches.

The tributary valleys incised into the Boulder Clay covered uplands, with an underlying Jurassic geology, contain little known prehistoric archaeology, and there has been little in the way of excavation to confirm the possible sites located by aerial photography. Aerial photography has suggested the presence of a number of possible long barrows on the Northamptonshire uplands in the south of the county, with a small number lying in the narrow valleys of the tributaries that form the upper reaches of the Nene. There are three at Flore, two of which lie adjacent to each other; there is another at Stowe-Nine-Churches and a further example on higher ground to the north of Harpole, just to the west of Northampton (Harding and Healy 2007, table 4.1).

As these possible long barrow sites have not been tested by excavation, it may be noted that a possible earthwork long barrow (SAM No 13672) next to the Iron Age hillfort of Rainsborough Camp, near the village of Charlton in south Northamptonshire, has been subject to earthwork and geophysical survey (NA 1997). Partly based on the absence of side ditches, it was concluded that this was probably not a long barrow, and was more likely to be a landscape mound of eighteenth-century date, a period when it is known that parts of the hillfort defences were "enhanced" to conform to the romantic landscape expectations of the day.

However, if most of the sites on the upper Nene have been correctly interpreted as long barrows, they could be seen as eastern outliers of the Oxfordshire and Cotswold long barrow groups, providing a distinct contrast with the middle reaches of the river, where there is only a single classic long barrow.



This suggests the presence of very different traditions between the upper and middle Nene, with these differences established in the monuments of the first half of the fourth millennium cal BC. The Northamptonshire Uplands looked to the west, while from Northampton downstream there was a different tradition, which was probably shared across the river systems that flow into the Wash, and was exhibited in a range of non-standard monument types, as considered below.

While there is a single classic long barrow on the middle Nene, at Redlands Farm, Stanwick (Plate 2.3.2), the valley is notable for containing a series of mortuary enclosures that respected much of the long barrow tradition, but which were had been closed by the provision of encircling circular or oval ditches and correspondingly circular or oval mounds (Plate 2.3.3). The creation of Neolithic round barrows is not unique to the Nene Valley, as there are occasional examples in other parts of the country, but the presence of four along the Nene Valley does indicate a distinct local tradition for this monument form.

At Aldwincle (Figs 2.3.4 and 2.3.3), two inhumation burials (Plate 2.3.4), one of which was disarticulated, were set between paired D-shaped post-pits that had probably held substantial split oak posts supporting a mortuary house (Jackson 1976), while there was a substantial timber façade at Grendon, where burials may have been lost (Gibson and McCormick 1985). At Tansor there may also have been a timber façade and a single post-pit containing Mortlake pottery may have held the post at one end of a mortuary house (Chapman 1997). The encircling ditch at Tansor was a very precisely cut U-shape, with steep-sides and a flat-bottom, although the upper edges had later eroded back into the natural clay (Plate 2.3.5).

The known mortuary enclosures and the single long barrow of the middle and lower Nene lay along the valley from Grendon to Orton Meadows, Peterborough (Fig 2.3.1), with only the enclosure at Tansor set high up on the valley side. All of the others were low lying, and situated near the confluence with tributary streams.

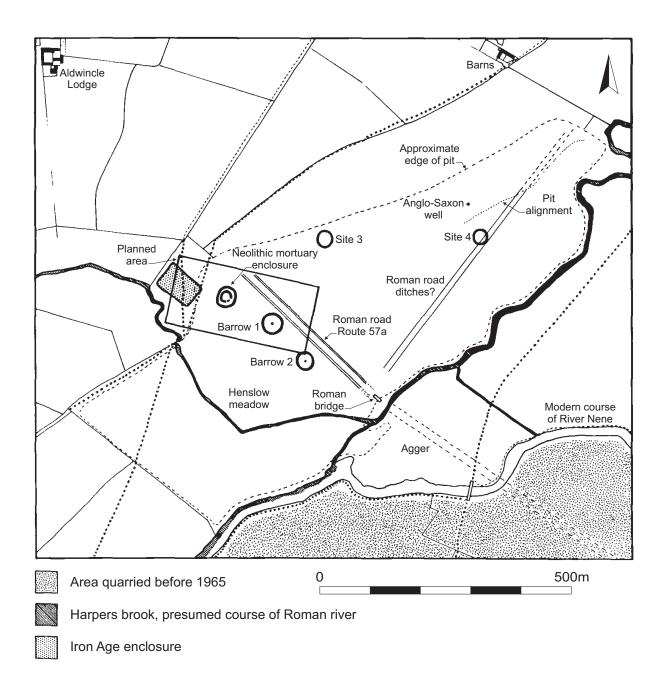
The five examples are also quite regularly spaced, at intervals of 10.5-12.5km, with a similar spacing between the Grendon enclosure and Briar Hill causewayed enclosure (Chapman 1997 and 2004a). It is tempting to suggest that this may be indicative of the extent of real Neolithic territorial divisions, with each mortuary enclosure or long barrow serving a territory extending some 10.5-12.5km along the valley. These monuments may have been either central or peripheral to the territories that they served, with current analyses favouring the importance of sites set at territorial or topographical boundaries. This apparent regularity does invite a comparison to the situation on the Great Ouse, where, as summarised above, monument complexes lay at intervals of 5-6km (Malim 2000). This would appear to suggest that the territories along the Nene were twice as extensive as those along the Ouse.

However, some caution should be exercised, as all of the known mortuary enclosures and even the single long barrow along the Nene Valley, were originally excavated as potential Bronze Age round barrows, with their Neolithic origins only becoming evident as a result of excavation. It is therefore possible that other examples of at least circular mortuary enclosures may still lie unrecognised among ring ditches known only from aerial photographs.

Long enclosures, long mounds and other monuments

While the causewayed enclosures stood on their own, with later use confined within the limits of the original enclosure, the mortuary enclosures and long barrow were all the focus for either a range of other Neolithic monuments, or at least a focus for round barrow cemeteries in the Early Bronze Age.

The mortuary enclosures at Aldwincle, Tansor and Orton Meadows apparently stood alone in the Neolithic, and only became centres for round barrow construction in the Early Bronze Age (Fig 2.3.4). In contrast, the mortuary enclosure at Grendon and the long barrow at Raunds-Stanwick, were



only a part of larger monument complexes that contained a diversity of Neolithic monuments (Fig 2.3.6). At Raunds-Stanwick there was a long enclosure (Fig 2.3.7) and, perhaps two at Grendon (Fig 2.3.4). These ditched enclosures, around 100-150m long, comprised parallel side ditches and continuous end ditches, but with no indication that they had flanked central mounds. They are characterised by a paucity of artefacts or even animal bone from the ditch fills, and are clearly related to the much longer cursus monuments, and are of similarly uncertain function.

The Grendon monument complex

The successive phases of investigation at Grendon have shown that the monument complex extended nearly 1.0km along the length of a tributary stream running closely parallel to the river (Gibson and McCormick 1985; Jackson 1995; Last 2005; Jones and Chapman 2005). The Neolithic mortuary enclosure, Site C - Ring ditch V, with its north-easterly facing façade of closely-set timbers, lay near the centre of the whole complex (Fig 2.3.5). To the south there may have been a long enclosure, while another, 116m long by 27m wide, lay to the north (Last 2005, fig 7). Near to the northern long enclosure there was a double-ditched rectangular mortuary enclosure, surrounding a pit with a central crouched inhumation (Last 2005, figs 4 and 6). The monument has not been dated, but has been ascribed a Neolithic date on stylistic grounds, while a secondary crouched inhumation in the enclosure ditch has been radiocarbon dated to the end of the Early Bronze Age, 1520-1390 cal BC (3180+ BP; Beta 131546).

The Raunds-Stanwick monument complex

The earlier Neolithic monuments at Raunds and Stanwick ran for a length of 1.85km along the eastern bank of the river, and part of the river course here later silted up (Figs 2.3.6 and 2.3.7). The valley floor topography at this time was one of a series of dry islands situated between the multiple channels of a complex braided channel system, The principal Neolithic monuments were situated on the gravel terrace immediately east of the channel system, although in the Bronze Age a group of round barrows were located on the largest of the islands within the channel system (Fig 2.3.6).

The Stanwick, Redlands Farm long barrow lay to the south, while to the north, at West Cotton, Raunds, there was an earthen mound, the long mound, which was 135m in length and typically 13m wide. It was partially flanked by irregular quarry pits, but the gravel from these had not gone to form the body of the mound, which was of stone-free soils. No burials were found, but the possible presence of a form of forecourt to the east, later mounded over, and the construction technique of turf and soils mounded up within rectangular bays, defined by surviving lines of stakeholes that presumably denoted the use of wattle-work hurdles, clearly shows a close association with the long barrow tradition (Plate 2.3.6). Midway between the long mound and the long barrow there was a 60m long avenue comprising a pair of parallel ditches 7-9m apart.

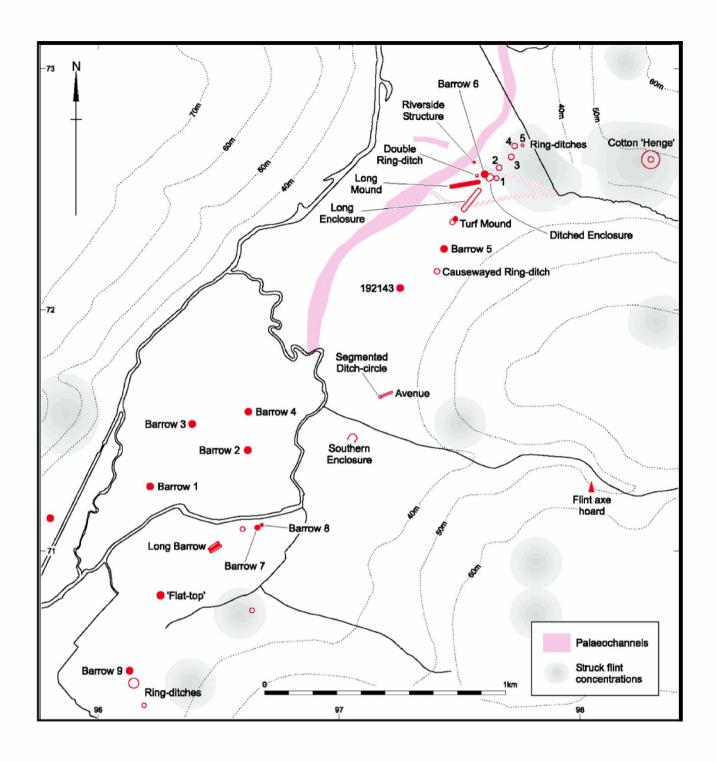
At West Cotton, by the end of the fourth millennium further monuments had been added, including a 120m long, long enclosure (Plate 2.3.7), and an oval turf mound that appeared to have had two parallel fence lines across the top, on the same alignment as the long enclosure (Plate 2.3.8).

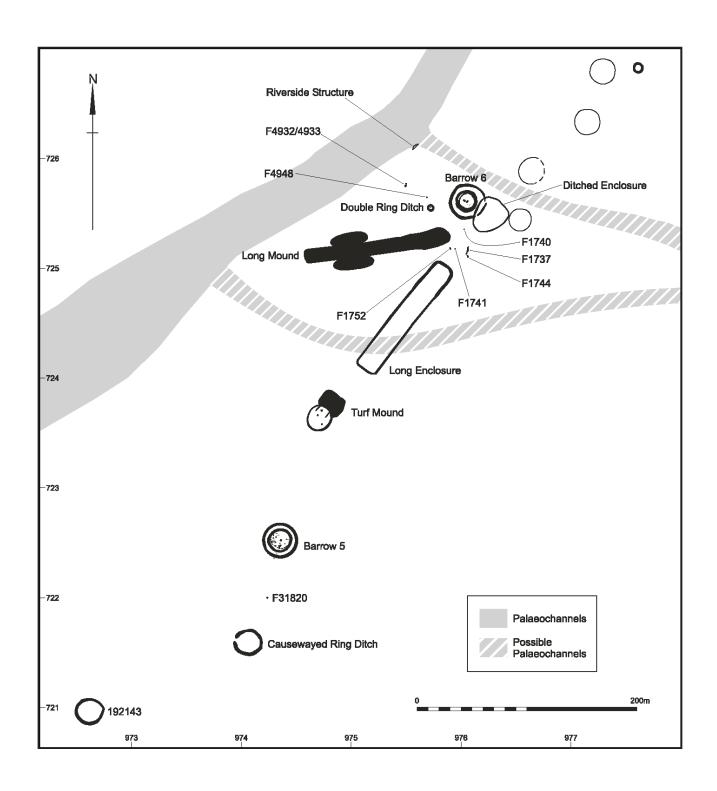
The Late Neolithic and the round barrows of the Early Bronze Age (third to midsecond millennium cal BC)

The monument complexes

The evidence from the Raunds-Stanwick monument complex indicates that after the period of active monument construction on the valley floor through the fourth millennium cal BC, there was a quite period in the earlier third millennium cal BC that saw little in the way of additional monument construction. The henge on the valley side above West Cotton, which was probably the last of the major Neolithic monuments in the area, probably dates to around the end of the fourth millennium or the early third millennium cal BC. The flint scatter across the adjacent hillside perhaps suggests that







the henge was more closely physically associated with contemporary settlement than the earlier monuments had been. It may also have been part of a wider trend towards locating such sites higher on the valley sides, which may be echoed in the small ring ditch and the associated pits containing Grooved Ware at Elton. A similar pattern has also been seen in the Ouse valley (Malim 2000).

However, even if major new constructions were not appearing along the floor of the Nene Valley, there is no doubt that the existing monuments, even if then grassed over and not being actively maintained, were still respected earthworks, probably still much visited and fulfilling as important a cultural role as previously. On the long mound at West Cotton, a shallow gully encircled the margin of the mound, and stakeholes at the eastern end suggest the presence of some form a light timber façade at this end, perhaps created in the early third millennium cal BC but retained or rebuilt into the mid-third millennium cal BC.

Reuse of the causewayed enclosures

A Later Neolithic move onto the valley sides may also be evident in the reuse of at least some of the causewayed enclosures. As previously noted, at least three of the four known causewayed enclosures were centres of activity in the Later Neolithic. At Briar Hill pits were dug into parts of the silted ditch circuit, while within the southern half of inner enclosure there were further pits, some containing Grooved Ware. These lay near a small U-shaped structure, 5.0m long with three substantial principal posts on each side, supporting a timber-building or forming a 'cove', with one end closed by less-substantial timbers (Plate 2.3.9). The cutting of pits into the ditch circuit indicates that while the ditches were largely silted, there was still an extant earthwork enclosure, and the usage is likely to have been allied to the practices normally associated with henges, with the causewayed enclosure effectively becoming a substitute for a henge. Similarly, at nearby Dallington, within the single causewayed ditch circuit there is a smaller enclosure, up to 65m in diameter, with a continuous ditch, which may have been a henge constructed within the earthworks of the old enclosure in the later Neolithic. The reuse of both Briar Hill and Dallington may therefore have paralleled the new henge on the valley side above the West Cotton monument complex.

Beavers in the Nene Valley

At the end of the Later Neolithic, evidence from West Cotton in the Raunds Area, adds another dimension to the shaping of the landscape of the valley bottom; the presence of the beaver. This neglected agent for dramatic and widespread alterations to the topography of the valley has recently been the subject of a major new assessment of its impact on Britain (Coles 2006). At West Cotton, investigation of the river palaeochannel adjacent to the Neolithic monument complex of the fourth to third millennium cal BC, uncovered a riverside platform of alder trunks and brushwood, radiocarbon dated to the 2850-2300 cal BC (3990± 54 BP; UB-3319) (Plate 2.3.10). No finds were recovered from the platform itself, although in silts above the platform a scatter of animal bone, including a few fragments of human bone, did indicate human activity at a slightly later date. However, Coles has suggested that the basal timbers themselves are more likely to have been felled and brought here by beavers (Coles 2006, 90-94), with this being an example of "a place where human and beaver territories overlapped, with beavers the most active agent in the riverine context". It might also be suggested that a back swamp area 2km upstream from West Cotton, some 200m long by 80m wide, and dated to the 3380-3020 cal BC (4515+59 BP; Wk-10432), may also have been a product of beaver action rather than natural silting, and large quantities of unworked wood were observed in a watching brief at the downstream end of this channel (Chapman 2004b).

The continuing presence and influence of beavers up to the end of the Middle Bronze Age was demonstrated by the presence of a bone from a beaver that has been radiocarbon dated to 1270-910 cal BC (2900±60 BP; OxA-4740) (Chapman in press).

The Early Bronze Age round barrows

On the uplands of the western part of Northamptonshire there is a sparse scattering of probable round barrows known from aerial photography. Many of these are situated on high ground, where they are located to be visible on the skyline, in the classic fashion for upland round barrows. These examples owe nothing to the Nene Valley and, like the long barrows that had preceded them on the uplands, they are looking towards traditions current in areas to the west and south.

From Northampton eastwards along the middle Nene, there is a dramatic increase in the number of barrows (Fig 2.3.8). The majority of these are situated on the floor of the valley, where they were evidently intended to be viewed from above, although there are examples on the surrounding slopes, some of which would have been visible on the skylines from the valley bottom, such as the still upstanding line of three barrows known as the Three Hills, at Woodford, just east of the Raunds Area.

There are examples of isolated barrows, such as the Earls Barton barrow, where a Wessex-style bronze dagger, dated to the end of the Early Bronze Age, accompanied a cremation burial (Jackson 1984). However, many of the excavated barrows formed part of barrow cemeteries that were centred on monuments of Neolithic origin. There were therefore Bronze Age barrows or barrow cemeteries associated with the oval mortuary enclosures at Grendon, Aldwincle, Tansor and Orton Meadows, and also with the long barrows and other Neolithic monuments of the Raunds-Stanwick complex (Figs 2.3.4, 2.3.5 and 2.3.6).

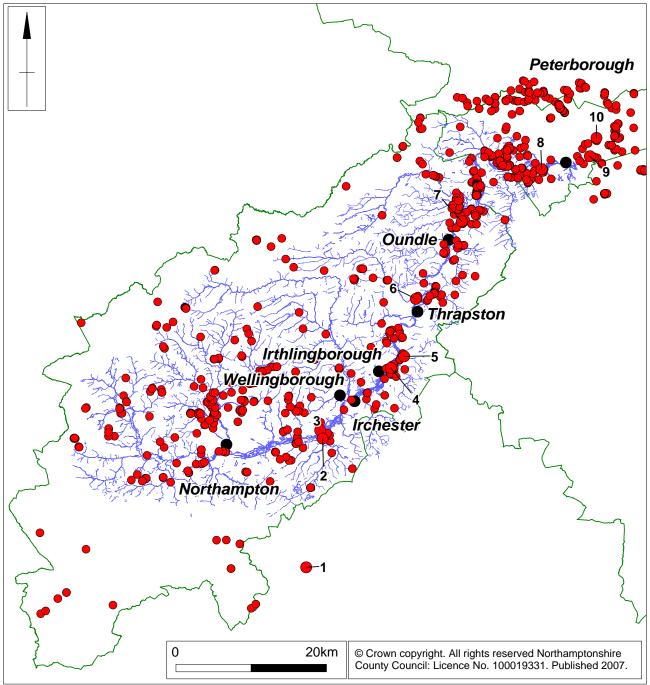
However, there are further examples between the known Neolithic monument complexes, including the group at Cogenhoe (Hollowell 2001), the excavated barrow at Irchester (Chapman 2003) and those partially investigated at Warmington (NA 1979, NA 1981), and many others known only from aerial photographs. This might indicate a breakdown of the territorial divisions of the Neolithic, or perhaps a sub-division into a greater number of social groupings, perhaps reflecting increased population densities. In this context, it might be expected that the cemeteries centred on the earlier monument complexes would have been the most prestigious to reuse.

Apart from later barrows around Neolithic monuments, the Neolithic mounds were also directly reused. Three inhumations were set into the long barrow mound at Redlands Farm, Stanwick (Harding and Healy 2007), while there was a succession of Early Bronze Age cremation burials in the top of the exceptionally well-preserved mound over the mortuary enclosure at Orton Meadows, Peterborough (Mackreth forthcoming).

While there are barrows and small barrows cemeteries along the middle Nene, aerial photography indicates a further increase in number as the river approaches the broad levels of the Fen edge, including larger barrow cemeteries, with the increase occurring to the east of the Southwick causewayed enclosure (Fig 2.3.8). Unfortunately, the clusters of sites to the west of Peterborough have seen relatively little large-scale archaeological investigation, and there is little to characterise these cemeteries, apart from the excavation of the Neolithic mortuary enclosure and an adjacent round barrow at Orton Meadows (Mackreth forthcoming) and investigation of round barrows at Eyebury Farm, downstream from Fengate in the early 20th century (Leeds 1911-12 and 1914-15).

There was a wide variety of barrows along the Nene, varying from those encircled by a single ditch, and thus comprising a single principal period of construction, even if secondary burials were latter inserted into and around the mound. However, about 10% of the barrows possess two or more encircling ditches (Harding and Healy 2007), indicating that they underwent a number of episodes of mound enlargement and refurbishment, with each phase likely to have accompanied a new episode of burial.

The excavated examples of multiple-ditched round barrows along the midland river valleys of the Ouse, Nene and Welland have had an origin at the end of the third millennium, with the primary



Scale 1:500,000

- 1 Gayhurst Quarry
- 2 Grendon
- 3 Earls Barton
- 4 Stanwick
- 5 Raunds
- 6 Aldwincle
- 7 Tansor Crossroads
- 8 Peterborough, Orton Meadows
- 9 Peterborough, Fengate/Flag Fen
- 10 Peterborough, Eyebury Farm

burials being prestigious Beaker inhumations. On the Great Ouse at Gayhurst, near Newport Pagnell, the primary burial in a large double-ditched round barrow had lain in a deep grave containing an oak-timbered chamber, while selected bones from some 300 cattle were deposited on the barrow mound (Chapman 2007). This provides a close parallel for a near contemporary, triple-ditched barrow at Irthlingborough, Raunds. Here the primary inhumation was in a timber-lined chamber and was accompanied by a Beaker, a flint dagger, V-perforated jet buttons and other objects. Above the grave there was a limestone cairn and on this selected parts, mainly skulls and shoulder blades, from some 100 cattle, including a few aurochs, had been deposited (Harding and Healy 2007).

On the Welland, at Barnack the primary inhumation in a triple-ditched barrow was accompanied by a Beaker, a copper dagger and a stone wrist-guard with gold-capped fastenings: a grave group that has long been on display at the British Museum (Donaldson 1977). This barrow was also a focus for numerous later burials. It is broadly comparable to the triple-ditched barrow at West Cotton, Raunds, where the primary inhumation was accompanied by a long-necked Beaker, a flint dagger and a V-perforated jet button (Plates 2.3.11; 2.3.12 and 2.3.13).

There are other Early Bronze Age burials that were perhaps not associated with round barrows. Two crouched inhumation burials in pits, accompanied by Beaker pots and other grave goods, but with no encircling ditches, were found during excavation of Ashton Roman town, near Oundle, (Dix pers comm). A further similar example was found only a few miles away at Warmington, accompanied by a Beaker, a V-perforated jet button and a range of flint implements (Plates 2.3.14 and 2.3.15) (Parry pers comm).

In all three instances there was no indication that there had ever been an encircling ditch, but it would still have been possible for there to have originally been a mound of, say, imported turf and topsoil that has been lost. There may therefore have been both little conceptual difference between these burials and ditched round barrows and little physical difference, when newly constructed. Given the location of the known examples as chance finds, they may be considerably under represented in the archaeological record, with more examples awaiting discovery along the Nene Valley. At the north-eastern end of Northamptonshire, a small-scale investigation at Southwick uncovered an Early Bronze Age burial comprising a crouched inhumation accompanied by a bronze dagger, which lay between the two causewayed enclosure ditches (Hadman and Coombs 1973).

In many of the excavated round barrows there were multiple secondary burials, sometimes as inhumations but more often as cremation burials, many associated with Collared Urns or Food Vessels, which denote the continuing usage of the round barrows through the middle of the second millennium.

The end of the monuments (1500-1000 cal BC)

With the cessation of barrow building at around 1500-1400 cal BC, as well as the decline in the usage of flint tools, hard evidence for any form of human activity becomes sparser along the Nene Valley, and the evidence that is available clearly represents only a fraction of what must have been taking place both along the valley floor and on the adjacent slopes. As a result, it is not possible to provide any sense of the distribution of human activity along the Nene Valley in the later second millennium cal BC, as the picture is far too incomplete. All we can say is that all parts of the valley and the valley side were evidently still being utilised, and it seems likely that land usage in broad terms remained much as before, favouring the valley floor and the light soils of the adjacent slopes.

However, as already noted, the presence of a technologically simple flint flake industry on the higher ground at Raunds, where earlier flints were sparse, suggests that there had been an expansion away from the valley bottom onto the clay-covered plateau. This may indicate that there was a growing population that had to learn to exploit the entirety of the landscape more effectively.

Middle Bronze Age cremation cemeteries

Some evidence of Middle Bronze Age burial has been located, but with the end of barrow building, burials then comprised deposits of cremated bone either directly into pits or within simple pottery urns. Such small features tend not to register as readily identifiable or even recognisable features on aerial photographs or geophysical surveys. This leaves their discovery a matter of chance, and some of the few known examples have been found whilst investigating Neolithic and Early Bronze Age sites. However, given even a stable population, many more examples, particularly those not in the vicinity of earlier monuments, must have been either lost unrecognised or still await discovery.

In some instances there are single pits containing cremations. An example was found during evaluation work at Marsh Lane, Irthlingborough, some 45m from a small ring ditch, possibly an Early Bronze Age barrow, while another lay on higher ground well above the valley sides at Brackmills, Northampton, and some 25m from an Early Bronze Age round barrow (Chapman 2003). The radiocarbon dates for these burials fall within the later second millennium cal BC, Marsh Lane dated to 1650-900 cal BC (3070±130 BP; Beta-84658) and the Brackmills cremation to 1380-930 cal BC (2940±70 BP; Beta-175255). Both of these examples were found due to their proximity to previously identified ring ditches, and it may be that such isolated cremation deposits are most likely to have been placed close to earlier burial mounds. However, if other isolated burials had been made away from earlier monuments the chances of finding them would be even more remote than of finding larger cemetery sites.

In the Nene Valley itself, a Middle Bronze Age cremation cemetery was sited beyond the north-eastern end of the Stanwick long barrow, with a group of fifteen cremations, three of them in urns (Harding and Healy 2007) (Plate 2.3.2). Another cemetery of similar size lay on the valley side at Northampton, set within the outer ditch circuit of the Briar Hill causewayed enclosure (Bamford 1985). This cemetery contained some seventeen cremations, four of which had been in urns. The radiocarbon dates provide a *tpq* for these burials within the later second millennium cal BC, one was unidentified charcoal (2560-1690 cal BC; 3700±150 BP HAR-4058) and the other was from oak heartwood (1620-1300 cal BC; 3180±BP HAR-4065). One of the cremations was accompanied by a tanged arrowhead, but usage probably continued into the early part of the Middle Bronze Age.

The suggestion that there was a greater use of the clay uplands in the Middle Bronze Age may also be supported by the presence of open cremation cemeteries on higher ground well away from the Nene valley, and not associated with any earlier monuments. Examples known from Northamptonshire at Kelmarsh and Chapel Brampton, although neither has been fully published (Chapman 2004a).

Middle Bronze Age land divisions

It is within the Middle Bronze that we see the beginnings of very different processes reflecting fundamental changes in the way people viewed and organised the landscape around them. The physical effort previously expanded in the creation of substantial earthwork constructions most of which were directly or indirectly related to the disposal of the physical remains of the dead and the veneration of the ancestors, became redirected towards creating physical boundaries that provided practical land divisions.

In the Raunds-Stanwick area a network of small linear ditches divided the valley floor into numerous small rectangular field plots. Only the occasional roundhouse was present, suggesting that the focus of settlement still lay on the valley sides. The changing times are probably encapsulated in the way that this field system avoided the main Neolithic and Bronze Age ritual centres to the north and south and occupied the vacant valley bottom position between them. This field system was then the focus for the development of an extensive Iron Age settlement and subsequently a Roman settlement and late Roman villa.

Such Middle Bronze Age field systems and associated trackways have been most fully investigated on the fen edge at Fengate, Peterborough, where trackways ran from the higher ground to the Fen edge and have been interpreted as droveways to allow all of the available pasture to be exploited on a seasonal pattern of use (Pryor 2005). These early field systems therefore set the scene for the domestic settlements and the land boundary systems that dominated the landscape in the first millennium cal BC.

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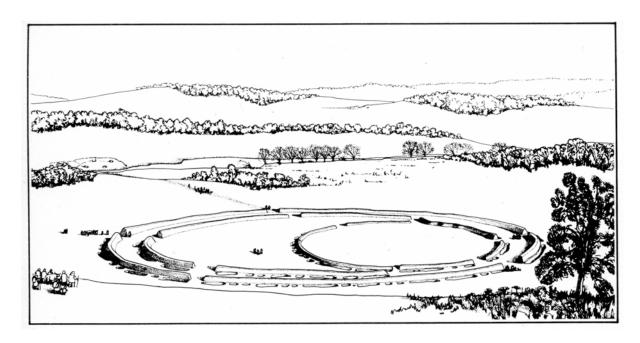


Plate 2.3.1: Reconstruction of the Earlier Neolithic causewayed enclosure at Briar Hill, Northampton, lying on the slopes overlooking the River Nene.

(Ken Connor for Northampton Development Corporation)



Plate 2.3.2: The Stanwick Redlands Farm long barrow, showing the side ditches, the eastern façade trench, and the Middle Bronze Age cremations (foreground).

(Oxfordshire Archaeology)



Plate 2.3.3: The Neolithic mortuary enclosure at Tansor, Northamptonshire under excavation, with the mortuary enclosure surrounded by the barrow ditch (foreground).

(Northamptonshire Archaeology)



Plate 2.3.4: The in situ crouched inhumation (foreground) and re-deposited bones beside a post-pit (background) from the mortuary structure at Aldwincle, Northamptonshire.

(Dennis Jackson)



Plate 2.3.5: The steep-sided and flat-bottomed barrow ditch at the Tansor Neolithic mortuary enclosure. (Northamptonshire Archaeology)

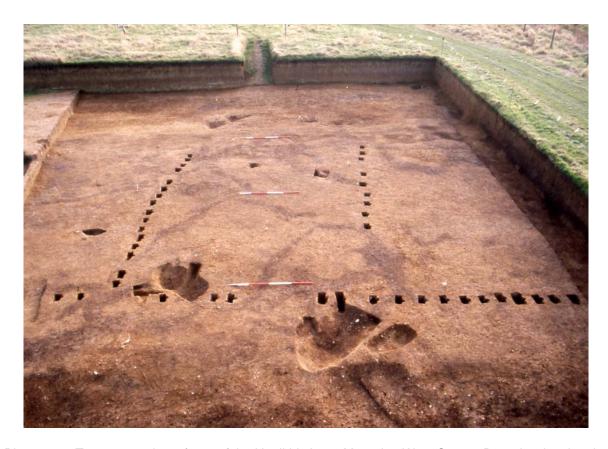


Plate 2.3.6: Transverse view of part of the Neolithic Long Mound at West Cotton, Raunds, showing the bay structure formed by transverse and marginal lines of stakeholes from former hurdles.

(Northamptonshire Archaeology)



Plate 2.3.7: The northern terminal of the Neolithic Long Enclosure at West Cotton, Raunds, with the southern end lying beyond the modern hedge (background).

(Northamptonshire Archaeology)

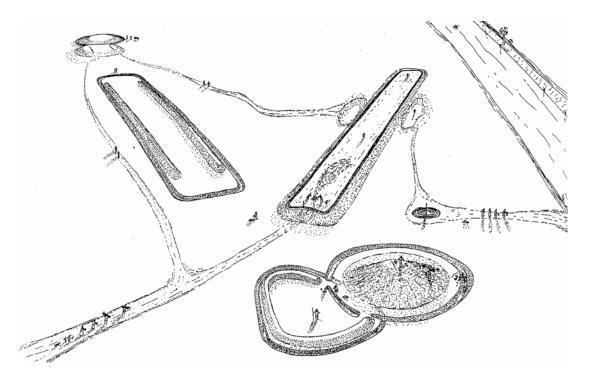


Plate 2.3.8: Reconstruction of the Neolithic and Bronze Age monument complex lying beside the river Nene at West Cotton, Raunds, showing the Long Mound (right), the Long Enclosure (left) and the Beaker round barrow (right foreground).

(Northamptonshire Archaeology)



Plate 2.3.9: The Late Neolithic alder trunks in the river palaeochannel at West Cotton, Raunds under excavation (it has been suggested that these may have been felled by beavers).

(Northamptonshire Archaeology)

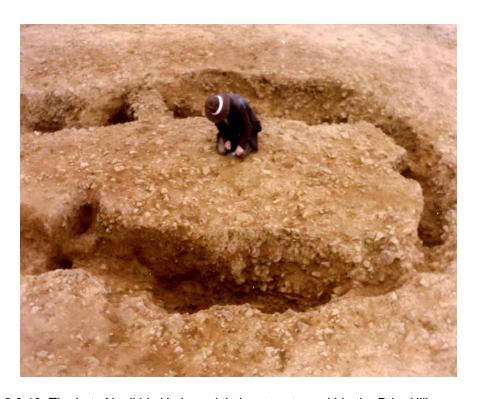


Plate 2.3.10: The Late Neolithic U-shaped timber structure within the Briar Hill causewayed enclosure, Northampton.

(Andy Chapman)



Plate 2.3.11: The Beaker round barrow at West Cotton, Raunds. (Northamptonshire Archaeology)

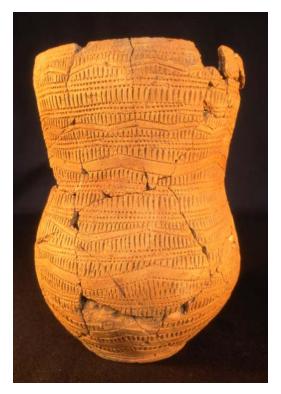


Plate 2.3.12: The crouched Beaker inhumation from West Cotton, Raunds, showing the crushed Beaker, flint dagger and jet button (by the feet) and a small flint knife (by the hands).

(Northamptonshire Archaeology)



Plate 2.3.13: The flint dagger that accompanied the Beaker burials at West Cotton, Raunds. (Northamptonshire Archaeology)





Plates 2.3.14: The Beaker and (right) Plate 2.3.15: The flint implements and V-perforated, jet buttons: both accompanying an Early Bronze Age, Beaker, inhumation at Warmington (Northamptonshire Archaeology)