

# SPONG HILL PART VI 7th TO 2nd MILLENNIA BC

# East Anglian Archaeology

Norfolk Archaeological Unit, Norfolk Museums Service 1988



The Anglo-Saxon
Cemetery
at Spong Hill,
North Elmham,
Part VI:
Occupation during the
Seventh to Second
Millennia BC

# by Frances Healy

with contributions from Julie Bond, Rosemary Bradley, R.V. Davis, Peter Murphy, and Robert J. Rickett

illustrations by Hoste Spalding John Davies, Denise Derbyshire, Frances Healy, Kenneth Penn, and Robert J. Rickett

and photographs by Rosemary Bradley, R. Carr and Peter Murphy

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**Cover Illustration** Reconstruction of a selection of prehistoric pots from Spong Hill (P227, P226, P223, P203, P199, P85, P175). *Illustration:* Hoste Spalding

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Excavations were conducted with the permission and cooperation of the landowner, Mr Wilfred Thompson, and his family. A primary debt of thanks is due to the numerous excavators who, over eleven seasons, have provided the raw material from which this report is built, and to the Department of the Environment and the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission who have funded excavation and post-excavation work.

I am particularly grateful to Dr Catherine Hills for first bringing the prehistoric material from Spong Hill to my notice and for making it possible for me to work on it. Robert Carr (responsible for excavations in 1972-3) and Andrew Rogerson (responsible for excavations in 1984) have been particularly informative and helpful. This report owes much to Robert Rickett, both for his patient and methodical compilation of a context archive and for his help and advice at every stage of post-excavation. The superb quality of the artefact illustrations by Hoste Spalding and Denise Derbyshire speaks for itself. The photographs are by Rosemary Bradley (Pls III-X); Peter Murphy (Pl. XI) and Robert Carr (Pl. I). Invaluable help

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# Summary

The excavation of a Early Saxon cemetery on a sand and gravel hill in mid-Norfolk revealed a multi-period occupation site, including features of Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age date. The Mesolithic was represented by three charcoal samples, at least one of them from an apparently contemporary hollow, radiocarbon-dated to the seventh millennium bc, and by a scatter of microliths and other contemporary artefacts. The Earlier Neolithic was represented by pits and other subsoil features, many of them clustered into groups and rich in pottery and lithic material. Mildenhall Ware was found in these feature groups and in some isolated features, Grimston Ware only in a few isolated pits. Two of the feature groups retained evidence for post-built structures. All but one of them were surrounded by concentrations of apparently contemporary lithic material and sherds, recovered mainly from

periglacial formations and later archaeological contexts. It is argued on technological and stylistic grounds that the feature groups were successive, each representing a single, relatively brief episode of occupation.

The Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age were represented by isolated subsoil features, most of them containing pottery and little or no struck flint. Peterborough Ware, Grooved Ware, Beaker, Food Vessel Urn, and Collared Urn were all present. Concentrations of predominantly contemporary lithic material and sherds generally lay apart from the features. They were recovered mainly from the base of the modern soil. Contemporary burial is represented by a round barrow and two ring-ditches, all to the north of the excavated area. These seem to relate to a surface scatter of predominantly Early Bronze Age struck flint.

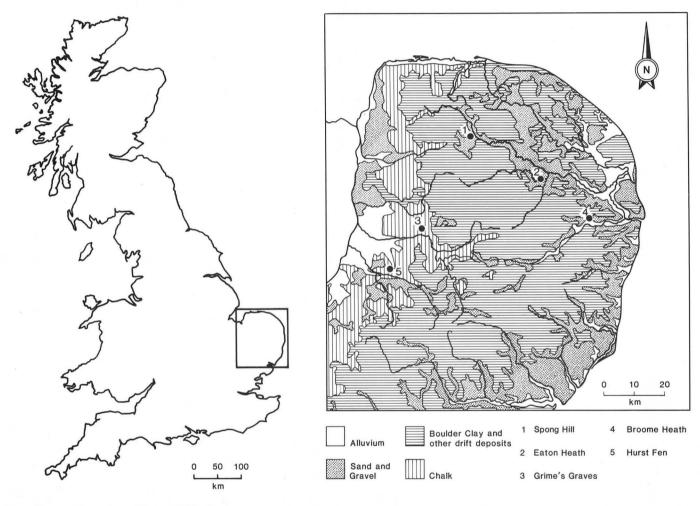


Figure 1 Location of Spong Hill. Geology adapted from Institute of Geological Sciences Geological Survey Ten Mile Map South Sheet First Edition (Quaternary) 1977. Scales 1:8,000,000, 1:1,250,000

# 1. Introduction

#### I. History of Investigations

#### Up to 1968

A full account of early investigations has been published by Hills (1977, 6-9) and is summarized here. In the early eighteenth century workmen repairing a fence on Spong Hill, (Site 1012, then known as Broom Close) came upon a cremation urn. This led to the excavation of over a hundred more, which were eventually recognised as Early Saxon. More were excavated in the mid-nineteenth century, and more again in 1954. In 1968 an exploratory excavation was conducted by Barbara Green and Peter Wade-Martins in order to establish the extent and degree of survival of the cemetery, which was then threatened by proposed road-widening and gravel extraction. This showed that a large part of the cemetery survived, but was in the process of destruction by the plough.

#### The Spong Hill project

As a result, it was decided to embark on the total excavation of the cemetery. Annual excavations, financed by the Department of the Environment, took place from 1972 to 1981. They were directed by Robert Carr

(1972-73), now Deputy Archaeological Officer for Suffolk, Dr Jerzy Gassowski (1972-73) of Warsaw University, and Dr Peter Wade-Martins (1972-74), now County Field Archaeologist for Norfolk. Staff and students from the University of Warsaw also participated for the first three seasons. The 1975-81 seasons were directed by Dr Catherine Hills, Lecturer in the Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge. A further season of excavation, directed by Andrew Rogerson, Field Officer, Norfolk Archaeological Unit, took place in 1984, with a team supplied by the Manpower Services Commission.

Before 1972 Spong Hill was known only as an Early Saxon cemetery, although prehistoric activity was attested by struck flint collected from the surface before World War II and observed in the 1960s (Tables 1 and 41, microfiche), and by sherds found during the 1954 and 1968 excavations (Table 57, microfiche). The final plan (Fig. 88 (back pocket)), represents the total excavation of approximately 1.4 hectares and shows the cemetery as only the final episode of intermittent activity spanning thousands of years. Neolithic and Early Bronze Age features were excavated among a wealth of later pits and ditches, many of them Iron Age or Romano-British. Aerial photography has



Plate I Spong Hill looking west, showing round barrow (3756, top right), crop-mark ditches, periglacial formations, extinct watercourse (bottom right), and 1973 excavation (Ref: TF/9819/AE/AAC5)

#### Spong Hill: Geology and Setting

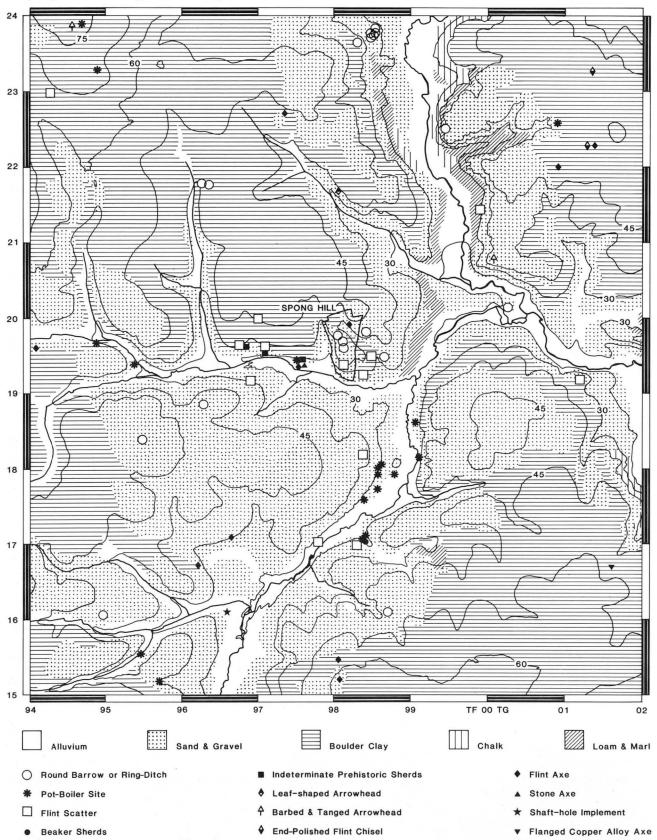


Figure 2 Immediate area of Spong Hill, showing Mesolithic to Early Bronze Age sites and finds. Geology adapted from Geological Survey of England and Wales 1 inch to 1 mile (1:63,360) East Dereham sheet of 1884 and Fakenham sheet of 1885. Scale 1:50,000. Sites and finds listed in Table 1 (microfiche)

shown that the ditches extend beyond the excavated area and that a round barrow (1012/c3756), still just visible on the north part of the hill, was accompanied by two others (1012/c3755, c3757), now represented by ring-ditches (Pl. I, Fig. 3).

The cemetery is being published in a series of catalogues, four of which have already appeared (Hills 1977; Hills and Penn 1981; Hills, Penn, and Rickett 1984; Hills, Penn, and Rickett 1987), and the remainder of which are in preparation. Post-Bronze Age settlement will be dealt with in a further volume (Part VII).

#### II. Setting

#### Location and topography

(Figs. 1 and 2)

Spong Hill lies at TF/981 195, within the predominantly boulder clay-covered area of mid-Norfolk, close to the confluence of several small streams with the eastwardflowing river Wensum. Although within the Wensum basin, it is only a few kilometres east of the mid-Anglia watershed, from which westward-flowing rivers ultimately disgorge into the Wash. The hill is a south-facing knoll, which dips steeply to the alluvium of the Blackwater valley at its foot. Its northern part is cut by an extinct water course, clearly seen as a dark band across the top righthand corner of Plate I and as an indentation in the contours of Figure 3. It is of unknown date, but may have been dry by the Christian era, since it seems to be crossed by the crop-mark of ditch 1463 (Fig. 3), the excavated part of which was of Romano-British date, partly recut in the Early Saxon period.

#### Geology

Like most of the sands and gravels shown in Figure 2, Spong Hill forms part of the Hungry Hill gravels, fragments of now-dissected trains of Middle Pleistocene outwash gravel, described by Straw (1973, 337-341) and Phillips (1976, 226-227). They consist of 'cannon shot' cobbles with finer sub-angular flint gravel in an orange sand matrix from which erratics are virtually absent. They are marked by frequent and diverse periglacial formations, which are described in Chapter 3, Section III.

#### Soils

The present soil of the hill is extremely flinty, and is mapped as a stagnogleyic argillic brownearth, while the soils of the surrounding boulder clays are predominantly stagnogleys (Soil Survey of England and Wales 1973). Sections show that most of the excavated area was covered by between twenty and thirtycm of soil, with as much as fortycm at its eastern edge. It was generally an homogenous ploughsoil, with the plough cutting into the natural sand and gravel beneath. A shallow, unploughed horizon between ploughsoil and natural survived in a few areas.

#### Local prehistoric activity

(Fig. 2, Table 1, microfiche)

Recorded sites and finds of Mesolithic to Early Bronze Age date are concentrated on the lighter soils of the sands and gravels, rather than the heavier soils of the boulder clay. Only two of the eighteen 'pot-boiler' sites plotted have produced prehistoric artefacts: an indeterminate prehistoric sherd was collected from one (Site 2818, at TF/9757 1943), while struck flint, Beaker pottery and fired clay were excavated from another (Site 2786, at TF/9839 1706; Apling 1931, 365). There are at least seventeen round barrows and ring-ditches in the area of Figure 2, including the three on Spong Hill itself.

#### Recent land use

The hill has been ploughed for some time. The tithe award of 1839 (Norfolk Record Office tithe map 364) shows the area of Figure 3 divided into eight parcels of land, seven of which, including the two which overlap with the excavated area (Pot Close and Spong Field), were then recorded as arable. No land use was recorded for the eighth, which bordered the alluvium of the Blackwater valley. Earlier vegetation must have been represented by several undated excavated features which seemed to be root- or tree-hollows. Numerous rabbit-holes were also found.

#### III. Potential and Limitations of the Pre-Iron Age Material

The excavation of prehistoric features and artefacts was incidental to that of the cemetery. The quality of the data is consequently in some ways low: the arid conditions of the site have ensured that only the most durable artefacts are preserved; there has been the attrition not only of cultivation, tree-growth and rabbit-burrowing but of repeated human occupation, followed by grave-digging and later by pot-hunting; excavation and recording of pre-Saxon material were less precise than they might have been if the site had been excavated primarily as a prehistoric settlement.

The strength of the prehistoric data lies in the size of the excavated area (c. 1. 4 ha) and in the fact that it was, with negligible exceptions, excavated completely. It provides a window, not only onto the rest of the hillside, but onto countless similar expanses of sand and gravel in East Anglia and beyond, prehistoric agtivity on which is consistently attested by stray finds. The results of the excavation give spatial and chronological pattern to a range of material such as is often salvaged from gravel quarries, and gives an inkling of what past behaviour such discoveries may represent.

#### IV. Notes

Uncalibrated radiocarbon years are expressed BP or BC. Calibrations to approximate calendar years are expressed Cal BP or Cal BC and are derived from the curve of Pearson *et al.* (1986), employing a confidence range of 95% or two standard deviations.

This report supersedes (and sometimes contradicts) preliminary accounts (Healy 1980, vol. II, appendix VI; Healy 1981, 17-18; Healy 1984b).

The finds are on loan to the Archaeology Department of Norwich Castle Museum (Accession number L 1976.1).

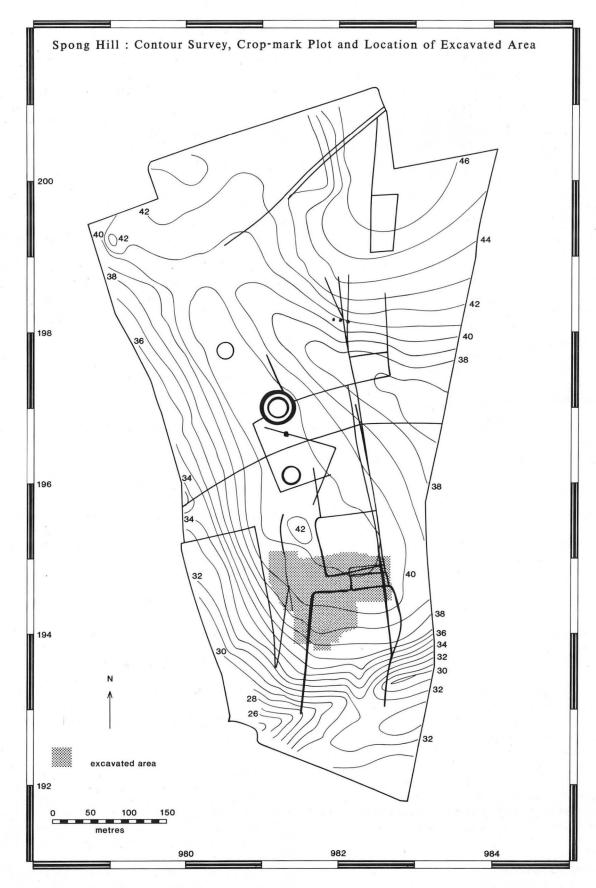


Figure 3 Contour plan of Spong Hill, showing crop-marks and excavated area, based on contour survey and crop-mark plot by D. Edwards, and incorporating results of aerial survey carried out since the compilation of the crop-mark plot published by Hills (1977, fig. 2). Contours in metres. Scale 1:5,000

# 2. The Excavation by Frances Healy and Robert J. Rickett

#### I. Method

At the beginning of each season ploughsoil was machinestripped from the area to be excavated. The surface of the natural sand and gravel was then hoed to reveal features, finds being retrieved from the base of the soil by 5m square in the process. There are, however, virtually no grid square finds from the area excavated in 1972, which is roughly delimited by grid lines 150 and 165 east and 430 and 490 north. Areas of the horizon lying between the base of the modern ploughsoil and the top of the natural were excavated in 1 m squares in 1973 (Figs 22-4). Once features were defined they were excavated completely, except for some of those which proved to be of periglacial or other natural origin. Finds other than grave-goods were almost always retrieved by context rather than recorded individually. In 1972-3 open profiles of features were often drawn after they had been excavated, and profile locations were not always recorded, hence the discrepancies between Figures 6-7 and 17-19 and the other plans and sections.

The features described here are those dated to the Bronze Age or earlier by their contents or by radiocarbon determinations, together with those stratigraphically or spatially related to them. Any or all of the isolated, sterile features thus excluded may also, of course, have been of pre-Iron Age date.

#### II. Subsoil Features

At least eighty-nine Earlier Neolithic, fourteen Later Neolithic or Early Bronze Age, and, less certainly, nineteen indeterminate prehistoric features were excavated.

#### Earlier Neolithic feature groups

(Figs 5-14; Tables 2-6)

Five discrete groups of features (Fig. 5: A-E) contained substantial quantities of Mildenhall Ware and related pottery and of struck flint.

Group A (Figs 6-7, Pl. II, Table 2, microfiche)

The most readily-identified features were pits and postholes. Elongated hollows such as 38 and 102 contained fewer artefacts and may have been periglacial formations,



Plate II Earlier Neolithic feature group A looking north, showing post-holes of north end of possible rectangular structure (*Ref:* FDZ0)

#### PLAN AND SECTION CONVENTIONS

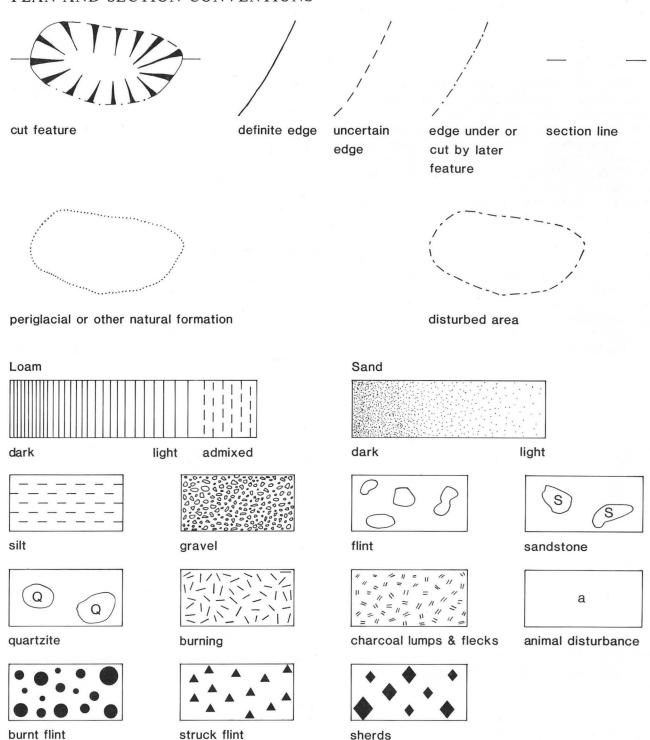


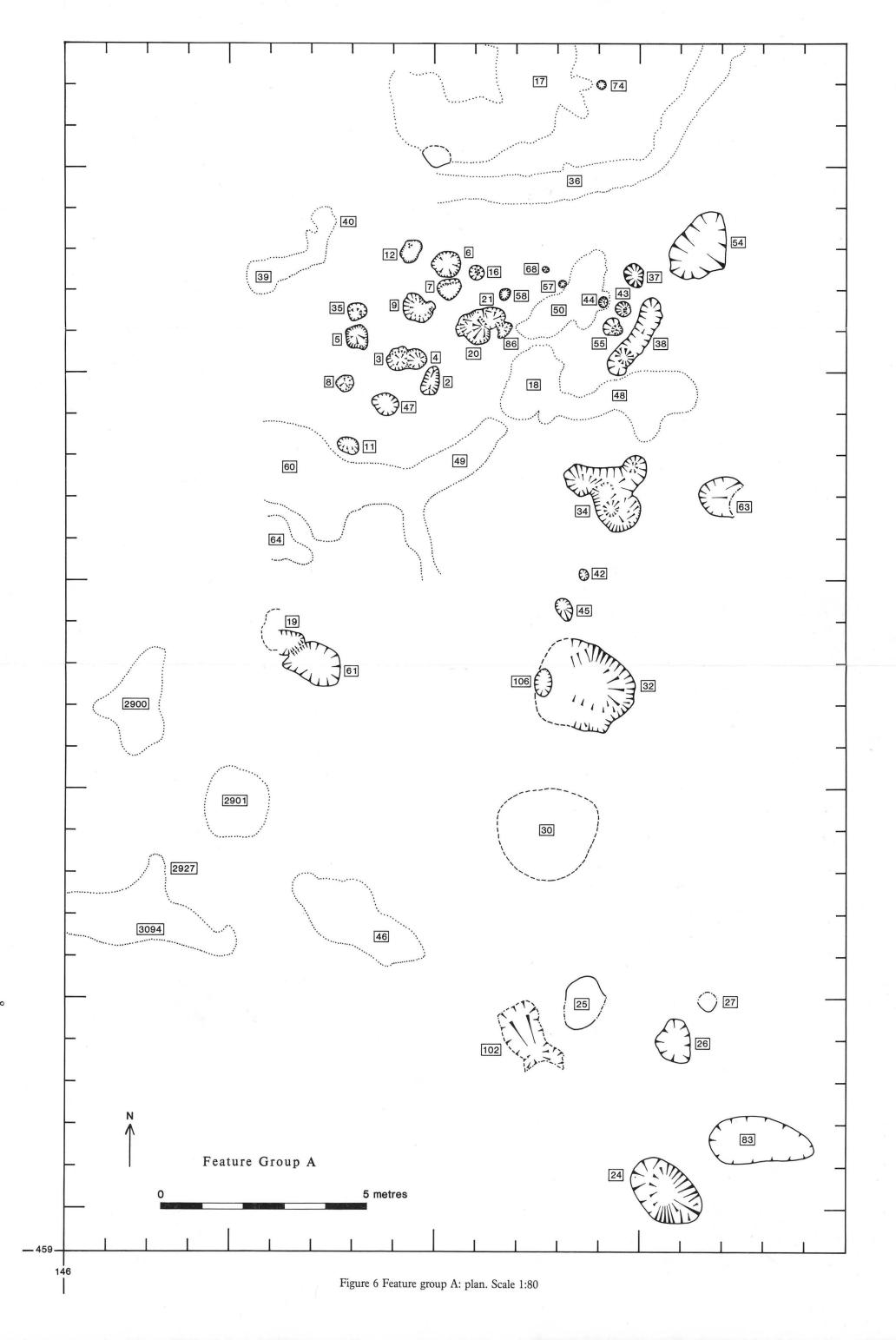
Figure 4 Plan and section conventions

which were well-developed in this area, or root-holes. Some irregular plans resulted from intersections between features, such as 3 and 4 and 20, 21, and 86. 34 may similarly have consisted of three intersecting features. Fill descriptions are not recorded. An excavator recalls that the fills of the more artefact-rich features (e.g. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 20, and 21) were 'black and greasy'. 61 is recorded as 'Hearth?; burnt area', although no evidence for this, in the form of burnt material, survives. Burnt flint was recorded only from post-hole 106.

Many of the smaller features were recorded as post-holes. Relatively few, however, were of distinctly post-hole-like profile (Fig. 7: 16, 19, 43, 44, 45, 55, 57, 68, 86), and no post-pipes were recorded. Large quantities of artefacts from 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 12 (Tables 21 and 44, microfiche) are difficult to reconcile with their having been post-holes, although they were recorded as such and are of relatively small size.

Most of the more plausible post-holes (8, 11, 16, 19, 35, 37, 42, 43, 44, 45, 55, 57, 58, 68, 86, and 106) form a





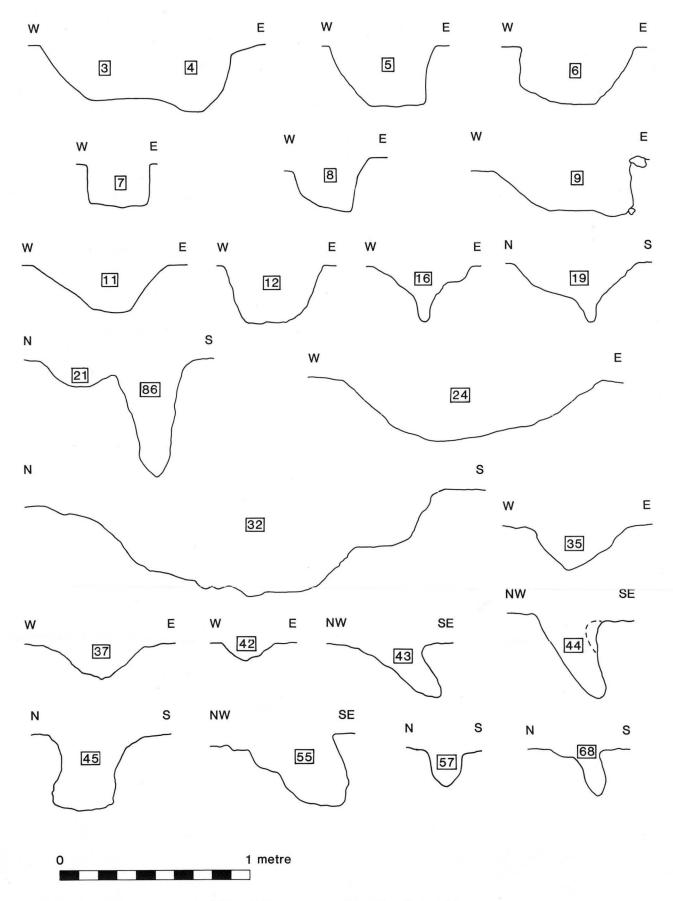


Figure 7 Feature group A: profiles. Scale 1:20

roughly rectangular setting measuring approximately 10 m by 6.5 m (Fig. 6). 5, 7, and 9, if they were also post-holes, may have formed part of the same setting. The whole may have represented a structure. Where the component postholes contained artefacts (8, 11, 16, 35, 37, 43, 44, 45, 55, 58), these are of certainly or possibly Earlier Neolithic date (Tables 21 and 44, microfiche). Irregularity and north-east to south-west orientation distinguish the structure from rectangular post-hole buildings of Early Saxon date elsewhere in the excavated area which were of more regular plan and oriented east to west (Fig. 88 (backpocket: 139/461, 145/449, 150/444, 156/461, 165/461, 230/450).

Its interpretation is problematical. Irregular spacing may be due in part to post-holes having gone unrecognised in the fills of periglacial formations 48 and 49 and of feature 34. Depths and diameters were uneven. It is difficult to see 42, which survived to a depth of 9 cm, and 45, which survived to a depth of 40 cm (Fig. 7), as sockets for adjacent uprights in the same structure. It is yet more difficult to understand the apparent inclination of 43, 44, 55, 68, and, to a less marked extent, 57, in the north-east corner. Posts set in all five would have leant inwards. At least some irregularity of both size and inclination may have been due to inaccurate excavation.

Relationships with other features are unclear. If 61 was indeed a hearth, it could scarcely have been used while there was a post in 19. 106 was planned as cutting pit 32, but the relationship is not recorded in section and the location of the post-hole at the edge of the pit suggests that the post may have been either set or cut into it.

Material was apparently deposited in adjacent periglacial formations at the same time as in the pits and post-holes. Sherds of P10 were found in pit 7 and periglacial formation 18, sherds of P15 in pit 9 and

periglacial formation 17, and sherds of P20 in pit 20 and periglacial formation 18. Burnt flint was recorded from post-hole 106. Artefacts from features in the group seem to form an homogenous assemblage. The few intrusive sherds (Table 44, microfiche) are small and abraded. A radiocarbon determination of 4650 ± 80 BP (BM-1533; 2700 BC) was made on a bulked sample of charcoal from 9, 12, and 20, and from periglacial formations 17 and 18. Another, of  $4950 \pm 120$  BP (BM-1534; 3000 BC), was made on a of bulked sample of charcoal and burnt acorns from 3, 4, 7, 8, 16, 24, and 32, and from periglacial formations 36 and 49, which also contained contemporary artefacts. The two determinations have a weighted mean of 4757 ± 145 BP (2807 BC; 3930-3100 Cal BC). Charcoal was also found in pit 6, elongated feature 102, and posthole 106.

#### Group B (Figs 8-9; Table 3, microfiche)

This consisted of four intersecting pits (3080, 3083, 3087, and 3107) and two further features (3082 and 3085). Among the intersecting pits, 3080, 3083, and 3087 were rich in artefacts, while 3107 was sterile. Separate layers of fill were tentatively distinguished in the east-to-west sections of 3080 and 3107, but not in their north-to-south sections (Fig. 9). A basal peak in the north-to-south section of 3080 may indicate a further cut in the sequence of pits. The shallow, shelf-like eastern part of 3082 seems to have been a loam-filled depression in the natural gravel, like more extensive ones in the area of group E. 3085 was distinguished by its stoney, sandy silt fill and may have been a natural feature.

Charcoal was found only in 3083. There was no trace of burning in any of the pits. There is no stratigraphic or artefactual indication of any substantial interval between

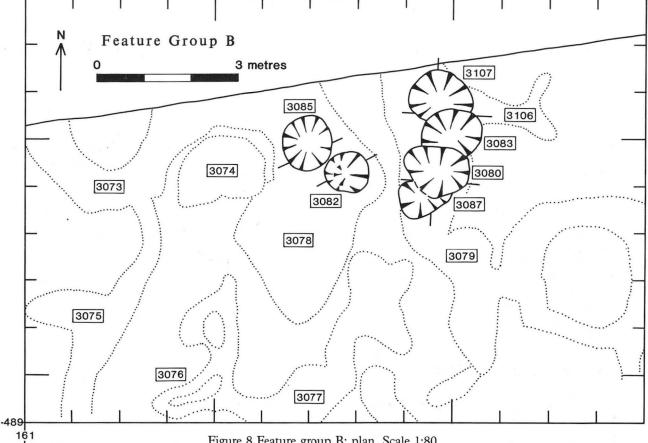


Figure 8 Feature group B: plan. Scale 1:80

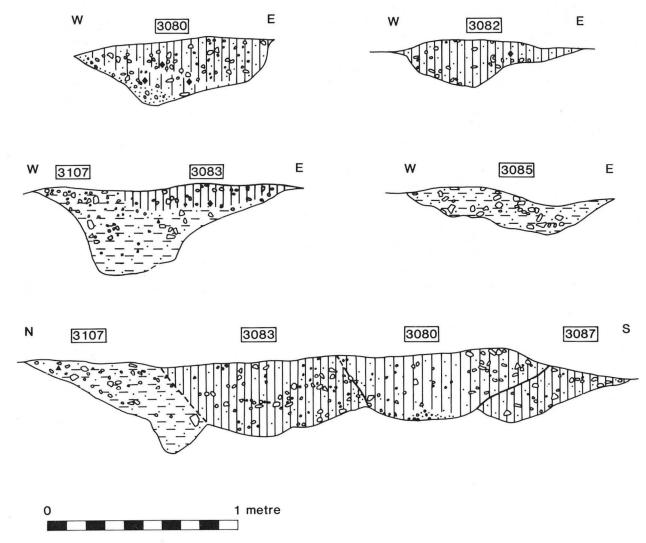


Figure 9 Feature group B: sections. Scale 1:20

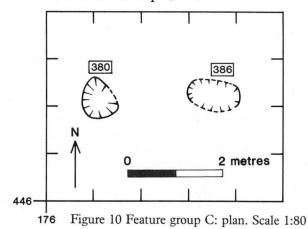
the cutting of 3080, 3083, and 3087. Relationship between features within the group is indicated by the presence of sherds of P49 in 3082 and 3083, and of sherds of P52 in 3083 and 3087. There was one small, intrusive sherd in each of 3082, 3083, and 3085 (Table 46, microfiche).

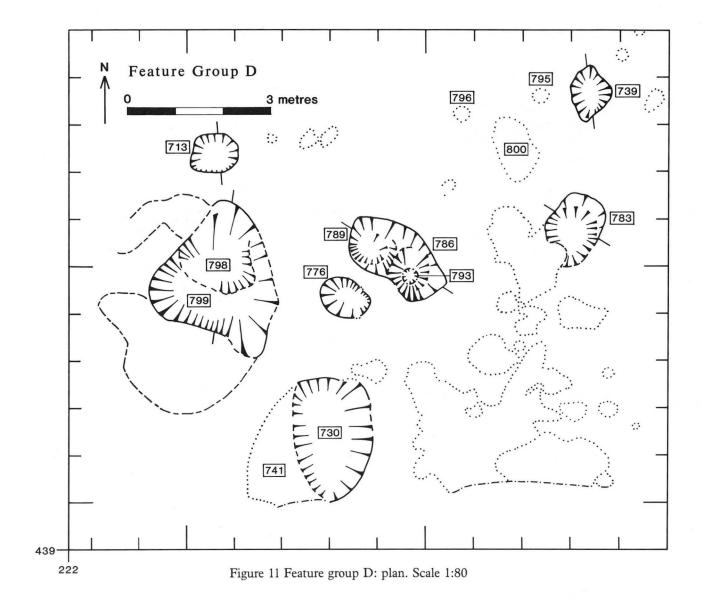
#### Group C (Fig. 10; Table 4, microfiche)

This 'group' survived as only two pits, 380 and 386, the second of which was cut and truncated by one of several Late Iron Age features in the immediate area. The two pits are classed as a feature group because the total of Neolithic pottery and struck flint from the two surviving features and from later and superficial contexts in the immediate area approaches that from group B (Tables 25-6, 48-49, microfiche), suggesting that other contemporary features and/or a 'spread' of contemporary material like that associated with group E may originally have been present. Relationship of at least some of this material to that from the pits is demonstrated by the presence of sherds of P69 in 380 and in 194, an unplanned disturbed area within which the pit lay, as well as by the presence of

sherds of P70 in 386 and in 365, the Iron Age feature which cut it. There are thirteen small, intrusive sherds from 380 (Table 48, microfiche).







Group D (Figs 11-12; Table 5, microfiche)

This consisted almost entirely of pits. The majority (713,739,776, and 783) had undifferentiated fills and did not intersect. The most artefact-rich features were more complex. 799 contained at least three layers of fill and was cut by 798 which contained four layers of fill, the topmost of which consisted of clean, unaltered sand and gravel. The topmost fills of both were truncated by animal disturbance (801). Disturbed areas, perhaps also the result of animal activity, lay to the north-west of 798 and to the south-west of 799. The uppermost, humic fill of 730, containing much pottery and struck flint (Tables 27, 50, microfiche), overlay at least two possibly natural gravel layers. Burnt flint was present in 730, 783, and 786; charcoal in 720, 730, 776, 783, 798, and 799. There are six small intrusive sherds from 730, 776, 798, and 799 (Table 50, microfiche).

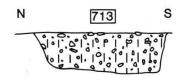
793, the one post-hole in the group, contained no artefacts, but the near-vertical fills of 786, an apparently Neolithic feature within which it lay, suggest that it was the post-pit of 793. The relationship of 786 to 789, also apparently Neolithic, was unclear.

Relationship between the features in the group is indicated by the presence of sherds of P84 in 713, 776, 798, and 799.

Group E (Figs 13-14; Table 6, microfiche)

This included pits of similar size to those in the other groups (1288, 1269, 1744), although their fills seemed homogenous, unlike those of the larger pits in groups B and D. There were also several smaller features (1456, 1457, 1533, 1543, 1559), some of them intersecting. Their small size suggests that they may have been post-holes; their bowl-like profiles, variable diameters and depths, and lack of regular plan do not. A total of fifty-seven sherds and two pieces of struck flint recovered from the fill of 1457 may not be compatible with the former presence of a post. Post-packing may, however, be represented in its section.

To the east of them was an irregular row of seven or eight more convincing post-holes (1275, 1276, 1446, 1460, 1476, 1736, 1813, and perhaps 1725). These differed from the small features already described in being of consistent depth and diameter, in having relatively straight sides and flat bottoms, and in forming an alignment. 1725, which, although slightly out of line, may have been the northernmost socket in the row, cut 1744, an Earlier Neolithic pit, but this need not indicate a substantially later date, given intersections between other apparently Earlier Neolithic features in the group and elsewhere. It seems reasonable to regard the row as of Earlier Neolithic date. It may have stood alone, or may have formed part of



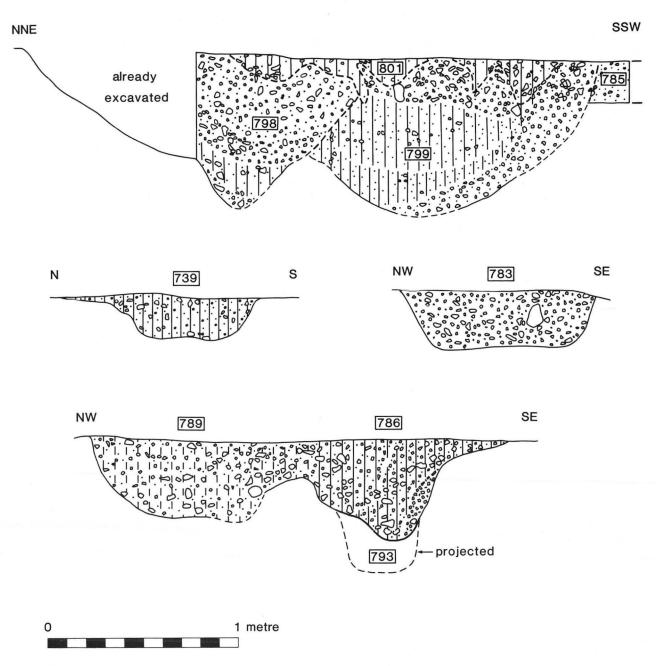


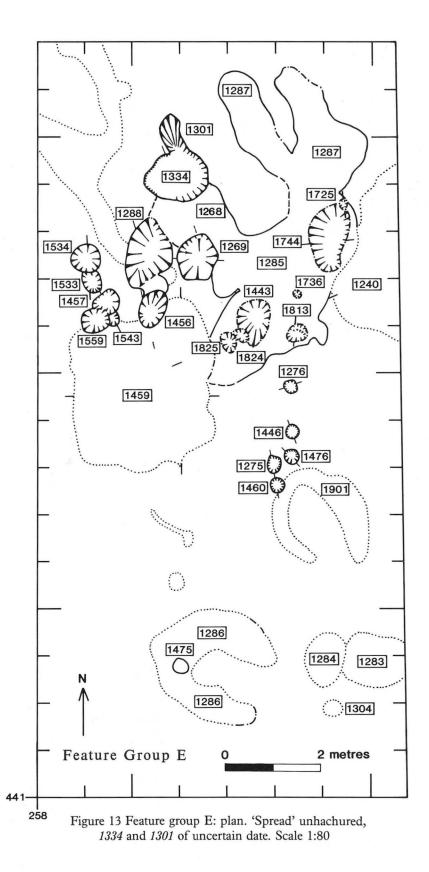
Figure 12 Feature group D: sections. Scale 1:20

a more complex structure, the remainder of which lay beyond the eastern limit of the excavation.

Intrusive material in apparently Earlier Neolithic contexts was confined to one Early Saxon sherd in 1457 and one indeterminate, perhaps Iron Age, sherd in 1559 (Table 52, microfiche). Both are small and abraded. Burnt flint was present in 1533; charcoal in 1446, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1533, 1534, 1559, and 1744. The fills of all features in

the group were otherwise very similar, consisting of mid to dark brown sandy loam with a variable frequency of flint pebbles.

These fills were often indistinguishable from a deposit which occupied undulations in the natural gravel below the base of the ploughsoil in the area of the group (1268, 1285, 1287, 1336, 1443, 1824, 1825, and part of 1288). Artefacts seem to have been most frequent in its upper



part: finds were concentrated in the upper 5 cm of 1287, while 1336, a sandier, less loamy horizon below 1287, was sterile, as was 1824, a shallow depression filled by the lower part of 1285. 1824, 1825, and 1443 may have been the bases of features which scarcely penetrated the subsoil. Material from the deposit was overwhelmingly Earlier Neolithic, comprising eighty-five sherds of Mildenhall and related wares and thirty-one pieces of struck flint, together with only one Romano-British and one possibly

Iron Age sherd (Tables 29 and 53, microfiche), both of them small. The sherds compare with those from the features in size and condition, and the struck flint is similarly fresh. Two sherds from this spread are from the same pot (P136) as a sherd from pit 1744. Also present were six fire-reddened flint pebbles (in 1268) and charcoal (in 1268, 1285, 1287, and 1443).

The spread appeared continuous with the fills of some pits and post-holes (1288, 1725, 1736, and 1744), most of

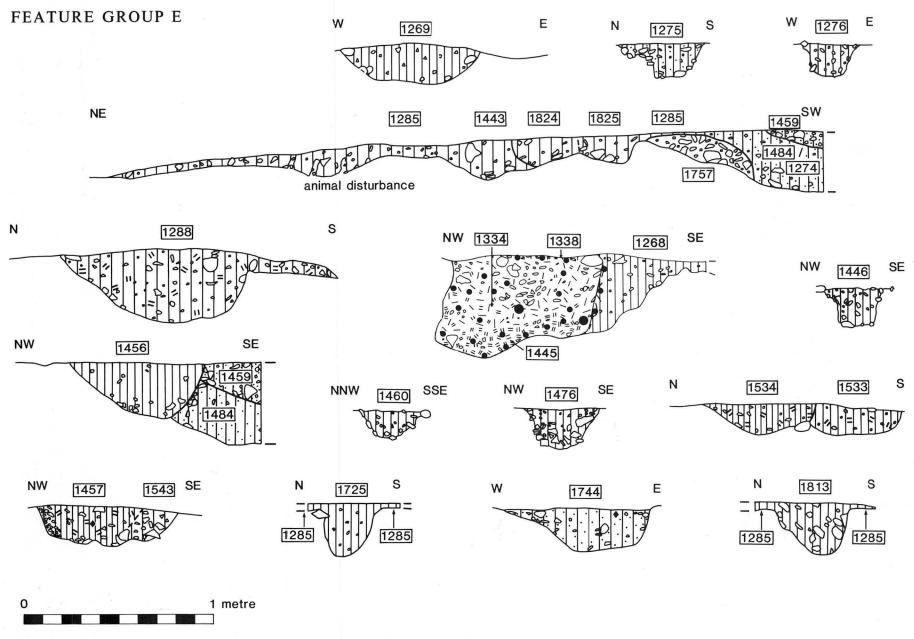


Figure 14 Feature group E: sections. Scale 1:20

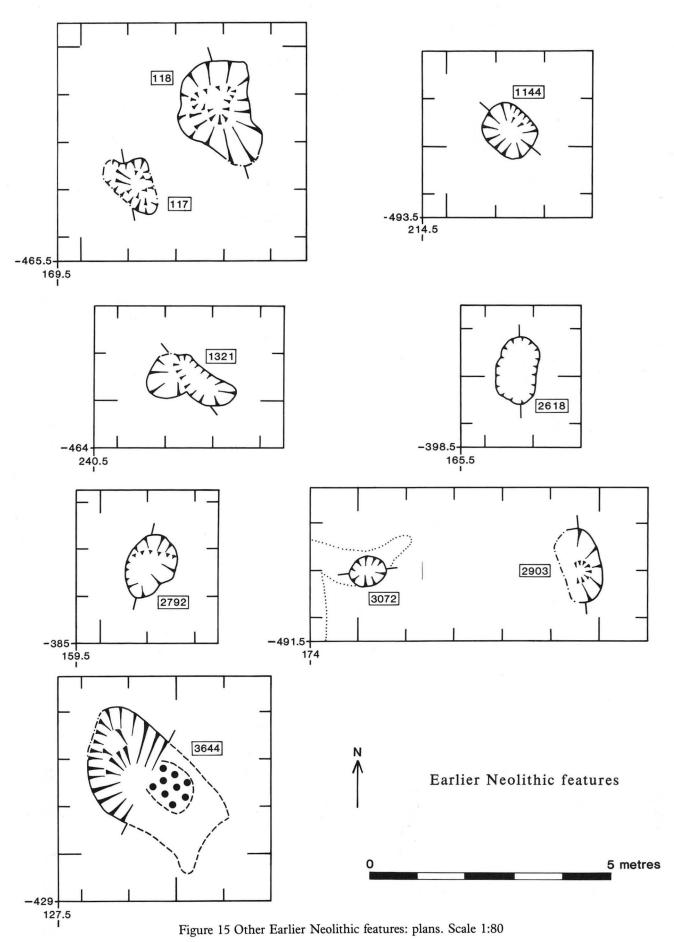


Figure 15 Other Earlier Neolithic features: plans. Scale 1:80

#### EARLIER NEOLITHIC FEATURES

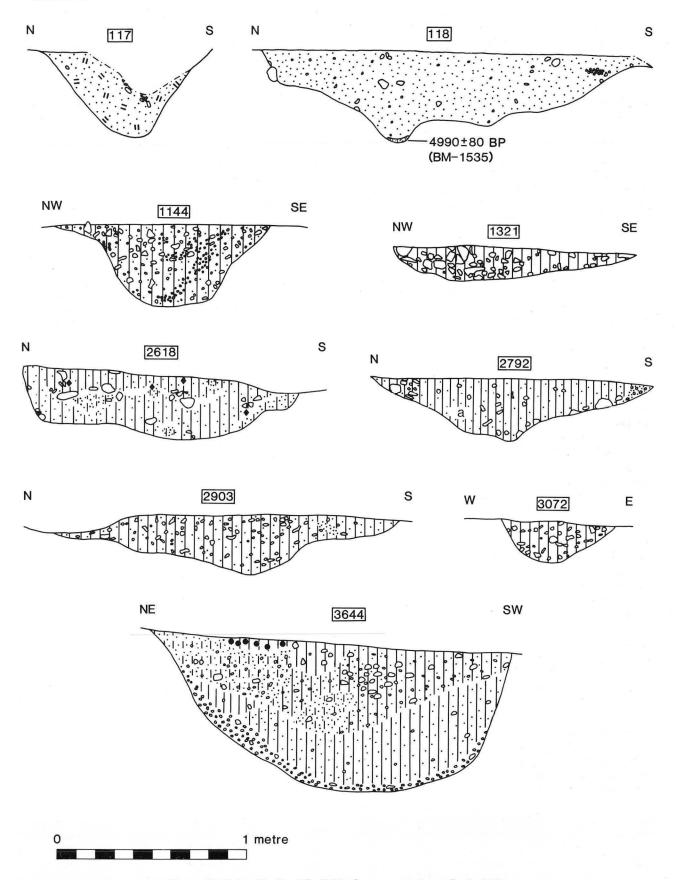


Figure 16 Other Earlier Neolithic features: sections. Scale 1:20

which became visible only as it was removed, as well as with 1274/1484, a humic layer in 1459, a large, apparently periglacial hollow, which contained exclusively Neolithic material (Figs 14, 25; Tables 12 and 13, microfiche). It seemed to be cut by several later features, as well as by 1269 and 1456, which both appeared Neolithic, in that they contained no later material and that sherds from them are of similar size and condition to those from other pits and post-holes in the group.

The nature of the spread is unclear. The fact that it overlay and seemed continuous with the fills of some Neolithic features, while cut by more recent ones, suggests at first sight that it may have been a truncated prehistoric, but post-Neolithic, deposit. But it can never have been sealed or protected. More probably, it may simply have been the base of the soil profile, surviving below plough depth in this part of the hill and hence preserving artefacts in good condition, and incorporating the upper parts of feature fills. In this case, its predominantly Neolithic contents would reflect the preponderance of Neolithic activity in the immediate area. Many of the features overlain by it survived to such a shallow depth in the natural gravel (e.g. Fig. 14: 1457, 1460, 1533, 1534, 1543) that they seem likely to have been cut from a higher level. 1456 may have been distinguished at a slightly higher level by charcoal flecks in its fill and by the extension of its south edge beyond the spread, where it cut the lighter, more gravelly fill of periglacial formation 1459. 1269 may similarly have been recognised at an early stage because its south edge extended beyond the spread and was visible against natural sand and gravel.

The north edge of part of the 'spread' (1268) dipped into a hollow within which it seemed cut by a pit (1334). The fill of 1334 was distinguished by charcoal and burnt flint and sandstone and by a 30-40 cm deep layer of compact, reddened, clayey material. In situ burning was evidenced by firing of both the gravel walls and of 1268 at its interface with the fill. The impression of a hearth, oven or furnace was heightened by 1301, a slot which sloped up from the base of the pit to the surface of the natural gravel and which could have been an air-vent or bellows-hole. Neither 1334 nor 1301 contained any artefacts.

Charcoal from 1334 was identified as from mature timbers of conifer, probably Pinus sp. (Appendix III, microfiche), and gave a radiocarbon determination of  $8150 \pm 100$  BP (HAR-2903; 6200 BC). Both identification and date indicate a Mesolithic origin for the sample, despite its excavation from a feature cutting a fill continuous with the 'spread' which contained almost exclusively Neolithic material. The determination may reflect the introduction of residual charcoal into a later hearth or oven, or the use of fossil fuel (for example from the alluvium of the Blackwater valley) by later occupants. The second possibility is made more likely by the absence of obviously Mesolithic artefacts from the east of the excavated area, where the feature lies (Fig. 29). This also argues against a Mesolithic date for the feature itself, which would be stratigraphically possible if the 'spread', with its Neolithic material, had formed as suggested above: in other words if 1334 had been cut through the fill of a natural hollow and fired against it thousands of years before Neolithic material became incorporated into the base of the soil in the immediate area.

#### Other Earlier Neolithic features

(Figs 15-16; Table 7, microfiche)

These numbered at least fifteen and were scattered widely over the excavated area. Several were irregular and elongated in plan, and even more irregular in section. The fill of the deepest part of one such feature, 118, contained much charcoal, on some of which a radiocarbon determination of 4900 ± 80 BP (BM-1535; 3040 BC; 3990-3640 Cal BC) was made. Pottery from the same layer consisted of four small, featureless, flint- and sandtempered body sherds; the pit also contained eight pieces of struck flint. 117, an irregular pit 1.5 m to the west, may have been contemporary. Its burnt reddish-brown sand fill contained a sherd of comparable fabric, charcoal, and further struck flint. There were also traces of burning in 3644, on charcoal from which a radiocarbon determination of 8250 ± 90 BP (HAR-7025; 6300 BC) was made. The charcoal was apparently residual, since the fill of 3644 contained a sherd of Mildenhall Ware (P179), as well as struck flint including two scrapers of Neolithic aspect (L75, L76). Three further ungrouped features (1144, 1995, 2507 and 3644) contained Mildenhall Ware. The remainder contained indeterminate plain bowl or, in four cases (1321, 2618, 2792, and 3072), Grimston Ware, which was absent from the grouped features.

#### Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age features

(Figs 17-21; Table 8, microfiche)

There was a small group of possibly contemporary features (10, 121, 122, and 123) immediately to the west of Earlier Neolithic feature group A (Figs 17-19). 10, an irregular pit, contained struck flint together with wood and acorn charcoal which yielded a radiocarbon determination of  $3700 \pm 90 \text{ BP (BM-1537; 1750 BC)}$ . 121, a post-hole north of 10, contained an apparently Later Neolithic or early Bronze Age grog- and sand-tempered body sherd, struck flint, and charcoal. It was aligned with 120 and 134, two further, possibly contemporary, post-holes. The profile of 120 suggests that it may have been double. It contained charcoal and a piece of struck flint. 134 contained only charcoal, which was concentrated in the deeper, northern part of the feature, the fill of which consisted of reddishbrown burnt sand with burnt flints, as distinct from the dirty brown sand with stones of the shallower, southern part. 122, a shallow, irregular depression perhaps composed of two intersecting scoops, contained charcoal, a sand- and grog-tempered later Neolithic or Early Bronze Age sherd, and struck flint.

An area of black soil which became visible at the east end of 123, 5-10 cm below the surviving top of the feature, contained charcoal, burnt flint, burnt bone, sherds of a Food Vessel Urn (P226) and a 'pygmy' vessel (P224), and twenty-five pieces of struck flint, nearly half of which were also burnt and which included a scale-flaked knife and two scrapers (L104-L106). A radiocarbon determination of  $3810\pm70$  BP (BM-1532; 1860 BC) was made on charcoal and nutshell from the deposit. Rim sherds of the Food Vessel Urn were at the top of the deposit, base sherds at the bottom, apparently placed on a setting of sandstone, quartzite and flint pebbles (Fig. 18). Neither pot was complete, although both were reconstructable. The overall character of the deposit is strongly suggestive of a burial, but only six fragments of burnt bone, weighing 3 g, were

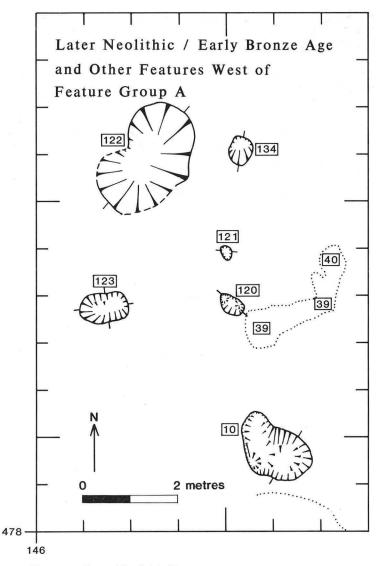


Figure 17 Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age and possibly related features west of feature group A: plan. Scale 1:80

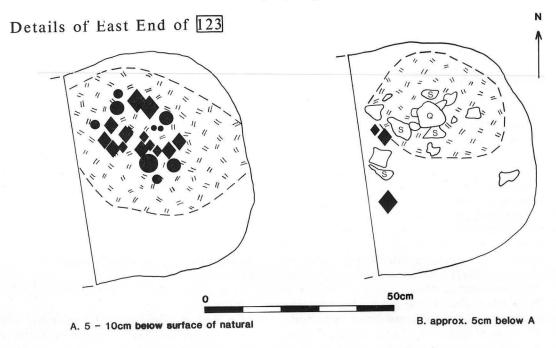


Figure 18 Details of east end of 123. Scale 1:10

# LATER NEOLITHIC/EARLY BRONZE AGE AND OTHER FEATURES WEST OF FEATURE GROUP A

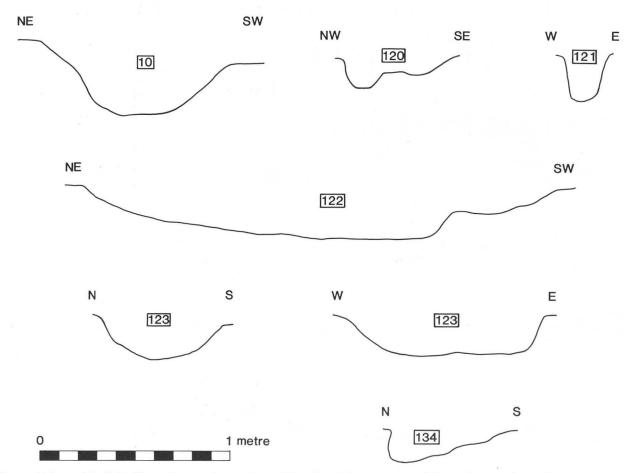


Figure 19 Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age and possibly related features west of feature group A: profiles. Scale 1:20

recovered, the most diagnostic of them being an ovicaprid metatarsal (Chapter 4). The comparability of the radiocarbon determinations from 10 and 123, which have a weighted mean of  $3765\pm70$  BP (1815 BC; 2460-1980 Cal BC), suggests that the features in the group may indeed have been contemporary.

The remaining Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age features were scattered over the excavated area (Fig. 4) and were of diverse character (Figs 20-21). The plan and section of 941 suggest that it consisted of two intersecting pits. Burnt pebbles, charcoal, and patches of burnt soil in the topmost fill (941), and in situ burning on the surface of the underlying layer (959) suggest that a second pit may have been cut into a pre-existing one (960) and a fire lit in it. The topmost fill contained three lumps of fired clay or burnt soil, and a sherd of Grooved Ware (P203). The fill of 3599 contained charcoal, fired clay and burnt flint and included an area of burnt soil within a deposit of dark sand. The associated pottery consisted of a semi-complete rusticated Beaker (P223) and some indeterminate grogged sherds. 1630, which contained sherds of two Grooved Ware jars (P205-6), was so shallow that it is unclear whether it was a cut feature or a natural depression in the subsoil.

1584 contained fragments of several Collared Urns (P227-231), and charcoal which was dated to  $3440\pm90$  BP (HAR-2901; 1490 BC; 2040-1510 Cal BC). It included a possible post-pipe and cut 1620, a small, sterile, sub-

circular feature. At first sight, both seemed to form part of a post-hole alignment running for at least 60m from the north edge of the excavated area to the south (Fig. 20; Fig. 88 (back pocket): 248 494 to 256 440). There were virtually no datable finds from the other post-holes in the alignment, so that, if 1584 and 1620 indeed formed part of it, they would date it to the second millennium BC or earlier. On balance, however, this does not seem to be the case. 1584 and 1620 were both of greater diameter and more bowl-like profile than the post-holes to the north and south of them. The alignment itself ran parallel to the west edge of late Iron Age ditch 1239, and conformed to its irregularities. If the alignment was indeed contemporary with the ditch, then the coincidence with it of 1584 and 1620 was fortuitous and the possible post-pipe in 1584 may have resulted from the later insertion of a post of the alignment.

#### Indeterminate prehistoric features

(Tables 2, 3, 9, microfiche)

These numbered at least nineteen and fell into three categories:

- 1. Features stratigraphically earlier than other pre-Iron Age features but themselves containing no finds (63 (Fig. 6), 890, 1620 (Figs. 20-21), and 3107 (Figs 8-9).
- 2. Features in possible, but not certain, spatial relationship with pre-Iron Age features and

#### LATER NEOLITHIC/EARLY BRONZE AGE FEATURES

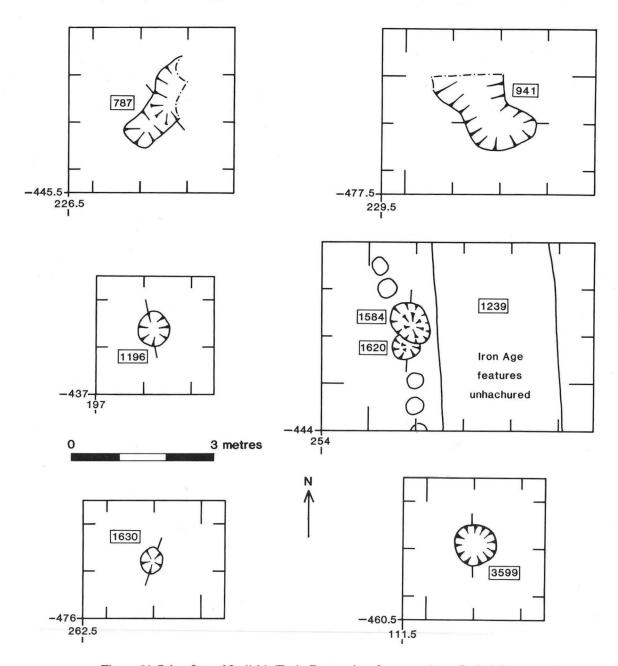


Figure 20 Other Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age features: plans. Scale 1:80

themselves containing either no finds or only finds compatible with a general prehistoric date. These consist of several features within Earlier Neolithic feature group A (47, 54, 61, and 102 (Fig. 6), and of two post-holes in apparent alignment with Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age post-hole 121 (Figs 17, 19).

3. Features containing finds compatible with a general prehistoric date, such as a few flint flakes and/or a few small flint- and sand-tempered body sherds (143, 538, 721, 722, 1111, 1216, 1723, 1766, 3220).

Nine of the nineteen produced evidence of *in situ* or nearby burning in the form of burnt flint (61, 538, 721, 722, 890, 1216, 1723, and 1766). Of these, 61 was recorded

as a possible hearth and 1216 seems to have been a hearth cut into a periglacial feature (Figs 6, 25-6).

The location of 721 and 722 (intersecting pits containing heat-crazed flints, charcoal, a flint flake and a core fragment) a few metres north of feature group D recalls the disposition of similar features on Broome Heath, Ditchingham (Site 10602). Here, hearths, in the form of shallow depressions filled with calcined flint, were mainly located away from pits. An Earlier Neolithic date was inferred for them because of the date of most of the other excavated features and because of occasional sherds and particularly numerous flint spalls in their vicinity (Wainwright 1972, 20). This raises the possibility that, on Spong Hill, several pits and hollows with similar contents

#### LATER NEOLITHIC/EARLY BRONZE AGE FEATURES

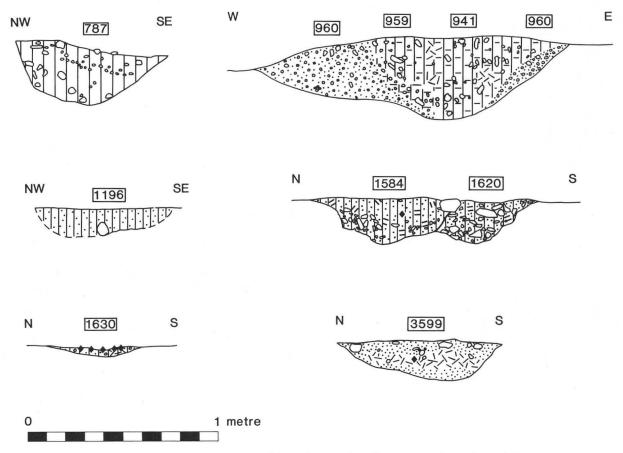


Figure 21 Other Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age features: sections. Scale 1:20

but without artefacts may date from the Neolithic or Bronze Age occupation of the site. The Broome Heath examples would have been less easily recognised if surrounded by Iron Age pits, Romano-British ditches and Early Saxon burials.

The same consideration applies to features other than hearths. The total of eighteen indeterminate prehistoric features, a nebulous category at best, might be doubled by the addition of pits containing a few possibly residual, possibly *in situ*, prehistoric artefacts. Examples include 105, located in a concentration of Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age material (Fig. 24) and containing two minute, indeterminate sherds and two flint flakes, and 1478, a pit in the east of the excavated area containing an oblique arrowhead (L124), a flint flake, and charcoal.

# Characteristics of subsoil features (Table 10; Table 11, microfiche)

#### Dimensions

Feature dimensions are listed, where available, in Tables 2-9 (microfiche), and the pit dimensions are summarized in Table 10. This information is presented because comparable data have been published for Earlier Neolithic pits at Hurst Fen, Mildenhall, Suffolk (Clark 1960, 206) and Broome Heath, Ditchingham (Site 10602; Wainwright 1972, 12). It may have little significance. In all cases the only dimensions which could be recorded were those of the pits as they survived in the subsoil. Their relation to original size must depend on the extent to which the top of the subsoil has been lowered by

Group	Max. diam (m)			Mean	Depth (m)		Mean
Steam	0-1	1-2	2+	diam (m)	0-1	1-2	depth (m)
Earlier Neolithic							
A	10	3	_	0.79	13	_	0.24
В	0	5	_	1.15	5	_	0.30
D	1	5	2	1.66	8	_	0.51
E	6	2	_	0.84	8	_	0.25
Other	2	10	5	1.41	15	_	0.34
Totals	19	25	5	1.16	49	_	0.32
Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age	4	3	3	1.18	10	_	0.27
Intermediate Prehistoric	4	8	_	1.18	12	_	0.18

Table 10 Summary of pit dimensions

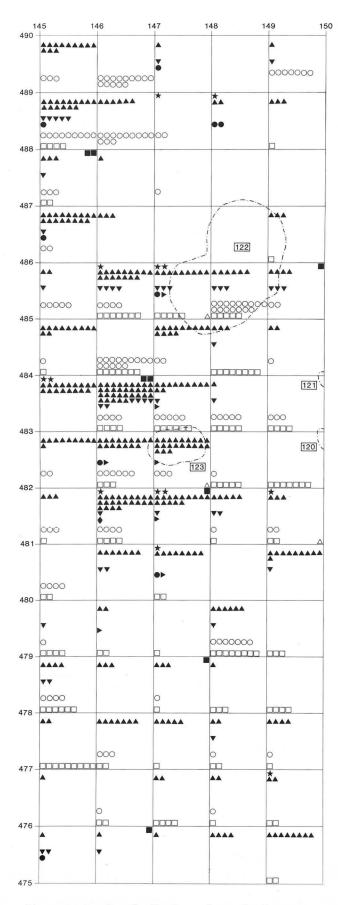


Figure 22 Artefact distribution at base of soil to west of feature group A

- \* core
- irregular waste
- ▲ flake
- ▼ blade
- scraper
- microlith
- other retouched piece
- charcoal
- burnt flint or 'pot-boiler'
- LNEBA sherd

cultivation and on the depth of topsoil through which the pits were originally dug, both of which are difficult, if not impossible, to determine.

Despite these reservations, it is possible to make some distinctions between the feature groups. Smaller pits were more frequent in groups A and E. Groups B and D were alike in consisting of larger, deeper pits, some of them intersecting.

#### Fills

The fill descriptions recorded over seven seasons of excavation (Tables 2-9, microfiche) were by no means standardized. Nonetheless, it is possible to distinguish two crude groups. The larger one was described by adjectives such as 'dark', 'dark brown', 'fine', or 'loamy', and consisted of humic fills. The smaller one was described by adjectives such as 'light', 'yellow', 'orange', 'coarse', 'gravelly', or 'sandy', and consisted of relatively little-altered sands and gravels. When weights of pottery and quantities of struck flint from both groups are compared (Table 11, microfiche) it seems that, irrespective of date or location, the more humic fills tended to contain substantially more of both than the more sandy and gravelly ones. This would be consistent with the incorporation of artefacts into pit-fills together with contemporary topsoil and now-vanished organic material, both of which would give rise to darker, more humic fills.

#### III. Beyond the Features

Subsoil features can only be a truncated remnant of prehistoric activity. This is illustrated on a large scale by the distributions of residual and unstratified lithic material and Neolithic and Bronze Age pottery (Figs 31, 52, 77). On a smaller scale, activity around and beyond surviving features is represented by the 'spread' of Earlier Neolithic material around feature group E, by detailed artefact distributions, and by the contents of periglacial and other natural formations.

#### Areas excavated in 1 metre squares

(Figs 22-24)

Uneven artefact distributions were recognised in 1973 at the interface of the ploughsoil and the natural sand and gravel. An attempt was made to record and interpret them by trowelling parts of this horizon in 1 m squares. Results for the areas most completely treated in this way are shown in Figures 22-24. It is not clear how far the burnt flint recorded consisted of white, crazed 'pot-boilers' and how

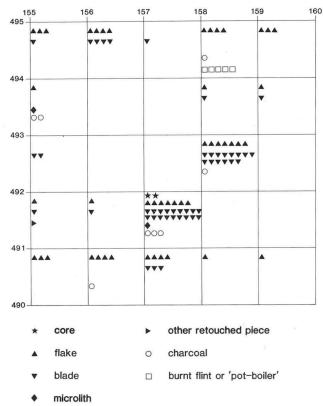


Figure 23 Artefact distribution at base of soil to north of feature group A

far of reddened pebbles and fragments, since the small amount retained includes examples of both.

The interface was described as 'ginger sandy gravel subsoil' and as a soil with 'all the characteristics of one disturbed: small lenses of pure orange sand (natural) and also darker soils'. It had almost certainly been ploughed in the past, although the plough had not cut into it immediately prior to excavation. It was thus not comparable with the homogenous dark sandy loam 'spread' of feature group E.

Pottery from it consists of small, abraded sherds such as are normally recovered from ploughsoil. The majority are unclassifiable. The remainder are predominantly Romano-British and Early Saxon, and other finds from the area of Figure 22 include glass and copper alloy fragments. The few pre-Iron Age sherds recovered are plotted in Figures 22 and 24. P234, a rusticated sherd from the area of Figure 24, is the largest and best-preserved of them. In this respect, too, the horizon contrasted with the 'spread' of features group E, artefacts from which are overwhelmingly Neolithic and include large, well-preserved sherds, such as P140-P148.

Nonetheless, the lithic material from all three areas seems to have retained some horizontal pattern. In the area of Figure 22 struck flint was concentrated around Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age features 122 and, especially, 123, with which most of it seems likely to be contemporary, on technological and typological grounds (Chapter 3: concentration 9). A concentration of charcoal and burnt flint around 123 suggests relation to the feature, which itself contained large quantities of both.

In the area of Figure 24 material was concentrated around undated feature 105, which contained only two small, indeterminate sherds and two pieces of struck flint. The plotted material formed part of a larger,

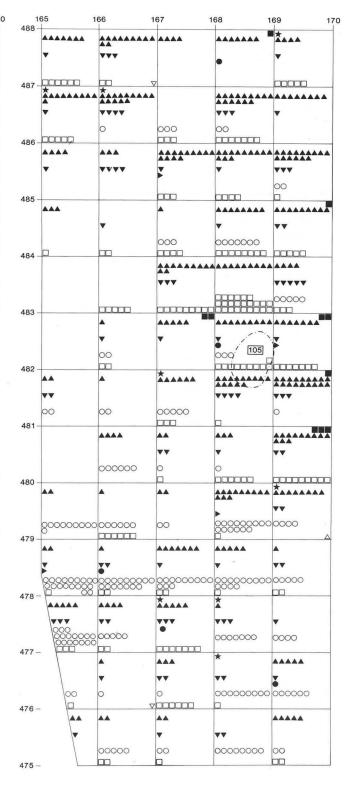




Figure 24 Artefact distribution at base of soil to east of feature group A

predominantly Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age concentration, of rather different character from that in the area of Figure 22 (Chapter 3: concentration 8).

The smaller area of Figure 23 showed a lower artefact density and a lower frequency of charcoal and burnt flint. The struck flint from it contrasts with that from the areas of Figures 22 and 24 to either side, and seems to relate to Earlier Neolithic feature group A, immediately to the south (Chapter 3: concentration 1).

The exercise demonstrated that spatial patterning, sometimes relating to subsoil features, and variations in the composition and density of lithic material could be recovered from relatively small areas. It is impossible to tell how far concentrations of material around 105, 122, and 123 reflect the ploughing-out of their upper fills and how far contemporary activity on the surfaces around them.

## Periglacial and other natural formations

(Figs 25-28; Fig. 88, backpocket)

The Middle Pleistocene outwash gravels of which Spong Hill is formed incorporate a bewildering number and variety of periglacial formations, some of which can be seen in Plate I. Other natural formations, including tree-and animal-holes, were also numerous. Both bedevilled the work of excavation and were not always readily distinguished from each other or from cut features. Many contained artefacts. Their full extent is shown in Figure 88 (back pocket).

## Periglacial formations

The main characteristics by which these were identified were distinctive plans, elusive edges and bottoms (often occasioned by fills running into or under undisturbed natural sand and gravel), predominantly light-coloured sand and gravel fills, and internal stratigraphy incompatible with natural silting or deliberate backfilling. The more distinctive examples fell into three classes.

- Linear fissures: a well-developed system of polygonal fissures in the north of the hill is visible in air photographs (Pl. I) and was recovered in the northwest part of the excavated area, including the area of feature group B (Fig. 8). Their plan is matched in patterned ground or in some forms of involution feature (Williams 1973, fig. 2: A-C). Most excavated linear fissures were, however, more fragmented, like those in the area of feature group A (Fig. 6). When sectioned, they had the characteristics of ice wedge casts, (West 1968, 84-5), with tapering sections which splayed out towards the surface, as at Broome Heath, Ditchingham (Site 10602; Evans 1972, fig. 51), and with sand and gravel fills.
- 2. Pennanular and arc-shaped features: small pennanular features are represented by 1286 and 1901 south of feature group E (Fig. 13). Arc- shaped formations were sometimes opposed, as in the use of 1131 and 1136 (Figs 25-6). Similar formations have been recorded at Mucking and at the Springfield cursus, both in Essex, and at Tattershall Thorpe, Lincolnshire (Tony Wilkinson, pers. comm.).
- 3. Larger hollows and depressions of sub-circular or sub-rectangular plan: are represented by 1216 and 1642 (Figs 25-7), the abruptly variegated fills of which were similar to those of 1311 and 1136 (Fig. 26) and to those of periglacial formations at Grey Goose Farm, Thurrock, Essex, which were of similarly pit-

like plan (Toller and Wilkinson 1980, fig. 5). The fills of 1459, in feature group E (Figs 13, 26), were far more regular and similar to those of cut features. But their steep dip and the size and irregularity of the hollow are best matched in steep-sided basins in Devensian sands and gravels at Wretton, Norfolk, which were interpreted as resulting from the melting of ice-mounds (West et al. 1974, 352-358, figs. 4, 7, 11). 1240, east of 1459 (Fig.13), was similar to it in size, plan, and section, except for the lack of a humic layer corresponding to 1484/1274.

Many periglacial formations contained artefacts. Most, like the sherds of a Mortlake style bowl (P199) from near the surface of 1131 (Fig. 25), were confined to the uppermost fills, and their presence may be attributed to the survival of the formations as slight hollows in which material from the surrounding surface accumulated or was deposited. In some cases, however, struck flint, sherds, and charcoal were recovered from greater depths. In 1459 and 1642, for example, Neolithic sherds occurred up to 50 cm below the stripped surface. Two reasons may be suggested for this: (1) the fills were generally softer than the surrounding sand and gravel and would provide an easier path for roots and burrowing animals which could in turn introduce material from the surface; (2) periglacial formations are sometimes unstable and prone to slump, the resulting hollow being filled by topsoil and its contents. Such instability may have been more frequent four to six thousand years ago than it is now.

The composition of the pottery from contexts which could confidently be classed as periglacial is summarized in Figure 28 and set out in greater detail in Table 12 (microfiche). It is overwhelmingly Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. Its composition does not correspond to that of the whole excavated collection, in which Iron Age pottery is approximately half as frequent as Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, and Romano-British and Early Saxon pottery are many times more frequent. The scarcity of Early Saxon sherds may be explained by the fact that most Saxon pots were deposited whole with burials, only being reduced to sherds by later agriculture and rabbit- and pot-hunting. The Iron Age and Romano-British pottery, however, is derived from settlement, and would have been discarded in sherd form, like most of the Neolithic and Bronze Age material. Its near-absence from periglacial contexts suggests that, perhaps by the Iron Age and certainly by the Roman period, these formations were already levelled and relatively stable. Struck flint was also abundant in periglacial contexts, with a total of 656 pieces from confidently-identified examples (Table 13, microfiche).

Given that the bulk of the artefacts from periglacial formations are of Pre-Iron Age date, other traces of activity within them are likely to be of equal antiquity. Between twenty and thirty contained evidence of burning in the form of charcoal, burnt flint, burnt fills, or all three. A hollow remaining at the top of an ice-wedge would have been a conveniently sheltered place in which to light a fire. A radiocarbon determination of 8280±80 BP (HAR-7063; 6330 BC) was made on charcoal from 3594, a contorted layer of 3367, a possibly periglacial and probably natural formation (Figs 25, 27), in which charcoal, burnt flint and burnt earth were associated with Mesolithic material (including L13-19, L23-25), some of it also burnt (Table 18, microfiche). The only post-Mesolithic find was a very small Romano-British sherd (weighing less than 2

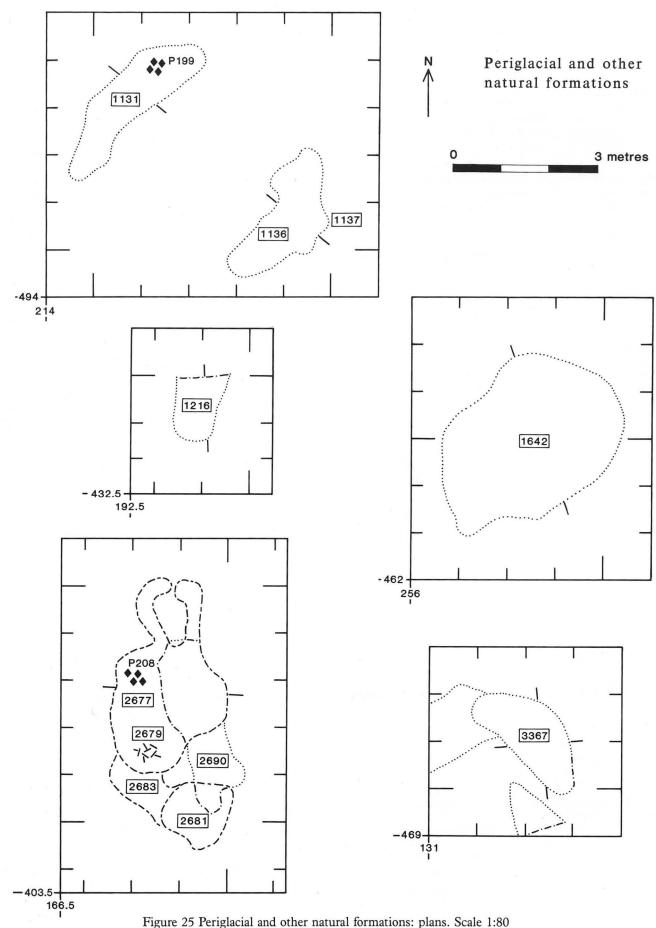
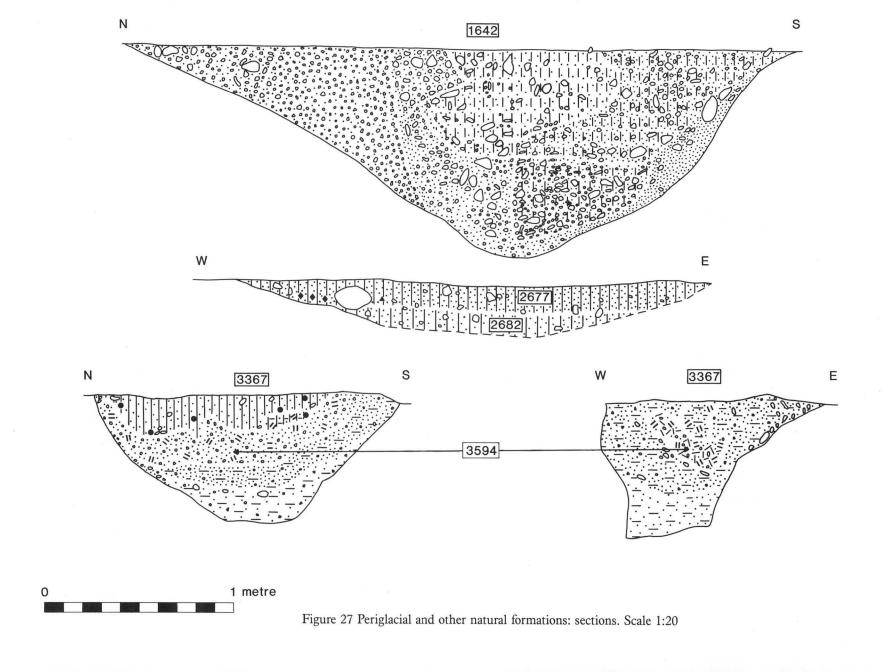


Figure 25 Periglacial and other natural formations: plans. Scale 1:80

Figure 26 Periglacial and other natural formations: sections. Scale 1:20

## PERIGLACIAL AND OTHER NATURAL FORMATIONS



## POTTERY FROM PERIGLACIAL CONTEXTS

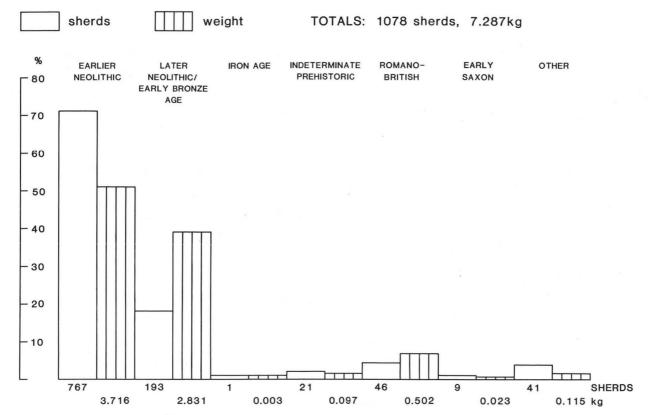


Figure 28 Composition of pottery from periglacial formations

g), which could easily have been intrusive, especially as it same from one of the topmost layers (3593). Fires seem to have been lit in the tops of several periglacial hollows; although few are closely datable. The upper fill of 3084, 6m south of Earlier Neolithic feature group B, included burnt sand and a patch of charcoal and burnt flints. 1216 (Figs 25-26), a hearth containing charcoal, burnt flint and one flint flake, was apparently cut through periglacial fills.

## Other natural formations

These were generally amorphous. 2677-2679-2681-2682-2683 (Figs 25, 27), a straggling complex of scoops and disturbances which included patches of burnt sand and contained sherds of Grooved Ware (P212-P214) and related flintwork (L78, L81), seemed to have been a tree-hollow confused by a pre-existing periglacial formation (2690), subsequent Early Saxon burials and more recent pothunting.

## 3. The Artefacts

## I. Lithic Material

#### Introduction

Terminology is defined in Table 43. Selected artefacts are illustrated in Figures 40-51 and described in the catalogue at the end of this section. The composition and incidence of the worked flint and stone is summarized in Table 14.

Because of the difficulty of dating simple stone grinding equipment, such as rubbers and quern fragments, it is included in this report only when recovered from pre-Iron Age features, although some of that from later and superficial contexts may derive from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age occupation. A full report by David Buckley will appear in a future volume (Part VII).

The majority of the material from prehistoric contexts is thus from Earlier Neolithic features, while the overwhelming majority of the total collection is residual or unstratified. On superficial examination this large body of material was clearly of multiperiod composition and was

likely to show spatial variation and, at least in some areas, to include substantial components of other than Earlier Neolithic date.

Mesolithic activity is evidenced by the radiocarbon determinations from 1334, 3367 and 3644 (Table 63), by the assemblage from 3367, and by further typologically Mesolithic material which is widespread over the excavated area (Fig. 29, Tables 18 and 19, microfiche). A total of forty diagnostically Mesolithic artefacts suggests that a proportionate amount of contemporary debitage and less distinctive finished implements may also be present.

Despite the fact that Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age activity is evidenced by fourteen features (Fig. 5; Table 8, microfiche) and 569 sherds (Table 57, microfiche), there are only forty-six pieces of struck flint from the features themselves. This disparity suggested that most contemporary lithic material might be residual or unstratified. The possibility was heightened by the concentration of lithic material in the base of the soil around Early Bronze Age pit 123 (Fig. 22) and by the

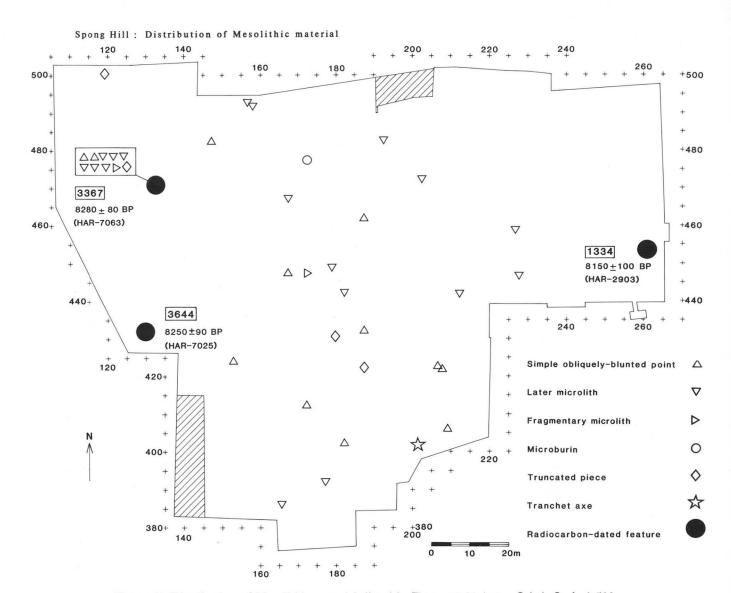


Figure 29 Distribution of Mesolithic material, listed in Tables 18-19 (microfiche). Scale 1:500

frequency and distribution of forms of arrowhead normally found in Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age contexts (Fig. 30, Table 20, microfiche).

It thus seemed likely that there was anything but a straightforward relationship between stratified and unstratified lithic material. This posed the problem of defining and describing that relationship. Since the unit of excavation was the 5m square, an overall impression of density was obtained by combining the material from other than Neolithic or Bronze Age contexts in each grid square with the completely unstratified material from that square (Fig. 31). Contexts divided between squares were attributed to the square in which their larger part lay; if equally divided they were attributed to the square in which their north or east part lay. This accommodated approximately 88% (5658 pieces out of 6443) of the residual and unstratified material. Concentrations were then selected for further examination, defined partly by density, partly by their apparent relation to prehistoric features (concentrations 1-4 and 9) and stray pottery finds (concentrations 5-8).

The procedure has obvious flaws. Recovery almost certainly varied between seasons. Mechanical topsoil stripping may have been more radical in some seasons than in others. It can be no coincidence that some of the

highest densities are in the areas of Figures 22 and 24, where the recognition and recovery of lithic material would have been enhanced by careful trowelling and recording in 1 m squares. The volume of deposit excavated in a square necessarily varied with the density and capacity of the features within it. This is responsible for minor linear concentrations, such as those from 165 280 to 215 450 or from 205 475 to 225 475, which mark the lines of Romano-British ditches (compare Fig. 31 with Fig. 88, back pocket).

The major concentrations, outlined in Figure 31 and listed below, seem at least partly independent of such factors:

- 1. 150-160, 475-495 (Table 22, microfiche): corresponds to the north part of Earlier Neolithic feature group A and to the area immediately to the north of it, including the area of Figure 23.
- 165-180, 490-500 (Table 24, microfiche): corresponds to Earlier Neolithic feature group B and extends east from it to include Earlier Neolithic pits 2093 and 3072.
- 3. 170-185, 440-455 (Table 26, microfiche): corresponds to Earlier Neolithic feature group C.
- 4. 255-270, 435-455 (Tables 29 and 30, microfiche): corresponds to Earlier Neolithic feature group E and

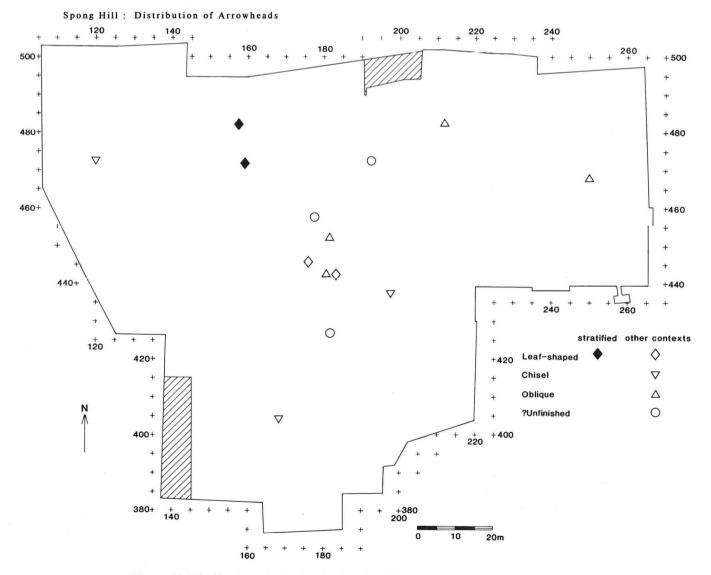


Figure 30 Distribution of arrowheads, listed in Table 20 (microfiche). Scale 1:500

Context date or type	corres	irregular waste	flakes & blades	retouched pieces	totals	% of total
Earlier Neolithic	15 2%	15 2%	877 91%	56 6%	963	12.0%
Later Neolithic/ Early Bronze Age	_	2 4%	40 87%	4 9%	46	0.6%
Indeterminate prehistoric	1 4%	_	22 85%	3 12%	26	0.4%
Periglacial	12 2%	5 1%	616 94%	23 3%	656	8.3%
Other contexts in excavated area	143 2%	56 1%	5321 92%	268 5%	5788	73.7%
Fieldwalking & casual collection	31 9%	8 2%	282 78%	39 11%	360	5.0%
Totals	202 3%	86 1%	7158 91%	393 5%	7839	

Table 14 Worked flint and stone: summary

includes the 'spread' which surrounded the features of the group.

- 5. 250-260, 475-490 (Table 32, microfiche): corresponds to Earlier Neolithic feature 1995, to several finds of Earlier Neolithic pottery, including P189-P193 and P195, (Fig. 52), and to sparser finds of Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age pottery, including P222, (Fig. 77).
- 6. 165-200, 395-420 (Table 34, microfiche): corresponds to finds of Grooved Ware, including P208-P214, in its south part (Fig. 77).
- 7. 185-210, 460-480 (Table 35, microfiche): corresponds to finds of Grooved Ware, including P201 and P202, in its east part (Fig. 77).
- 8. 165-185, 470-490 (Table 36, microfiche): consists of the area of Figure 24, together with a slighter but continuing concentration to the south-east, perhaps continuous with concentration 7. It corresponds to finds of Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age pottery, including P234-P237 (probably Rusticated Beaker), in its south part (Fig. 77).
- 9. 145-150, 475-490 (Table 37, microfiche): is the area of Figure 22, which corresponds to a group of Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age features (Fig. 17).

It is noteworthy that no marked concentration of lithic material corresponds to Earlier Neolithic feature group D. Concentrations 6-8 are more diffuse than those apparently related to prehistoric features. The provenance of the material forming

the various concentrations is summarized in Figure 32. The proportion found in later archaeological features varies with their frequency and size in the areas concerned, reaching its highest where they were both numerous and substantial, in concentrations 3, 4 and 5 (Fig. 88, back pocket). Low quantities of material from grid squares (*i.e.* almost entirely from base of the soil left on the surface of the natural sand and gravel after machine stripping) in concentrations 1-5 contrast with high quantities in concentrations 6-9.

There are also several smaller, single-square concentrations. That at 130 470 consists of the material from probably natural feature 3367, which is described below; that at 225 455, including L119-L120, corresponds to Earlier Neolithic pit 889, which itself contained only seven pieces of lithic material in contrast to eighty-five from surrounding contexts.

## Description

#### Raw material (Tables 16-17, microfiche)

Flint: The most common surface alteration in the collection, especially among unstratified and residual material, is a glossy patina, which is described by Rosemary Bradley (Appendix II, microfiche). White patination is relatively light and infrequent, so that in most cases it is possible to judge the original colour and

	Leaf arrowheads	Chisel arrowheads	Oblique arrowheads	Barbed & tanged arrowheads	Other and ?unfinished arrowheads	Scrapers	Borers	Scale-flaked knives	Backed knives	Notches	Denticulates	Saws	Serrated pieces	Microliths	Microburin	Truncated pieces	Misc. retouched	'Fabricators'	Flaked or ground axe	Tranchet axe	Flakes from ground implements	Indet. heavy implement	Hammerstones	Totals
Earlier Neolithic	2					17	7				1		20	1			4		1		1		2	56
Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age						2		1						1										4
Indet. Prehist.						2							1											3
Periglacial						6					1	1	7	1		1	6							23
Other excavated contexts	2	3	4		5	116	7	1	2	3	5	1	30	31	1	3	37	2	2	1	9	1	2	268
Fieldwalking and casual collection				1	4	20	2				1						6	4	1				V	39
Totals	4	3	4	1	9	163	16	2	2	3	8	2	58	34	1	4	53	6	4	1	10	1	4	393

Table 15 Retouched pieces: summary

character of the flint. Irrespective of date or location, the vast majority of artefacts are made from the gravels of the hill itself. Abundance and availability would have compensated for variable, often low quality, which is reflected in the frequency of thermal fractures on the illustrated pieces. The cutting of pits and other subsoil features would have permitted the collection of fresher, less frost-fractured flint than that from the surface. The gravels include large cobbles, which seem to have been sufficient even for the manufacture of small axes, such as L44 and L61. At least two flakes from polished implements, on the other hand, are of unflawed, greywhite flint of matt, porcelain-like texture, which stands out from the normal flint of the hill (Table 16, microfiche). This is 'Lincolnshire' flint, which occurs as an erratic in some East Anglian boulder clays, and seems to have been selected for axe manufacture. A sample of flint collected from the surface of the site included an unworked fragment of this material, the slightly striated surface of which suggests that it was collected from the Drift rather than naturally incorporated in the gravels. L133, a small flaked axe possibly worked down from a larger polished one, may be of the same material, but patination makes it difficult to be sure of this. The only example from a

prehistoric context is L33 from Earlier Neolithic feature group A.

Another class of alien flint stands out from the rolled, battered, thermally-fractured and inclusion-filled flint of the hill, by its thick, fresh cortex and its sound, uniform grey-black interior. It seems to have been extracted or collected directly from the chalk and resembles the flint of the Breckland. A few pieces are macroscopically comparable with Grime's Graves floorstone. The incidence of the more confidently-identified examples is summarized in Table 17 (microfiche). Artefacts of this material tend to be relatively large: L86, for example, is likely to have been at least 80mm long when complete. Two flakes are from Earlier Neolithic contexts: one from post-hole 86 in feature group A, and one from isolated pit 3644. A large blade fragment and a flake were found respectively in 2681 and 2682, both parts of an amorphous complex of hollows and disturbances which also contained sherds of Grooved Ware (e.g. P212-4).

The two classes of alien flint together amount to only a very small proportion of the collection.

Other rocks: A struck flake of igneous rock (L69), with no trace of cutting edge or ground surface, was found in 1459,

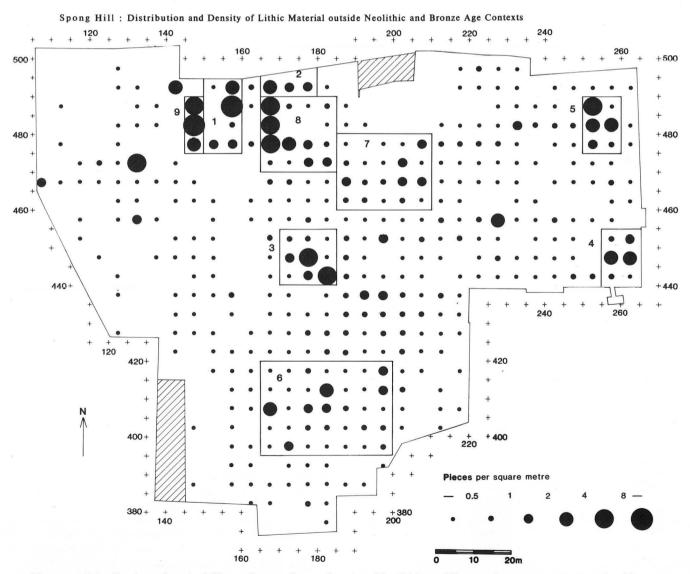


Figure 31 Distribution of worked flint and stone from other than Neolithic and Bronze Age contexts summarized by 5m gridsquare, showing concentrations 1-9. Scale 1:500

## Provenance of Material in Lithic Concentrations gridsquares other Conc. 1 60 40 total 471 20 122 Conc. 2 40 20 total 141 Conc. 3 40 20 total 318 Conc. 4 40 20 total 225 Conc. 5 80 60 total 323 40 20 318 Conc. 6 60 40 total 499 20 316 10 32 Conc. 7 60 40 total 327 20 Conc. 8 80 60 total 796 40 20 3 696 17 Conc. 9 80 60 total 540 40 20

Figure 32 Provenance of lithic material forming concentrations 1-9

a layer of a periglacial formation within the area of feature group E which contained exclusively Neolithic material. It has been identified by Mr. R.V. Davis as an ungrouped rhyolitic tuff which could have come from Wales, Cumbria or Scotland, and may have been transported as a glacial erratic. Mr. Davis describes it as 'extremely finegrained and capable of holding a fine cutting edge-the igneous equivalent of flint regarding its working properties' (Appendix I, microfiche). A variety of pebbles and fragments of rocks other than flint were found in Neolithic and Early Bronze Age contexts and are documented in Tables 21, 23, 28, 31, and 33 (microfiche). Many are almost certainly erratics naturally present in the locality. The only undoubted artefacts among them are three probable quern fragments, all of sandstone, from feature group B. Sandstone and quartzite pebbles beneath sherds of two pots at the base of Early Bronze Age pit 123 seem to have been placed there deliberately (Fig. 18), and must have been selected, if not collected, for the purpose. Other pebbles and fragments forming part of apparent rubbish deposits in Earlier Neolithic features may, on the other hand, have been accidental inclusions.

## Mesolithic material (Figs 29, 40)

The overall distribution of typologically Mesolithic material is shown in Figure 29. It is notably absent from the area of 1334, which contained pine charcoal radiocarbon-dated to  $8150 \pm 100$  BP (HAR-2903; 6200 BC). All the pieces plotted were residual or unstratified, except for the contents of 3367.

The assemblage from 3367 (Table 18, microfiche) 3367 seems to have been of natural, possibly periglacial, origin (Chapter 2). Nonetheless, the absence of later material (apart from a probably intrusive Romano-British sherd from one of the topmost layers) and the association in it of nine microliths, two of them burnt, with burnt flint, burnt earth, and charcoal dated to  $8280 \pm 80$  BP (HAR-7063; 6330 BC) indicate that all the material from its various layers is likely to be of Mesolithic date. Four of the microliths (L13-15, L19) are of almost identical form, steeply-backed, with lighter retouch the length of the leading edge and around the base.

Mesolithic material from other contexts (Table 19, microfiche)

Simple obliquely-blunted points are sometimes quite large (e.g. L2, L3), while more extensively-retouched and geometric forms are generally smaller (e.g. L7-L11). There is no spatial distinction between the two groups, however, and examples of both were associated in 3367 (L13-L19). L8 from 787, 100m to the south-east, is similar to L13-L15 and L19.

## Earlier Neolithic feature groups and concentrations 1 to 5

Overall composition (Fig. 33)

The total of material from feature groups E and, especially, C is very low, although the corresponding concentrations 3 and 4 are both substantial. Because of their small number, the fifteen pieces from feature group C (Table 25, microfiche) are excluded from most of the following analyses. Among the feature groups, irregular waste is present only in B, although small quantities are present in concentrations 1, 2, 4, and 5. Blade frequency varies

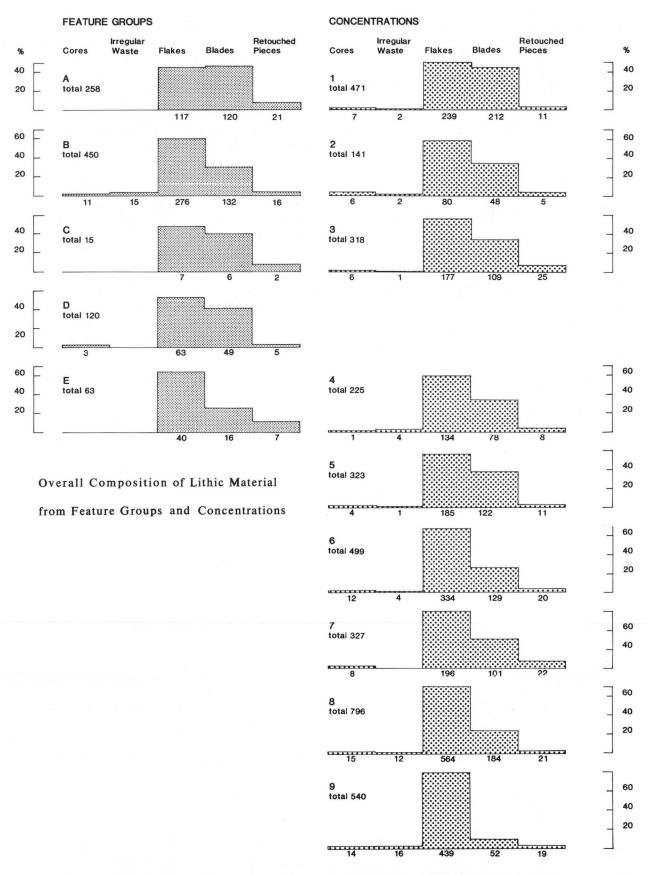


Figure 33 Composition of material from feature groups and lithic concentrations

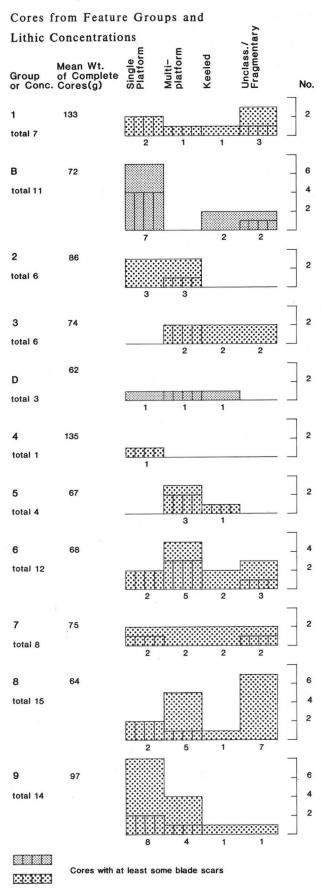


Figure 34 Composition of cores from feature groups and lithic concentrations

considerably between feature groups, reaching its lowest in B and E. This variation is matched in the corresponding concentrations.

## Cores (Fig. 34)

The eleven cores from feature group B are distinguished by the presence of three, including L45, from which only very few removals have been made, and by their relatively small size. This seems to reflect the original smallness of the pebbles and nodules selected, rather than intensive working-down of the raw material. The absence of cores from feature group A is balanced by the presence of seven, including L36 and L37, in concentration 1, together with a rejuvenation flake from the platform of a blade core (L38) and a crested blade (L39), such as would have been produced during the preparation of such a core. There is a further crested blade from feature group B.

## Flakes (Figs 35-36)

Dimensions (Fig. 35) are generally consistent among the feature groups, reflecting the use of the same raw material. Flakes from feature group E are exceptional in being thicker than the rest (Fig. 35), although this may be an accidental effect of the small number available for measurement. Proportions are rather more blade-like in feature groups A and D than in B and E, corresponding to the result of visual classification into flakes and blades (Fig. 33). Feature group B is distinguished by the presence of three flakes with faceted butts; feature group E by the highest frequency of cortical butts. Both have relatively high frequencies of abnormal end fractures.

## Retouched pieces (Fig. 37)

In general, the feature groups and concentrations 1-5 contained a similar, restricted range of retouched forms in similar proportions. Feature group B is marked by a rather low frequency of serrated pieces (22); concentration 3 by a wider range of forms. The latter may reflect both the heterogenous origins of the material forming the concentration and the larger number of retouched pieces within it.

#### Macroscopic wear traces

The problems of identifying these are such that no systematic attempt has been made to do so, although some obvious wear can be distinguished. Edge gloss is occasionally present, especially on serrated pieces (e.g. L42). Pieces with regular, blunting wear, defined by Smith (1965, 92) as class A utilized flakes and by Whittle (1977, 71) as bevelled flakes (e.g. L58, L68), occurred in feature groups A, D and E. Irregular wear extending from the tip of L64, an awl from feature group D, down its right edge recalls the wear pattern on a morphological awl from feature group B, the edge of which was used to cut meat (Fig. 44:3087.14). It is a reminder that, while the tips of such implements seem to have been modified for (and/or by) perforation, this may not have been their sole function.

Summary of microwear analysis (Appendix II, microfiche; Pls III-X; Figs 43-44; catalogue entries)

#### by Rosemary Bradley

Eighty-six pieces from two opposed quadrants of each of pits 3080, 3083, and 3087 in feature group B were submitted for microwear analysis. Four scrapers (3080.21, 3083.3, 3083.17, 3083.22) were used, four other retouched



Plate III Small patch of shiny and smooth natural 'friction gloss' on ventral surface of 3087.1 at A. (x140)



Plate IV Fresh, unused edge of 3080.34, showing partly-detached retouch scars and sharp edge, dorsally at A. (x50)



Plate V Microscarred right edge of 3080.14, dorsally at A with patches of bright, shiny, fresh wood polish. (x140)

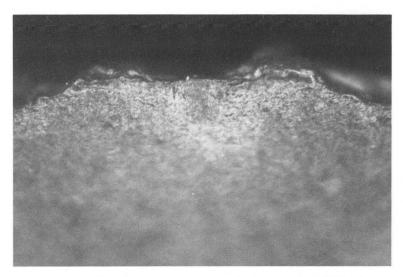


Plate VI Slightly rounded, retouched, distal end of 3083.22, ventrally at A with greasy meat/fresh hide polish. (x140)

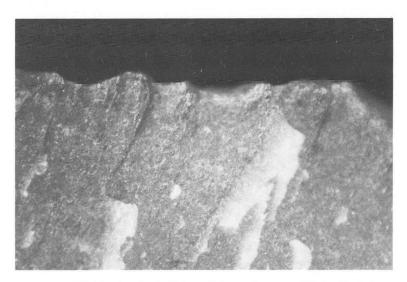


Plate VII Meat or fresh hide polish on the ventral left edge of 3080.36 at A. (x140)

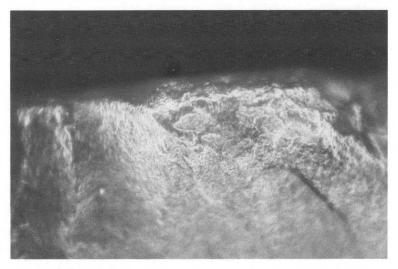


Plate VIII Smooth, very reflective, wet vegetable matter polish on dorsal surface of 3080.37 at A. (x140)

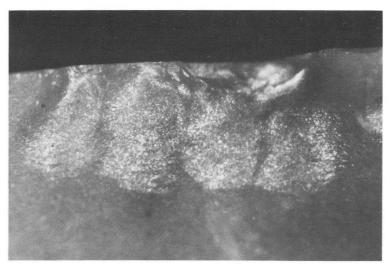


Plate IX Dull texture of original flint surface with shiny microscars revealing flint interior altered by heat treatment on 3080.16, dorsally at A. (x50)



Plate X Detail of shiny, waxy, heat-treated flint seen in microscar on the ventral surface of 3080.31 at A. (x140)

pieces, including a serrated piece (3080.16) and a further scraper (3080.34) were unused, the latter retaining polish and microscars from secondary flaking on its distal edge and possible hafting traces on its left edge. Used flakes were selected for relatively large size, straight edges and edge profiles, and a restricted range of edge angles; preferred outline varied with function. The tasks performed were woodworking (3080.13, 3080.14,3080.28, 3080.40, 3083. 3; Pl. V), meat or fresh hide processing (3080.21, 3080.36, 3087. 14; Pl. VII), and the cutting of damp vegetable matter (3080.37; Pl. VIII). Eight pieces may have undergone controlled heat-pretreatment, on the evidence of changes in their electron spin resonance spectra (3080.16, 3080.21, 3080.31, 3083.8, 3083.12, 3083.16, 3083.24, 3087.1; Pls IX-X), although the fact that none was subsequently pressure-flaked suggests that the process may have been accidental.

## Grinding equipment

Three sandstone fragments from feature group B seem likely to represent two saddle querns, one coarser-grained than the other. Each retains part of a ground surface, in two cases flat, in one slightly dished.

# Earlier Neolithic features outside feature groups (Table 31, microfiche)

Material from these totals only seventy-one pieces, twenty-seven of them, including L75-L76, from 3645. Features containing Grimston Ware were particularly poor in lithic material. There is none from 2618, one blade and one presumably residual microlith (L11) from 2792, and two blades and a miscellaneous retouched piece from 3072. 'Worked flint' from 2618 was, however, recorded in the field, and may have been lost or mis-numbered. 3072 lay within concentration 2, although itself containing little material.

# Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age features (Table 33, microfiche)

These were also poor in lithic material. Seven (33, 941,1130,1121,1584, 1630, and 3599) contained none. The remaining seven produced only forty-six pieces, twenty-five of them from Early Bronze Age pit 123. Some of the material is certainly or probably residual, notably a microlith (L8) from 787 and a heavily-patinated flake from 1196. Not only are the features themselves poor in lithic material, but, with the exception of 121,122, and 123, which lay within concentration 9, they do not correspond

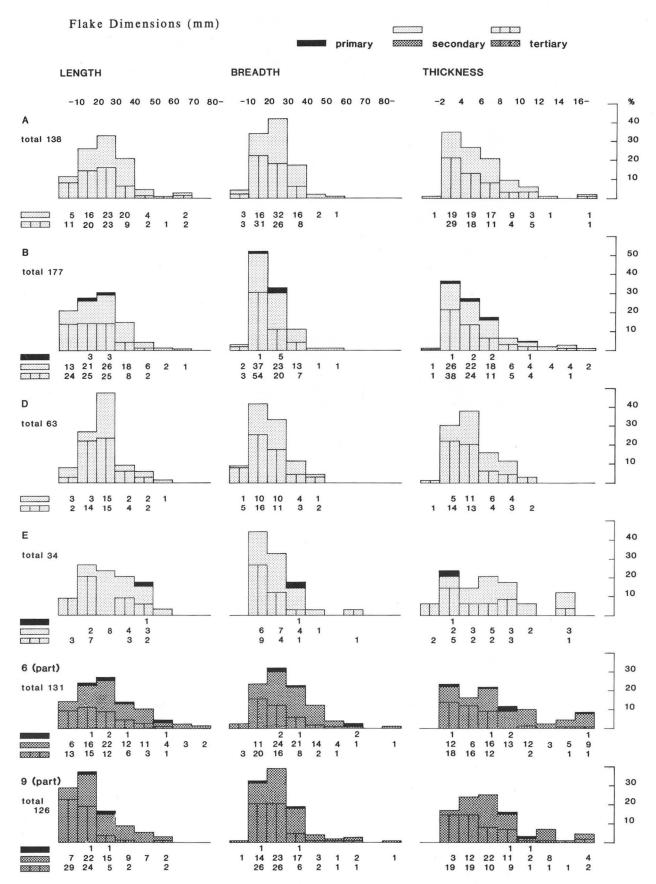


Figure 35 Dimensions of complete, unretouched flakes and blades from feature groups A, B, D, and E and concentrations 6 and 9

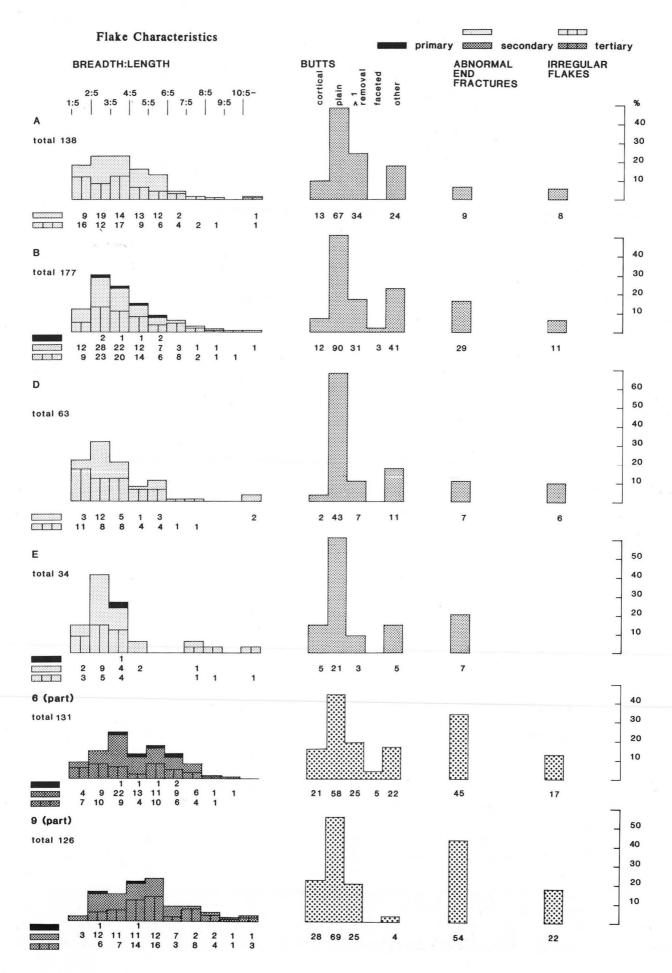


Figure 36 Further characteristics of complete, unretouched flakes and blades from feature groups A, B, D, and E and concentrations 6 and 9

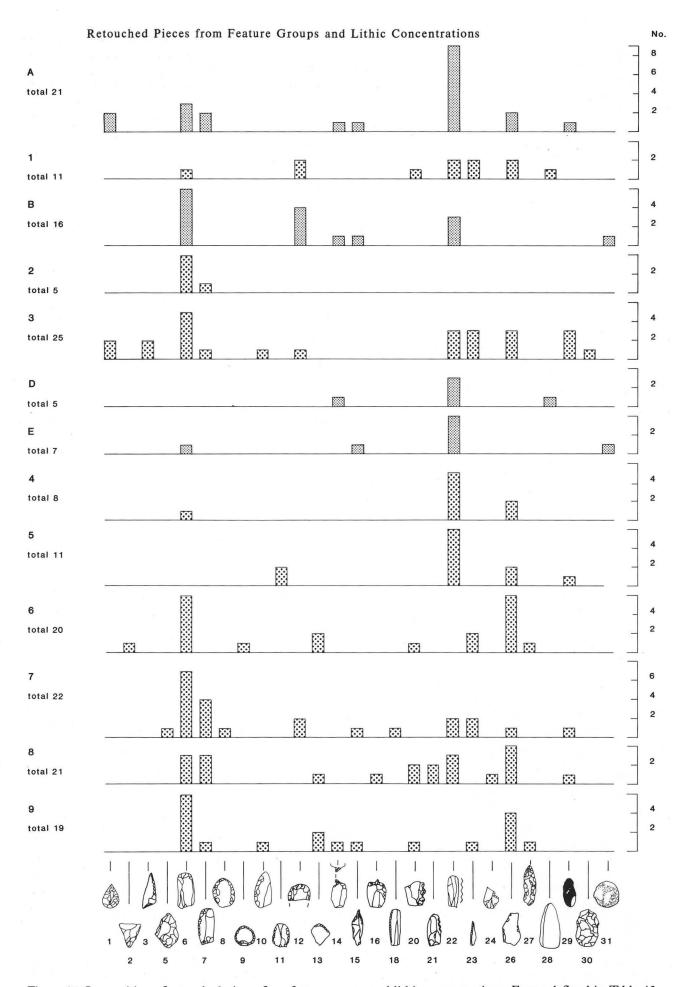


Figure 37 Composition of retouched pieces from feature groups and lithic concentrations. Forms defined in Table 43

to concentrations of residual and unstratified lithic material (Figs 4, 31).

123 was the focus for lithic material within concentration 9 (Fig. 22), so that a relationship between the two seemed probable. It contained, however, two exceptionally fine implements, which contrast with the rough workmanship of the material from the immediate area. These are a scale-flaked scraper (L104) and a large scale-flaked knife (L106). A further scraper (L105) is less finely-worked.

### Concentrations 6 to 9 (Tables 34-7, microfiche)

#### Overall composition (Fig. 33)

All have low frequencies of blades, which are scarcest in concentration 9, in which workmanship is particularly rough (L107-L115).

## Cores (Fig. 34)

Cores with blade scars are infrequent in concentrations 7, 8 and 9. Classifiable cores are most frequently multiplatform in concentrations 6 and 8. There is a struck Levallois core (L83) from concentration 7. A flake (L108) from concentration 9 results from the less successful working of a similar core.

#### Flakes (Figs 35-6)

Because the concentrations are much larger than the assemblages from the Earlier Neolithic feature groups and because they consist of residual and unstratified material, flake characteristics have been recorded selectively. Two samples were chosen. The first, to represent the three more diffuse concentrations which correspond to pottery finds rather than to features, was from the south part of concentration 6, bounded by grid lines 165-200 east and 395-410 north and coinciding with finds of Grooved Ware. The second was from 5 m square 145 480 in concentration 9, within which 123 lay (Fig. 22). Flakes from concentration 6 include six with faceted butts. They are distinctly shorter, wider, and proportionately broader than those from any of the Earlier Neolithic feature groups, and thicker than those of all of them except feature group E. They also have higher frequencies of cortical butts, abnormal end fractures, and irregular outlines. The sample from concentration 9 shows the same characteristics to a more marked extent.

## Retouched pieces (Fig. 37)

Concentrations 6 to 9 all have a wider range of retouched forms than the Earlier Neolithic feature groups or concentrations 1-5, and include forms not found in them. Noteworthy are extensively-retouched scrapers (8-11), scrapers on non-flake blanks (13), saws (21), and 'fabricators' (27), as well as a higher frequency of denticulates (20), and a lower frequency of serrated pieces (22). L79 and L80 from concentration 6 are the only small, 'thumbnail' scrapers from the site. Other scrapers from concentrations 6 to 9 are, like the illustrated examples (L85, L96-L97, L109-L111), of the same generally large size as those from the Earlier Neolithic feature groups and concentrations 1-5.

# The remainder of the excavated area (Table 40, microfiche)

Two massive, bifacially-flaked points (L126 and L127) are comparable with L84 from concentration 7.

Several of the Early Saxon sunken-featured buildings excavated in the west of the excavated area contained struck flint, most of which is residual, including a chisel arrowhead (L122) from 3456, at 120 472. 3610, at 134 456, however, contained twenty-nine pieces of battered, roughly broken-up flint in exceptionally fresh condition, one or two of which may have been used as strike-a-lights. They seem likely to have been produced by the Saxon occupants.

# *Fieldwalking and casual collection* (Figs 38-9: Tables 41-2, microfiche)

Fieldwalking was undertaken after the excavation had begun. What later became the south part of the excavated area was walked in 1976, and the material collected is represented by open dots in Figure 38. More extensive fieldwalking took place in the following winters, with the main aims of defining the Early Saxon cemetery and locating related settlement. It was conducted piecemeal, as land became available, with changes in the size and shape of collecting areas which account for the irregular spacing of dots in Figure 38.

Relatively high densities were recorded in 1976 (Table 41, microfiche): contexts 3778 to 3783), especially in the south-west of the subsequently excavated area, which also produced a relatively high density of lithic material during later fieldwalking (Table 41, microfiche) context 2428). A scatter of 'scrapers, cores and other flints', plotted on Figure 2, had been noted in the same area in 1965. All three correspond to excavated concentration 6.

Although concentrations 1, 2 and 4 ran into the edges of the excavated area (Fig. 31), there was little or no reflection of this on the surface, even in the case of concentration 4, where periglacial formation 1240, which contained Neolithic material, ran under the edge of the excavation (Fig. 13). A virtual blank in the south of the field reflects the steepening of the slope down into the Blackwater valley (Fig. 2), where recently-accumulated hillwash may obscure finds and where progressively wetter and peatier conditions would have detered occupation. Later material was also scarce here.

Elsewhere, lithic material was generally sparse, but enough to indicate that prehistoric activity extended over much of the field. Densities were highest in the north of the area walked, away from the excavated area and close to ring-ditch 3757. Beyond the gridded area, struck flint was also collected from the surface of barrow 3756 (Table 42, microfiche: context 2443).

Material from fieldwalking and casual collection is recorded respectively in Tables 41 and 42, microfiche). The composition of both is similar, and they are summarized together in Figure 39, to afford comparison with Figures 33, 34, and 37. Apart from a slight, predictable bias towards cores and the more recognisable retouched forms, the material is similar to the collections from excavated concentrations 6-9, especially to that from concentration 9. All four of the denser concentrations from the north of the field (Table 41, microfiche): contexts 2246, 2249, 2252, 2264) consist mainly of thick, irregular flakes, like those from excavated concentration 9, as does the collection of nineteen pieces from the surface of barrow 3756 to the north-west.

The butt fragment of a polished axe of mottled greyorange flint and with slightly squared sides was found to the west of the excavated area (Table 41, microfiche:

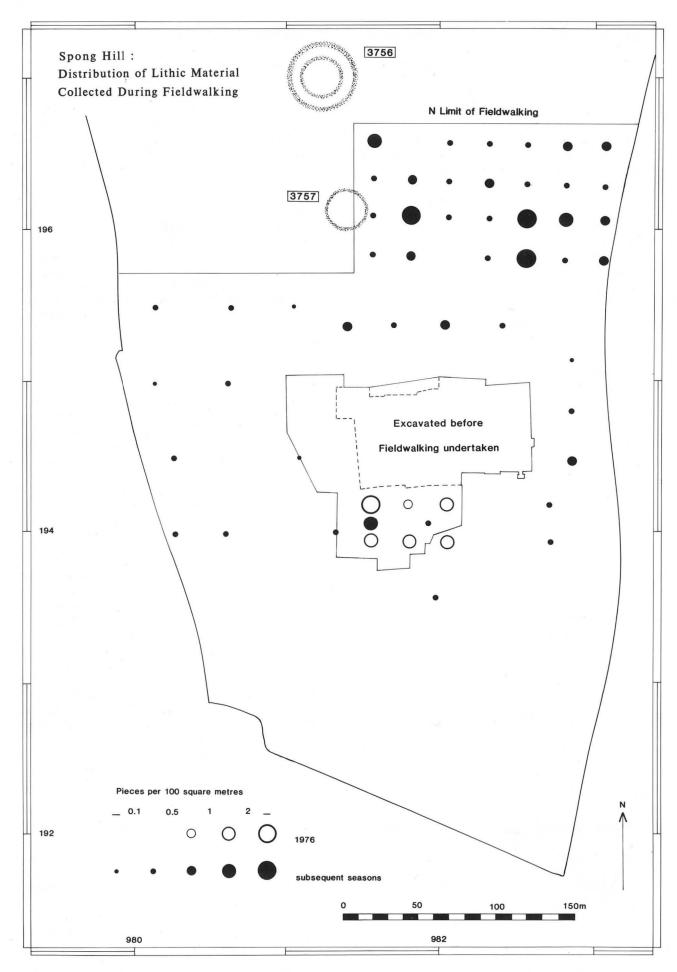
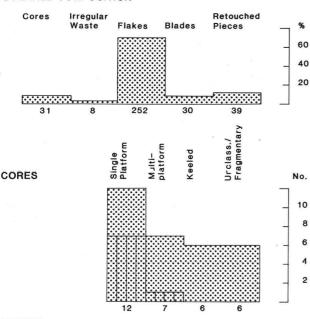


Figure 38 Distribution of lithic material collected during fieldwalking. The N and E parts of the excavated area were dug before fieldwalking was undertaken. Scale 1:2500

context 3128). The only barbed and tanged arrowhead from the hill forms part of a small collection (Table 42, microfiche: context 3776) given to the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology in 1930 by Miss Eleanor Nicolson, whose family then owned the site. Her collection also includes a fragmentary bifacially-flaked point similar to L127, three other flat bifaces of more ovoid outline, and two 'fabricators'. Among material collected in 1976 was a bead (L135), apparently of canal coal, found at approximately 165 414 near the west edge of concentration 6.

# Lithic Material from Fieldwalking and Casual Collection (Total 360)

## **OVERALL COMPOSITION**



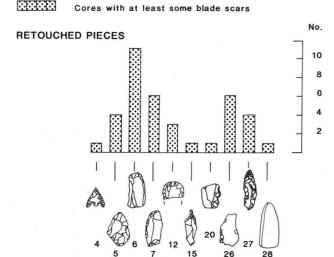


Figure 39 Composition of lithic material from fieldwalking and casual collection. Retouched forms defined in Table 43

#### Discussion

#### Mesolithic material

3367

The assemblage from the components of this feature is dated by a radiocarbon determination of  $8280\pm80$  BP (HAR-7063; 6330 BC). A geometric microlith (L18) and small, extensively-worked points (L13-L16, L19) are of forms current from c. 7000 BC (Jacobi 1984, 46, 53).

#### Other contexts

It is impossible to tell how far the remaining Mesolithic material relates to that from 3367. It may be significant that L8, a microlith found 100 m away, is very similar to L13-L15 and L19. Simple obliquely-blunted points, such as L2, L3, L4, and L12, were current from the earliest Mesolithic (Jacobi 1984, 46), so that some may predate the 3367 assemblage. This is particularly possible for large examples such as L2 and L3, because the obliquely-blunted points of Earlier Mesolithic industries have been shown to be generally larger than those of Later Mesolithic ones (Pitts and Jacobi 1979, fig. 5).

#### Nature and extent

Elements of a more extensive Mesolithic assemblage, if they could be identified among residual and unstratified material, might demonstrate whether the hill was then occupied or simply served as an occasional stopping place. There is, however, considerable difficulty distinguishing between both the debitage and the less conspicuous retouched forms of Later Mesolithic industries on the one hand and Earlier Neolithic ones on the other (Jacobi and Healy 1984; Pitts 1978, fig. 5; Pitts and Jacobi 1979, 170-4). Regularly-worked blade cores such as L91 or L117 could be matched in industries of either affinity. A particularly high surface gloss on L91 suggests that it was on the site for longer than the generally fresher, predominantly Later Neolithic or Early Bronze Age, material of concentration 8 within which it was found, but this does not preclude an Earlier Neolithic date. The same is true of the blades which sometimes occur glossed or patinated among fresher, more coarsely-worked material. Small examples such as L50 are particularly likely to be Mesolithic because there would have been little reason to produce them once blanks for microliths were no longer required. Concentrations 1 and 3, both of which combine fairly high frequencies of blades (Fig. 33) with the presence of microliths (Fig. 37) may well include further Mesolithic material, as may Earlier Neolithic feature groups A and C, which fall within them.

### Earlier Neolithic

## Affinities

Lithic material from the feature groups and from isolated Earlier Neolithic features has the general characteristics of contemporary industries, synthesised by Whittle (1977, ch. 4), Pitts (1978), Green (1980) and Healey and Robertson-Mackay (1983), and exemplified within eastern England at Hurst Fen, Mildenhall, Suffolk (Clark and Higgs 1960), Broome Heath, Ditchingham (Site 10602; Wainwright 1972, 46-66), area XIII, Padholme Road, Fengate, Cambridgeshire (Pryor 1974a, 10-13), and Briar

Hill, Northampton (Bamford 1985, 60-91). They may be summarized, crudely, as follows:

- Cores are most commonly single-platformed (Fig. 34).
- 2. Blades are frequent and flakes are of generally narrow proportions (Figs 33, 36).
- 3. A rather restricted range of retouched forms includes leaf-shaped arrowheads (*e.g.* L34-L35), side and side-end scrapers, often long (*e.g.* L29-L30, L65, L75-L76), awls and piercers, generally short-pointed (*e.g.* L27, L46, L64, L66), serrated pieces, generally blades (*e.g.* L26, L28, L48, L63), and wholly or partly polished axes (*e.g.* L61). Among these, end scrapers and serrated pieces are generally the most numerous (Fig. 37).

The presence in the feature groups of a variety and a balance of forms recurrently found in both causewayed enclosures and apparently open settlements suggests that a full range of domestic activities was carried out on the site, an impression consistent with the limited results of Rosemary Bradley's microwear analysis of a sample of material from feature group B (Appendix II, microfiche).

## Distinctions between feature groups

While the unretouched flakes from all the Earlier Neolithic feature groups conform to the relatively bladelike proportions usual for the period, there are differences between those from groups A and D on the one hand and groups B and E on the other which can be seen as reflecting variations in knapping technique and/or skill. Less blade-like proportions in B and E are accompanied by differences in core preparation, seen in the presence of faceted butts in group B and in an increased proportion of cortical butts in group E. Less controlled flaking is reflected in both by increased proportions of abnormal end fractures and in E by increased flake thickness (Figs 35-6). These characteristics could be seen as reflecting the varying skills of individual knappers, they could equally be seen as tending towards the flint-working practices of the late third and early second millennia BC, summarized below.

#### Concentrations 1 to 5

These are bound to be of mixed origin and date. This is particularly clear in concentration 3, which includes both microliths and oblique arrowheads (Fig. 37). Nonetheless, their composition matches that of the material from the Earlier Neolithic feature groups so closely (Figs 33, 37) as to indicate that they are *predominantly* contemporary. This alone would suggest that they relate to the feature groups, or, in the case of concentration 5, the pottery finds, with which they coincide. The probability is heightened by close correspondance in the relative frequency of flakes and blades in feature groups and their corresponding concentrations (Fig. 33).

#### Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age

#### Features

Early Bronze Age pit 123 is the exception to a general absence or scarcity of lithic material in later features (Table 33, microfiche). Although debitage from it was similar to that of surrounding concentration 9, the two finely scale-flaked implements (L104 and L106) cannot be matched there. Both are of forms found in early second millennium

BC settlements, for example in association with Late Beaker at site 93, Hockwold-cum-Wilton (Site 5324; Bamford 1982, fig. 30:a, fig. 31:d). The size and quality of L106 are, however, more readily-matched in burials. Three scale-flaked knives were found with a Collared Urn cremation at Sutton, Suffolk (Smedley and Owles 1962, fig. 26), and another was found with an inhumation accompanied by amber beads at Pilsgate, Cambridgeshire (Pryor 1974b, fig. 3). Food Vessel associations, as in pit 123, occur farther north, for example at Slingsby, Yorkshire, and Doddington and Ovingham, both in Northumberland (Kinnes and Longworth 1985, catalogue nos. 140, 189, 214).

### Concentrations 6 to 9

A predominantly Later Neolithic or Early Bronze Age date is suggested by the coincidence of concentrations 6 and 7 with finds of Grooved Ware, of concentration 8 with sherds probably of rusticated Beaker, and of concentration 9 with features 121, 122, and 123. It is confirmed by their conformity to many of the characteristics of contemporary These are synthesised, from varying industries. viewpoints, by Pitts (1978), Green (1980), Saville (1981b, 39-66), Ford et al. (1984), Cleal (1984, 151-2), and Healy (1984a; 1985, 192-6; and 1986a, 84-9). They are exemplified within East Anglia by the Grooved Wareassociated industries of Honington, Suffolk (Fell 1951), Lion Point, Clacton, Essex (Wainwright 1971), and feature divisions 1-9, Storey's Bar Road, Fengate, Cambridgeshire (Pryor 1978, 104-56), and by the Beaker-associated (in the first case Beaker-and Food Vessel-associated) industries of Plantation Farm, Shippea Hill, Cambridgeshire (Clark 1933), site 93, Hockwold-cum-Wilton (Site 5324; Bamford 1982, 26-8), and Weasenham Lyngs, Weasenham All Saints (Site 3660; Healy 1986a). Their salient features include the following:

- 1. Within East Anglia east of the Fens, multiplatformed and keeled cores are frequent (Fig. 34: concentrations 7-9), keeled cores especially so in Grooved Ware-associated industries, where they include Levallois-like forms (L83).
- Faceted butts and butts with more than one removal are consequently also more frequent (Fig. 36: concentrations 6 and 9).
- 3. Blades are much scarcer and flakes generally much broader and squatter (Figs 33, 36).
- 4. Both flake thickness and the incidence of abnormal end fractures increase from Later Neolithic to Early Bronze Age (Figs 35, 36: concentrations 6 and 9).
- 5. A wider range of retouched forms is produced, including chisel (L78) and oblique arrowheads (associated primarily with Peterborough Wares and Grooved Ware), barbed and tanged arrowheads (associated primarily with Beaker), more extensively-retouched scrapers (L97, L110), scrapers on non-flake blanks (L111), spurred pieces (L98), scale-flaked knives, denticulates (L99, L114), and saws (L100, L101). Serrated pieces are less frequent, and 'fabricators' (L81, L115) more frequent than in earlier industries (Fig. 37).
- 6. Beaker-associated industries are often, although not invariably, marked by particularly high frequencies of scrapers, many of them small, 'thumbnail' forms, and by the regular practice of scale- flaking on these and on other implements.

Enough of these traits are present in all four concentrations to indicate that they are predominantly of Later Neolithic or Early Bronze Age date.

It is possible to construct a sequence of knapping practice, in the course of which core-preparation, expressed in the frequency of cortical butts, diminishes, and flakes become squatter, thicker, more prone to hinge and other abnormal end fractures, and more irregular, with feature groups A and D forming the first stage, feature groups B and E the second, concentrations 6 the third, and concentration 9 the fourth (Figs 35, 36).

Concentration 9 is distinct from concentrations 6-8 in relative frequency of flakes and blades (Fig. 33) and in core composition (Fig. 34), and is distinct from concentration 6 in the greater thickness and the squatter proportions of its flakes (Figs 35, 36). At Fengate, Cambridgeshire, increasingly squat proportions distinguish the flakes of the second millennium BC Newark Road subsite from those of the late third/early second millennium BC Storey's Bar Road subsite (Prvor 1980, figs. 73, 74). With a longer interval, the same is true of the flakes from early second millennium BC and late second/early first millennium BC contexts at Grime's Graves (Site 5460; Saville 1981b, table XXVIII). Increased flake thickness and frequency of abnormal end fractures are among the characteristics of Early Bronze Age industries defined by Ford et al. (1984). They are quantifiable aspects of the rough, uncontrolled knapping visible in every aspect of the concentration 9, including its high frequency of retouched forms made on thermally-fractured blanks (e.g. L111-L114). Qualitatively, its rough, crude and heavy workmanship allies it to the material from the Newark Road subsite, with which its flake proportions are closely comparable (Pryor 1980, 106-25). The majority of the material forming concentrations 6-8, however, is closer in style and technique to the material from the Storey's Bar Road subsite (Pryor 1978, 104-52). As with the Earlier Neolithic feature groups and concentrations 1-5, the presence in all four concentrations of an array and a balance of forms normally found on settlement sites suggests that they result from a range of domestic activities.

# Residual and unstratified material from outside concentrations (Table 40, microfiche)

### Composition

The relative frequency of flakes and blades among the remaining excavated material is similar to that of concentrations 6-8, and several retouched forms most easily-matched in late third and early second millennium BC contexts are present. They include chisel (L121-L122) and oblique (L123-L124) arrowheads, extensively-retouched scrapers (L129, found with P232-P233), and a scale-flaked knife (L131). L130, a massive, step-flaked scraper found a few metres west of concentration 9, seems likely to be of Bronze Age date.

## Fieldwalking and casual collection

The composition of the material from both fieldwalking and casual collection (Fig. 39) resembles that of concentrations 6-9, which are arguably of predominantly Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age date. It is most similar to concentration 9, which seems to be overwhelmingly Early Bronze Age, in core composition

(Fig. 34) and in a particularly low frequency of blades (Fig. 33). The rarity of blades and blade cores in both collections from the surface of the field must be a real one, since both would, by their regularity, be more readily-recognised in flint-ridden ploughsoil than less regular flakes and flake cores. As it is, the frequency of blades must be exaggerated in Figures 33 and 39 by the use of a visual classification which includes fragments as well as whole artefacts, since a proportionately long, thin, fragile blade is more likely than a shorter, more robust flake to break into several pieces, each of which would have been counted as one. Subjectively, the flakes of the larger fieldwalking collections from the north of the field, including those from the surface of the barrow (3756), most resemble those of concentration 9, and may be of Early Bronze Age date.

A similar date is possible for L135, given the contemporary use of both jet and canal coal beads, most notably in elaborate necklaces such as that from Barrow Bottom, Risby, Suffolk (Martin 1976, pl. I, fig. 26). Its form is, however, difficult to parallel in Early Bronze Age contexts, and a later date is also possible.

#### Other considerations

Affinities of the Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age Material Traits characteristic of Beaker-associated industries are scarce, even in concentration 8, part of which coincides with a scatter of sherds probably of rusticated Beaker. L79 and L80 from concentration 6, are the only 'thumbnail' scrapers from the excavation, and lack the neat, scale-flaked retouch which characterises the form (e.g. Clark 1933, fig. 3; Bamford 1982, fig. 30). L131 is the only scale-flaked knife apart from L106. No barbed and tanged arrowheads were excavated, in contrast to totals of three chisel and four oblique arrowheads (Table 20, microfiche), although one was collected from the surface of the field (Fig. 39). L125 may be an unfinished example.

#### Arrowhead manufacture

Arrowhead manufacture (of unknown date) may be represented by L126 and L127, together with L84 (from concentration 7), and a similar piece from a surface collection made in the 1930s. All four are large, bifaciallyflaked points comparable with the laurel leaves of Hurst Fen, Mildenhall, Suffolk (Clark and Higgs 1960, fig. 14) or the projectile head of Durrington Walls, Wiltshire (Wainwright and Longworth 1971, fig. 76:F77). The three excavated examples from Spong Hill have a mean weight of 26.6 g (an underestimate, since L127 is fragmentary), which probably makes them too heavy to be hafted and fired as arrowheads (Green 1980, 173-4). It is difficult to judge whether they, and similar artefacts, are finished spearheads or discarded, intermediate stages in the production of smaller points. The presence of three blanklike, ovoid flat bifaces in the surface collection from Spong Hill may suggest the former.

### Deposition and recovery

Taken alone, the combined results of fieldwalking and casual collection provide little or no evidence for Mesolithic or Earlier Neolithic occupation. If there had been no excavation, the whole surface collection, with the possible exception of a polished flint axe, could have been interpreted as resulting from Early Bronze Age activity relating to the barrow and ring-ditches in the north of the field.

The discrepancy between the results of excavation and collection is consistent with the information summarized in Figure 32. In the course of excavation, most of the material forming predominantly Earlier Neolithic concentrations 1-5 was recovered from later archaeological features and from periglacial and other natural formations, contexts from which it would have been displaced and incorporated into the overlying ploughsoil only when, and to the extent that, they were cut into by the plough. Most of the material forming predominantly Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age concentrations 6-9, on the other hand, was recovered from the base of the soil left after machine stripping. These concentrations thus almost certainly represent material present through the full depth of the ploughsoil. This was undoubtedly the case with concentration 6, the only one of the four to be fieldwalked before it was excavated, which showed as an enhanced surface concentration on two occasions (Fig. 38) and was probably also noted in 1965. By contrast, there was no surface indication of predominantly Earlier Neolithic concentrations 1, 2 and 4 where they ran into the edge of the excavated area.

Lack of Mesolithic material in the surface collections may simply result from its relative scarcity on the site and from the relative invisibility of microliths in ploughsoil. On the evidence of Figure 32, lack of Earlier Neolithic material reflects the fact that most of it was discarded into pits and into hollows formed by the tops of silted periglacial formations, to be incorporated into the fills of later features when these were cut through them. Most Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age material, on the other hand, seems to have been discarded on the contemporary surface, to become incorporated into subsequently-developing soils and eventually into the modern ploughsoil. It must, in consequence, be greatly under-represented in the excavated collection, since most of it will have been machined off.

# Terms used in describing lithic material (Table 43)

A. Debitage

Core: Classified according to Clark and Higgs (1960, 216) with the addition of Levallois:

Single-platform

A1. Flakes removed all around.

A2. Flakes removed part of way around (e.g. L45 L67,

Multi-platform

B1. Two parallel platforms (e.g. L91).

B2. Two platforms, one at an oblique angle (e.g. L59).

B3. Two platforms at right-angles (e.g. L93).

C. Three or more platforms.

Keeled

 D. With flakes struck from either side of a ridge (e.g. L82, L95).

E. As D, but with one platform or more (e.g.L37).

Levallois. A discoidal keeled core prepared for the detachment of predetermined shape, such as the blanks of L121 and L122 (e.g. L83).

Unclassifiable or fragmentary

**Irregular waste**: Fragment produced during the breaking-up of a nodule or pebble.

**Flake**: Generally used to denote any removal from a core. Subdivided where appropriate, for example in Figures 33 and 39, into:

Blade: A proportionately narrow, parallel-sided flake, often

with parallel arrises on its dorsal face (e.g. L50, Fig.44: 3080.12).

Flake: Any other other removal (e.g. Fig. 43:3080.13,14). This visual distinction has been adopted in preference to a metrical definition because it accommodates the high proportion of fragmentary material in the collection.

In Figures 35 and 36 flakes are divided into:

Primary: Dorsal face completely cortical (e.g. the blank of L65).

Secondary: Dorsal face partly cortical (e.g. Fig. 43:3080.28, 40). Tertiary: Dorsal face non-cortical (e.g. Fig. 43:3080.36).

Flake dimensions, represented in Figures 35-36, have been measured according to Saville (1981a, 146-147):

Length: Maximum dimension along the bulbar axis at rightangles to the striking platform.

Breadth: Maximum distance between any two points on opposite lateral edges taken at right-angles to the

length measurement.

Thickness: Maximum dimension between the dorsal and ventral faces taken in a plane approximately parallel with the ventral face, the measurement being at right-angles to

Flake butts (or striking platforms) are divided in Figure 36 into:

Cortical: Completely cortex-covered.

Plain: Formed by a single removal.

With more than one removal: With more than one truncated flake

scar on the striking platform.

Faceted: With a series of negative bulbs

With a series of negative bulbs along the dorsal edge, forming part of flake scars truncated at the ventral edge by the detachment of the flake, generally the result of the deliberate preparation of cores such as L83 (Saville 1981b, 6).

**Abnormal end fracture:** Any distal termination other than a sharp, thin one, almost always a hinge fracture.

**Irregular flake**: A flake of markedly asymmetrical outline (e.g. Fig. 43:3080.14).

#### B. Retouched Pieces

#### Arrowheads

Leaf-shaped arrowhead: A bifacially-flaked point ranging in outline from pointed oval to piriform, and including kite-shaped or ogival forms as defined by Green (1980, 22). Retouch may completely cover both faces (e.g. L51), be confined to tips and edges (e.g. L34, L35), or occupy any intermediate extent, the bulb almost always being reduced.

Chisel arrowhead: A roughly symmetrical transverse arrowhead
of quadrangular or triangular outline, formed by bifacial retouch
and generally retaining one unworked primary flake edge (e.g.
L52 or, more typically, L121-L122); equivalent to forms B-D of
Clark's (1934) classification of petit tranchet derivative

arrowheads (adapted from Green 1980, 30).

3. Oblique arrowhead: An asymmetrical arrowhead of subtriangular outline, formed by bifacial retouch along one long edge and often around an asymmetrically hollowed base, with the remaining primary flake edge generally unworked but sometimes also retouched, especially towards the tip (e.g. L52-L53, L123-L124); equivalent to forms E-I of Clark's (1934) classification of petit tranchet derivative arrowheads (adapted from Green 1980, 30).

 Barbed and tanged arrowhead: A bifacially-flaked point of triangular or sub-triangular outline with two basal notches forming a central tang and lateral barbs (Green 1980, figs 44-46).

 ¿Unfinished arrowhead or arrowhead blank: Includes both obviously unfinished forms (e.g. L125) and large, flat bifaces which seem more likely to have been arrowhead blanks than finished implements (e.g. L83, L126-L127).

**Scrapers**: Implements part of the edge of which is bevelled by unifacial blunting retouch, forming an angle of approximately 20-90° with the ventral face; the modified edge is usually convex (Saville 1981b, 8-9). Subdivided into:

 End scraper: A scraper made on the distal or bulbar end of a flake (e.g. L29-L30, L75, L85).

 Side-end scraper: A scraper made on the distal or bulbar end of a flake, with retouch extending along more than half of one lateral edge (e.g. L76).

- Horseshoe scraper: A scraper made on the distal or bulbar end of a flake, with retouch extending along more than half of both lateral edges (e.g. L129).
- Disc scraper: A scraper worked around the entire circumference of a flake (e.g. Pryor 1978, fig. 47:1-2).
- Side scraper: A scraper made on one lateral edge of a flake (e.g. L110).
- Double side scraper: A scraper made on both lateral edges of a flake, retouch not extending around the distal or bulbar end (e.g. L105).
- 12. Scraper on broken flake: (e.g. L40).
- Scraper on non-flake blank: A scraper made on a blank such as a core, a fragment of irregular waste, a thermal flake, or a pebble or cobble (e.g. L111, L130).

**Borers or points**: Implements with a narrow retouched projection, apparently used for perforation. Subdivided into:

- Awl: Borer formed by the removal of secondary flakes from more than one direction (e.g. L31, L46, L74; Clark and Higgs 1960, 223).
- Piercer: Borer formed by the removal of secondary flakes from only one direction (e.g. L27, L132; Clark and Higgs 1960, 223).
- Spurred piece: Borer with a short projection formed either on a scraper-like edge (e.g. L98) or by the working of two closelyspaced notches (Smith 1965, 105).
- Scale-flaked knife: A generally parallel-sided blank, with regular, scale-flaked retouch along one (e.g. L106) or two (e.g. L131) lateral edges.
- **18. Backed knife:** A generally parallel-sided blank, one lateral edge of which is blunted by abrupt retouch, the opposite edge being either unretouched (*e.g.* L86), although often worn, or modified by uni- or bifacial flat retouch.
- Notch: A piece in the edge of which one or more indentations have been worked by abrupt or semi-abrupt retouch (e.g. Ozanne and Ozanne 1960, fig. 9: 22-4).
- 20. Denticulate: A piece at least one edge of which has coarse denticulations formed sometimes by the working of contiguous notches, sometimes by the detachment of single flakes (e.g. L99). Includes the more restricted classes of '(keeled) denticulated flake' (Wainwright and Longworth 1971, 176) and 'denticulate scraper' (Saville 1981b, 9).
- Saw: A coarsely-serrated piece, its teeth often formed by the removal of two or more small flakes on either side (e.g. L100-L101; Smith 1965, 108).
- 22. Serrated piece: A straight-sided blank, generally a blade, with one (e.g. L28) or occasionally both (e.g. L48) lateral edges finely serrated by the removal of a single chip on either side of each tooth (Smith 1965, 108). This effect may be obtained by striking downwards onto the edge of the flake to be serrated with the edge another flake held at right-angles to it.
- 23. Microlith: A small blade or flake fragment, its bulb generally removed, modified to a regular form by abrupt retouch. In Figure 29, 'simple obliquely-blunted point' is used to denote a microlith formed only by the blunting of one lateral edge (e.g. L2, L3, L12, L17, L20). 'Later microlith' is used to denote both more extensively-retouched obliquely-blunted points (e.g. L5-L6, L8, L13, L16, L19) and geometric forms (e.g. L11, L18).
- 24. **Microburin**: By-product of microlith manufacture, formed by working a notch in the edge of a blade over the edge of an anvil across which the proximal or distal end eventually breaks off, becoming a microburin (e.g. Wymer 1977, fig. 2: 7-8). Characterized by a truncated dorsal notch forming an acute angle with a ventral fracture facet (adapted from Tixier 1974, 15-19).
- Truncated piece: A flake or blade the distal end of which is truncated, generally obliquely, by abrupt retouch (e.g. L21, L23).
- Miscellaneous retouched piece: Any retouched flake or blade which does not fit into any of the above categories (e.g. L49, L102).
- **27. 'Fabricator':** A uni- or bifacially-flaked, blunt-ended, parallel-sided implement, of plano-convex or biconvex section, sometimes heavily worn at the ends and occasionally along the sides (*e.g.* L81, L115). Includes all but the unilaterally retouched forms among 'rods', as defined by Saville (1981b, 10).
- 28. Axe or adze: A relatively heavy cutting tool of symmetrical or asymmetrical section with a transverse cutting edge. Includes both Mesolithic axes sharpened by a *tranchet* blow (e.g. L22) and later flaked, flaked and ground (e.g. L44, L61, L133) and completely ground forms.

- 29. Flake from ground implement: (e.g. L33, L57, L90, L103, L134).
- Other heavy implement: Any irregular, roughly-flaked implement on a non-flake blank (e.g. Saville 1981b, fig. 90:F491).
- **31. Hammerstone**: A stone battered from use in striking flakes, often (in East Anglia) of quartzite or flint, and often spherical (e.g. Saville 1981b, fig. 15).

### Catalogue of illustrated lithic material

Note: Descriptions in the catalogue entries below are laid out in the following order: identification, with descriptive comments where necessary, followed by context. Context numbers are followed by descriptions in which the following abbreviations are used: EN=Earlier Neolithic, LNEBA=Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age, IA=Iron Age, R-B=Romano-British, ES=Early Saxon, M=Medieval or later, UD=undated, PG=periglacial, N=other natural, FW=fieldwalking, US=unstratified or disturbed.

### Mesolithic material

- L1 Microlith. From concentration 3. 281 (US); Co-ordinates 180 440.
- L2 Microlith. S.F. 198; from concentration 7. 289 (US). Coordinates: 185 460.
- L3 Microlith. Damage to leading edge may result from hafting. 295 (US). Co-ordinates: 185 430.
- L4 Microlith. 297 (inhumation 20; ES). Co-ordinates: 190 480.
- L5 Microlith. Retouch on leading edge lighter and less abrupt than backing on left edge; blue-white patina. From concentration 7. 323 (US). Co-ordinates: 200 470.
- L6 Microlith. Lightly-retouched at base and, inversely, on leading edge. From concentration 3. 396 (IA). Co-ordinates: 179 449.
- L7 Microlith. 609 (US). Co-ordinates: 210 440.
- L8 Microlith. Lightly-retouched on leading edge. 787 (LNEBA). Co-ordinates: 228 447.
- L9 Microlith. From concentration 1 and area of Fig. 23. 2180 (US). Co-ordinates: 157 491.
- **L10 Microlith.** Lightly patinated. From concentration 1 and area of Fig. 23. 2180 (US). Co-ordinates: 155 493.
- L11 Microlith. 2792 (EN). Co-ordinates: 161 387.
- **L12 Microlith.** Lightly-patinated. From concentration 9 and area of Fig. 22. *3114* (US). *Co-ordinates:* 146 481.
- L13 Microlith. Bifacial retouch at base, light dorsal retouch along leading edge. From part of 3367. 3368 (N). Co-ordinates: 133 471.
- L14 Microlith. Bifacial retouch at base, light dorsal retouch along leading edge. From part of 3367. 3368 (N). Co-ordinates: 133 471.
- L15 Microlith. Bifacial retouch at base, light dorsal retouch along leading edge; burnt. From part of 3367. 3368 (N). Co-ordinates: 133 471
- L16 Microlith. Light dorsal retouch along part of leading edge. From part of 3367. 3368 (N). Co-ordinates: 133 471.
- **L17 Microlith.** From part of 3367, found in residue from flotation. 3368 + 3427 (N). Co-ordinates: 132 471.
- L18 Microlith. From part of 3367. 3408 (N). Co-ordinates: 133 470.
- **L19 Microlith.** Light dorsal retouch along leading edge. From part of *3367*, found in residue from floatation. *3595* (N). *Co-ordinates*: 133 471
- L20 Microlith. Light dorsal retouch (interrupted by damage) along leading edge. From part of 3367, found in residue from flotation. 3596 (N). Co-ordinates: 133 471.
- L21 Truncated piece. Blue-white patina. 394 (IA). Co-ordinates:
- L22 Tranchet axe, either subsequently worked as a blade core or trimmed-down for hafting. 2285 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 202 402.
- **L23** Truncated piece. From part of 3367. 3595 (N). Co-ordinates: 133 471.
- **L24 B1 core.** From part of 3367. 3596 (N). Co-ordinates: 133 471.
- L25 Fragmentary blade core, burnt. From part of 3667. 3607 (N). Co-ordinates: 133 471.

#### Feature group A

- L26 Serrated blade. 2 (EN). Co-ordinates: 155 478.
- **L27** Piercer. 3 + 4 (EN). Co-ordinates: 155 480.
- L28 Serrated blade. 5 (EN). Co-ordinates: 153 481.

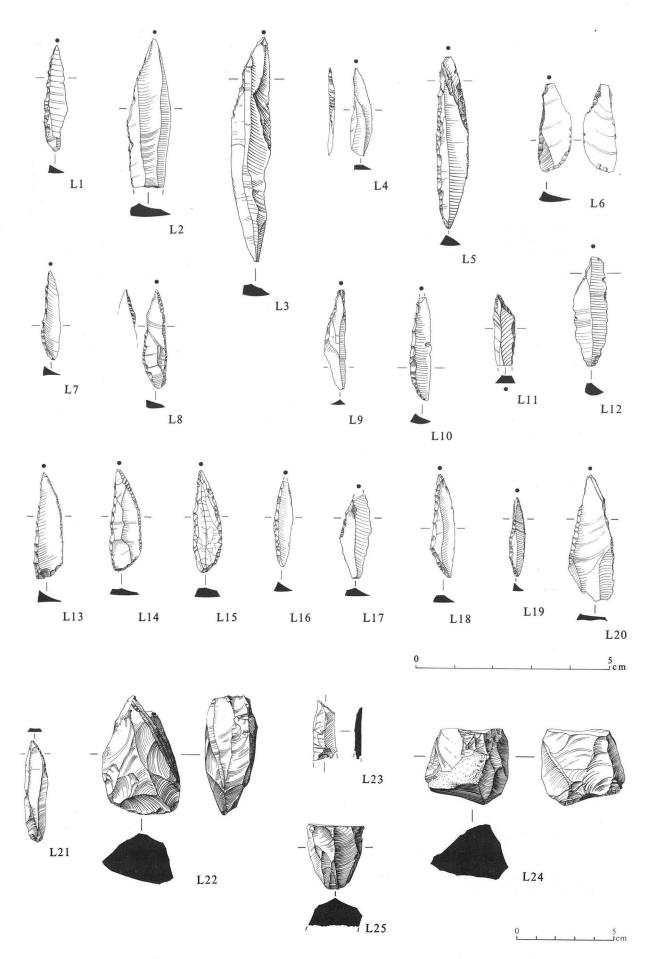


Figure 40 Mesolithic material: L1-L12 and L21-L22 from various contexts, L13-L20 and L23-L25 from components of 3367. Scales 1:1, 1:2

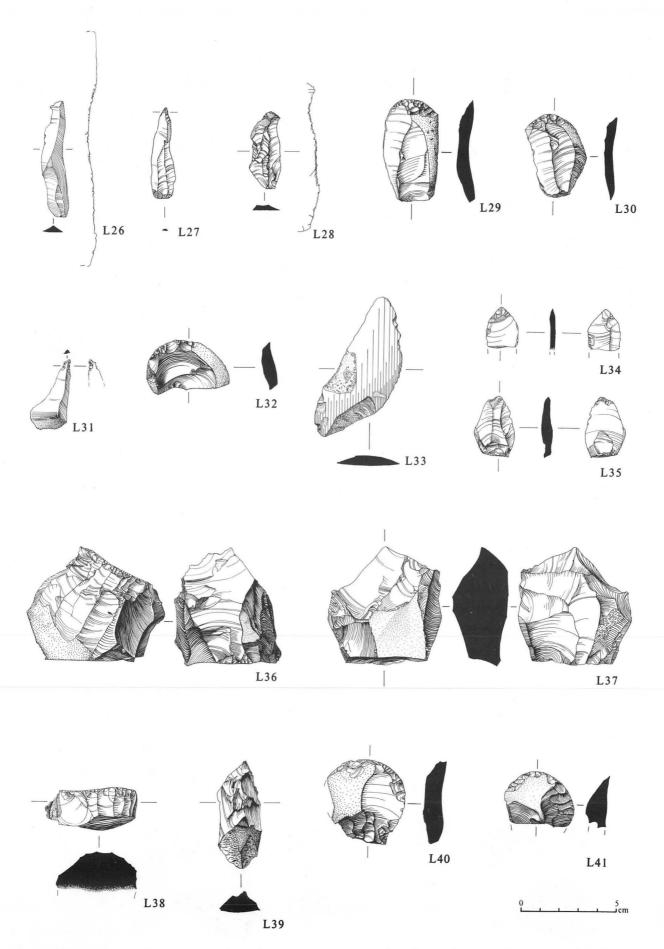


Figure 41 L26-L35 from feature group 1 (L26 from 2, L27 from 3+44, L28 from 5, L29-L31 from 20, L32-L33 from 24, L34 from 32, L35 from 58), L36- L41 from concentration 1. Serrated edges of L26 and L28 1:1, otherwise scale 1:2

- L29 End scraper. 20 (EN). Co-ordinates: 156 481.
- L30 End scraper. 20 (EN). Co-ordinates: 156 481.
- L31 Awl. 20 (EN). Co-ordinates: 156 481.
- L32 Side-end scraper. 24 (EN). Co-ordinates: 161 461.
- L33 Flake from ground implement of grey-white, porcelain-like 'Lincolnshire' flint. 24 (EN). Co-ordinates: 161 461.
- L34 Edge-retouched leaf-shaped arrowhead. Apparently made on a blade, like some examples from Hurst Fen, Mildenhall, Suffolk (Clark and Higgs 1960, fig. 13: F33). 32 (EN). Co-ordinates: 159 472.
- **L35** Edge-retouched **leaf-shaped arrowhead.** Bulbar end reduced from both faces, apparently to facilitate hafting. *58* (EN). *Coordinates*: 157 482.

## Concentration 1 (see also L9-L10)

- **L36 B2 core.** 60 (PG). Co-ordinates: 151 478.
- L37 E core. 60 (PG). Co-ordinates: 151 478.
- L38 Rejuvenation flake from blade core, removed platform cortical. 17 (PG). Co-ordinates: 157 487.
- L39 Crested blade; burnt. 18 (PG). Co-ordinates: 157 480.
- L40 Scraper on broken flake. 60 (PG). Co-ordinates: 151 478.
- L41 Scraper on broken flake. 60 (PG). Co-ordinates: 151 478.
- L42 Serrated blade with macroscopically-visible gloss on serrated edge. 17 (PG). Co-ordinates: 157 487.
- **L43** Denticulate with high surface gloss. 17 (PG). Co-ordinates: 157
- L44 Flaked and ground axe. S.F. 33; precise find-spot doubtful, but certainly from this area. ?3116 (US). Co-ordinates: ?150 490.

Feature group B

- 1. Illustrations accompanying main lithic report
- **L45 A2 core.** 3082 (EN). Co-ordinates: 168 494.
- L46 Piercer. 3082 (EN). Co-ordinates: 168 494.
- L47 E core. 3085 (EN). Co-ordinates: 167 495.

- 2. Illustrations accompanying microwear report (Appendix II, microfiche, Figs 43-4)
- 3080.13 Flake used to cut fresh wood; used edge 45°. Little-used. 3080 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 494.
- 3080.14 Flake used to scrape fresh wood (Pl. V); used edges 58° (right), 85° (distal). Handling traces. 3080 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 494.
- 3080.16Fragmentary serrated piece altered by heat treatment (Pl. IX). 3080 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 494.
- 3080.21 End scraper used to scrape fresh hide or meat; used edge 81°. Heat-treated. 3080 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 494.
- 3080.28 Flake used to scrape fresh wood; used edge 60°. 3080 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 494.
- 3080.31 Blade altered by heat treatment (Pl. X). 3080 (EN). Coordinates: 170 494.
- 3080.34 End scraper showing distal polish and microscarring resulting from secondary flaking (Pl. IV). Possible hafting traces on left edge, but apparently unused. 3080 (EN). Coordinates: 170 494.
- 3080.36 Flake used with a whittling action on fresh hide or meat (Pl. VII); used edge 40°. Little-used. 3080 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 494.
- 3080.37 Blade used to whittle or cut damp vegetable matter (Pl. VIII); used edge angle 41°. Handling traces. 3080 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 494.
- **3080.40 Flake** used to cut fresh wood; used edges 55° (*right*), 48° (*left*). 3080 (EN).Co-ordinates: 170 494.
- 3083.3 Scraper used to scrape fresh wood; used edges 76° (right), 71° (distal). Little-used. 3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 495.
- 3083.8 Flake altered by heat treatment. 3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 495.
- 3083.12 Blade altered by heat treatment. 3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 495.
- 3083.16 Flake altered by heat treatment. 3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 495.

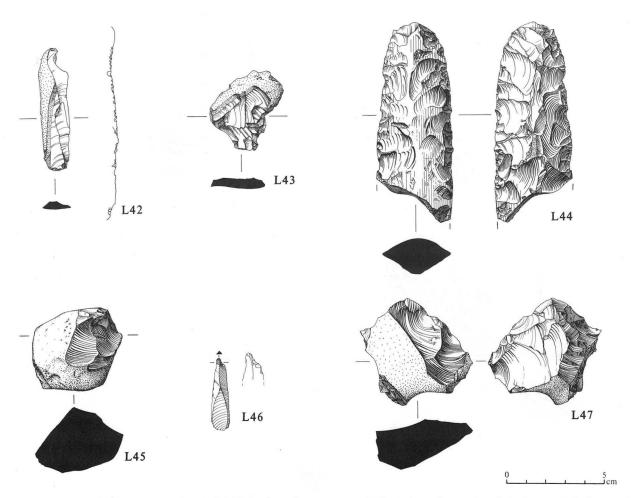


Figure 42 L42-L44 from concentration 1, L45-L47 from feature group B (L45- L46 from 3082, L47 from 3085). Serrated edge of L42 1:1, otherwise scale 1:2

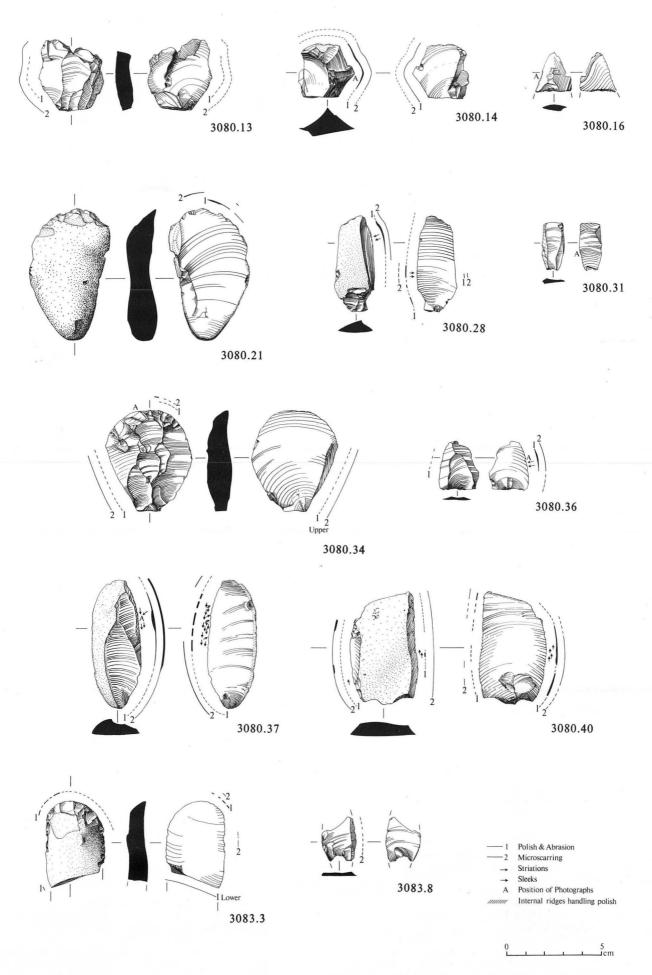


Figure 43 Lithic material from feature group B described in microwear report (Appendix II, microfiche). Scale 1:2

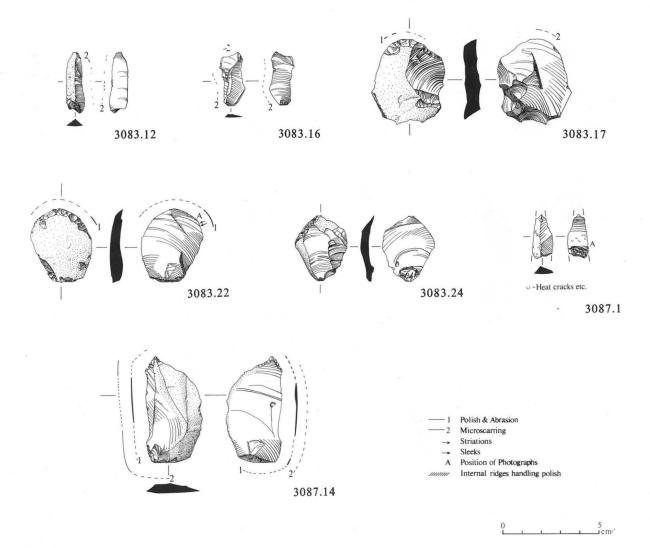


Figure 44 Lithic material from feature group B described in microwear report (Appendix II, microfiche). Scale 1:2

- 3083.17 End scraper used for unknown task; used edge 78°. Littleused. 3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 495.
- 3083.22 End scraper used for scraping fresh hide (Pl. VI); used edge 66° Little-used; patinated. 3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 495.
- 3083.24 Flake altered by excessive heat treatment. 3083 (EN). Coordinates: 170 495.
- **3087.1 Blade** altered by heat treatment. *3087* (EN). *Co-ordinates*: 170 495.
- **3087.14 Flake** used for cutting fresh meat; used edge 57°. Handling traces. *3087* (EN). *Co-ordinates*: 170 495.

#### Feature group C

- L48 Bilaterally serrated blade. 380 (EN), Co-ordinates: 177 448.
- L49 Miscellaneous retouched piece. 380 (EN). Co-ordinates: 177 448.

## Concentration 3 (see also L1, L6)

- L50 Fragmentary small blade. 379 (IA). Co-ordinates: 179 449.
- L51 Fragmentary leaf-shaped arrowhead. S.F. 96. 152 (IA). Coordinates: 176 446.
- **L52** Fragmentary **oblique arrowhead**; Clark's form H. *192* (R-B). *Co-ordinates*: 181 442 (centre).
- L53 Oblique arrowhead; S.F. 136; Clark's form H. 433 (R-B). Coordinates: 182 452.
- **L54** End scraper. 152 (IA). Co-ordinates: 176 446.
- L55 Serrated flake. 194 (US). Co-ordinates: 177 447.
- L56 Serrated blade. 175 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 177 447 (centre).
- **L57** Flake from **ground implement.** Squared side of original axe shows on left in section. *374* (US). *Co-ordinates*: 176 450.

## Feature group D

- L58 Flake with worn edges. Class A utilized flake as defined by Smith (1965, 92); bevelled flake as defined by Whittle (1977, 71). 720 (EN, part of fill of 798). Co-ordinates: 225 445.
- L59 B2 core. 730 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 442.
- L60 E core. 730 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 442.
- L61 Fragmentary flint axe, ground on most prominent arrises towards missing cutting edge, burnt. Cutting edge was presumably ground. 798 (EN). Co-ordinates: 225 445.
- L62 A2 core. 799 (EN). Co-ordinates: 225 444.
- L63 Serrated blade. 799 (EN). Co-ordinates: 225 444.
- L64 Awl. Right edge worn below point. 804 (EN, layer of 799). Coordinates: 225 444.

## Feature group E

- L65 End scraper. 1269 (EN). Co-ordinates: 261 452.
- L66 Piercer made on thermal flake. 1456 (EN). Co-ordinates: 260 451.

## Concentration 4

- **L67** A2 core. 1459 (PG). Co-ordinates: 260 450.
- L68 Flake with worn right edge. Class A utilized flake as defined by Smith (1965, 92); bevelled flake as defined by Whittle (1977, 71). 1270 (UD). Co-ordinates: 262 452.
- L69 Flake of ungrouped rhyolitic tuff; petrol. no. N286; identification in Appendix I (microfiche). 1459 (PG). Co-ordinates: 260 450.
- L70 Fragmentary scraper. 1266 (PG). Co-ordinates: 265 453.

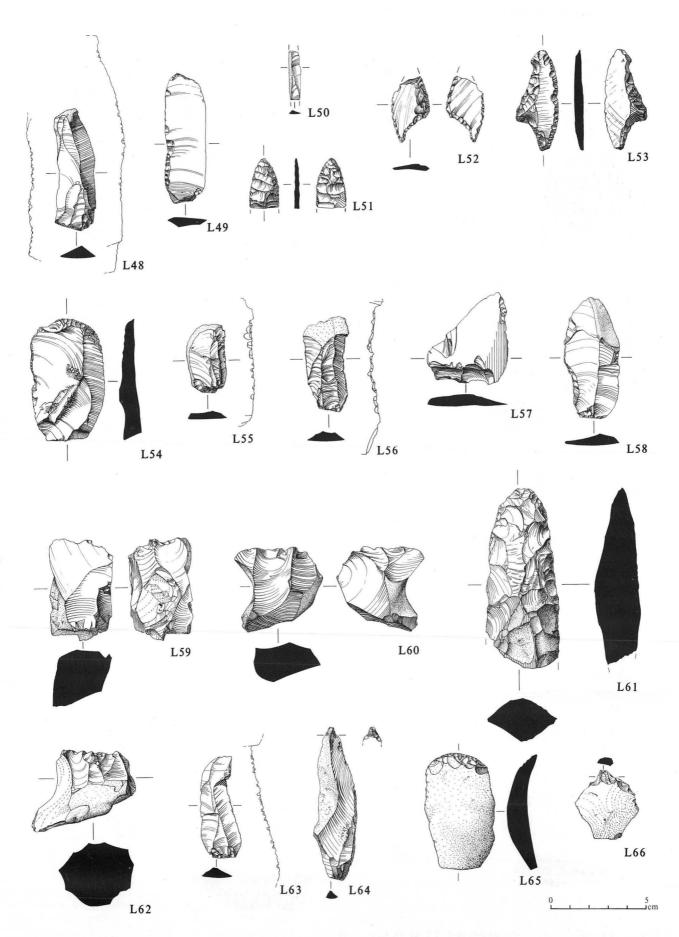


Figure 45 L48-L49 from 380 in feature group C, L50-L57 from concentration 3, L58-L64 from feature group D (L58 from 720, L59-L60 from 730, L61 from 798, L62-L63 from 799, L64 from 804), L65-L66 from feature group E (L65 from 1269, L66 from 1456). Serrated edges of L48, L55, L56 and L63 1:1, otherwise scale 1:2.

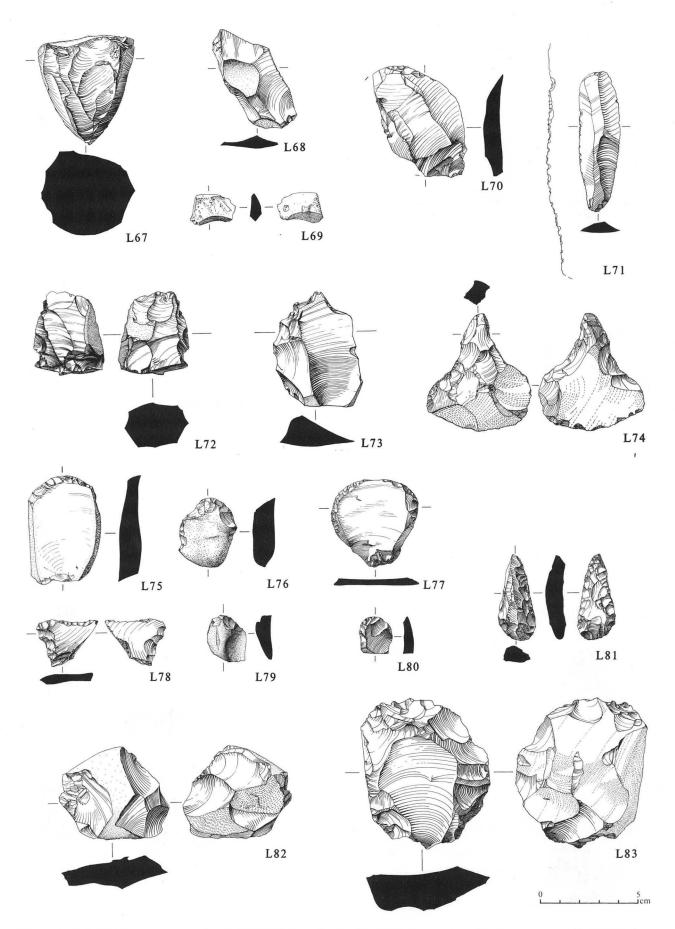


Figure 46 L67-L71 from concentration 4, L72-L76 from Earlier Neolithic features outside feature groups (L72-L73 from 117, L74 from 889, L75-L76 from 3645), L77 from concentration 5, L78-L81 from concentration 6, L82- L83 from concentration 7. Serrated edge of L71 1:1, otherwise scale 1:2

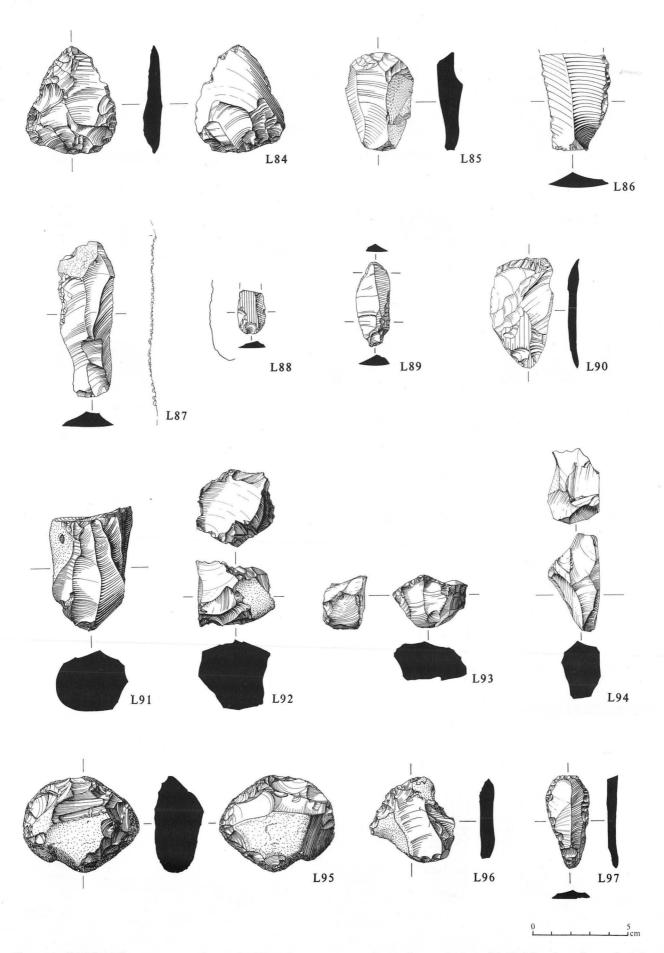


Figure 47 L84-L90 from concentration 7, L91-L97 from concentration 8. Serrated edge of L82 1:1, otherwise scale 1:2

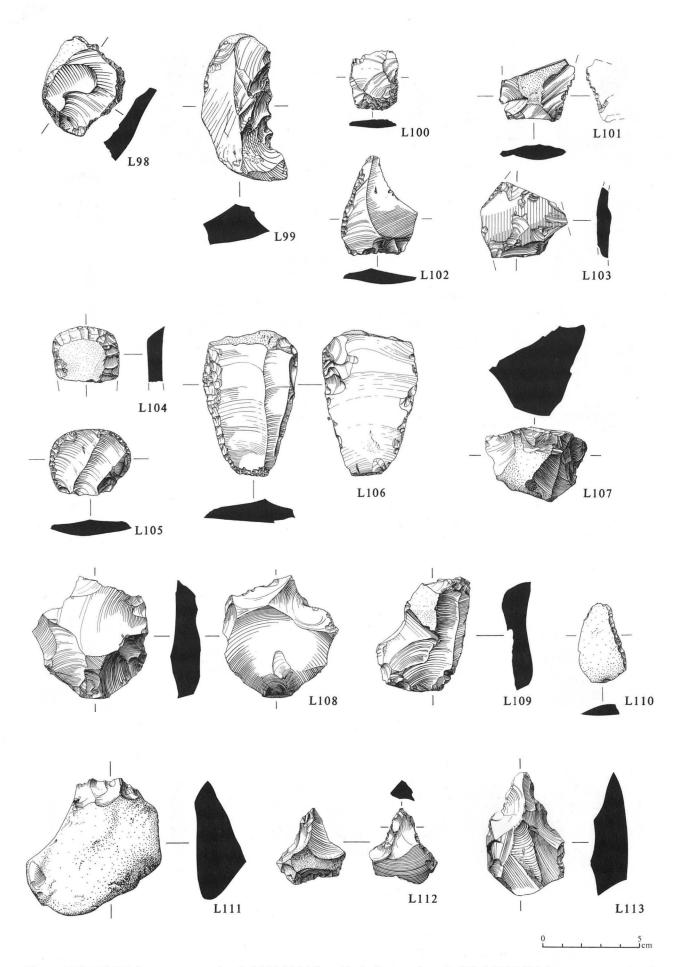


Figure 48 L98-L103 from concentration 8, L104-L106 from Early Bronze Age pit 123, L107-L113 from concentration 9. Scale 1:2

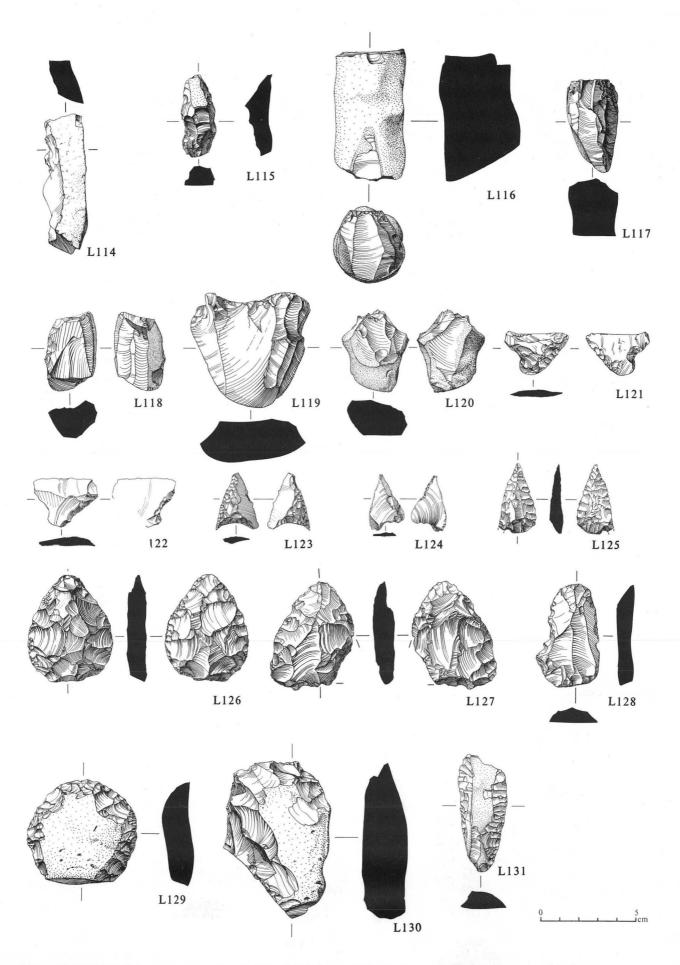


Figure 49 L114-L115 from concentration 9, L116-L131 from residual and unstratified contexts outside feature groups.

Scale 1:2

L71 Serrated blade with macroscopically-visible gloss on ventral face of teeth. 1484 (PG). Co-ordinates: 260 450.

Earlier Neolithic features outside feature groups (see also L11)

L72 B1 core. 117 (EN). Co-ordinates: 171 467.

L73 Denticulate. 117 (EN). Co-ordinates: 171 467.

- L74 Awl made on thermally-fractured fragment. 889 (EN). Coordinates: 226 457.
- L75 End scraper. 3645 (EN, fill of 3644). Co-ordinates: 130 432.
- **L76 Side-end scraper.** 3645 (EN, fill of 3644). Co-ordinates: 130 432.

#### Concentration 5

L77 Double side scraper. 1891 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 252 489.

#### Concentration 6

- L78 Atypical **chisel arrowhead** with unretouched edge (on right in 1st view) formed by a hinge fracture. Possibly an unfinished oblique arrowhead; found with L81 and P212-P214. 2681 (UD). Co-ordinates: 169 405.
- L79 End scraper. 2584 (UD). Co-ordinates: 170 397.
- L80 End scraper. 2584 (UD). Co-ordinates: 170 397.
- L81 'Fabricator'. Most of left edge formed by thermal fracture. Found with L78 and P212-P214. 2681 (UD). Co-ordinates: 169 405.

#### Concentration 7 (see also L2, L5)

- L82 D core. 540 (inhumation 24; ES). Co-ordinates: 203 470.
- L83 Struck Levallois core. 301 (US). Co-ordinates: 190 460.
- L84 ?Arrowhead blank. 299 (US). Co-ordinates: 190 470.
- **L85** End scraper on flake with faceted butt. *540* (inhumation 24; ES). *Co-ordinates*: 203 470.
- L86 Backed knife. Unretouched edge worn; of sound, grey-black ?chalk flint. Originally large. 549 (inhumation 27; ES). Coordinates: 192 473.
- L87 Serrated blade with damaged left edge. 582 (UD). Coordinates: 208 466.
- L88 Serrated piece made on blade struck from ground implement. Of very similar pale grey flint to L90, possibly from the same implement. 300 (US). Co-ordinates: 190 465.
- L89 Miscellaneous retouched piece. Possibly an unfinished scale-flaked knife. 286 (US). Co-ordinates: 185 475.
- L90 Flake from ground implement. Of very similar pale grey flint to L88, possibly from same implement. 540 (inhumation 24; ES). Co-ordinates: 203 470.

## Concentration 8

- **L91 B1 core** with high surface gloss. 197 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 182 473 (centre).
- **L92 B3 core.** 197 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 182 473 (centre).
- **L93 B3 core.** 401 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 182 473 (centre).

- **L94 B1 core.** 480 (inhumation 11; ES). Co-ordinates: 182 477.
- **L95 D core**, battered around keel. *346* (US). *Co-ordinates*: 182 473 (centre).
- L96 End scraper. 263 (US). Co-ordinates: 175 470.
- L97 Atypical horseshoe scraper, retouched steeply at distal end, shallowly along sides; some removals from left side may be accidental damage. 197 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 182 473 (centre).
- L98 Spurred piece. Made on flake struck across core platform. 3759 (= 273 + 274; US). Co-ordinates: 182 480 (centre).
- **L99** Denticulate. Made on a thermally-fractured fragment. From area of Fig. 24. 238 (US). Co-ordinates: 168 479.
- **L100 Saw.** From area of Fig. 24. 237 (US). Co-ordinates: 169 482.
- L101 Saw. 109 (PG). Co-ordinates: 169 487.
- **L102 Miscellaneous retouched piece** on flake with faceted butt. 197 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 182 473 (centre).
- L103 Flake from ground implement of mottled grey/white flint. 401 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 182 473 (centre).

#### Pit 123

- **L104** Fragmentary, **?horseshoe scraper**, scale-flaked, burnt. *123* (LNEBA). *Co-ordinates*: 147 483.
- L105 Double side scraper on flake ending in hinge fracture. 123 (LNEBA). Co-ordinates: 147 483.
- L106 Scale-flaked knife. 123 (LNEBA). Co-ordinates: 147 483.

### Concentration 9 (see also L12)

- **L107 A2 core.** Several incipient cones of percussion on striking platform. *3114* (US). *Co-ordinates:* 146 481.
- L108 Flake struck from a core similar to L82, but running out through the full thickness of the core, rather than across its upper surface; burnt. 3114 (US). Co-ordinates: 149 481.
- L109 End scraper. 3115 (US). Co-ordinates: 145 475.
- L110 Side scraper. 3113 (US). Co-ordinates: 145 486.
- L111 Scraper on thermally-fractured cobble. 3113 (US). Co-ordinates: 148 488.
- L112 Awl made on thermally-fractured flake. 3114 (US). Co-ordinates: 147 482.
- L113 Piercer made on thermally-fractured fragment, incipient cones of percussion on ventral face of point. 3114 (US). Co-ordinates: 147 483.
- L114 Denticulate made on thermally fractured fragment. 3114 (US). Co-ordinates: 146 482.
- L115 'Fabricator'. 3113 (US). Co-ordinates: 147 485.

#### Remainder of excavated area

- **L116 A2 core** on end of elongated nodule. *394* + *492*, *306*; US). *Coordinates:* 191 436.
- L117 A2 core. 397 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 175 437 (centre).
- L118 A2 core with high surface gloss cut by later damage. 573 (R-B), Co-ordinates: 207 7453.
- L119 A2 core. From concentration of lithic material around Earlier Neolithic pit 889. 887 (?N). Co-ordinates: 226 457.

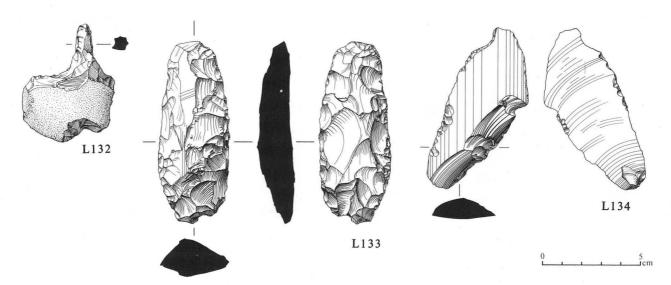


Figure 50 Lithic material from residual and unstratified contexts outside feature groups. Scale 1:2

**L120 A2 core.** From concentration of lithic material around Earlier Neolithic pit 889. 887 (?N). Co-ordinates: 226 457.

L121 Chisel arrowhead. S.F. no. 350; Clark's form D. 318 (US). Coordinates: 195 435.

L122 Chisel arrowhead; Clark's form D. 3456 (ES). Co-ordinates: 120 472.

L123 Oblique arrowhead. S.F. no. 348; Clark's form H. 1117 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 212 482.

L124 Oblique arrowhead; Clark's form H. 1478 (UD). Co-ordinates: 250 468.

L125 ?Unfinished barbed and tanged arrowhead. The breaking of a barb seems to have led to the object's being incompletely finished-off as a triangular form, then abandoned. 3199 (R-B). Co-ordinates: in W of excavated area.

L126 ?Arrowhead blank. 2486 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 183 427.

L127 ?Arrowhead blank. 3768 (US).

L128 End scraper with subsequent edge damage. 318 (US). Coordinates: 195 435.

L129 Horseshoe scraper. Found with P232-P233. 22 (PG). Coordinates: 159 437.

**L130** Scraper on flint cobble, step-flaked. 128 (ES). Co-ordinates: 143 491.

L131 Scale-flaked knife. 507 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 197 453 (centre).

L132 Piercer. 3753 (US). Co-ordinates: 144 504.

**L133** Flaked axe with small areas of grinding on convex face, possibly of 'Lincolnshire' flint. Profile suggests implement was made on a flake, perhaps from a larger, ground axe. 603 (US). Coordinates: 210 470.

L134 Flake from **ground implement**, retaining curvature of original axe on dorsal face. 881 (inhumation 46; ES). Co-ordinates: 223 459

Fieldwalking

L135 Bead apparently of canal coal, polished to a high gloss on sides and ends, matt on broader, perforated faces, which retain striations, perhaps from manufacture. ?Early Bronze Age; S.F. no. 1425. 3779 (FW). Co-ordinates: approx. 165 414.

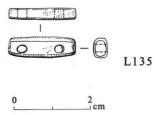


Figure 51 Bead (?of canal coal) found near west edge of concentration 6 during fieldwalking. Scale 1:1

# II. Pottery and Fired Clay

#### Description

Selected vessels and sherds are illustrated in Figures 61-76 and 79-86 and described in the catalogue at the end of this section. Quantities reported here are minima, since many featureless, hand-made flint- or flint- and sand-tempered body sherds from post-Bronze Age or unstratified contexts may be of Neolithic or Early Bronze Age date, although

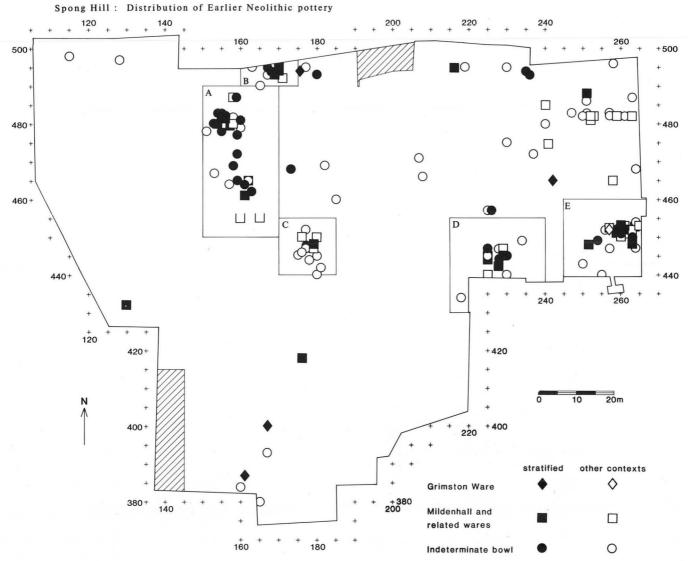


Figure 52 Distribution of Earlier Neolithic pottery. Scale 1:500

# EARLIER NEOLITHIC POTTERY COMPOSITION

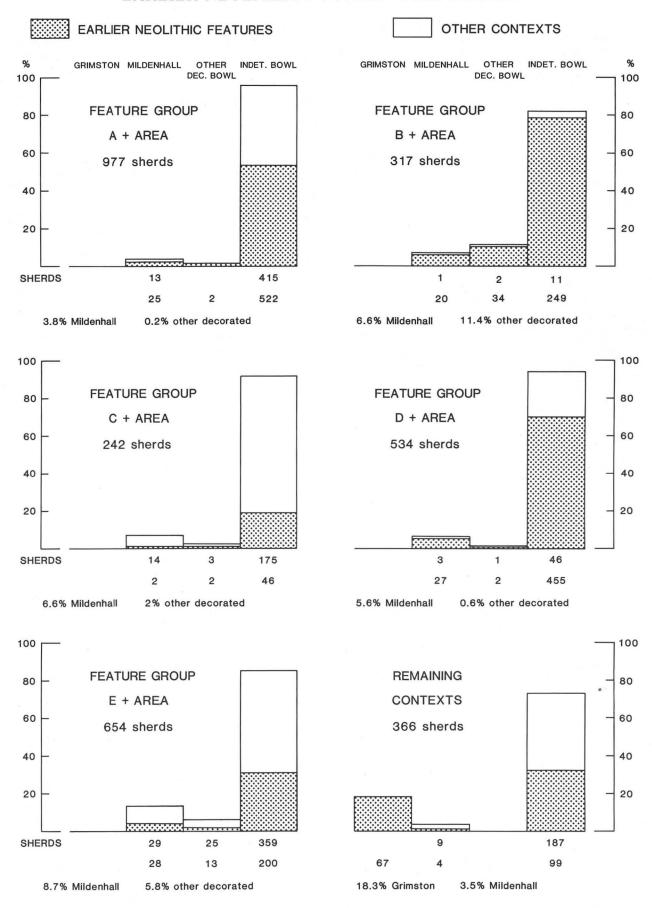


Figure 53 Stylistic composition of Earlier Neolithic pottery

their fabrics are also compatible with those of some of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age pottery from the site, as well as with those of some local Late Bronze/Early Iron age wares. These are included, as 'indeterminate prehistoric', in tables which record all pottery from particular groups of contexts (i.e. Tables 12, 44, 48, 52, 53, 55, and 57, all microfiche), but no comprehensive account is given of them.

#### Earlier Neolithic

There are 3090 sherds of Earlier Neolithic pottery, weighing 19.828 kg, and including fragments of at least 248 rims. Approximately sixty percent of the total was found in stratified contexts. The material is generally fragmentary and there are few completely reconstructable pots. The mean weight of stratified sherds is 6.7 g, only slightly more than that of 6 g for unstratified sherds, indicating that the pottery was already fragmentary when deposited in features. Its distribution is shown in Figure 52. Here, and in Figure 77, a symbol represents a context in which pottery of the appropriate style was present, without indicating its quantity. Composition and incidence are documented in Tables 44-56 (microfiche). Residual and unstratified pottery was concentrated around surviving Earlier Neolithic features in the same way as the

lithic material of concentrations 1-4 (Fig. 52). Relation between features and surrounding material is confirmed by joins between stratified sherds and residual or unstratified ones from nearby contexts. Pottery from the area of each feature group (outlined in Fig. 52) is therefore described and illustrated alongside that from the group itself. A concentration of Earlier Neolithic pottery corresponding to lithic concentration 5 in the north-east of the excavated area consists of only 109 sherds, six from Earlier Neolithic feature 1995, the remainder (including P189-P193 and P195) residual or unstratified, and distributed among a large number of contexts.

The feature groups contained pots decorated in the Mildenhall style, as defined by I.F. Smith (1954, 224-7) and Longworth (1960, 228-40) together with related plain wares and other decorated vessels. In groups A and C the last were of forms matched in many decorated bowl assemblages (P5, P6, P69). In group D they consisted of three sherds with geometric decoration (P93, P114) of which a fourth (P165) occurred in group E. Other decorated bowls were, however, most numerous in groups B and E where they consisted of relatively thick, coarse pots with impressed decoration generally covering the surface without pattern (P41-P43, P49-P50, P57, P65,

# EARLIER NEOLITHIC POTTERY FABRICS TOTAL 3090 SHERDS

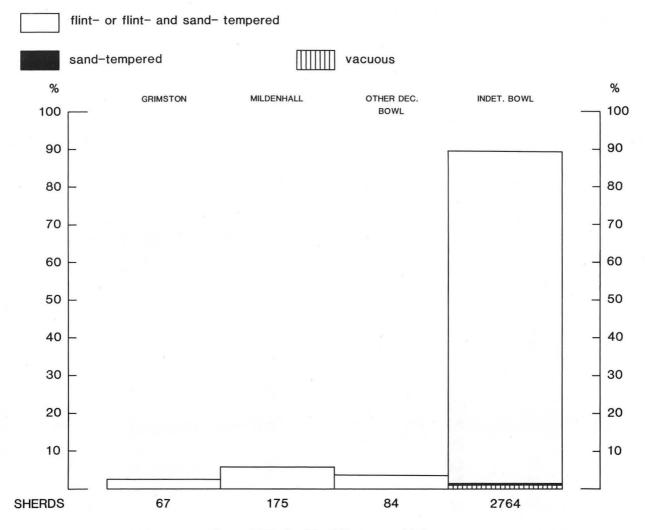


Figure 54 Earlier Neolithic pottery fabrics

P67, P132, P133, P141, P155). Of the ungrouped features, some contained Mildenhall Ware and related plain wares (P167, P169, P179), others contained Grimston Ware (P168, P170-P175, P178), as defined by Manby (1970, 16-17) and I.F. Smith (1974a, note 24; 1974b, 31-3).

#### **Fabrics**

Figure 54 summarizes the composition of the collection by style and main filler. The overwhelming majority is tempered with crushed, calcined flint with a varying admixture of sand, which is at its greatest in the finer pots. Coarser and finer fabrics seem to form a continuum. It is uncertain if all of the sand was added deliberately, since it is present in some local clays. Sherds are generally hard, sound, and well-fired. Surface colour ranges from buff through darker orange-browns and browns to dark greys. Reduced surfaces are more frequent among the finer pots.

Only thirteen sherds (0.4% of the collection) are tempered with sand alone. They were found in feature groups A, B, D, and E, and in the areas of feature groups A and C. The six rim sherds present (P61, P62, P79, P105, P120, and P138) all seem to have come from small, plain bowls.

Thirty sherds (0.9% of the collection) are of a vacuous fabric, which also contains a little flint and/or sand. They were found in feature groups B, C, D, and E, in the areas of feature groups C and E, and unstratified elsewhere in the excavated area. They were most numerous in feature group D, where they totalled sixteen. All seem to have come from small, plain bowls with simple, out-turned, or beaded rims, most of them definitely, and all of them possibly, unshouldered (e.g. P61, P73+P79 (both perhaps from the same pot), and P84). Peter Murphy has identified cereal impressions in three vacuous sherds from feature groups D and E, including two sherds of P84 (Appendix III, microfiche), and it may be that the voids in all of them represent burnt-out vegetable matter. Some of the voids may also represent dissolved shell, occasional fragments of which have been found in flint- and sand-tempered Mildenhall Ware from Etton, Cambridgeshire (Kinnes 1985, 296).

### Form

Figures 55-8 summarize selected morphological aspects of the pots from the feature groups and their surrounding areas. This procedure was adopted in preference to the

# PROFILES OF RECONSTRUCTABLE POTS FROM EARLIER NEOLITHIC FEATURE GROUPS AND THEIR IMMEDIATE AREAS

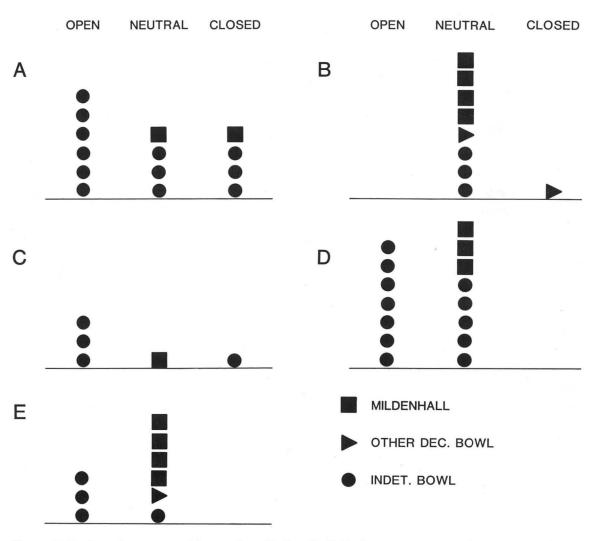


Figure 55 Profiles of reconstructable pots from Earlier Neolithic feature groups and the areas around them

traditional classification of reconstructable vessels according to their size and overall form, used by, among others, I.F. Smith (1965, 49) and Wainwright (1972, 24), because it accommodates a larger proportion of the fragmentary material. Even so, collections from some feature groups and their areas are relatively small. Conclusions based on, for example, the 242 sherds including 22 classifiable rims, from group C and its area must be tentative. Figures 55-8 do, nonetheless, show consistent differences between groups.

Open profiles (everywhere confined to undecorated bowls) are most frequent in groups A and D (Fig. 55), as are pots less than 15cm in diameter (Fig. 56). These include simple hemispherical bowls like P8, P11, P115, and P152, as well as a 'thumb-groove' pot (P77). Mildenhall style bowls from all groups are of neutral profile, except for one closed form (P20), and are generally between 15 and 30cm in diameter. Large pots, such as P51 and P69, are inevitably underrepresented because most survive as sherds like P5, the curvature of which is so slight that its diameter cannot be estimated.

Rims (Fig. 57) are classified according to the scheme

used for the Hurst Fen, Suffolk (Longworth 1960, 228), Windmill Hill, Wiltshire (I.F. Smith 1965, 48) and other subsequently published assemblages. There are no inturned rims. In all five groups decoration is confined to the more elaborate rim forms, with the frequency of individual forms varying from group to group.

There is one perforated lug (P31), apparently from the shoulder of a Mildenhall style bowl. Angular shoulders are most frequent in group A and occur on most Mildenhall style bowls (Fig. 58). From group B, however, there are rim fragments of six Mildenhall style bowls (P37, P48, P52-P55), but shoulder fragments of only two (including P38). This may suggest that some of the Mildenhall style bowls from the group were unshouldered, a possibility reinforced by P40 and P68, convex body sherds combining elements of decoration normally found above and below the shoulder.

Pots with impressed decoration from groups B and E are similarly represented by four rims (including P49, P141, and P155), but by only one shoulder fragment (P41). Combined with the pitch of P155 and the slight vertical curvature of sherds like P43, P57, P67, P132 and P133,

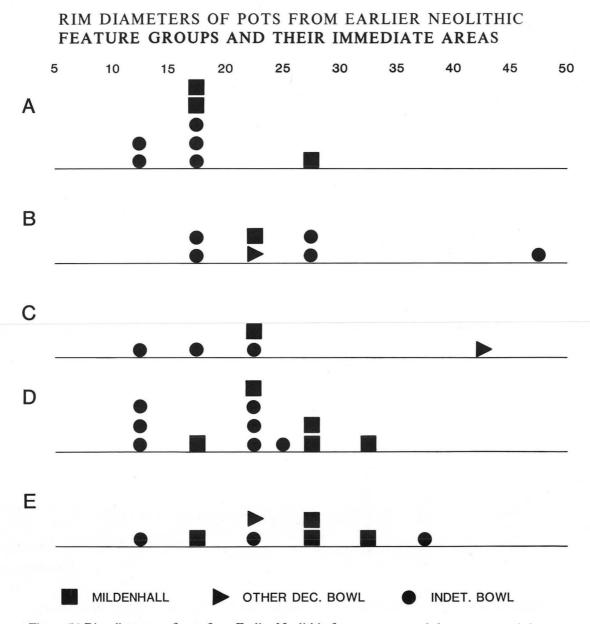


Figure 56 Rim diameters of pots from Earlier Neolithic feature groups and the areas around them

# RIMS FROM EARLIER NEOLITHIC FEATURE GROUPS AND THEIR IMMEDIATE AREAS

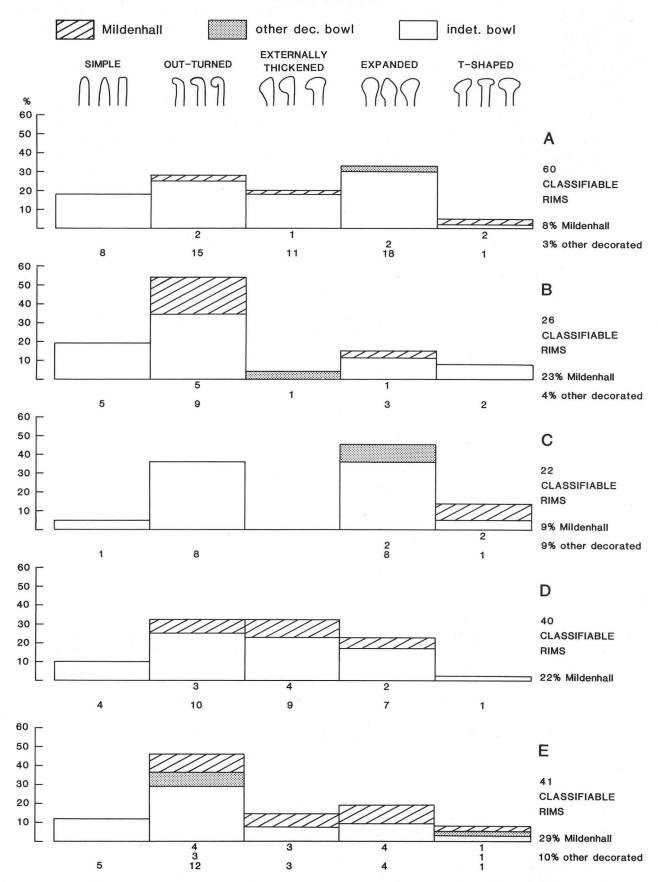


Figure 57 Rim forms of pots from Earlier Neolithic feature groups and the areas around them

this suggests that most were unshouldered and bagshaped, although P49 is of closed form. The thickness and slight horizontal curvature of many impressed body sherds indicate that they came from large pots, as does the frequency of such sherds relative to corresponding rim fragments (Figs. 56, 57, 60), unless some of the pots from which they came had plain rims.

Large, deep, bag-shaped forms were also present among plain bowls. A body sherd from 365, in the area of group C, has almost no vertical curvature over a depth of more than 9 cm, and comes from a pot with a diameter of over 30 cm.

The only approximation to a flat base among the Earlier Neolithic pottery is an incipiently flattened sag base fragment among the undecorated sherds from 713 in group D.

Grimston Ware bowls from 1321 (P168), 2618 (P170-175), 2792 and 3072 (P178) are distinguished from the Mildenhall and related wares of other contexts by open, sometimes carinated forms, and light rims. In 2618 they were associated with sherds of two plain bowls of coarser fabric and without Grimston characteristics (P176-P177).

# Decoration (Figs 59-60)

The incidence of decoration is uneven among the feature groups, reaching its highest in B and E, where relatively high percentages of Mildenhall Ware are accompanied by other decorated bowls. Figure 59 summarizes the techniques and motifs employed on identified pots; Figure 60 does the same for decorated body sherds not attributed to vessels. Decoration is grouped into the following classes:

# SHOULDER FORMS OF POTS FROM EARLIER NEOLITHIC FEATURE GROUPS AND THEIR IMMEDIATE AREAS

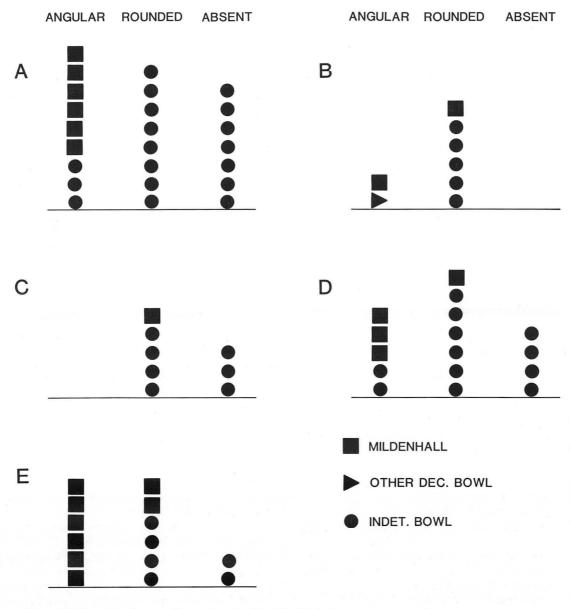


Figure 58 Shoulder forms of pots from Earlier Neolithic feature groups and the areas around them

# DECORATION OF EARLIER NEOLITHIC POTTERY FROM FEATURE GROUPS AND THEIR IMMEDIATE AREAS

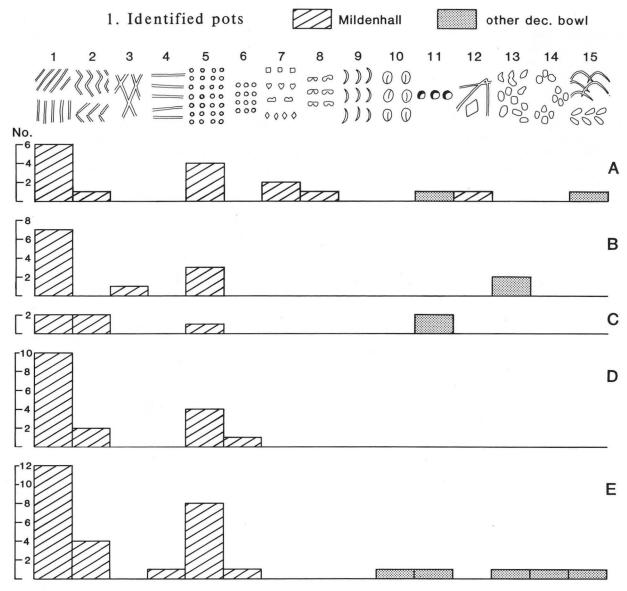


Figure 59 Decoration of pots from Earlier Neolithic feature groups and the areas around them

- 1. Subparallel oblique or vertical lines (*e.g.* P85, P89, P121).
- 2. Herringbone or chevrons (e.g. P89, P125, P136).
- 3. Lattice (e.g. P38, P40).
- 4. Horizontal lines (P40, P130).
- 5. Row(s) of impressed dots (e.g. P85, P121, P144).
- 6. Panel(s) of impressed dots (e.g. P87, P92).
- 7. Row(s) of other impressions (e.g. P15, P26, P110, P149).
- 8. Panel(s) of other impressions (e.g. P15).
- 9. Finger-nail impression (P142).
- 10. Finger-tip impression (P164).
- 11. Row of perforations made before firing (e.g. P5, P69, P155).
- 12. Fragmentary geometric motifs (e.g. P93).
- 13. Impressed decoration covering surface without pattern (e.g. P41, P49, P132, P133, P155).
- 14. Clustered impressed decoration (P141).
- 15. Other (P6, P185).

Single rows of perforations made below the rim before firing (11) are treated as decorative because only some of the perforations in P69 and P155 penetrate the wall of the pot. The treatment has, however, sometimes been considered functional, perhaps as intended to secure a covering.

Almost all linear decoration is channelled with a smooth, blunt implement, such as a quill or a rounded stick, rather than incised with a sharp one, such as a flint flake. Impressed decoration on Mildenhall style bowls generally consists of dots formed with solid, round-ended stamps of various diameters. The dots on P70 were, exceptionally, made with a tubular stamp. Other stamps are rare. They include what seems to have been the end of a small bird-bone (P15) as well as lenticular (P26), rectangular (P10) and heart-shaped (P149) forms.

Impressed decoration on other decorated bowls was executed with smooth-ended stamps of various shapes and sizes. The results range from simple dot impression (e.g.

# DECORATION OF EARLIER NEOLITHIC POTTERY FROM FEATURE GROUPS AND THEIR IMMEDIATE AREAS

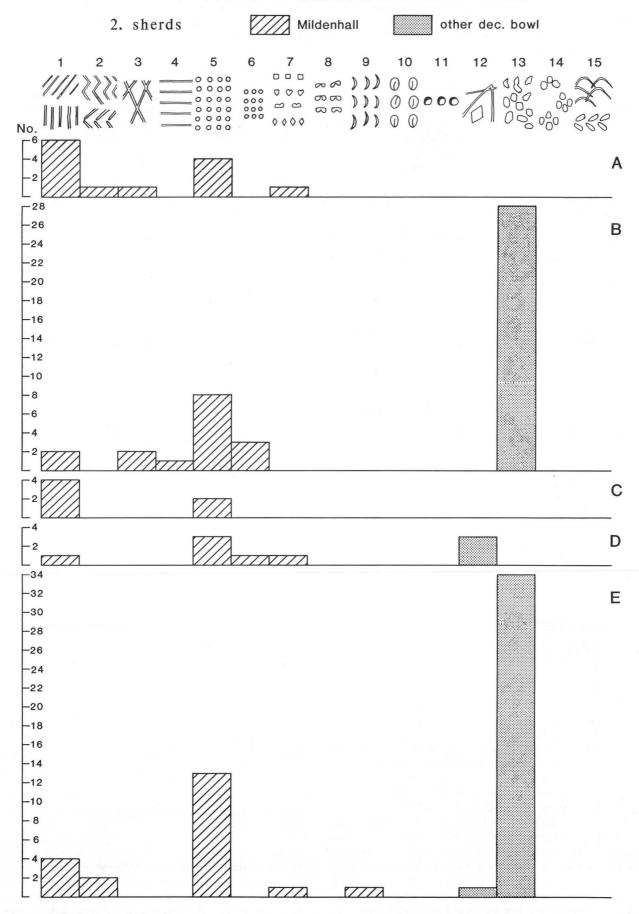


Figure 60 Decoration of sherds from Earlier Neolithic feature groups and the areas around them

P133) to coverage so intense that the whole surface is roughened (e.g. P49). Finger-nail impression occurs on one body sherd (P142), finger-tipping on an anomalous rim sherd (P164).

Burnish occurs on some of the finer pots, especially in the Grimston and Mildenhall styles (e.g. P20, P38, P75, P118, P175). It survives only on the better-preserved sherds and may originally have been more frequent.

There are minor decorative distinctions between the collections from the five feature groups and their areas, in addition to the major and obvious one which marks out groups B and E from the rest (Figs 59-60). Among Mildenhall style bowls, impression with other than circular stamps is most frequent in A; lattice decoration is found only in A and B; and chevron or herringbone is absent from B but present in all the other groups. E includes sherds of a bowl unmatched elsewhere in the collection (P130), on which rows of dots beneath the shoulder are divided by horizontal lines and panels of chevrons. Among the other decorated pottery, sherds with rough geometric decoration occurred only in D and E (P93, P114). E has a generally wider range of decoration than the other groups.

Single perforations made after firing, perhaps in the course of repairs, as suggested by Longworth (1960, 240), occur on P82 and P98.

# Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age

There are 569 sherds of Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery, weighing 6.596 kg and representing at least twenty-three pots, on the evidence of thirteen rims, two collars, one handle and seven bases for which no corresponding rims were found. Approximately forty percent of the total was found in stratified contexts. Composition and incidence are documented in Tables 57 and 58 (microfiche). The term 'Indeterminate Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age' is mainly applied to sherds the fabric and/or decoration of which place them in this period but do permit more precise classification. Pottery of this period includes a far higher proportion of reconstructable vessels than does the Earlier Neolithic material. The mean weight of stratified sherds is 11.2 g, that of unstratified sherds 11.8 g, nearly double the corresponding weights for Earlier Neolithic pottery, although the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age fabrics are almost universally more fragile and friable.

This reflects the deposition of some pots in a semicomplete state. The prefix 'semi2 is used advisedly. Neither the Food Vessel Urn (P226) nor the miniature vessel (P224) from 123, for example, can be completely rebuilt. P225, a handle fragment from the same feature, is of appropriate size and fabric to have come from P226, although none of the surviving sherds shows any attachment for it. The deposit of dark soil from which they were excavated was apparently undisturbed, since it did not become visible until 5-10 cm of fill had been excavated. More than half the circumference of a rusticated Beaker (P223) was present in 3599, but there were no base sherds and a further joining sherd was found unstratified in the surrounding 5m square. The same mode of deposition seems to have obtained for some pots found in natural hollows, and is reflected in pottery from periglacial features, among which Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age sherds are generally heavier than Earlier Neolithic ones (Fig. 28). Large sherds of a Mortlake style bowl (P199) were, for example, found close together in periglacial feature 1131, and large sherds of a Grooved Ware jar (P208) were found close together in disturbance 2677 (Fig. 25). Other contemporary sherds, especially from unstratified or residual contexts, are small and abraded (e.g. P201, P215-P218).

The distribution of Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery (Fig. 77) differs from that of Earlier Neolithic ceramics in that unstratified and residual sherds were found not only close to contemporary features, but also well removed from them, in the north-centre and south of the excavated area. No two styles were found in association with each other and distributions were to some extent distinct. Grooved Ware, for example, was absent from the west of the excavated area, although other styles were found there.

#### Fabrics

Figure 78 summarizes the composition of the collection by style and main filler. The most frequent filler is grog, which is absent from the Earlier Neolithic pottery. It is often combined with smaller quantities of sand and/or flint, or with vacuoles. Styles are clearly distinguished, the flint and sand fillers of Peterborough Ware and the diverse fillers of Beaker standing out from the almost universal grog of Grooved Ware and the Early Bronze Age styles.

Among the Peterborough Ware, P198 is hard and relatively fine, containing more sand than flint. P199, however, is tempered with such large particles of flint that it is as coarse and friable as the grogged vessels. The vacuous fabrics of sixteen indeterminate sherds are softer and more porous than those of the few vacuous Neolithic bowls. Traces of what appears to be chalk remain in four of them.

### Form

Description is unnecessary, since virtually all reconstructable and semi-reconstructable vessels are illustrated in Figures 79-85.

#### Decoration

The decoration of reconstructable and reconstructable vessels is similarly illustrated in Figures 79-85 and described in the catalogue. The decoration of indeterminate sherds, most of which are unillustrated, is summarized by main filler in Table 59 (microfiche). Rustication, the most frequent technique, occurs in virtually all Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery styles. It is, however, commonest on rusticated Beakers, such as P223. Most of the indeterminate rusticated sherds are of fairly hard, buff- to orange-coloured flint- and/or sand-tempered fabrics, which are best matched among the Beaker pottery from the site (Fig. 78). Most if not all of them are probably of rusticated Beaker. Beaker affinities are also suggested by the fabrics of two sherds with rows of oblique impressions (e.g. P239), of P232, a rim sherd from 22, decorated with incised herringbone as distinct from the channelled herringbone of Mildenhall Ware, and of P235, a handle fragment from 250.

### Indeterminate prehistoric pottery

This consists almost entirely of featureless flint- and/or sand-tempered body sherds. It includes, however, four more distinctive fragments (P242-P245), which share fairly hard, sandy fabrics, buff to brown surface colour,

and finger-tip-impressed decoration. Two (P244-P245) are shoulders.

#### Fired clay

The incidence of the 61 fragments (821 g) of fired clay of certain or probable prehistoric date is documented in Table 60 (microfiche). The material is divisible into two groups.

The first, confined to 773, a later feature cutting pit 787 which contained Beaker pottery, and 3599, which contained part of a rusticated Beaker, consists of relatively hard, well-fired, apparently deliberately formed lumps, sometimes retaining rounded or flattened surfaces. They are grey to buff-orange in colour and include some sand and flint.

The second, from pit 941, which contained a sherd of Grooved Ware, and from the periglacial or possibly periglacial contexts of 3262 and various components of 3367, is sandier and is much more friable and fragile. It shows little sign of having been shaped into lumps and is dark red-brown in colour. Associated traces of certain or probable *in situ* burning (Table 60, microfiche) suggest that it may simply be burnt earth.

# Discussion, affinities and chronology

#### Earlier Neolithic

#### **Fabrics**

The overwhelmingly flint- or flint- and sand- tempered fabrics (Fig. 54) compare with those of Earlier Neolithic pottery from other sites in East Anglia, notably with the Grimston Ware from Broome Heath, Ditchingham (Site 10602; Wainwright 1972, 23) and with the Mildenhall Ware from Orsett, Essex (Kinnes 1978, 263) and Hurst Fen, Mildenhall, Suffolk (Longworth 1960, 228). The 0.9 percent of vacuous fabrics from Spong Hill corresponds to similarly low percentages of sherds with now-vanished temper at Orsett and Hurst Fen.

# Mildenhall and related wares

Pottery from the feature groups corresponds in form to the larger collection from Hurst Fen, where its relative rarity of open forms and frequency of defined shoulders (Figs 55, 58) are more closely matched than among the more distant Orsett material, among which open forms predominate and shouldered pots are rare (Kinnes 1978, 263). All three sites are, however, comparable in their frequency of heavier rims, which contrast with the lighter forms of the Grimston Ware from Broome Heath (Table 61).

The decoration of pots from groups A, C, and D is similarly within the normal Mildenhall repertoire. Radiocarbon determinations of  $4650\pm80$  BP (BM-1533; 2700 BC) and  $4950\pm120$  BP (BM-1534; 3000 BC) for charcoal samples from features in group A and adjoining periglacial formations must be viewed with caution, since both were made on bulked samples. Their weighted mean of  $4757\pm145$  BP (2807 BC; 3930-3100 Cal BC) is, however, comparable with a determination of  $5095\pm49$  BP (BM-770; 3145 BC; 4000-3780 Cal BC) made on a bulked sample of charcoal from pits containing Mildenhall and plain bowl sherds on Eaton Heath, Norwich (Site 9544; Wainwright 1973, 9).

Feature groups B and E, on the other hand, include a so far unparalleled element of vessels with generally unpatterned, impressed decoration. These are clearly an addition to, rather than a variant of, bowls decorated in the normal Mildenhall style, since they increase the proportion of decorated pottery in the groups in which they occur (Fig. 53). They seem to have been coarse, often quite large bowls, most of which were unshouldered, in contrast to the fine, generally shouldered, bowls with Mildenhall style decoration. In other words, some of the pots normally left undecorated in Mildenhall Ware assemblages are, exceptionally, decorated in these two groups.

No radiocarbon dates are available for either group. In stylistic terms, such profuse ornamentation would be out of place in the early third millennium BC, but less anomalous a few centuries later, as the florid, sometimes plastic, decoration of developed Peterborough Ware began to emerge. It must be emphasised, however, that the forms and fabrics of these pots are those of the associated undecorated bowls, and cannot be confused with those of Peterborough Ware vessels like P199. A relatively late date may also be suggested by P130, from group E, the decoration of which is divided into zones by horizontal lines. This scheme occurs on atypical Mildenhall style bowls from Hurst Fen (Longworth 1960, P46), Lion Point, Clacton, Essex (Warren et al. 1936, pl. XXXIX:13), and Earlham, Norwich (Site 9604; Healy 1984b, P33). It has been interpreted by Longworth (1960, 239) and Clarke (1970, 266-7) as showing the influence of early Beaker decorative techniques, a possibility heightened by the exceptionally fine, thin, hard fabric and orange colour of the Hurst Fen pot. The fabrics of the zoned pots from Spong Hill and Earlham, however, are indistinguishable from those of the typical Mildenhall Ware bowls with which they were found. Furthermore, a fragment of undecorated shouldered bowl in Beaker-like fabric has

Site	simple	out-turned	externally thickened	expanded	T-shaped	in-turned
Broome Heath (all contexts;	93	253	19	12	1	32
Wainwright 1972, fig. 14)	22.7%	61.7%	4.6%	2.9%	0.2%	7.8%
Hurst Fen (all contexts;	58	112	.72	30	10	3
Longworth 1960, 229)	20.3%	39.4%	25.3%	10.5%	3.5%	1.0%
Orsett (all contexts;	13	39	6	12	6	
Kinnes 1978, 263)	17.1%	51.3%	7.9%	15.8%	7.9%	
Spong Hill	25	81	38	54	14	_
(all contexts except those with Grimston Ware)	11.8%	38.2%	17.9%	25.5%	6.6%	

Table 61 Rim forms of Earlier Neolithic Pottery from Broome Heath, Hurst Fen, Orsett and Spong Hill

been found in the initial ditch deposits of the Etton causewayed enclosure, Cambridgeshire, a context which must pre-date the introduction of Beakers into Britain by many centuries (Kinnes 1985, 296). Beaker-like fabrics and zoned decoration may simply be normal but rare elements of the Mildenhall repertoire.

Groups B and E have other features in common than the presence of impressed bowls. In comparison with the other groups, both have high proportions of neutral forms (Fig. 55), out-turned rims (Fig. 57), and Mildenhall style pottery (Fig. 53). But they are not identical. B is distinguished, for example, by the apparent rarity of angular shoulders among its Mildenhall style bowls (Fig. 58). Differences in form and decoration can similarly be distinguished between all five groups (Figs 55-60). If B and E are indeed later in date than A, these differences may suggest that none of the groups are contemporary. Although the radiocarbon dates quoted above indicate that the Mildenhall style was established by the end of the fourth millennium BC, its duration is uncertain. The chronology of the style will undoubtedly be elucidated by the results of current excavations at Etton and Haddenham, both in Cambridgeshire.

### Grimston Ware

The hard, fine, sometimes burnished fabrics and light-rimmed, often open and carinated, forms of P168, P170-P175, and P178 attribute them to the Grimston style of eastern England. The internally thickened neck of P178 is a feature of the style (Smith 1974b, 33). It can be seen, for example, at Broome Heath (Site 10602; Wainwright 1972, P266, P267), Sparham (Site 3023; Healy 1984b, P3), and Fengate, Cambridgeshire (Pryor 1974a, fig. 6:2-4). Coarser bowls associated with Grimston Ware in 2618 (P176, P177) may be paralleled among the Broome Heath material.

The chronology of Grimston Ware is as uncertain as that of Mildenhall Ware. Radiocarbon determinations marshalled by Wainwright (1972, 73-5), Smith (1974b, 32-33), and Green (1976, 22) indicate a fourth millennium BC origin and a long but uncertain continuation, perhaps as late as the end of the third millennium BC. Associated determinations from Broome Heath range from  $5424\pm117$  BP (BM-679; 3474 BC; 4360-4150 Cal BC) to  $4167\pm78$  BP (BM-755; 2217 BC; 2920-2500 Cal BC).

# Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age

#### **Fabrics**

Distinctions between the fabrics of Peterborough Ware, Grooved Ware, and Beaker (Fig. 78), as well as between all of them and Neolithic Bowl (Fig. 54) recur across much of Britain. The characteristic fabrics of Peterborough Ware and Grooved Ware were defined by I.F. Smith thirty years ago (1956, chs III and IV), in terms which have held good for the large body of material which has since become available for study. The fabrics of the various styles from Spong Hill are replicated throughout East Anglia and beyond. In the east Midlands, where different fillers were available, comparable levels of distinction are recorded by Bamford (1985, tables 21-4).

# Peterborough Ware

P198 is difficult to classify. Rim form and fabric fall within the Ebbsfleet style, as defined by I.F. Smith (1956, ch. III).

Finger-tip decoration is, however, rare on Ebbsfleet rimtops, although frequent on necks, as on a bowl of comparably hard, sandy fabric from Eaton Heath, Norwich (Site 9544; Wainwright 1973, P1). P198 is superficially similar to P164, an anomalous, apparently Earlier Neolithic rim from the area of feature group E, 45m to the south-east, but the two differ in fabric.

P199 conforms to the Mortlake style, again as defined by I.F. Smith (1956, ch.III). The sherds of P200 are attributed to the Peterborough tradition on the basis of their coarse flint- and sand-tempered fabric and their decoration.

The chronology of Peterborough Ware remains unclear, mainly because of a continuing scarcity of associated radiocarbon determinations. I.F. Smith (1974a, 111-13) would see the Ebbsfleet style, to which P198 may belong, emerging in the early third millennium BC, and gradually differentiating from the other Earlier Neolithic Bowl styles over the following centuries, with the ornate Mortlake style, to which P199 belongs, developing only towards the end of the third millennium BC and persisting into the second.

# Grooved Ware

P207 is attributed to the Clacton sub-style, as defined by Wainwright and Longworth (1971, 236-7) by its apparently tub-like shape, the complex plastic decoration of its internal rim bevel, and its multiple chevron decoration. All three features occur in the pottery from the type site at Lion Point, Clacton, Essex (Longworth, Wainwright and Wilson 1971, pls XXXIII-XXXVIII). Among the unreconstructable sherds, P210's combination of grooved horizontal lines and rows of finger-pinched rustication finds some echo in P89-P92 from the same site (Longworth, Wainwright and Wilson 1971, pl. XXXVII).

P208 is attributed to the Durrington Walls substyle (Wainwright and Longworth 1971, 240-1) by its rim form and its vertical and horizontal cordons. The decoration of P209 and of P212-P214, all body sherds from the same area as P208, includes filled triangles (P214) and incised vertical lines, apparently dividing the body into panels (P212), and seems generally best matched among the Durrington Walls repertoire.

P205 and P206 are less readily classified. Their slightly closed, jar-like forms relate them to the Durrington Walls substyle, their multiple chevron decoration to the Clacton one. They may be comparable with more fragmentary vessels from Storey's Bar Road, Fengate, Cambridgeshire which combine Durrington Walls and Clacton traits and are tentatively attributed to the Durrington Walls substyle (Pryor 1978, 92-3, figs 37-42).

Radiocarbon determinations relating to the southern substyles of Grooved Ware lie between c.2350 and c.1500 BC (c. 2910-1760 Cal BC), most of them falling between 2100 and 1700 BC (2580-1980 Cal BC) (Healy 1984b, 112). This impression of a late third/early second millennium BC floruit is reinforced by the main enclosure ditch sequence at Mount Pleasant, Dorset, where Grooved Ware was the most frequent pottery style in the late third millennium BC primary silts, and became progressively scarcer through successive second millennium BC deposits (Longworth 1979, 76-78, 90). Within East Anglia, six determinations from samples associated with Grooved Ware at Storey's Bar Road, Fengate, Cambridgeshire (Pryor 1978, 226-7) range from 3980±100 BP (HAR-397; 2030 BC; 2880-2140 Cal BC)

to 3810±150 BP (HAR-409; 1860 BC; 2850-1780 Cal BC). Bone associated with Clacton substyle Grooved Ware at Redgate Hill, Hunstanton (Site 1396) provided a determination of 3686±63 BP (BM-704; 1736 BC; 2280-1900 Cal BC). At Grime's Graves, Weeting-with-Broomhill (Site 5640), flint-mining, largely carried out by users of Grooved Ware, is dated by a series of nearly a hundred determinations to *c*.2100-*c*.1650 BC (*c*. 2580-1960 Cal BC; Burleigh *et al*. 1979, 46)

# Beaker

P222, a small, abraded body sherd from a periglacial feature, seems to have come from a pot with zoned, cordimpressed decoration. Such a vessel would conventionally fall early in the Beaker tradition, belonging to Clarke's (1970, 52-6) AOC group, to Lanting's and Van der Waals' (1972) Steps 1-2, or to Case's (1977, 72) Early style. Continental and British radiocarbon determinations suggest that the earliest British Beakers may date from c. 2100 BC (c. 2580 Cal BC; Gibson 1982, 24). Cordimpressed decoration, however, seems to have remained current to at least the mid second millennium BC, on the evidence mainly of the site IV ditch silts at Mount Pleasant, Dorset (Longworth 1979, 90).

The profile of the base fragment P218 suggests an open, dish-like form or, more probably, a barrel-shaped Beaker of Clarke's (1970, 423) form III. This form is characteristic of pots of his East Anglian group (1970, 146), which are frequent among Step 3 or Middle Beakers in the region. Middle Beakers seem to have begun to be made c.2000 BC (c. 2460 Cal BC or a little later (Gibson 1982, fig. 2). P219 is assigned to Clarke's (1970, 176-96) Late or Final Northern groups by the presence of his motif 27. This corresponds to Step 5 in the scheme of Lanting and Van der Waals and to Case's Late style. The unzoned, comb-impressed decoration of the two associated base fragments (P220-P221), on the other hand, is more easily matched among Middle than among Late Beakers. Late Beakers seem to have been in general use by c.1800 BC (c. 2150 Cal BC) or a little before (Gibson 1982, fig. 2). The remaining comb-impressed Beaker sherds (e.g. P215-P217) are extremely fragmentary.

P223, a semi-complete rusticated Beaker, is so shapeless that it is virtually unclassifiable. The relatively non-plastic rustication and its simple arrangement suggest Middle rather than Late affinities (Bamford 1982, 62-66). It is suggested above that several fragmentary rusticated sherds, classified out of caution as indeterminate Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age (e.g. P233-P237), are likely to be of rusticated Beaker, as may two sherds (e.g. P239) decorated with rows of lenticular impressions. Similarly, the relatively light-coloured, hard, fine sandy fabric of P232, associated in a periglacial feature with a rusticated sherd (P233) suggest that it may be a form of Beaker.

The most significant feature of the Beaker from the site may be a negative one: the absence of the complex geometric decoration which characterizes Late (Step 5-7) Beakers of Clarke's (1970, 197-253) Southern series. Since these form by far the most numerous class of fine Beaker in East Anglia, especially on domestic sites (Clarke 1970, maps 7-10; Healy 1984b, 120), their absence suggests that the Beaker from the site may date from before the local establishment of the tradition. Radiocarbon dates from East Anglian sites with Southern Beaker (Table 62, microfiche) suggest that this had occurred by c. 1800 BC (c. 2150 Cal BC), if not before.

#### Food Vessel Urn

P226 has the profile of a ridged Food Vessel, and is classed as a Food Vessel Urn by its size (Cowie 1978, text fig. 2). The finger-tip-impressed decoration is unusually simple. The associated radiocarbon determination of 3810±70 BP (BM-1532; 1860 BC; 2470-2040 Cal BC) is surprisingly early, but may accord, like the appearance of the pot itself, with the development of ridged Food Vessels from cordoned rusticated Beakers posited by Longworth (1979, 90). The determination is also rather early for the associated strainer-based pygmy vessel (P224). This belongs to a class of pottery which Burgess (1980, 97-8) would see as beginning to be made late in his Overton period (c. 1700-1450 BC; 2040-1680 Cal BC). Cowie (1978, 45) records two associations of Food Vessel Urns with pygmy vessels in cremation burials in Scotland.

# Collared Urn

P227, the most complete of the Collared Urn fragments from 1584, has been assigned by Longworth to his primary series (1984, catalogue no. 963). Its simple rim and straight collar are compatible with the Early or Middle stages of the classification of Burgess and Varndell (1978). A radiocarbon determination of  $3440\pm90$  BP (HAR-2901; 1490 BC; 2040-1510 Cal BC), made on associated charcoal, would assign it to the latter.

Despite chronological uncertainties, and undoubted overlaps between the currencies of several styles, it is difficult to see all of the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery from the excavation as contemporary. Single radiocarbon dates indicate that the Collared Urn fragments from 1584 were deposited later than the Food Vessel Urn and pygmy vessel from 123 (Table 63), while the Beaker sherds are most likely to date from the early second millennium BC and the Grooved Ware and Peterborough Ware from the late third or early second. The material seems likely to represent spasmodic activity over perhaps half a millennium.

# Indeterminate prehistoric pottery

Insofar as P242-P244 are classifiable, their hard, sandy fabrics, finger-tip impressed decoration, and shouldered forms would relate them to local Late Bronze/Early Iron Age wares, like those of Micklemoor Hill, West Harling (Site 6019; Clark and Fell 1953).

### Fired clay

It is suggested above that most of the fired clay retained from prehistoric and periglacial contexts is accidentally burnt earth. The remaining eighteen hard, well-fired lumps from 773 and 3600 compare closely with 'brick' from other sites, most frequently associated with Beaker pottery, which is interpretable as the remains of hearths or ovens (Petersen and Healy 1986, 100-102).

# Catalogue of illustrated pottery

Note: Pottery descriptions in the catalogue entries below are laid out in the following order: style; filler; texture; hardness; colour and decorative technique; comment (if any), followed by context. Fabrics have been examined at x30. Munsell notations are followed by subjective colour descriptions rather than by Munsell soil colour names. Context numbers are followed by descriptions in which the following abbreviations are used: EN = Earlier Neolithic, LNEBA = Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age, IA = Iron Age, R-B = Romano-British, ES = Early

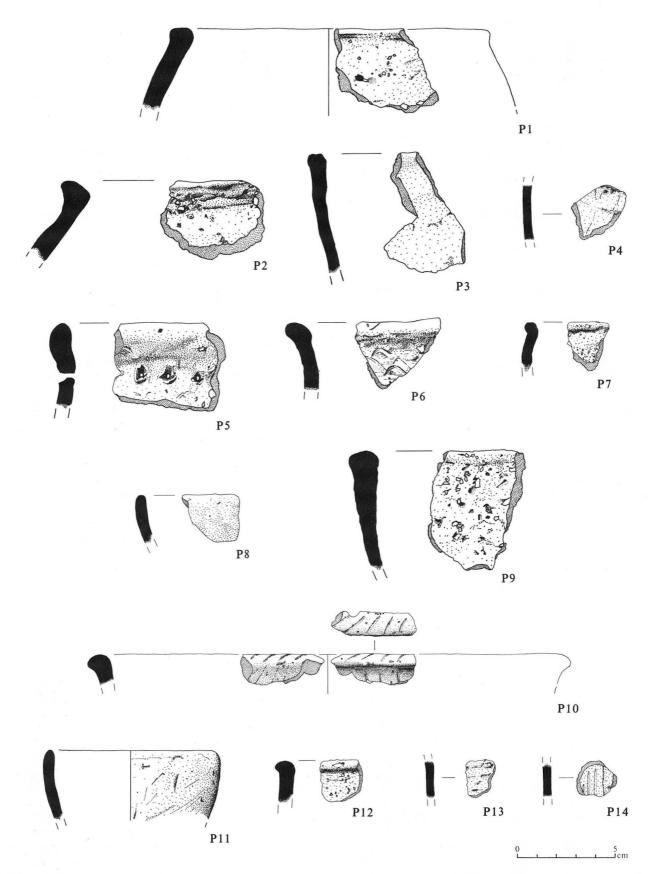


Figure 61 P1-P14 from feature group A (P1-3 from 2, P4 from 3+4, P5 from 4, P6-P9 from 5, P10 from 7+18, P11-P13 from 7, P14 from 9). Scale 1:2

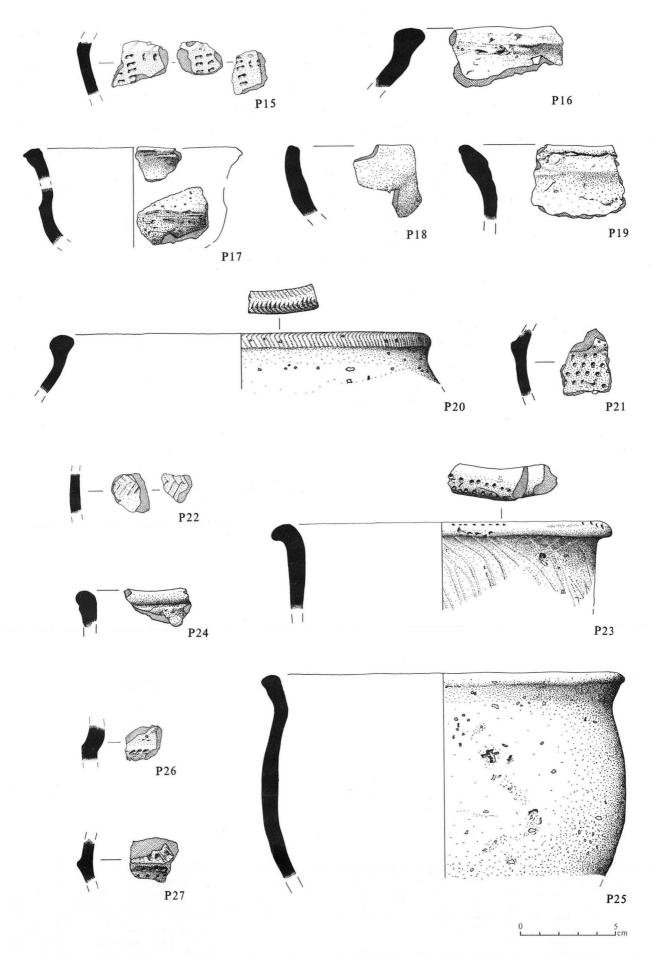


Figure 62 P15-P25 from feature group A (P15 from 9+17, P16-P18 from 9, P19 from 12, P20 from 20+18, P21-P22 from 20, P23 from 20+21, P25 from 21, P26 from 24, P27 from 86. Scale 1:2

Saxon, M = Medieval or later, UD = undated, SP = 'spread', PG = periglacial, N = other natural, US = unstratified or disturbed.

Feature group A

- Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; medium. Ext. 7.5YR 6/6 (buff-orange); core 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-brown); int. 7.5YR 6/6 (buff-orange). 2 (EN). Co-ordinates: 155 478.
- P2 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; medium. Ext. 10YR 5/4 (brown-buff); core 10YR 4/2 (grey); int. 10YR 5/4 (brown-buff). 2 (EN). Co-ordinates: 155 478.
- P3 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-brown); core 7.5YR 4/4 (brown); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). 2 (EN). Co-ordinates: 155 478.
- P4 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 10YR 3/2 (brown); core 7.5YR 4/4 (brown); int. 10YR 3/2 (brown). Impression, light incision. 3 + 4 (EN). Co-ordinates: 155 480.
- P5 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff); core 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); int. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff). Perforation from exterior before firing. Slight curvature indicates large diameter. 4 (EN). Coordinates: 155 480.
- P6 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff); core 7.5YR 4/2 (buff-brown); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (buff). Impression. 5 (EN). Coordinates: 153 481.
- P7 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; medium, friable; medium. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff); core 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); int. 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff). 5 (EN). Co-ordinates: 153 481.
- P8 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-grey); core 7.5YR 3/0 (grey); int. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-grey). 5 (EN). Co-ordinates: 153 481.
- P9 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; medium. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-orange); core 7.5YR 6/6 (buff); int. 7.5YR 5/6 (buff). 5 (EN). Co-ordinates: 153 481.
- P10 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; medium; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange); core 5YR 3/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/4 (orange-grey). Channelling. 7(EN), 18(PG). Co-ordinates: 155 482, 157 480.
- P11 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; fine, laminated; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/4 (grey-orange); core 5YR 3/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/2 (grey-buff). 7 (EN). Co-ordinates: 155 482.
- P12 Plain Bowl. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 3/1 (brown-black); core 5YR 5/6 (orange); int. 5YR 3/1 (brown-black). Surface eroded; poss. trace of int. decoration. 7 (EN). Co-ordinates: 155 482.
- P13 ?Beaker. Sand with some flint; fine; medium. Ext. 2.5YR 5/6 (orange); core 2.5YR 5/6 (orange); int. 2.5YR 5/6 (orange). Impression. Decoration abraded and indistinct; intrusive if indeed Beaker. 7 (EN). Co-ordinates: 155 482.
- P14 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; medium; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (orange-buff); core 5YR 5/6 (orange); int. 5YR 5/6 (orange). Channelling. 9 (EN). Co-ordinates: 155 481.
- P15 Mildenhall. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (grey-buff); core 5YR 4/3 (brown); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-buff). Channelling, (?bone-end) impression, burnish. 9 (EN) 17 (PG). Co-ordinates: 155 481, 157 487.
- P16 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 10YR 5/4 (buff-grey); core 10YR 4/1 (grey); int. 10YR 4/1 (grey). 9 (EN). Co-ordinates: 155 481.
- P17 Plain bowl. Flint and sand; medium; hard. Ext. 10YR 5/3 (brown); core 10YR 3/1 (grey); int. 10YR 5/3 (brown). 9 (EN). Co-ordinates: 155 481.
- P18 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; medium. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); core 7.5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). 9 (EN). Co-ordinates: 155 481.
- P19 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (buff-orange); core 5YR 5/3 (buff-brown); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). 12 (EN). Co-ordinates: 154 483.
- P20 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 3/2 (brown-grey); core 5YR 4/3 (grey-buff); int. 5YR 3/1 (grey). Channelling, burnish. 20 (EN), 18 (PG). Co-ordinates: 156 481, 157 480
- P21 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (orange-buff); core 5YR 3/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Impression. 20 (EN). Co-ordinates: 156 481.
- P22 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; fine; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/3 (brown); core 5YR 5/3 (brown); int. 5YR 3/1 (grey). Channelling, burnish. 20 (EN). Co-ordinates: 156 481.
- P23 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; medium; hard. Ext. 10YR 4/2

- (brown); core 10YR 4/3 (brown); int. 10YR 4/2 (brown). Impression, channelling, burnish. 20 (EN), 21 (EN). Coordinates: 156 481.
- P24 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (buff); core 5YR 5/4 (buff); int. 5YR 5/4 (buff). 20 (EN). Coordinates: 156 481.
- P25 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (orange-buff); core 5YR 4/4 (buff-brown); int. 5YR 6/4 (buff). 21 (EN). Co-ordinates: 156 481.
- P26 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; medium; medium. Ext. 2.5YR 4/6 (red-brown); core 2.5YR 5/0 (grey); int. 2.5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). Impression. 24 (EN). Co-ordinates: 161 461.
- P27 Mildenhall. Flint with some sand; medium, laminated; hard.
  Ext. 2.5YR 4/2 (brown); core 2.5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); int.
  2.5YR 3/0 (grey). Impression, channelling; most of ext. surface eroded. 86 (EN). Co-ordinates: 157 481.

Area of feature group A

- P28 Mildenhall. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/3 (brown); core 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). Channelling. 17 (PG). Co-ordinates: 157 487.
- P29 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/4 (brownorange); core 5YR 4/2 (buff-grey); int. 5YR 3/1 (grey). Impression. 18 (PG). Co-ordinates: 157 480.
- P30 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); core 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). Channelling; abraded. 29 (ES), 242 (US). Co-ordinates: 155 460 (centre), 165 455.
- P31 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint and ?haematite; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 3/1 (grey); core 5YR 5/3 (grey-buff); int. 5YR 3/1 (grey). Channelling; vertically-perforated lug, much abraded. 213 (US). Co-ordinates: 155 480.
- P32 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/4 (buff-grey). 17 (PG). Co-ordinates: 157 487.
- P33 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (buff); core 5YR 5/2 (buff-grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). 18 (PG). Co-ordinates: 157 480.
- P34 ?Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 10YR 3/1 (grey); core 10YR 4/3 (brown); int. 10YR 4/2 (grey-brown). Burnish; just possibly Early Saxon. 18 (PG). Co-ordinates: 157 480
- P35 Plain bowl. Flint and sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 6/4 (buff); core 7.5YR 5/2 (grey); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-buff). Ext. surface much abraded. 46 (N). Co-ordinates: 153 467.
- P36 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand and ?haematite; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/3 (grey-orange); core 5YR 4/4 (brown-orange); int. 5YR 5/4 (orange-buff). 50 (PG). Co-ordinates: 158 482.

Feature group B

- P37 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; medium, laminated; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/1 (grey); core 5YR 4/3 (red-brown); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Channelling, burnish. 3080 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 494.
- P38 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium, laminated; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/1 (grey); core 5YR 4/3 (brown); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Impression, channelling, burnish. 3080 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 494
- P39 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); core 5YR 5/3 (buff-grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Impression, channelling. 3080 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 494.
- P40 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/2 (buff-grey); core 5YR 4/2 (grey-buff); int. 5YR 3/1 (grey). Impression, channelling. 3080 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 494.
- P41 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse, laminated; medium. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown-orange); core 5YR 4/2 (brown); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Impression. 3080 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 494.
- P42 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Flint and sand; coarse; medium. Ext. 2.5YR 5/4 (orange-buff); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/1 (grey). Impression. 3080 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 494.
- P43 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 5/6 (orange); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/1 (grey). Impression. 3080 (EN) Co-ordinates: 170 494.
- P44 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/3 (buff-grey); core 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). 3080. Co-ordinates: 170 494.
- P45 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); core 5YR 5/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/1 (grey). 3080 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 494.

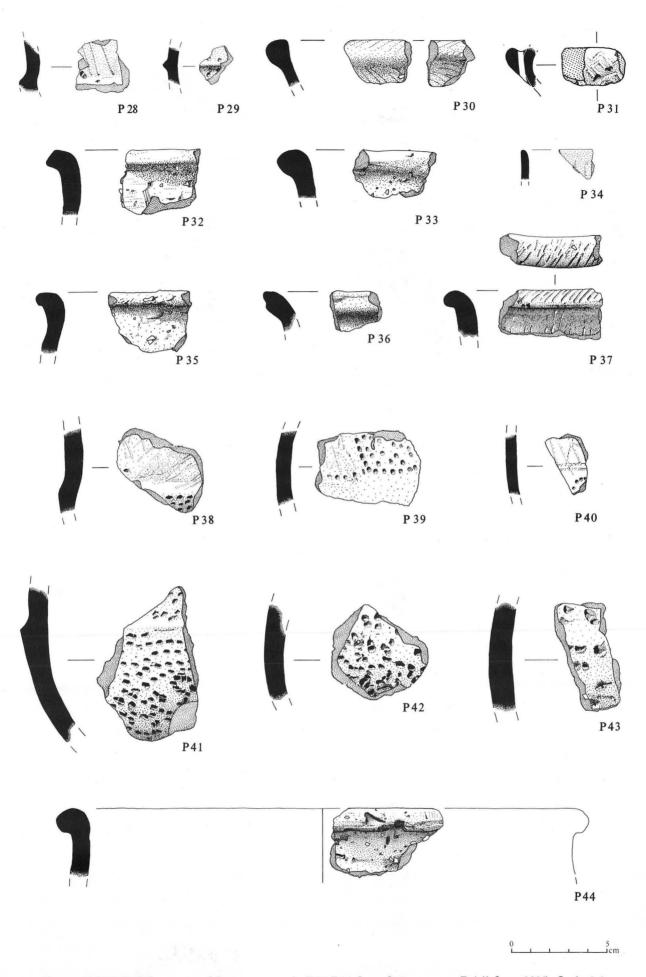


Figure 63 P28-P36 from area of feature group A, P37-P44 from feature group B (all from 3080). Scale 1:2

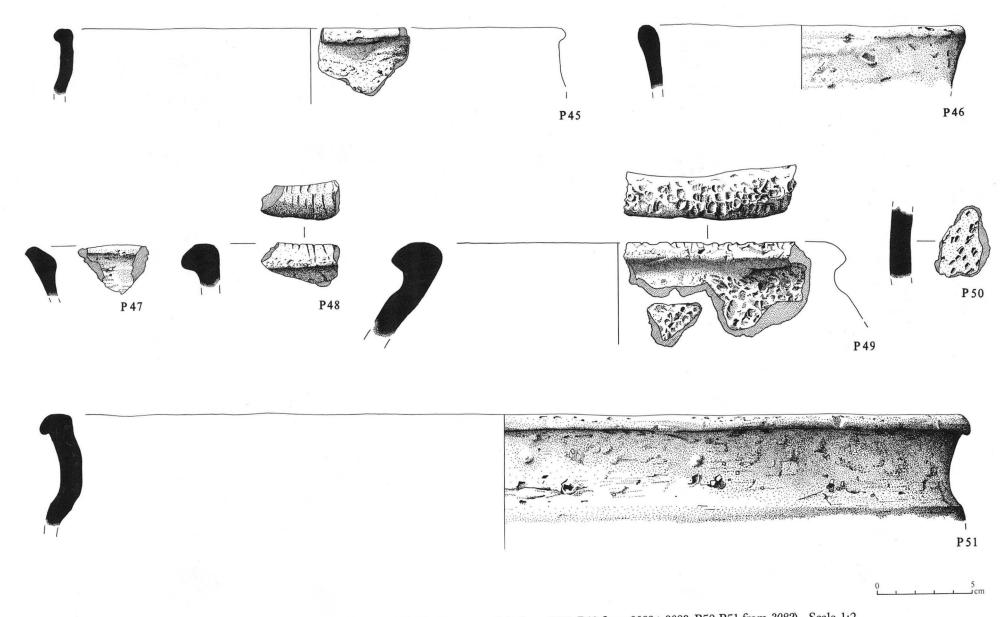


Figure 64 P45-P51 from feature group B (P45-P47 from 3080, P48 from 3082, P49 from 3082 + 3083, P50-P51 from 3082). Scale 1:2

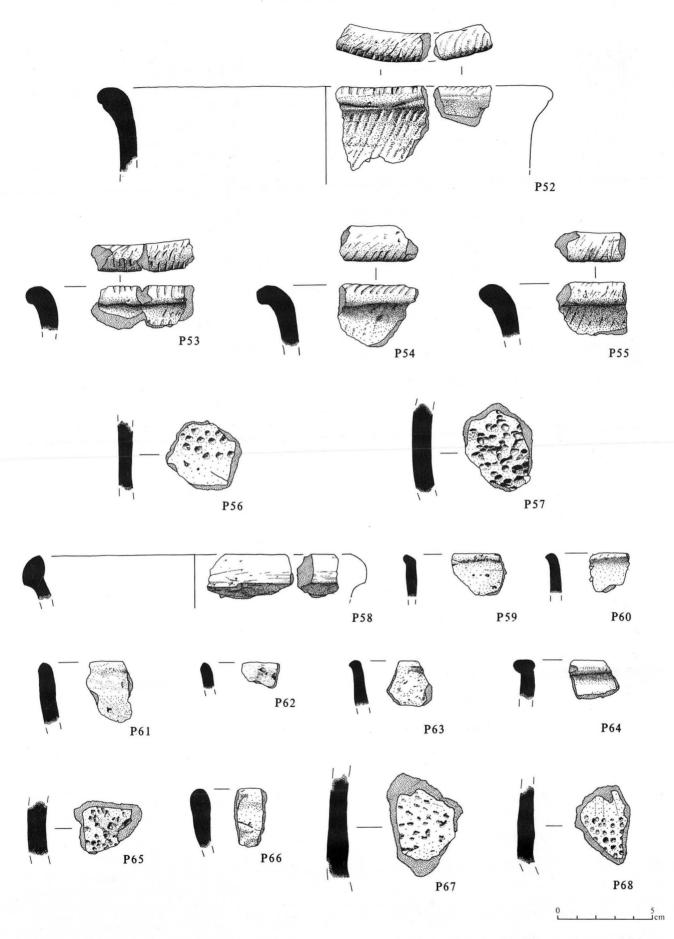


Figure 65 P52- P66 from feature group B (P52 from 3083+3087, P53-P64 from 3083, P65-P66 from 3087), P67-P68 from area of feature group B. Scale 1:2

- P46 Plain bowl. Flint and sand; coarse; medium. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown); core 5YR 3/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). 3080 (EN). Coordinates: 170 494.
- P47 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); core 5YR 5/2 (grey-brown); int. 5YR 5/2 (grey-brown). 3080 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 494.
- P48 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/3 (buff-grey); core 5YR 6/3 (buff); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Channelling; abraded. 3082 (EN). Co-ordinates: 168 494.
- P49 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Sand with some flint; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (buff) core 5YR 4/2 (buff-grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Impression. Curvature uneven: diameter may be greater than illustrated. 3082 (EN),3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 168 494, 170 495.
- P50 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/6 (orange-brown); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/3 (grey). Impression. 3082 (EN). Co-ordinates: 168 494.
- **P51** Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (buff-grey); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Cereal impression (Appendix III, microfiche). 3082 (EN). Co-ordinates: 168 494.
- P52 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown); core 5YR 5/3 (brown); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Channelling, incision. 3083 (EN), 3087 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 495, 169 494.
- P53 Mildenhall. Flint with some sand; medium, laminated; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); core 5YR 3/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Channelling. 3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 495.
- P54 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (brown); core 5YR 5/3 (brown); int. 5YR 5/3 (brown). Channelling. 3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 495.
- P55 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown); core 5YR 4/3 (brown); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Channelling. 3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 495.
- P56 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; medium. Ext. 2.5YR 4/4 (orange-brown); core 2.5YR 5/4 (orange-buff); int. 2.5 YR 3/4 (orange-brown). Impression. 3087 (EN). Co-ordinates: 169 494
- P57 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 5/4 (orange-brown); core 2.5YR 4/0 (grey); int. 2.5YR 3/0. Impression. 3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 405
- P58 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); core 5YR 5/2 (grey-buff); int. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). 3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 167 495.
- P59 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/2 (buff-grey); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). 3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 495.
- P60 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (orange-buff); core 5YR 5/6 (orange); int. 5YR 5/4 (orange-buff). 3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 167 495.
- P61 Plain bowl. Sand; medium; medium. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (buff-grey); core 7.5 4/0 (grey); int. 7.5 4/2 (buff-grey). 3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 495.
- **P62 Plain bowl.** Sand; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 6/6 (orange); core 5YR 6/6 (orange); int. 5YR 6/6 (orange). 3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 495.
- P63 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (buff); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (brown). 3083 (EN). Coordinates: 170 495.
- P64 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (buff); core 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown); int. 5YR 5/2 (grey-buff). 3083 (EN). Co-ordinates: 170 495.
- P65 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Flint and sand; coarse; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/3 (brown-orange); core 5YR 3/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Impression. 3087 (EN). Co-ordinates: 169 494.
- P66 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; medium; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (buff); core 5YR 5/4(buff); int. 5YR 5/4 (buff). 3087 (EN). Co-ordinates: 169 494.

Area of feature group B

- P67 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/3 (brown-orange); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Impression. 3078 (PG). Co-ordinates: 167 493.
- P68 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; medium; medium. Ext. 5YR 4/4 (brown); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Impression, channelling. 3079 (PG). Co-ordinates: 170 492.

Feature group C

- P69 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff); core 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-buff); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-buff). Perforation from ext. before firing. 380 (EN), 194 (US). Co-ordinates: 177 448, 177 447.
- P70 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; medium; medium. Ext. 2.5YR 3/2 (brown-grey); core 2.5YR 5/6 (red-brown); int. 5YR 3/1 (grey). Impression, channelling, ?slip. 386 (EN), 365 (IA). Co-ordinates: 179 448, 179 447.
- P71 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 5/4 (pink-grey); core 2.5YR 3/0 (grey); int. 2.5YR 5/6 (orange-grey). 386 (EN). Co-ordinates: 179 448.
- P72 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 4/2 (grey-orange); core 2.5YR 5/4 (brown-orange); int. 2.5YR 5/4 (brown-orange). 386 (EN). Co-ordinates: 179 448.
- P73 Plain bowl. Vacuoles with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown); core 5YR 4/2 (brown); int. 2.5YR 4/4 (pink-grey). Part of same pot as P78. 386 (EN). Co-ordinates: 179 488.

Area of feature group C

- P74 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 3/1 (grey-brown); core 2.5YR 5/6 (orange-brown); int. 2.5YR 4/2 (grey-orange). Channelling, burnish. 365 (IA). Co-ordinates: 179 447.
- P75 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/1 (grey); core 5YR 5/3 (buff-grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-buff). Impression, burnish. 365 (IA). Co-ordinates: 179 447.
- P76 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 6/4 (orange-buff); core 5YR 5/2 (grey); int. 5YR 5/2 (grey). Channelling; abraded. 365 (IA). Co-ordinates: 179 447.
- P77 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/3 (buff-grey); core 5YR 5/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-buff). 192 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 181 442 (centre).
- P78 Plain bowl. Vacuoles with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown); core 2.5YR 5/4 (brown-pink); int. 5YR 5/4 (brown). Part of same pot as P73. 365 (IA). Co-ordinates: 179 447.
- **P79 Plain bowl.** Sand; fine; hard. *Ext.* 5YR 4/2 (brown); *core* 2.5YR 5/6 (orange-brown); *int.* 5YR 4/2 (brown). *365* (IA). *Co-ordinates:* 179 447.
- P80 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 2.5 YR 4/4 (pink-buff); core 5YR 4/3 (grey-buff); int. 5YR 4/3 (brown). 365 (IA). Co-ordinates: 179 447.
- P81 Plain bowl. Flint and sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (browngrey); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). 365 (IA) Co-ordinates: 179 447.
- P82 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (buff-grey); core 7.5YR 3/0 (grey); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (buff-grey). Perforated from both sides after firing. 374 (IA). Co-ordinates: 176 450.

Feature group D

- **P83 Plain bowl.** Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 5/4 (buff-orange); core 2.5YR 4/4 (brown-orange); int. 2.5YR 4/4 (brown-orange). Cereal impression (Appendix III, microfiche). 713 (EN). Co-ordinates: 225 447.
- P84 Plain bowl. Vacuoles with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 5/4 (orange-buff); core 5YR 5/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/6 (buff-orange). Cereal impressions (Appendix III, microfiche). 713 (EN), 776 (EN), 798 (EN), 799 (EN). Co-ordinates: 225 447, 228 444, 225 445, 225 444.
- P85 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (buff-grey); core 7.5YR 4/6 (brown); int. 5YR 4/2 (browngrey). 720 (EN, part of fill of 798). Co-ordinates: 225 445.
- P86 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; medium. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-grey); core 7.5YR 3/0 (grey); int. 7.5 YR 4/2 (brown-grey). Channelling. 720 (EN, part of fill of 798), 799 (EN). Co-ordinates: 225 445, 225 444.
- P87 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/1 (grey); core 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-brown); int. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-brown). Impression. 720 (EN, part of fill of 798). Co-ordinates: 225 445.
- P88 Plain bowl. Vacuoles with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (brown); core 7.5 YR 4/2 (brown); int. 5YR 5/6 (orange-brown). 720 (EN, part of fill of 798). Co-ordinates: 225 445.
- P89 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/3 (orange-brown); core 5YR 4/2 (grey-buff); int. 5YR 3/1 (brown-grey). Channelling. 730 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 442.

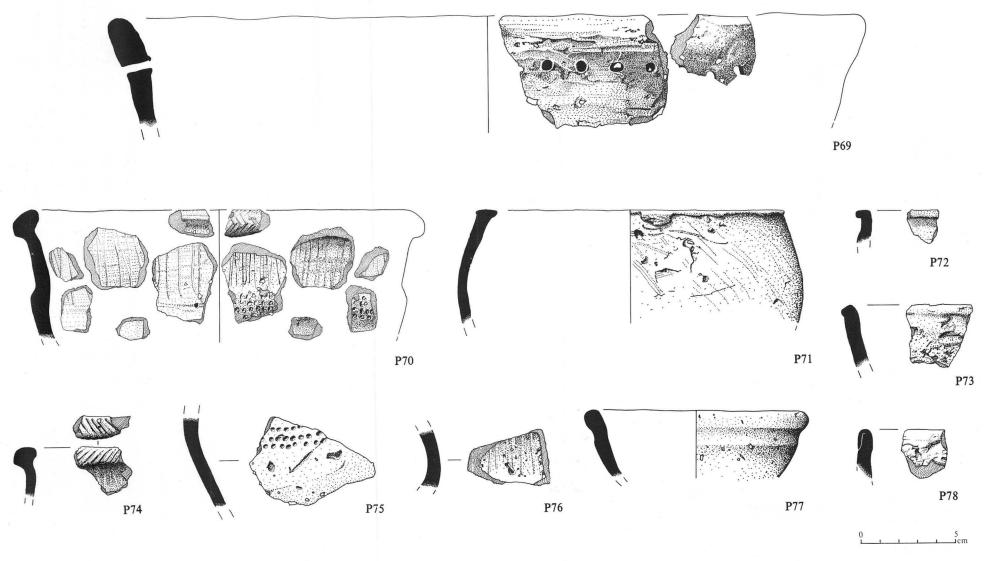


Figure 66 P69-P73 from feature group C (P69 from 380+194, P70 from 386 + 365, P71-P73 from 386), P74-P78 from area of feature group C. Scale 1:2

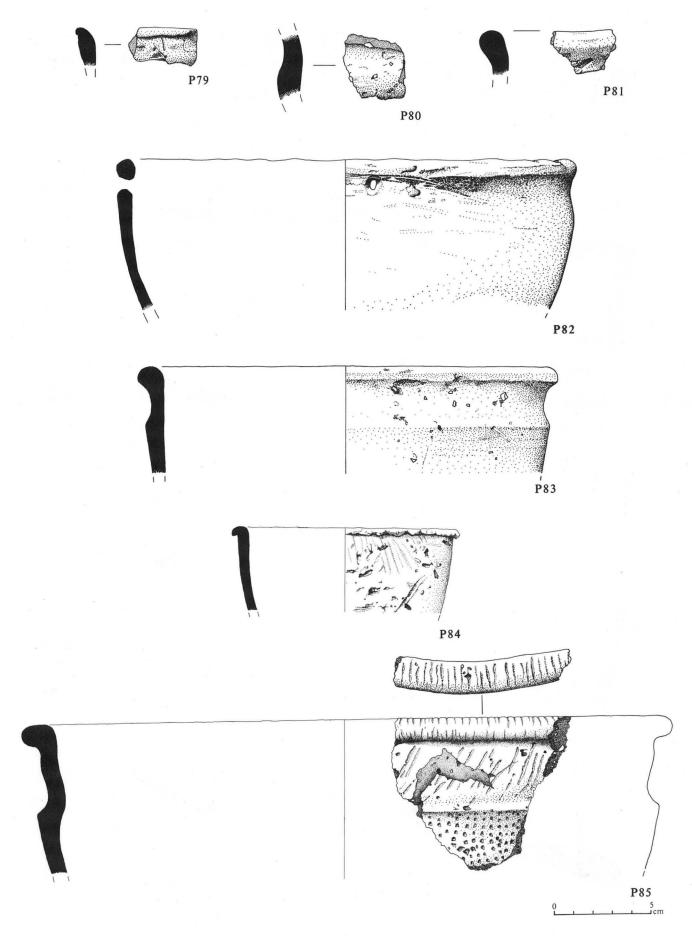


Figure 67 P79-P82 from area of feature group C, P83-P85 from feature group D (P83 from 713, P84 from 713+776, +798+799, P85 from 720. Scale 1:2

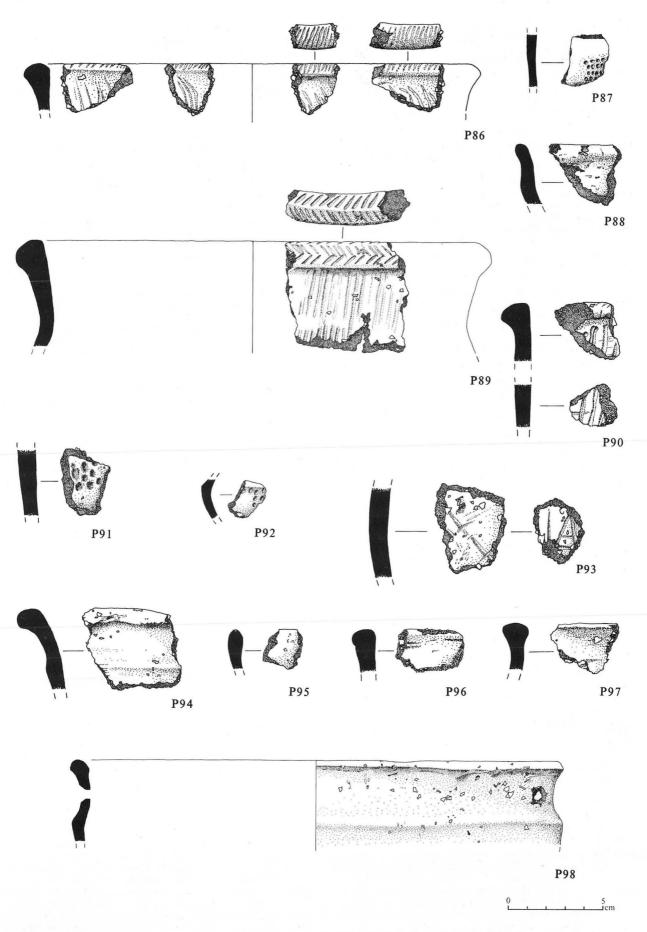


Figure 68 P86-P98 from feature group D (P86 from 720+799, P87-P88 from 720, P89-P98 from 730). Scale 1:2

- P90 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5 YR 4/2 (brown-grey); core 7.5 YR 5/4 (brown); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (browngrey). Channelling. 730 (EN), 639 (US). Co-ordinates: 228 442, 228.442.
- P91 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; medium; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 5/4 (orange); core 2.5 YR 3/0 (grey); int. 2.5 YR 3/0 (grey). Impression. 730 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 442.
- P92 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (grey-buff); core 5YR 5/4 (brown); int. 5YR 5/4 (brown). Impression. 730 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 442.
- P93 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-orange); core 7.5YR 4/2 (grey); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey). Channelling. Perhaps from same pot as P114. 730 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 442.
- P94 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (buff-grey); core 7.5YR 4/2 (buff-grey); int. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-brown). 730 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 442.
- P95 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; medium. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (buff-grey); core 5YR 4/4 (brown-orange); int. 5YR 5/4 (brown-orange). 730 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 442.
- P96 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); core 5YR 4/4 (brown-orange); int. 5YR 4/4 (brown-orange). 730 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 442.
- P97 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-grey); core 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-buff); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-buff). 730 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 442.
- P98 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-buff); core 5YR 3/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey-brown). Perforated from ext. after firing. 730 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 442.
- P99 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/3 (grey-buff); core 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). 730 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 442.
- P100 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/3 (grey-buff); core 5YR 4/4 (orange-brown); int. 5YR 4/4 (orange-brown). 730 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 442.
- P101 Plain bowl. Flint and sand; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-grey); core 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-grey); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). 730 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 442.
- P102 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (grey-buff); core 5YR 5/2 (grey-buff); int. 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff). 730 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 442.
- P103 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/4 (brown); core 5YR 5/4 (buff); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). Channelling, ?slip. Decoration on neck very faint. 752 (EN, layer of 798). Co-ordinates: 225 445.
- P104 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (buff-grey); core 5YR 3/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/4 (orange-grey). 776 (EN), 639 (US). Co-ordinates: 228 444, 225 440.
- P105 Plain bowl. Sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); core 2.5YR 4/6 (orange-brown); int. 5YR 4/6 (orange-buff). 776 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 444.
- P106 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/4 (brown); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/4 (brown). 776 (EN). Co-ordinates: 228 444.
- P107 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (orange-buff); core 7.5YR 4/0 (grey); int. 7.5YR 5/2 (buff-grey). 786 (EN). Co-ordinates: 230 445.
- P108 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); core 7.5YR 3/0 (grey); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). Channelling, impression. 789 (EN). Co-ordinates: 229 445.
- P109 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); core 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown); int. 5YR 5/4 (buffgrey). Channelling. 799 (EN),804 (EN, layer of 799). Coordinates: 225 444.
- P110 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-grey); core 7.5YR 3/0 (grey); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (browngrey). Impression. 799 (EN). Co-ordinates: 225 444.
- P111 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (buff-grey); core 7.5YR 4/0 (grey); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). Channelling, impression. 799 (EN) Co-ordinates: 225 444.
- P112 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (brown); core 7.5YR 3/0 (grey). Impression. 799 (EN). Coordinates: 225 444.
- P113 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (orange-grey); core 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown); int. 5YR 4/4 (orange-brown). Single, ?accidental, line scored on ext. 799 (EN). Coordinates: 225 444.

Area of feature group D

- P114 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (brown-orange); core 5YR 4/2 (browngrey); int. 5YR 4/4 (orange-brown). Channelling. Perhaps from same pot as P93..639 (US). Co-ordinates: 225 440.
- P115 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/4 (brown-orange); core 5YR 5/6 (orange); int. 5YR 4/2 (browngrey). 639 (US). Co-ordinates: 225 440.
- P116 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); core 7.5 YR6/6 (buff); int. 7.5YR 5/6 (orange-buff). Channelling; abraded; decoration barely visible. 773 (?R-B) Co-ordinates: 229 447.

Feature group E

- P117 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-brown); core 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-brown); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey- brown). Channelling; ?very faint oblique lines on neck. 1269 (EN). Co-ordinates: 261 452.
- P118 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/1 (grey); core 2.5YR 5/6 (orange-brown); int. 5YR 4/2 (brown). Impression, burnish. 1269 (EN). Co-ordinates: 261 452.
- P119 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 3/1 (grey-black); core 5YR 5/4 (brown); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Impression, burnish. 1269 (EN). Co-ordinates: 261 452.
- P120 Plain bowl. Sand; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). 1269 (EN). Co-ordinates: 261 452
- P121 Mildenhall. Flint with some sand; medium, laminated, friable. medium. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-brown); core 7.5YR 4/6 (brown); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). Impression, channelling. 1288 (EN). Co-ordinates: 260 453.
- P122 Mildenhall. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown); core 5YR 5/4 (orange-brown). Impression. 1288 (EN). Co-ordinates: 260 453.
- P123 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; medium. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (grey-buff); core 5YR 5/4 (buff-brown); int. 5YR 5/3 (buff). Impression. 1288 (EN). Co-ordinates: 260 453.
- P124 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 5/4 (brown-orange); core 2.5YR 4/6 (orange); int. 2.5YR 4/2 (grey-orange). Impression. 1288 (EN). Co-ordinates: 260 453.
- P125 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); core 7.5YR 5/2 (brown); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (browngrey). Impression, channelling. 1457 (EN). Co-ordinates: 259 451
- P126 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/4 (orange-buff); core 5YR 5/4 (orange-brown); int. 5YR 4/2 (greybrown). 1457 (EN). Co-ordinates: 259 451.
- P127 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 10YR 4/2 (brown); core 10YR 4/4 (brown); int. 10YR 4/1 (grey). 1457 (EN). Co-ordinates: 259 451.
- P128 Mildenhall. Flint with some sand; medium, laminated. hard. Ext. 2.5YR 5/6 (orange); core 2.5YR 4/2 (grey); int. 2.5YR 5/4 (orange-grey). Channelling. 1476 (EN). Co-ordinates: 259 451.
- P129 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (buff-orange); core 5YR 5/6 (buff-orange); int. 5YR 6/4 (buff). Impression. 1476 (EN). Co-ordinates: 263 448.
- P130 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium, laminated; hard.
   Ext. 2.5YR 4/2 (orange-brown); core 5YR 5/1 (grey); int. 5YR
   4/2 (grey). Impression, channelling, burnish. 1534 (EN),1744
   (EN), 1484 (PG). Co-ordinates: 259 452, 264 453, 260 450.
- P131 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; medium; Ext. 5YR 5/3 (grey-buff); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/1 (grey). Channelling. 1534 (EN). Co-ordinates: 259 452.
- P132 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Sand with some flint; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/3 (buff-grey); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Impression. 1534 (EN). Co-ordinates: 259 452.
- P133 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Sand with some flint; coarse; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 4/4 (orange); core 5YR 4/3 (brown); int. 5YR 3/1 (grey). Impression. Cereal impression (Appendix III, microfiche). 1534 (EN). Co-ordinates: 259 452.
- P134 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (buff); core 5YR 4/3 (buff-grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey). Possibly rim of P132. 1534 (EN). Co-ordinates: 259 452.
- P135 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 to 5YR 4/1 (buff to grey); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 3/1 (grey). 1559 (EN), 1240 (PG), 1298 (IA). Co-ordinates: 259 451, 265 453, 257 454.

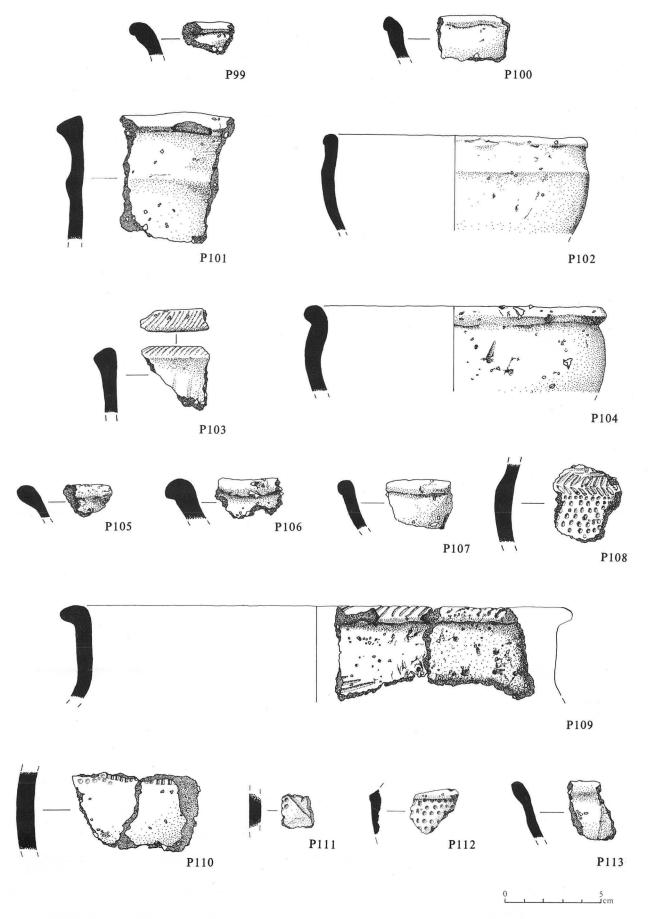


Figure 69 P99-P113 from feature group D (P99-P102 from 730, P103 from 752, P104 from 776-639, P105-P106 from 776, P107 from 786, P108 from 789, P109 from 799+804, P110-P113 from 799). Scale 1:2

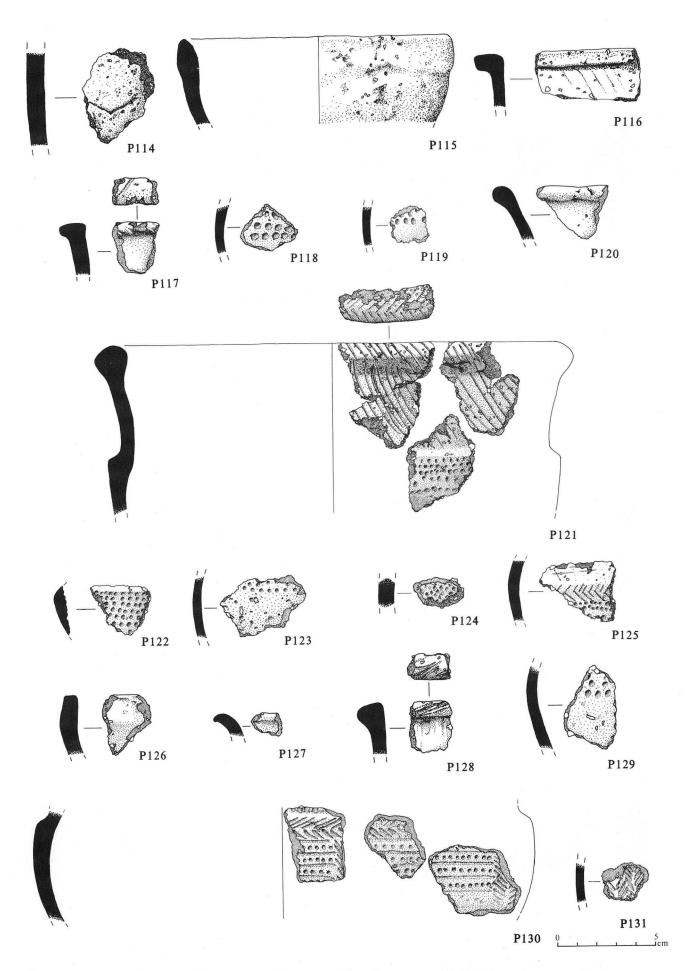


Figure 70 P114-P116 from area of feature group D, P117-P131 from feature group E (P117-P120 from *1269*, P121-P124 from *1288*, P125-P127 from *1457*, P128-P129 from *1476*, P130 from *1484+1534+1744*, P131 from *1534*). Scale 1:2

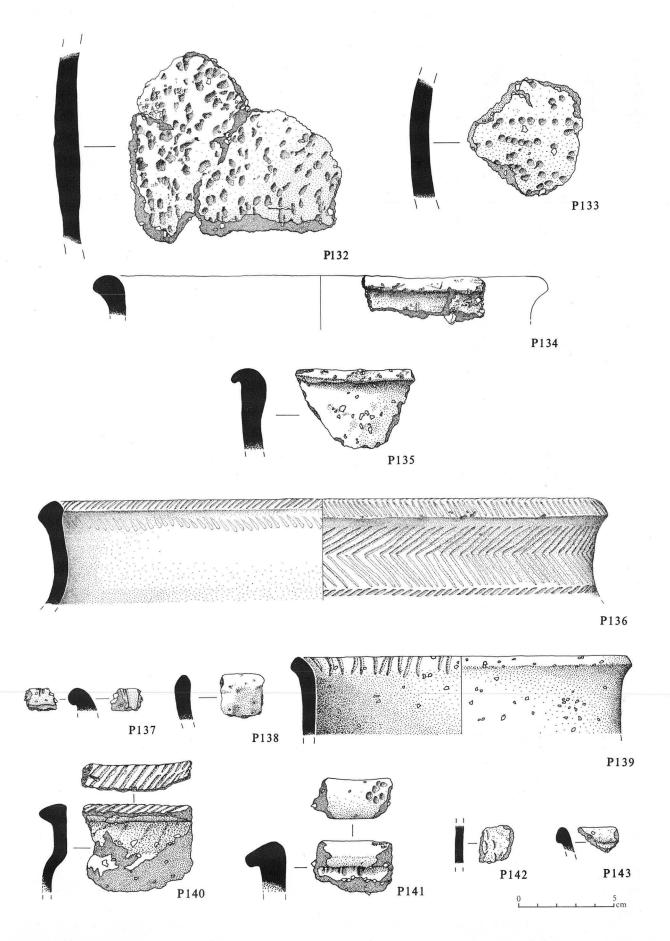


Figure 71 P132-P139 from feature group E (P132-P134 from 1534, P135 from 1559+1240, P136 1744+1268+1443, P137-P138 from 1744, P139 from 1813), P140-143 from 'spread' of feature group E. Scale 1:2

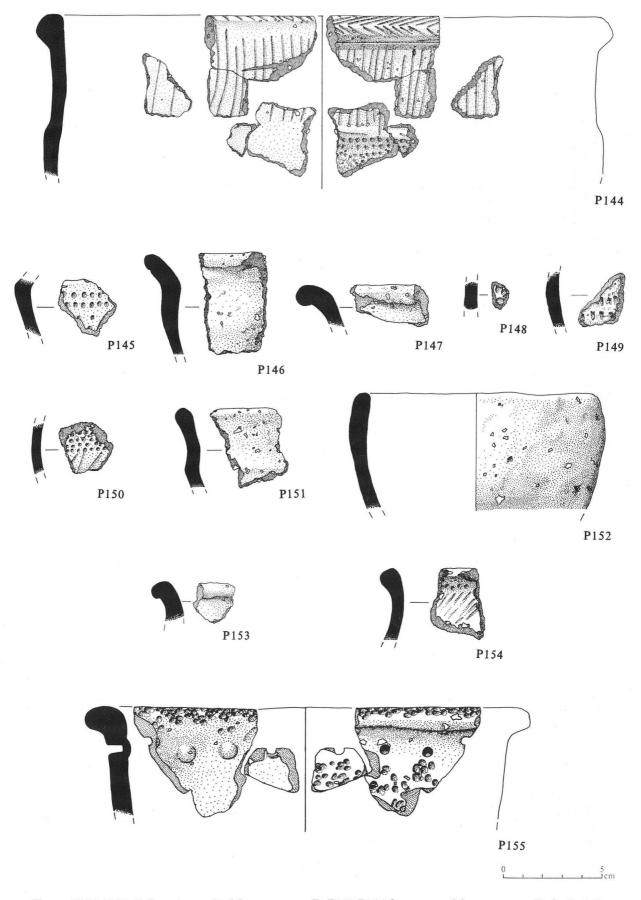


Figure 72 P144-P148 from 'spread' of feature group E, P149-P155 from area of feature group E. Scale 1:2

- P136 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/1 (grey-brown); core 5YR 5/1 (grey); int. 10YR 5/3 (buff). Channelling, burnish. 1744 (EN), 1268 (SP), 1443 (SP). Coordinates: 264 453, 261 453, 262 451.
- P137 Mildenhall. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-orange); core 7.5YR 5/4 (orange-brown); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-orange). Channelling. 1744 (EN). Co-ordinates: 264 453.
- P138 Plain bowl. Sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 6/6 (orange); core 5YR 5/4 (orange-brown); int. 5YR 6/6 (orange). 1744 (EN). Coordinates: 264 453.
- P139 Mildenhall. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (brown-orange); core 7.5YR 4/4 (brown); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). Channelling. 1813 (EN). Co-ordinates: 263 451.

'Spread' of feature group E

- P140 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (brown-grey); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/3 (grey-buff). Channelling; ext. eroded, traces of oblique channelling on neck. 1268 (SP). Co-ordinates: 261 453.
- P141 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Sand with some flint; coarse; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 5/2 (grey-buff); core 7.5YR 4/0 (grey); int. 10YR 4/2 (grey). Impression. 1268 (SP). Co-ordinates: 261 453.
- P142 ?Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown); core 5YR 4/4 (orange-brown); int. 5YR 5/4 (buffbrown). Finger-nail impression. 1268 (SP). Co-ordinates: 261 453
- P143 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown); core 5YR 4/6 (orange-brown); int. 5YR 4/4 (brown-orange). 1268 (SP). Co-ordinates: 261 453.
- P144 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/3 (red-brown); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 3/4 (grey). Impression, channelling. 1285 (SP), 1240 (PG). Co-ordinates: 263 452, 265 453.
- P145 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/3 (buff-grey); core 5YR 5/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Impression. 1285 (SP). Co-ordinates: 263 452.
- P146 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-buff); core 5YR 5/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/4 (buff-grey). 1285 (SP). Co-ordinates: 263 452.
- P147 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown); core 2.5YR 5/6 (orange); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). 1287 (SP). Co-ordinates: 264 455.
- P148 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (orange-buff); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-buff). Impression. 1443 (SP). Co-ordinates: 262 451.

Area of feature group E, excluding 'spread'

- P149 ?Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; medium; Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown); core 5YR 5/4 (brown-orange); int. 2.5YR 4/8 (orange). Impression. 1240 (PG). Co-ordinates: 265 453.
- P150 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (buff-grey); core 2.5YR 5/6 (orange); int. 5YR 3/2 (brown-grey). Impression, channelling. 1240 (PG). Co-ordinates: 265 453.
- P151 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 3/1 (grey); core 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). Burnish. 1240 (PG). Co-ordinates: 265 453.
- P152 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (buff-orange); core 5YR 4/4 (brown-orange); int. 5YR 4/2 (greybuff). Acorn cupule impression (Appendix III, microfiche). 1270 (?ES). Co-ordinates: 262 452.
- P153 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (buff); core 5YR 4/3 (brown); int. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). 1270 (2ES). Co-ordinates: 262 452.
- P154 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 3/1 (grey); core 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Impression, channelling. 1274 (PG, layer of 1459). Co-ordinates: 260 450.
- P155 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Sand with some flint; coarse, laminated; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/4 (brown-orange); core 5YR 5/1 (grey); int. 5YR 3/1 (grey). Impression, incomplete perforation from ext. before firing. 1274 (PG, layer of 1459), 1298 (IA). Co-ordinates: 260 450, 257 454.
- P156 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/4 (orange-brown). 1298 (IA), 1310 (IA). Co-ordinates: 257 454 (both).
- P157 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/1 (grey); core 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). Channelling, ?slip. 1310 (IA). Co-ordinates: 257 454.

- P158 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 5/6 (orange); core 5YR 5/3 (buff); int. 5YR 3/1 (grey). Impression. 1310 (IA). Co-ordinates: 257 454.
- P159 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium, friable; medium. Ext. 5YR 3/2 (brown); core 5YR 4/3 (buff-brown); int. 5YR 4/2 (buff-brown). Impression; eroded. 1310 (IA). Co-ordinates: 257 454
- **P160 Mildenhall.** Sand with some flint; medium; hard. *Ext.* 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); *core* 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); *int.* 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). Impression, channelling; surfaces eroded, perhaps once burnished. *1416* (PG, part of *1616*). *Co-ordinates*: 244 443.
- P161 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/2 (buff-grey); core 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); int. 5YR 5/2 (buff-grey). Channelling. 1484 (PG, layer of 1459). Co-ordinates: 260 450
- P162 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 4/2 (brown-red); core 2.5YR 5/4 (red-buff); int. 2.5YR 4/2 (brown-red). Impression, channelling. 1484 (PG, layer of 1459). Co-ordinates: 260 450.
- P163 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 4/2 (brown-red); core 2.5YR 5/2 (grey); int. 2.5YR 5/2 (grey). Impression. 1484 (PG, layer of 1459). Co-ordinates: 260 450.
- P164 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 5/4 (buff-pink); core 2.5YR 4/2 (pink-grey); int. 2.5YR 4/0 (grey). Finger-tip impression. 1484 (PG, layer of 1459. Co-ordinates: 260 450.
- P165 Non-Mildenhall decorated bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (brown-buff); core 5YR 5/2 (greybrown); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey). Channelling. 1484 (PG, layer of 1459). Co-ordinates: 260 450.
- **P166 Plain bowl.** Flint with some sand; medium; hard. *Ext.* 5YR 6/6 (buff); *core* 5YR 5/4 (buff); *int.* 5YR 6/4 (buff). *1484* (PG, layer of *1459*). *Co-ordinates:* 260 450.

### Other contexts

- P167 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 3/1 (grey); core 5YR 5/4 (buff-brown); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-buff). Channelling. 1144 (EN). Co-ordinates: 216 495.
- P168 Grimston. Flint and sand with 1 frag. ?chalk; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 3/1 (grey-brown); core 5YR 4/1 (grey-brown); int. 5YR 3/1 (grey-brown). Burnish. 1321 (EN). Co-ordinates: 242 465.
- P169 Mildenhall. Flint and sand; medium; medium. Ext. 5YR 4/3 (brown-grey); core 5YR 5/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). Channelling; abraded. 2507 (EN). Co-ordinates: 176 418.
- P170 Grimston. Flint and sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (orange-brown); core 5YR 6/6 (orange-buff); int. 5YR 6/4 (orange-buff). Int. surface eroded. 2618 (EN). Co-ordinates: 167 400.
- P171 Grimston. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Burnish. 2618 (EN). Co-ordinates: 167 400.
- P172 Grimston. Sand with some flint; medium; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/3 (buff-grey); core 5YR 3/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-buff). Possible cereal impression (Appendix III, microfiche). 2618 (EN). Co-ordinates: 167 400.
- P173 Grimston. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/4 (brown-orange); core 5YR 4/3 (brown); int. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). 2618 (EN). Co-ordinates: 167 400.
- **P174 Grimston.** Sand with some flint; medium; medium. *Ext.* 5YR 4/3 (buff); *core* 5YR 5/1 (grey); *int.* 5YR 5/3 (buff). Possible organic residue on int. *2618* (EN). *Co-ordinates*: 167 400.
- P175 Grimston. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 4/2 (brown); core 2.5YR 4/4 (red-brown); int. 5YR 3/1 (grey). Burnish. 2618 (EN). Co-ordinates: 167 400.
- P176 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/3 (orange-buff); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 3/1 (grey). Cereal impressions (Appendix III, microfiche). Possible organic residue towards base. 2618 (EN). Co-ordinates: 167 400.
- P177 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium, laminated; medium. Ext. 7.5YR 4/4 (orange-brown); core 7.5YR 4/5 (grey); int. 7/5YR 5/4 (buff-orange). 2618 (EN). Co-ordinates: 167 400.
- P178 Grimston. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-grey); core 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-brown); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). 3072. Co-ordinates: 175 493.
- P179 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 3/1 (grey); core 5YR 5/6 (orange); int. 5YR 4/4 (brown). Impression. Shoulder fragment. 3645 (EN, fill of 3644). Co-ordinates: 130 432

Figure 73 P156-P166 from area of feature group E, P167-P169 from Earlier Neolithic features outside feature groups (P167 from 1144, P168 from 1321, P169 from 2507). Scale 1:2

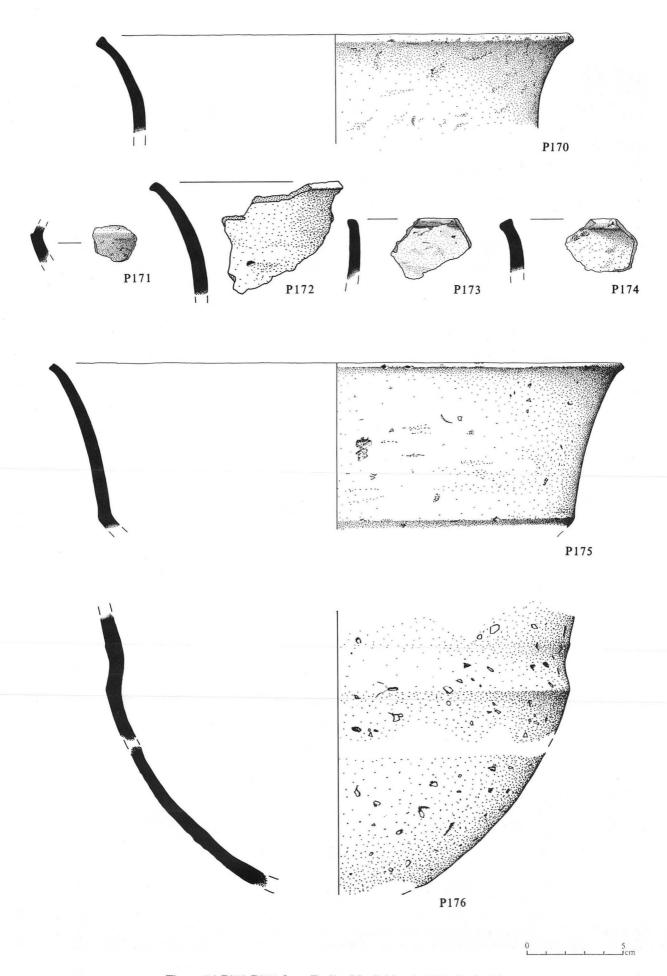


Figure 74 P170-P176 from Earlier Neolithic pit 2618. Scale 1:2

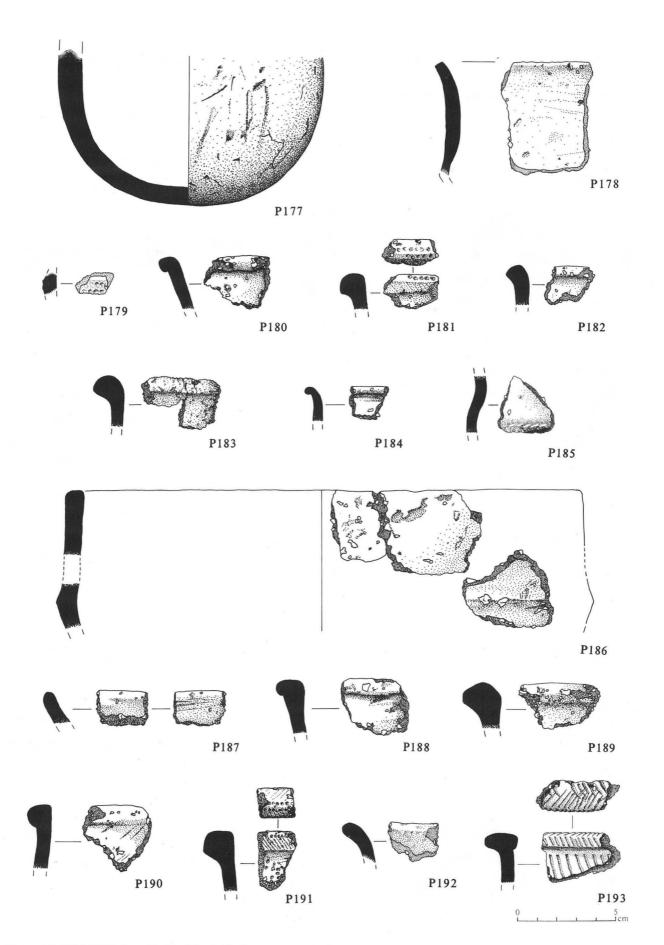


Figure 75 P177-P179 from Earlier Neolithic features outside feature groups (P177 from 2618, P178 from 3072, P179 from 3645), P180-P193 from residual and unstratified contexts outside areas of feature groups. Scale 1:2

- P180 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-buff); core 7.5YR 3/0 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). 642 (US). Co-ordinates: 230 475.
- P181 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 4/3 (grey-brown); core 4/2 (grey); int. 7.5YR 4/3 (grey-brown). Impression, channelling; abraded. 660 (US). Co-ordinates: 240 485.
- P182 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; medium; medium. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); core 5YR 3/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). 661 (US). Co-ordinates: 240 480.
- P183 Plain bowl. Flint and sand; medium; medium. Ext. 7.5YR 5/2 (grey-brown); core 5YR 3/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). Abraded, possible traces of decoration on rim. 1136 (PG), 1137 (PG). Co-ordinates: 219 495.
- P184 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (grey-buff); core 7/5YR 3/0 (grey); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). 1342 (N). Co-ordinates: 238 472.
- P185 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-buff); core 7.5YR 6/2 (grey-buff); int. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff). Impression. 1642 (PG). Co-ordinates: 258 465.
- P186 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/3 (orange-buff); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). 1642 (PG). Co-ordinates: 258 465.
- P187 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/3 (buff); core 5YR 4/2 (brown); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). 1642 (PG). Coordinates: 258 465.
- P188 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (orange-buff); core 5YR 5/3 (grey-brown); int. 5YR 5/3 (buffgrey). 1642 (PG). Co-ordinates: 258 465.
- P189 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand, coarse; medium. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-brown); core 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-brown); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). Abraded; from area of concentration 5. 1663 (IA/R-B). Co-ordinates: 250 480.
- P190 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (orange-buff); core 5YR 5/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). Channelling. From area of concentration 5; abraded. 1732 (US). Co-ordinates: 255 480.
- P191 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Impression, channelling. From area of concentration 5; abraded. 1816 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 255 480.
- P192 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 5/6 (orange); core 5YR 5/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). From area of concentration 5. 1816 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 255 480.
- P193 Mildenhall. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (brown-grey); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). Channelling. From area of concentration 5. 1844 (PG). Coordinates: 252 481.
- **P194 Plain bowl.** Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 5/6 (orange); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 2.5 YR 5/6 (orange). Abraded. 1870 (US). Co-ordinates: 264 468.
- P195 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (orange-grey); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (buff-grey). From area of concentration 5. 1983 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 250 485.
- P196 Plain bowl. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/3 (brown-grey); core 5YR 3/1 (grey); int. 2.5YR 4/4 (red-brown). 3216 (UD). Co-ordinates: 129 493.
- P197 Plain bowl. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/3 (grey-orange); core 5YR 6/3(orange-buff). 3262 (PG). Coordinates: 115 498.

- P198 ?Peterborough (?Ebbsfleet). Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (brown-orange); core 5YR 5/4 (brown-grey); int. 5/4 (brown-grey). Finger-tip impression. 604 (US). Co-ordinates: 210 465.
- P199 Peterborough (Mortlake). Flint with some sand; coarse, laminated, friable; soft. Ext. 7.5YR 5/6 (orange-brown); core 7.5YR 4/0 (grey); int. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff). Cord-impression, ?finger-nail impression, decoration on lower body blurred after execution. 1131 (PG). Co-ordinates: 215 498.
- P200 Peterborough (?Mortlake). Flint with some sand; coarse, laminated; medium; Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); core 5YR 5/1 (grey); int. 5YR 6/4 (orange-buff). Impression. 1290 (PG). Coordinates: 241 451.
- P201 Grooved Ware. Grog, with sand, vacuoles, and a very little flint; coarse; soft. Ext. 7.5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); core 7.5YR 4/0 (grey); int. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff). Grooving. From area of concentration 7; sherds from 540 better-preserved than others. 323 (US), 324 (US), 540 (ES), 582 (UD). Co-ordinates: 200 470, 200 465, 201 470, 208 466.
- P202 Grooved Ware. Grog with sand and vacuoles; medium; soft, friable. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); core 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); int. 5YR 5/4 (brown-buff). Grooving. From area of concentration 7. 323 (US). Co-ordinates: 200 470.
- P203 Grooved Ware. Sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 2.5/2 (redbrown); core 5YR 4/1; int. 5YR 4/3 (red-grey). Grooving; burnt. 941 (LNEBA). Co-ordinates: 232 479.
- P204 Grooved Ware. Grog with sand and vacuoles; coarse; soft. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-grey); core 7.5YR 3/0 (grey); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). Grooving. Secondary blackening on part of ext., organic residue on int. 1211 (LNEBA). Co-ordinates: 201 440.
- P205 Grooved Ware (Durrington Walls or Clacton sub-style). Grog with flint, sand and vacuoles; coarse; soft. Ext. 5YR 6/6 (buff); core 5YR 3/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Grooving, incision, finger- pinching, ?applique. Reconstruction tentative. 1630 (LNEBA), 1058 (US). Co-ordinates: 264 477, 260 475.
- P206 Grooved Ware (Durrington Walls or Clacton sub-style). Grog with flint, sand, and vacuoles; medium; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff). Incision. Some sherds burnt. 1630 (LNEBA). Co-ordinates: 264 477.
- P207 Grooved Ware (Clacton sub-style). Grog with vacuoles and some sand; coarse; medium. Grooving, applique. Reconstruction tentative. 1718 (PG). Co-ordinates: 261 497.
- P208 Grooved Ware (Durrington Walls sub-style). Grog with flint, sand and vacuoles; coarse, friable; soft. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff). Applique. Surface eroded, organic residue on int. 2677 (US). Co-ordinates: 169 407.
- P209 Grooved Ware (?Durrington Walls sub-style). Grog with some sand; medium; medium. Ext. 5YR 6/4 (buff-orange); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Incision. From area of concentration 6; organic residue on int. 2091 (US). Co-ordinates: 165 400.
- P210 Grooved Ware (?Clacton sub-style). Grog with sand, vacuoles and a little flint; coarse; soft. Ext. 7.5YR 7/6 (buff); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). Grooving, finger-pinching From area of concentration 6; organic residue on one sherd. 2594 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 184 404.
- P211 Grooved Ware. Grog with flint, sand and vacuoles; medium; medium. Ext. 5YR 4/1 (grey); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 3/1 (grey). Grooving. From area of concentration 6; burnt. 2594 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 165 400.

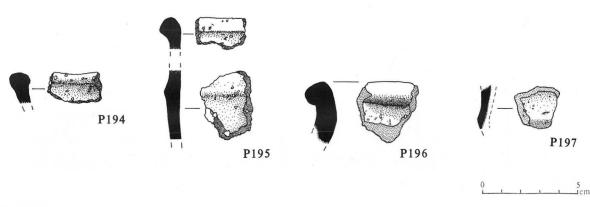
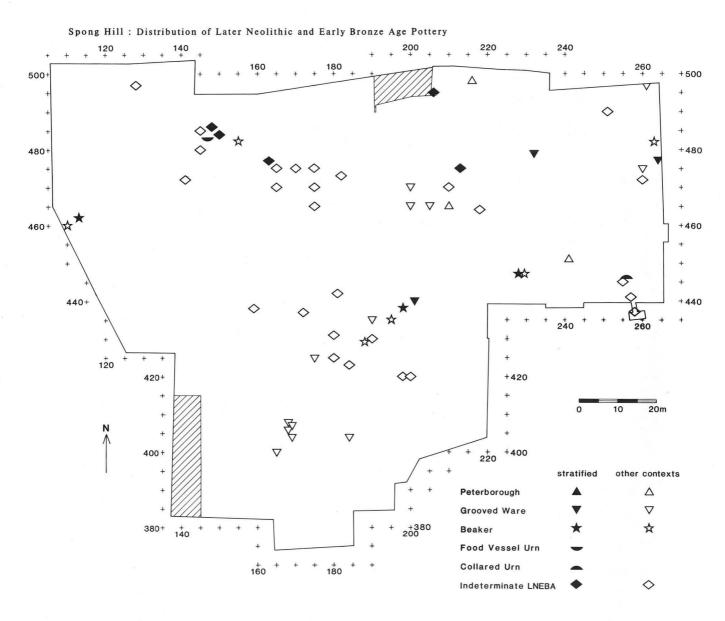


Figure 76 P194-P197 from residual and unstratified contexts outside areas of feature groups. Scale 1:2



# LATER NEOLITHIC/EARLY BRONZE AGE POTTERY FABRICS TOTAL 569 SHERDS

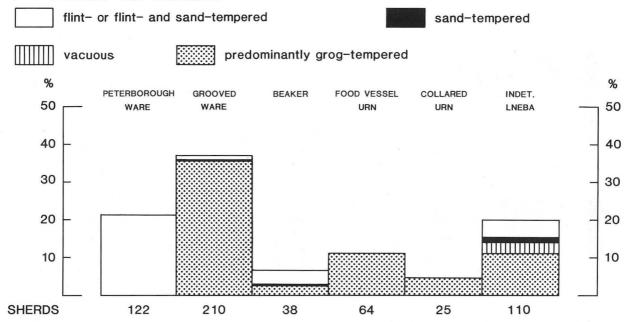


Figure 78 Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery fabrics

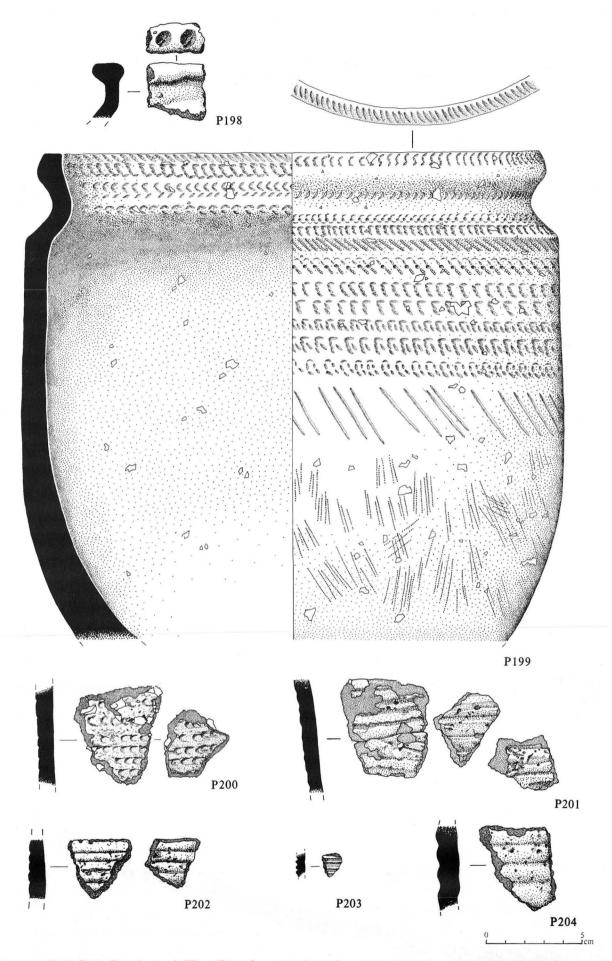
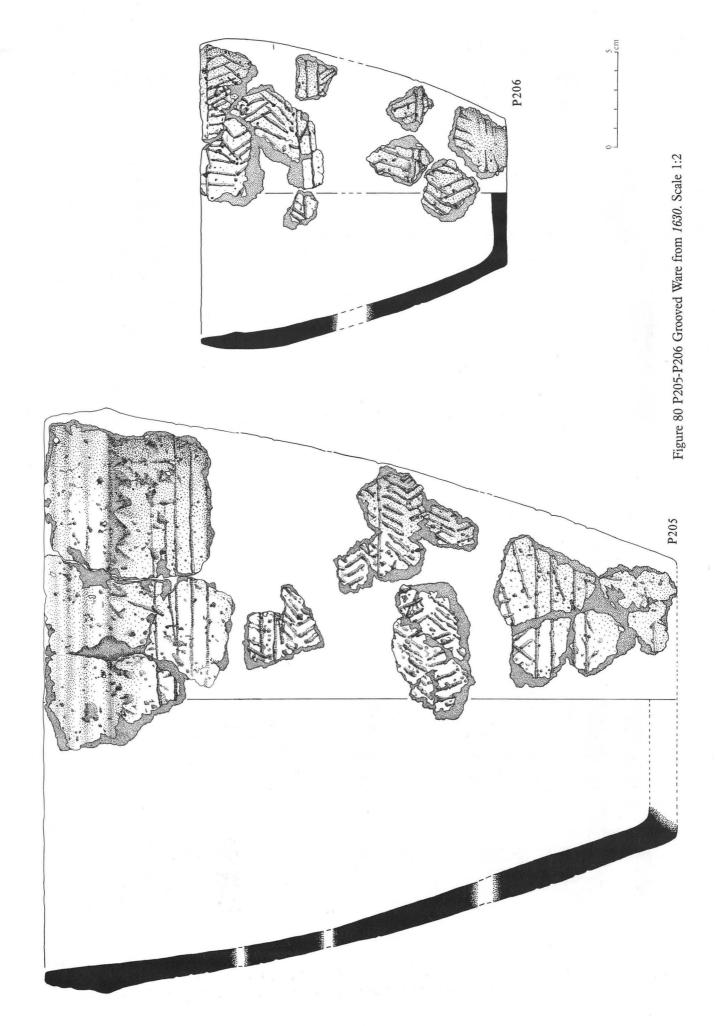
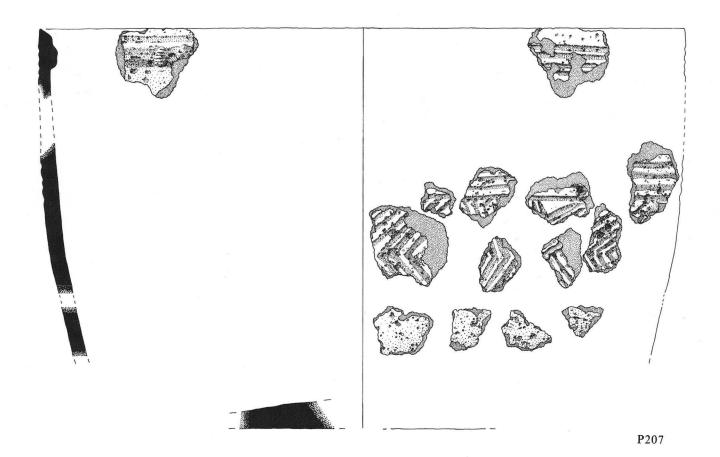


Figure 79 P198-P200 Peterborough Ware (P198 from 604, P199 from 1131, P200 from 1290), P201-P204 Grooved Ware (P201 from 323+ 324 + 582 + inhumation 24, P202 from 323, P203 from 941, P204 from 1211). Scale 1:2





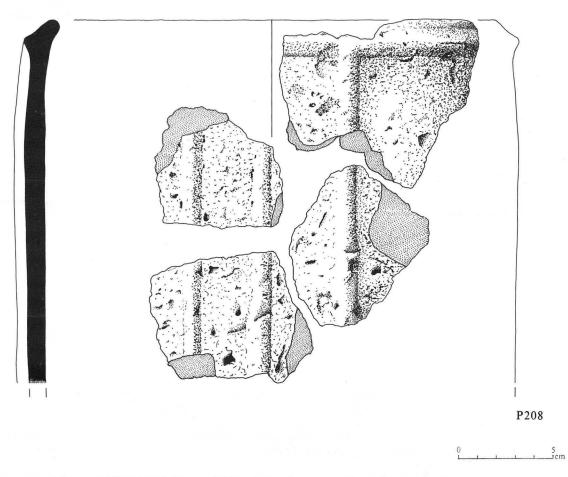


Figure 81 P207-P208 Grooved Ware (P207 from 1718, P208 from 2677. Scale 1:2

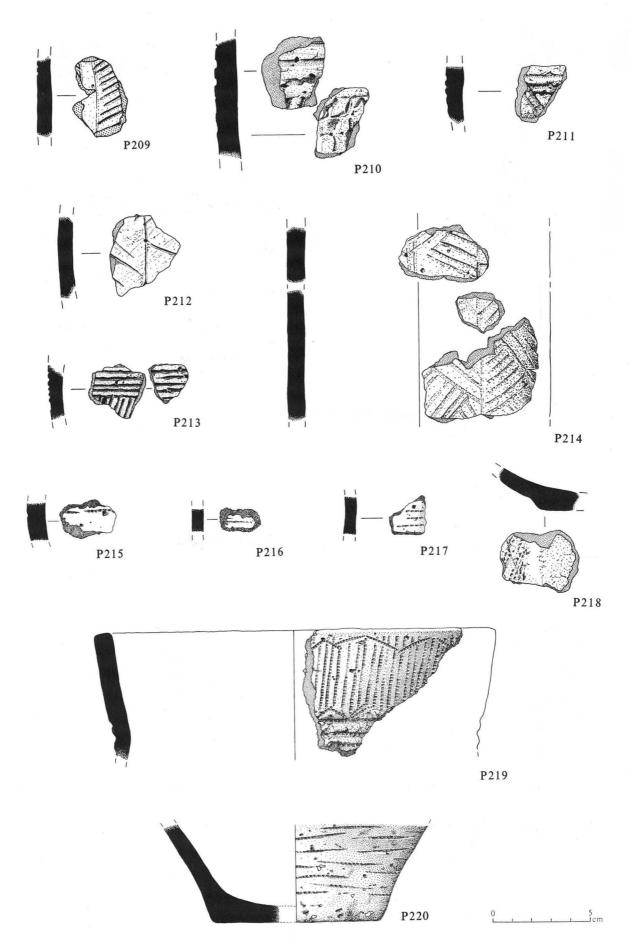


Figure 82 P209-P214 Grooved Ware (P209 from 2091, P210-P211 from 2594, P212-P213 from 2681, P214 from 2681+2683), P215-P220 Beaker (P215- P216 from 773, P217 from 787, P218 from 1186, P219-P220 from 1196. Scale 1:2

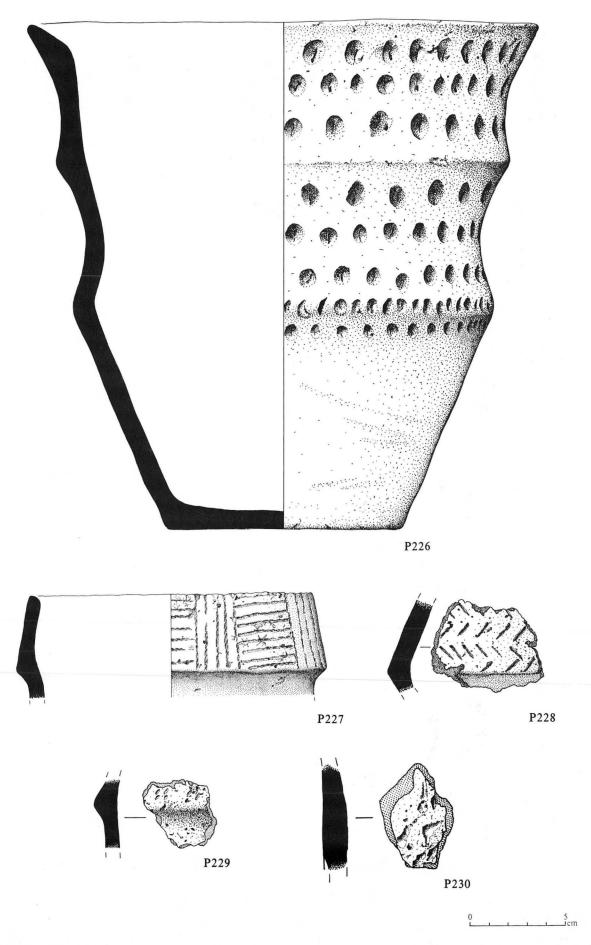


Figure 83 P221-P223 Beaker (P221 from 1196, P222 from 1783, P223 from 3600), P224-P225 Early Bronze Age (both from 123). Scale 1:2

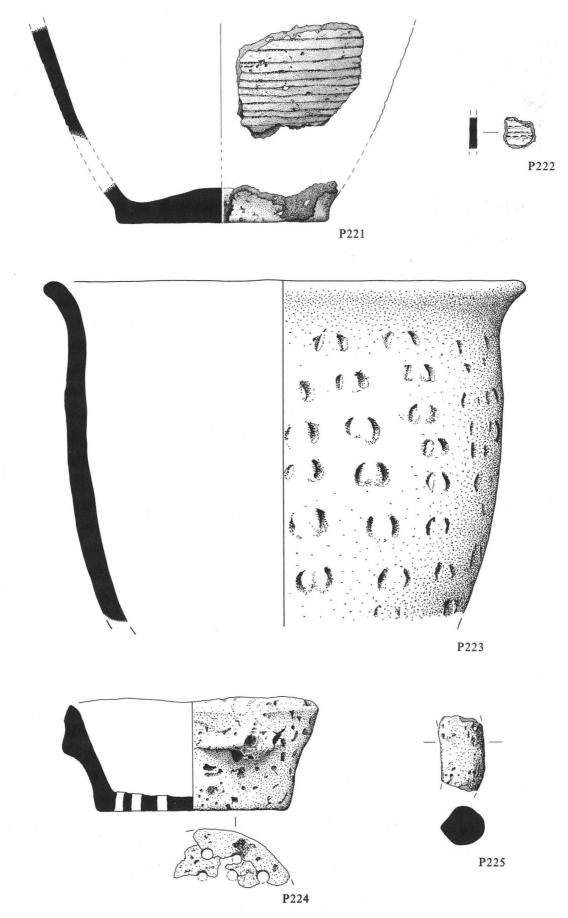


Figure 84 P226 Food Vessel Urn (from 123), P227-P229 Collared Urn (from 1584), P230 ?Collared Urn (from 1584). Scale 1:2

P212 Grooved Ware (?Durrington Walls sub-style). Sand with some flint; medium; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (buff-grey); core 5YR 3/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). incision. From area of concentration 6. 2681 (UD). Co-ordinates: 169 405.

P213 Grooved Ware (?Durrington Walls sub-style). Grog with some sand and vacuoles; medium; soft. Ext. 5YR 6/6 (orange-buff); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 3/1 (grey). Grooving. From area of concentration 6; organic residue. 2681 (UD). Co-ordinates: 169 405.

P214 Grooved Ware (Durrington Walls sub-style). Grog with sand and some flint; medium; soft. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Grooving. From area of concentration 6; organic residue. 2681 (UD), 2683 (UD). Coordinates: 169 405, 168 405.

P215 Beaker. Grog with sand and some flint; medium; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (buff-orange); core 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey); int. 5YR 5/4 (buff). Comb impression. 773 (UD). Co-ordinates: 229 447.

P216 Beaker. Sand with some flint; medium; medium, friable. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (brown orange); core 5YR 4/6 (brown-orange); int. 5YR 4/4 (brown-orange). Comb-impression. Abraded. 773 (UD). Co-

ordinates: 229 447.

P217 Beaker. Grog with sand and vacuoles; medium; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (buff); core 7.5YR 5/4 (buff); int. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff). Comb impression. 787 (LNEBA). Co-ordinates: 228 447.

P218 Beaker. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (buff-grey); core 7.5YR 5/2 (buff-grey); int. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-grey). Comb-impression. 1186 (US). Co-ordinates: 188 429.

**P219 Beaker** (N3-4/step 5/Late). Grog with some flint and some sand; medium; medium. Ext. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff); core 7.5YR 4/0 (grey); int. 7.5 YR 5/4. Comb-impression. Internal blackening. 1196 (LNEBA). Co-ordinates: 198 438.

P220 Beaker. Grog with some flint and some sand; coarse; medium. Ext. 7.5YR 6/8 (orange-buff); core 7.5YR 4/0 (grey); int. 7.5YR 6/6 (buff). Comb-impression. 1196 (LNEBA). Co-ordinates: 198

P221 Beaker. Grog with some flint and some sand; medium; medium. Ext. 7.5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); core 7.5 YR 4/2 (browngrey); int. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff). Comb-impression. 1196 (LNEBA). Co-ordinates: 198 438.

P222 Beaker. Flint and sand; fine; medium. Ext. 7.5YR 4/2 (buff-

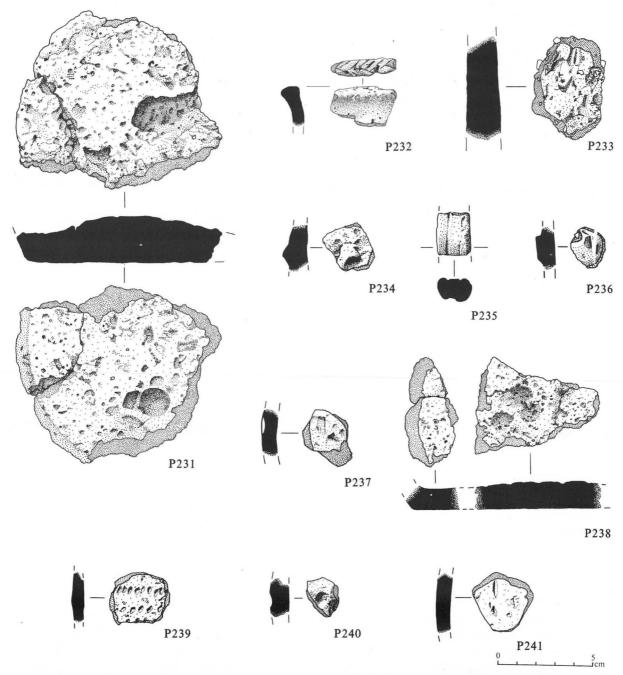


Figure 85 P231 ?Collared Urn (from 1584), P232-P241 indeterminate Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age (P232-P233 from 123, P234 from 238, P235 from 238-239, P236 from 250, P237 from 263, P238 from 307, P239 from 394, P240 from 314, P241 from 3216. Scale 1:2

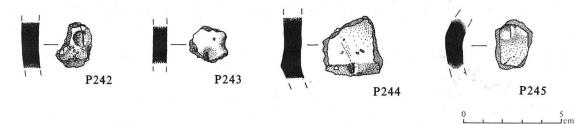


Figure 86 P242-P245 indeterminate prehistoric pottery, ?Late Bronze/Early Iron Age (P242 from 342, P243 from 925, P245 from 2312. Scale 1:2

- brown); core 7.5YR 5/2 (buff-brown); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (buff-brown). Twisted cord-impression. From area of concentration 5. 1783 (PG). Co-ordinates: 263 482.
- P223 Beaker. Flint and sand; coarse; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 4/4 (orange); core 5YR 5/3 (buff-grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). Finger-pinching. 3600 (LNEBA, fill of 3599), 3671 (US). Co-ordinates: 113 462, 110 460.
- **P224 Pygmy vessel.** Grog with some sand, flint, vacuoles, and ?mica; coarse, friable; soft. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); core 5YR 5/4 (buff); int. 5YR 6/6 (buff). Perforation before firing, ?applique. 123 (LNEBA). Co-ordinates: 147 483.
- P225 Early Bronze Age. Grog with some sand, flint, and vacuoles; coarse, friable; soft. Ext. 5YR 6/6 (buff); core 5YR 5/4 (buffbrown). Handle frag., ?part of P226. 123 (LNEBA). Coordinates: 147 483.
- **P226 Food Vessel Urn.** Grog with some sand, flint and vacuoles; coarse, friable; soft. *Ext.* 5YR 6/4 (buff); *core* 5YR 4/2 (greybrown); *int.* 5YR 6/4 (buff). Finger-tip impression; coil-built. 123 (LNEBA). *Co-ordinates:* 147 483.
- P227 Collared Urn. Grog with some sand and some vacuoles; medium; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/4 (buff-grey). Twisted cord impression. Longworth cat. no. 963. 1584 (LNEBA). Co-ordinates: 256 466.
- P228 Collared Urn. Grog with some sand and some vacuoles; medium; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange); core 5YR 4/2 (greybrown); int. 5YR 4/2 (greybrown). Incision. Cereal impression (Appendix III, microfiche). Longworth cat. no. 964. 1584 (LNEBA). Co-ordinates: 256 466.
- P229 Collared Urn. Grog with some sand and some vacuoles; coarse; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (orange-buff); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/4 (orange-buff). Twisted cord impression. Longworth cat. no. 965. 1584 (LNEBA). Co-ordinates: 256 466.
- P230 ?Collared Urn. Grog with some sand and some vacuoles; coarse; soft. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/4 (grey-buff). ?Twisted cord impression (abraded). 1584 (LNEBA). Co-ordinates: 256 466.
- P231 ?Collared Urn. Grog with some sand and some vacuoles; coarse; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange); core 5YR 4/2 (browngrey); int. 7.5YR 5/4 (buff-grey). Base frag. Longworth cat. no. 966. 1584 (LNEBA). Co-ordinates: 256 466.
- P232 Indeterminate Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age. Sand with some flint and some vacuoles; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange); core 5YR 4/3 (buff-grey); int. 5YR 5/4 (buff). Incision. Abraded. 22 (PG). Co-ordinates: 159 437.
- P233 Indeterminate Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age. Flint with some sand; coarse; hard, friable. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange); core 5YR 5/3 (brown-grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey). Finger-pinching. ?Cereal impression (Appendix III, microfiche). 22 (PG) Coordinates: 159 437.

- P234 Indeterminate Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/4 (brown-orange); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/4 (brown-orange). Finger-pinching. From area of Fig. 24 and concentration 8. 238 (US). Coordinates: 165 475.
- P235 Indeterminate Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age. Sand; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 6/6 (buff-orange); core 5YR 5/1 (grey). Parcision (abraded). From area of concentration 8; handle frag. 238-239 (US). Co-ordinates: 165 475 (centre).
- P236 Indeterminate Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (brown-orange); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). Finger-pinching. From area of concentration 8. 250 (US). Co-ordinates: 170 475.
- P237 Indeterminate Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age. Sand with some flint; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/4 (buff-grey). Finger-pinching. From area of concentration 8. 263 (US). Co-ordinates: 175 470.
- P238 Indeterminate Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age. Grog with some sand and some vacuoles; coarse; medium. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (buff-grey); core 5YR 3/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/4 (buff-grey). Base frags with int. finger-tipping. 307 (US). Co-ordinates: 190 430
- P239 Indeterminate Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age. Sand with some flint and grog; fine; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (buff); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 5/4 (buff). Impression. 394 (R-B/ES). Co-ordinates: 180 434 (centre).
- P240 Indeterminate Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 4/6 (orange); core 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Finger-pinching. 2318 (R-B). Co-ordinates: 197 420.
- P241 Indeterminate Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age. Sand with some flint and some ?chalk; medium; hard. Ext. 2.5YR 5/6 (orange); core 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown); int. 5YR 5/3 (buff-brown). Finger-nail impression. 3216 (UD). Co-ordinates: 128 493.
- P242 ?Late Bronze/Early Iron Age. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 7.5 YR 5/2 (buff-brown); core 7.5YR 3/0 (grey); int. 7.5YR 4/2 (brown-grey). Finger-tip impression. 342 (US). Co-ordinates: 205 435.
- P243 ?Late Bronze/Early Iron Age. Sand with some flint; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/6 (orange-buff); core 5YR 4/3 (grey); int. 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown). Finger-tip impression. 641 (US). Coordinates: 230 480.
- P244 ?Late Bronze/Early Iron Age. Flint with some sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 5/4 (brown-grey); core 5YR 5/2 (grey); int. 5YR 4/1 (grey). Finger-tip impression. 925 (R-B). Coordinates: 225 480 (centre).
- P245 ?Late Bronze/Early Iron Age. Flint and sand; medium; hard. Ext. 5YR 4/2 (grey-brown); core 5YR 4/1 (grey); int. 5YR 3/1 (grey). Finger-tip impression. 2312 (M). Co-ordinates: 197 428.

# 4. Zoological and Botanical Evidence

# I. Cremated Bone from Pit 23

by Julie Bond

Six fragments of cremated bone, weighing 3 g, were recovered from the pit. The only confidently-identifiable fragment is the proximal end of a sheep metatarsal. The form of the remainder is suggestive of sheep femur, although they are unusually small. This may, however, be due to the effects of heat and/or shrinkage. There are no butchery or gnawing marks.

## II. Botanical Evidence (Summary)

(Appendix III, microfiche; Pl. XI) by Peter Murphy

#### **Flotation**

3367

Flotation of approximately 415 litres of fill yielded large quantities of pine charcoal (*Pinus* sp.) and smaller quantities of oak (*Quercus* sp.), together with a few intrusive carbonised cereal grains.

Earlier Neolithic features: Flotation of smaller samples from Neolithic fills yielded a wheat caryopsis (*Triticum* sp.) and two indeterminate cereal caryopses from feature group D, and a further indeterminate cereal caryopsis from Later Neolithic pit 941. Both also produced fragments of hazelnut shell (*Corylus avellana*), as did 1484, a layer of

periglacial formation 1459 within feature group E, which contained exclusively Neolithic artefacts.

#### Plant impressions on pottery

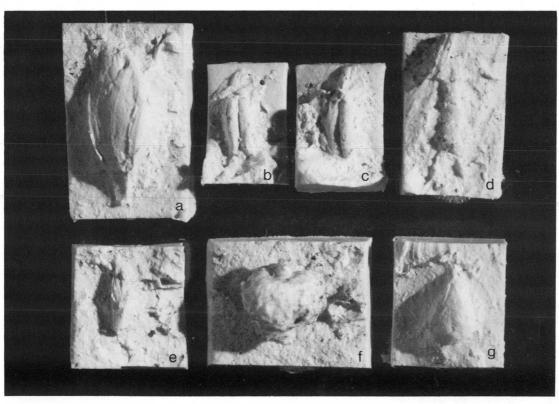
All pre-Iron Age sherds were examined for plant impressions.

#### Earlier Neolithic

Impressions of grains and spikelet fragments of wheats, including emmer (*Triticum dicoccum*), were identified on sherds of Mildenhall and related wares from feature groups A (Pl. XI:a), B (Pl. XI:e), D and E, as well as on sherds of Grimston and related wares from isolated feature 2618 (Pl. XI:b, c). The only barley (*Hordeum* sp.) impression was on a sherd from feature group D (Pl. XI:d). There were single impressions of a crab apple seed (*Malus sylvestris*) from feature group A (Pl. XI:g) and of an immature acorn and cupule (*Quercus* sp.) from the area of feature group E (Pl. XI:f).

# Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age

The only plant impressions identified on later pottery were single indeterminate cereal impressions on a Collared Urn sherd (P228) and a rusticated body sherd (P233), an indeterminate seed impression on a rusticated Beaker (P223), and an indeterminate wheat impression on a body sherd probably of Later Neolithic or Early Bronze Age fabric excavated in 1968.



0 5mm

Plate XI Casts of some impressions of plant material on Earlier Neolithic pottery: a. Triticum dicoccum. Spikelet of emmer wheat. 24; b, c. Triticum sp. Wheat grains (emmer type). 2618; d. cf. Hordeum sp. Indistinct impression probably of barley rachis internodes. 776 (P84); e. Triticum dicoccum. Impression of glume. 3083; f. Quercus sp. Immature acorn and cupule. 1270 (P152); g. Malus sylvestris. Apple seed. 18

# 5. In Conclusion . . .

## I. Discussion and Synthesis

#### Mesolithic

It is impossible to tell if the Mesolithic material scattered over the excavated area (Figs 29, 40) represents one episode or many (Chapter 3). The three radiocarbon determinations relating to the period are, however, indistinguishable, with a weighted mean of  $8235 \pm 60$  BP (Table 63: HAR-7063, -7025, -2903) and were made on samples obtained from the extreme east and west of the excavated area (Fig. 29). Of the features from which the samples came, 3367 (Figs 25, 27) was a probably natural hollow which contained typologically Mesolithic material (including L13-L20 and L23-L25), large quantities of pine charcoal and evidence of in situ burning. 1334 (Figs 13, 14) was of uncertain date because, although it also yielded large quantities of pine charcoal and evidence of in situ burning, it neither contained nor was close to any contemporary artefacts (Fig. 29), and was in doubtful stratigraphic relationship to deposits containing Neolithic material (Chapter 2). 3644 (Figs 15, 16) was, on the evidence of the artefacts found in it, almost certainly a Neolithic feature containing residual charcoal (Chapter 2).

Peter Murphy sees the contemporary hillside as 'covered with mainly pine woodland growing on the hummocks and hollows left after partial infilling of periglacial features. Whether the charcoal and other evidence of burning indicate woodland clearance or domestic hearths is uncertain, though pine woods on dry soil could be considered a "fragile ecosystem" (Simmons et al. 1981, 109), vulnerable to the effects of fire and hence easily destroyed or modified by hunter-gather groups' (Appendix III, microfiche). The dispersal of three indistinguishable determinations over the excavated area (Fig. 29) would be compatible with the generation of the

samples on which they were made during a single woodland fire. Mellars has documented (1976) the systematic use of fire by hunter-gatherers in afforested, including coniferous, environments to bring about short-term improvements in pasture, browse, herbivore carrying capacity, vegetable food supply, and human mobility and efficiency.

The evidence from Spong Hill might, as far as it goes, be more suggestive of activities of this kind than of sustained occupation. Two of the radiocarbon determinations are unassociated with contemporary artefacts, such as might be expected in a domestic context. In the case of the third, the small assemblage from 3367 is dominated by microliths and debitage (Table 18, microfiche), with scarcely any of the range of implements found on apparent occupation sites such as The Carr, Wangford, Suffolk, where a similar quantity of microliths was out-numbered by non-microlithic retouched forms (Jacobi 1984, table 4.4). The 3367 material could be seen as representing the discard and replacement of projectile armature, without the execution of a wide range of tasks.

#### **Earlier Neolithic**

#### Time-scale

Three radiocarbon determinations (BM-1533, -1534, -1535; Table 63) indicate that Neolithic occupation had begun by the early third millennium BC. They relate, however, only to one group of pits and post-holes (feature group A) and to an isolated pit (118). The absence of determinations for other contexts, especially the other feature groups, is particularly regrettable, because distinctions between the assemblages from them suggest that each may have been the residue of a separate episode. Among the lithic material, blade frequency and other

Measurement	calibration	lab. no.	context
8280 ± 80 PB		HAR-7063	charcoal from 3594, a contorted layer of burnt sand and gravel immediately
(6330 BC)			below the topmost fill of 3367, which contained burnt earth and Mesolithic
			material. Sample taken from SE quadrant (3408).
$8250 \pm 90 \text{ BP}$		HAR-7025	charcoal from 3645, the fill of pit 3644, which contained a small sherd of
(6320 BC)			Mildenhall Ware (P179) and apparently Neolithic struck flint, including L75-L76.
$8150 \pm 100 \text{ BP}$		HAR-2903	charcoal from mature conifer (probably Pinus sp.) timbers, from 1334, a
(6200 BC)			hearth or oven of uncertain date.
4990 ± 80 BP	3990-3640	BM-1535	charcoal from base of pit 118, associated with undecorated bowl sherds and
(3040 BC)	Cal BC		stuck flint
$4950 \pm 120 \text{ BP}$	4000-3510	BM-1534	bulked sample of charcoal from features 3, 4, 7, 8, 16, 24 and 32 in group A
(3000 BC)	Cal BC		and from nearby periglacial formations 36 and 49, associated with plain and Mildenhall style Earlier Neolithic pottery
4650 ± 80 BP	3620-3020	BM-1533	bulked sample of charcoal from features 9, 12 and 20 in group A and from
(2700 BC)	Cal BC		nearby periglacial formations 17 and 18, associated with plain and Mildenhal style Earlier Neolithic pottery
Weighted mean of BM-	$1534$ and : $4757 \pm 14$	5 BP (2807 BC; 39	930-3100 Cal BC)
3810±70 BP	2470-2040	BM-1532	charcoal and nutshell from pit 123, associated with a Food Vessel Urn
(1860 BC)	Cal BC		and a pygmy vessel
3700 ± 90 BP	2450-1780	BM-1537	charcoal and burnt acorns from pit 10, adjacent to pit 123
(1750 BC)	Cal BC		
Weighted mean of BM-	1532 and BM-1537: 3	$765 \pm 70 \text{ BP} (1815)$	5 BC; 2460-1980 Cal BC)
3440 ± 90 BP	2040-1510	HAR-2901	charcoal from pit 1584. associated with Collared Urn sherds
(1490 BC)	Cal BC		
Calibrations of dates le	ater than c.8000 BP a	re derived from th	e curve of Pearson et al. (1986), employing a confidence range of 95% or two

Table 63 List of radiocarbon determinations

aspects of knapping practice vary substantially between groups (Figs 33-6). In particular, the debitage of groups B and E, although by no means identical, stands out by several characteristics best matched in industries of the later third and early second millennia BC. The pottery assemblages from the feature groups and their immediate areas are even more clearly distinguished (Figs 55-60), both in form and in type and frequency of decoration. Groups B and E again stand out, this time by the presence in them, among Mildenhall style and related plain bowls, of so far unparalleled bowls with generally patternless roughened surfaces (e.g. P41-P43, P49, P132, P141, P155), apparently akin to the florid, plastic decorative traditions of the late third and early second millennia BC. In sum, the assemblages from feature groups B and E seem, on technological and stylistic grounds, to date from the mid third millennium BC or rather later, reflecting the emergence of the lithic and ceramic traditions of the Later Neolithic.

If this is the case, then feature groups A to E would span more than 500 years. The five groups within the excavated area might each be the residue of a distinct, short-lived, small-scale occupation, separated from the next by as much as a century. The late fourth millennium BC origins and apparent longevity of the Mildenhall style (Chapter 3) would accommodate such an interpretation.

Environment, economy, and land use

By c.3000 BC (3750 Cal BC) local woodland would, on the evidence of national trends, have been deciduous, perhaps composed predominantly of lime and oak, with abundant alder and hazel (Birks, Deacon and Peglar 1975). The extent to which it would have survived on the hillside over the following centuries is debatable. Cereal cultivation is demonstrated by grain impressions on pottery from feature groups A, B, D, and E, and from isolated features (Appendix III, microfiche). It may also be reflected in the presence of probable quern fragments in feature group B. Crops were apparently grown on the spot: the accumulation of Earlier Neolithic and Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery in the still-hollow tops of periglacial formations, to the near-exclusion of later wares (Fig. 28), indicates that hollows all over the excavated area were filled-in and levelled by the time of the late pre-Roman Iron Age occupation, if not before. Neolithic and Bronze Age cultivation seems the most likely cause.

Proximity of settlement and arable in this period is evidenced more clearly at Etton, Cambridgeshire, where pollen analysis and topographic considerations have indicated that cereals were grown within the causewayed enclosure (Scaife 1985, 292), and at the multiperiod occupation site of Bishopstone, Sussex, where lynchetformation seems to have begun during the Neolithic (Bell 1977, 251-73). If the third millennium BC occupation of Spong Hill was indeed discontinuous and small-scale, then the contemporary hillside may have supported a mosaic of uncleared woodland, regenerating woodland, arable, pasture, and scrub, like that envisaged by A.G. Smith (1981, 207).

#### Structures

The problems of interpreting a rectangular arrangement of post-holes, measuring approximately 10 m x 6.5 m, in feature group A (Pl. II, Figs 6-7) are itemized in Chapter 2. On the one hand, its irregularities make it unlikely to have been a roofed building. On the other hand, this very

possibility is heightened by similarities in plan and sometimes dimensions to more convincing, broadly contemporary structures elsewhere. Examples within eastern England include a structure represented by postholes and bedding trenches and measuring approximately 8.5 m x 7 m, at Fengate, Cambridgeshire (Pryor 1974a, 6-8), another supported by posts set in a clay-lined bedding trench and measuring at least 8 m x 3 m at Tattershall Thorpe, Lincolnshire (Chowne 1982 and pers. comm.), and particularly well-preserved rectangular structures, one of them measuring 15 m x 5 m, at Lismore Fields, Buxton, Derbyshire (Garton 1987).

The only other surviving structure on Spong Hill was a staggered row, approximately 4m long, of six or seven post-holes in feature group E (Figs 13-14). They were of far more consistent size, profile and fill than those of the setting in feature group A. They may have represented one side of a building, since they lay only 2.5m from the east edge of the excavated area. Alternatively, they may have held the posts of a short fence.

#### Pits

The prevalence of pits on Neolithic sites in southern and eastern England, and their tendency to occur in clusters, was pointed out by Clark (1960, 208-11) who argued, followed by I.F. Smith (1964), that they were dug for grain storage. The interpretation has become customary, and is supported by Reynolds' (1974) demonstration of its feasibility, at least for the generally larger pits of the Iron Age. Nonetheless, the wide size range of fourth and early to mid third millennium BC pits suggests that they may have had more than one function, an impression heightened by evidence for the former presence of square, wooden containers in only six of the sixty-seven pits excavated on Broome Heath, Ditchingham (Site 1062; Wainwright 1972, 18), which suggests that these were used for a distinct purpose. Ellison and Drewett (1971, 183-5) draw on the ethnographic record to list a variety of materials, from furs to tubers, which might have been stored in British Iron Age pits. Most would be equally appropriate for the Neolithic. On gravel sites, like Spong Hill or Broome Heath, some pits may have been dug to win a relatively fresh supply of flint, or gravel with which to level hollows. This would not, however, apply on all subsoils, and cannot apply in the case of intersecting pits in feature groups A, B, D, and E (Figs 6-7, 8-9, 11-12, 13-14). Here, the cutting of pits largely or partly through the fills of others suggests that the pits themselves were more important than the material into which they were dug. Similarity of composition and condition between artefacts from intersecting pits suggests that only a little time intervened between their excavation. Intersections seem to have been rarer elsewhere: the published plan of Hurst Fen shows two intersections among 200 pits (Clark 1960, pl. XXVI), and the plan of Broome Heath, Ditchingham (Site 10602) also suggests a low number. The intersections here seem to have been similar to those on Spong Hill: 'a number of pits had been recut, but the finds do not suggest any change in material culture' (Wainwright 1972, 19, fig. 2).

The Spong Hill pit fills have been divided into two groups (Table 11, microfiche), one of relatively clean redeposited sand and gravel with few or no artefacts, the other, far more numerous, of dark, loamy material, often very artefact-rich. More than one layer of fill was rarely recorded in a pit, and very few showed any sign of initial

sand and gravel silting. Given the instability of the subsoil, this would suggest that pits were back-filled soon after excavation, or, if they stood open for any length of time, were covered, retained by their contents, or both. Most of the few pits with more than one layer of fill do show initial silting (e.g. 3080 (Fig. 9), 798 and 799 (Fig. 12), and 3644 (Fig. 16), suggesting that they stood open, not necessarily for long, before being backfilled or silting up. 798 is exceptional in also having an upper fill of sand and gravel, and may have been deliberately levelled.

The small number of fairly clean sand and gravel fills would be compatible either with deliberate backfilling or with silting from the sides and from the originallyexcavated subsoil. The much larger number of dark, loamy fills might seem, at first sight, to have derived from contemporary topsoil, silting both from the upper parts of the sides and from the originally-excavated spoil. This does not accord, however, with the general absence of sand and gravel silting, or with the condition of most of the contained artefacts. Rosemary Bradley remarks that lithic material from feature group B 'is exceptionally wellpreserved, and the flint in many cases appears as if it was knapped yesterday', one scraper in particular (Pl. IV; Fig. 43:3080.34) seems to have undergone no abrasion since manufacture: 'when the retouched dorsal face is viewed end-on the freshness of the flake scars is evident. Halfdetached flakelets remain with the white, partially-cracked portion staying in place, the arrises between them fresh, angular' (Appendix II, microfiche). and Macroscopically, most of the struck flint from Earlier Neolithic features elsewhere on the site seems to be in comparable condition, conspicuously fresher, more matt, and sharper than that from residual and unstratified contexts. Most of the associated pottery, although fragmentary, is similarly well-preserved. The delicate, shallow channelling characteristic of the Mildenhall style is, for example, clear and fresh on sherds from the pits and post-holes of feature group A (e.g. P20, P23) but abraded to near-invisibility on P30 and P31, sherds from other contexts in the same area.

The material from the features can have been very little moved, and is unlikely to have been subjected to weathering, trampling, or cultivation in a Neolithic topsoil. Its condition would be compatible with the direct deposition of debris into pits or with their backfilling with accumulated midden material. Either would account for the correspondence of high artefact densities and dark, loamy fills, since the latter could derive largely from accompanying organic material. Both would also be consistent with the sporadic presence in pit fills of charcoal, 'pot-boilers' and burnt flint, generally with no sign of in situ burning. The distribution of sherds of single pots among several features in groups A, B, and D (P23, P49, P84, P86) suggests that the features of a group may have been backfilled from a common source. At Hurst Fen, Mildenhall, Suffolk, sherds of some pots were similarly recognised in different pits within a cluster (Clark 1960, appendix I). On Spong Hill, sherds of single vessels (P10, P15, P20, P130) were also recovered from features in groups A and E and from the tops of nearby periglacial formations, suggesting that any hollows, natural or artificial, in an area may have been filled together. Neolithic material from periglacial formations is often, indeed, in as good or almost as good condition as that from cut features.

As far as the evidence goes, it indicates that pits,

freshly dug or freshly emptied of their contents, were filled with occupation debris. The rarity of initial silting and of differentiated layers suggests a single backfilling, rather than gradual accumulation, as does the state of most of the contained artefacts. The area of a pit cluster, full of natural and artificial hollows, might have been levelled with midden material in a single operation, as it passed out of occupation. Such a practice would only be sensible if the land was to be turned to fallow, pasture or cultivation: a hazard to people and stock and an obstacle to agriculture, in the form of open pits and hollows, would be eliminated, and the area would be fertilized. It might further accord with the almost exclusively Neolithic date of the artefacts from the 'spread' occupying undulations in the surface of the natural sand and gravel in the area of feature group E, and with its apparent continuity with the fills of some Neolithic features. It would also remove an obstacle to the interpretation of features with dark, artefact-rich fills as post-holes, if structures were dismantled before a recently occupied area was levelled.

In these circumstances, a minority of the artefacts incorporated in midden material would be introduced onto and eventually into contemporary and subsequent soils, the majority would be preserved in the fills of features and hollows. This matches surprisingly closely the picture presented by Figure 32, which shows that lithic concentrations 1-5, all of predominantly Earlier Neolithic composition, and all, except concentration 5, focussed on feature groups, were mainly recovered not from the base of the modern soil, where objects discarded on a Neolithic land surface might be expected to be found, but from periglacial and other natural formations and from later archaeological features. If the scenario outlined above is valid, the first are the contexts into which they would originally have been deposited, the second those into which they would have been incorporated as Neolithic features and natural formations were progressively cut into or destroyed. Most Earlier Neolithic pottery from the areas around the feature groups is likewise from periglacial and later archaeological contexts.

Almost all the surviving artefacts from third millennium contexts on Spong Hill could have been made from raw materials available on or close to the site. Certain and possible exceptions are small quantities of fresh chalk flint and erratic 'Lincolnshire' flint (Tables 16-17, microfiche), which could have been brought from elsewhere within East Anglia, and a flake of rhyolitic tuff which, if struck from an imported implement rather than from an erratic, could represent the import of that implement from Wales, Cumbria, or Scotland (Appendix I, microfiche).

The possibility of the import of stone implements to the site is heightened by the chance discovery of a Cornish group I axe (petrology no. N224) with a polished flint axe at the north edge of the alluvium of the Blackwater valley some 600 m west of the excavated area (Site 11844; Table 1, microfiche). Stone axes are relatively rare in Norfolk east of the mid-Anglia watershed (Cummins 1979, fig. 1; Healy 1984b, 121-3, fig. 5.12). Their presence and that of certain elaborately-retouched flint implements in contemporary assemblages has been linked by Bradley (1984, 25-33) with that of decorated bowl styles, including Mildenhall Ware, the combination being suggested as indicative of high status sites. The Spong Hill data used in his analyses (1984, fig. 2.5) resulted from a preliminary assessment of a part of the collection (Healy 1980), made when less than

half the final area had been excavated. The frequency of arrowheads and axes or axe fragments in the feature groups now defined is lower than in the groupings then used. The frequency of decorated vessels, however, remains high, although it varies substantially between feature groups (Fig. 57).

In East Anglia, as elsewhere in Britain, decorated bowl styles and the concurrent, virtually undecorated Grimston tradition tend to occur on separate sites (Healy 1984b, 101). The most striking instance is the mutually exclusive occurrence of Mildenhall Ware in the Etton causewayed enclosure and of Grimston Ware in the Etton Woodgate enclosure less than 100 m away (Pryor, French and Taylor 1985). On Spong Hill, although both occurred within the excavated area, they remained segregated. Grimston Ware was found only in a few isolated pits, away from the feature groups (Figs 52, 53). Its mode of occurrence further differed in that lithic material was scant or absent in the pits concerned (1321, 2618, 2792, and 3072; Table 31, microfiche), with the possible exception of 2618, from which 'worked flint' was recorded but cannot now be found.

### Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age

The earlier segregation of Grimston and Mildenhall Wares is mirrored and magnified in that of the pottery styles of the late third and the second millennium BC, which were consistently found in separate features (Fig. 77), their separateness emphasised by distinctions of fabric (Fig. 78). Such segregation is usual throughout East Anglia (Cleal 1984, 138) and beyond, despite the partial contemporaneity of the styles concerned. Features of this phase were generally isolated. They may be divided into two classes on the evidence of their contents.

Those of the first class contained substantial fragments of between one and three pots, associated with no, or very little, lithic material. They comprised 1196 (sherds of three Beakers (P219-P221) and a probably residual, heavily-patinated flint flake), 1584 (sherds of at least three collared urns (P237-P231), 1630 (sherds of two Grooved Ware vessels (P205-P206)), and 3599 (most of a rusticated Beaker (P223) and some grogged sherds). Almost certainly related are the deposition of most of a Mortlake style bowl (P199) and of sherds of a Grooved Ware vessel (P207) in the tops of periglacial formations 1131 and 1718, and, perhaps, sherds of another Grooved Ware vessel (P208) in amorphous disturbance 2677. Pottery from all these contexts is characterised by the presence of one or very few vessels, which are semireconstructable by virtue of large sherd size and good preservation. This holds true despite the extreme friability of all but the Beaker fabrics.

In contrast, features of the second class contained very few artefacts, characteristically one or two small sherds and pieces of struck flint. They comprised 33 (two small grogged sherds), 701/1172 (three vacuous sherds and a flint flake), 787 (four small sherds, one of them of Beaker, a residual microlith and a possibly residual flint blade), 941 (a small Grooved Ware sherd (P203), and three fragments of fired clay or, probably, burnt earth), 1130 (six small grogged sherds), and 1211 (one Grooved Ware sherd (P204) and one flint-tempered sherd).

The two classes contrast not only with each other but with the Earlier Neolithic features, often clustered in groups, sometimes with traces of structures, rich in lithic material, and containing more fragmentary, though wellpreserved, sherds of seldom-reconstructable pots, some of them represented in several features. A further contrast between the periods lies in the spatial relationship, or lack of it, between features and contemporary unstratified or residual material. A higher proportion of Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery than of Earlier Neolithic pottery was found outside contemporary features, and its distribution showed little relation to them (Fig. 77), in contrast to that of unstratified and residual Earlier Neolithic pottery, which was tightly concentrated around feature groups (Fig. 52). Similarly, concentrations 6-8, all of predominantly Later Neolithic or Early Bronze Age composition (Chapter 3), showed little relation to contemporary features, corresponding instead to concentrations of unstratified and residual sherds (Figs 4, 31, 77).

In other words, debris of the kind which was deposited in pits and hollows during the Earlier Neolithic, seems, from the late third millennium BC onwards, to have been discarded onto the then land surface or onto middens subsequently spread over it. Whatever activities were carried out on the hillside, they involved the excavation of far fewer subsoil features and apparently took place apart from them. Artefacts surviving in the features were either selected and well-preserved, or few and insignificant, perhaps accidentally introduced. The first group could be seen as specialized or formal deposits, of the kind discussed by Cleal, who lists East Anglian examples (1984, 148-51).

The area of Figure 17 seems, at first sight, an exception to this pattern. Here, several Later Neolithic or Early Bronze Age features (10, 121, 122, 123, and perhaps 120 and 134) were grouped together, three post-holes provided a hint of structure, the features contained a total of twenty-four pieces of struck flint and ninety-one sherds, and the group was the focus of a concentration of apparently contemporary artefacts (Fig. 22). Most of the similarities between this area and the Earlier Neolithic feature groups are, however, superficial. The surrounding artefact concentration (concentration 9) lay entirely at the base of the modern soil, while those around the Earlier Neolithic feature groups (concentrations 1-4) were recovered mainly from natural formations and later archaeological contexts (Fig. 32). Among the features, only 123 contained any quantity of artefacts. The scantv contents of the rest, totalling eighteen pieces of struck flint and two grogged sherds, place them in the second of the two classes of feature described above. There were, for example, many more artefacts around 122 than in it.

123 itself (Fig. 18) was at first thought to be a burial, because it contained cremated bone, a Food Vessel Urn (P226) apparently placed on a setting of pebbles, a miniature vessel (P224), and two particularly fine flint implements in the form of a scale-flaked scraper (L104), burnt as if it had formed part of the cremation, and an unburnt scale-flaked knife (L106). On closer inspection, however, the interpretation did not fit. There was very little cremated bone, and the most confidently-identified fragment was of ovicaprid (Chapter 4). The pit, measuring at most 1 m x 0.65 m, could scarcely have held an adult inhumation as well as its other contents. Neither pot was complete. The removal of cremated bone and sherds by the plough seems unlikely because, during excavation, the area of dark soil which contained the deposit became visible only 5-10 cm below the surviving top of the feature. The balance of probability is that 123 contained yet another formal deposit, in this case mimicing a burial.

Late third and second millennium BC domestic activity seems mainly represented, not by subsoil features and their contents, but by lithic concentrations 6-9 and their corresponding sherds. The correspondence of concentrations 6 and 7 to scatters of Grooved Ware, of concentration 8 to a scatter probably of rusticated Beaker, and of concentration 9 to 123 and its surrounding features suggests that the bulk of each may represent a separate, successive episode, as each of the Earlier Neolithic feature groups seems to do. Whether or not this is the case, Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age occupation must be severely under-represented in the excavated record. Since most of the material constituting concentrations 6-9, and many of the sherds in the corresponding scatters, were recovered from the base of the modern soil, many times more must have been machined-off before excavation began, and large amounts of friable, fragile contemporary pottery must have disintegrated in the ploughsoil long before. Sherds surviving at the base of the modern soil, as distinct from those preserved in subsoil features or natural hollows, are consistently small and abraded (e.g. P209 from the area of concentration 6, P201-P202 from the area of concentration 7, P234-P237 from the area of concentration 8).

Different patterns of behaviour in the Earlier Neolithic, on the one hand, and Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, on the other, seem to have contributed to the processes summarized schematically in Figure 87, which represents an area of the hill at the end of three episodes of occupation and at the present day, whereby material of the first period is under-represented in the ploughsoil and on the surface, and material of the second period under-represented in subsoil features.

By the time of the Early Bronze Age features and of concentrations 8-9, round barrows, now represented by ring-ditches on the north of the hill and to the east of it (Figs 2, 3), are likely to have been built. Chronological overlap between occupation and monument-building, the presence of apparently formal deposits alongside less structured debris, and increased densities of struck flint of Early Bronze Age character upslope towards the barrows (Fig. 38) combine to suggest that burial, ceremony and day-to-day living were intermingled in a small area. Construction of barrows on one of the highest parts of the hill (Fig. 3) implies that, if they were to be visible, it must by then have been largely clear of woodland. The distribution of others in the surrounding area (Fig. 2) suggests that the same may have been true of most of the local gravels.

#### Subsequent occupation

Evidence for human activity within the excavated area between the Early Bronze Age and the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age is confined to four small sherds (P242-P245) which showed no distributional focus and which may be of Late Bronze/Early Iron Age date. The locality certainly continued to be occupied. A socketed axe and spearhead were ploughed-up in the field to the north-west of Spong Hill in 1964; the ploughing-up of seven socketed axes and an ingot in another part of the same field in 1970 led to an excavation, which located the base of a pit with further bronzes, mainly socketed axes, remaining in it, approximately 1 km north-west of the excavated area; another socketed axe was subsequently found in the same

field in 1975, bringing the total of bronzes from it to fifty-one (Sites 1123, 2925, 11376; Clough and Wade-Martins 1970). A further Late Bronze Age hoard (Site 2790), including ten socketed axes, was found in the last century at an unlocated findspot in the parish of Hoe which lies within the southern part of Figure 2. It is thus possible that the pre-Iron Age levelling-up of periglacial formations within the excavated area, and the cultivation which it implies, may in part have occurred in the late second and early first millennia rather than during the Neolithic and Bronze Age occupation.

#### Caveat

It must be remembered that the sketch presented here suffers not only the limitations of the poor survival of prehistoric features and restricted survival of prehistoric artefacts usual on arid, ploughed sites, but the additional limitations of later multi-period occupation. Many traces of prehistoric activity may, although excavated and recorded, have gone unrecognised for lack of clear stratigraphic or artefactual dating.

## II. Implications

#### **Prehistoric Settlement**

Earlier Neolithic

If, as suggested above, each of the feature groups on Spong Hill indeed resulted from a separate occupation, then the same might be true of other superficially extensive sites. The frequent clustering of pits and other features would accord with such an interpretation. If accepted, it would reduce apparently large settlements, including areas of well over 1 ha at Hurst Fen and Broome Heath, to a succession of small, short-lived, perhaps family-sized, units. This would be consistent with the chronology of Broome Heath, where radiocarbon determinations indicated at least three occupations, in the mid-fourth, mid-third and late third millennia BC (Wainwright 1972, 70). The two samples from pits both gave mid-third millennium BC determinations, but this does not demonstrate that the remaining sixty-five pits were contemporary. It would equally be consistent with the results of pollen analyses of the sediments of Hockham Mere in the Norfolk Breckland, admittedly a different environment from that of Spong Hill or Broome Heath. Here, both Sims (1973, 232) and Bennett (1983, 482) interpret their results as showing successive clearance of a number of areas during the Neolithic, although they disagree as to the part these events played in the establishment of open conditions in the area.

The lack of structural evidence in most pit-clusters does not preclude their representing episodes of occupation, since the rarity of fourth and third millennium BC buildings shows that most must have left little trace in the subsoil. The few known houses often seem to have been isolated. This was certainly the case at Fengate, Cambridgeshire (Pryor 1974, 6-8) and at Ballynagilly, Co. Tyrone (ApSimon 1976), where single buildings stood alone within large areas stripped by excavation. An apparent exception is formed by Lismore Fields, Buxton, Derbyshire, where more than one house has been excavated in a limited area (Garton 1987), although it is unclear whether they were in contemporary or successive use. Single houses and, arguably, single pit clusters conform to Pryor's (1984, 203-5) view of the

western edge of the Fens in the mid-third millennium BC as the scene of 'small-scale settlement involving nuclear family units spaced around the developing Fen . . . in secondary woodland and on terrain that may well have been cleared a number of time previously'. This in turn echoes Piggott's view of thirty years before, 'Where we have information, it is . . . that of individual houses or farmsteads, not grouped into villages or hamlets' (1954, 366). The only contemporary instances of aggregated settlement may have been those enclosures with evidence for occupation.

Minimally, repeated occupation of a single area may reflect no more than preference for particular soil types, in the case of the sites discussed here of light soils formed on sands and gravels. Maximally, there is Wainwright's view of Broome Heath: 'The concept of a community revisiting the same site as part of a regular cycle is a tempting one and may be supported by the persistence of cultural traditions throughout the period. Whether the site was revisited as part of an agricultural cycle or in connection with funerary rites connected with the long barrow, or for a combination of the two reasons, it is not possible to say.' (1972, 22). On Spong Hill, where there is no obvious ceremonial focus, the persistent use of Mildenhall Ware over what seem to have been successive occupations may, like the persistent use of Grimston Ware over successive occupations on Broome Heath, have had social and territorial implications, as may the habitual segregation of the two styles.

#### Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age

Taken alone, the contrast on Spong Hill between the early to mid third millennium BC, represented largely by artefact-rich pits, and the late third and second millennium BC, represented largely by unstratified material, apparently formal deposits, and barrows, might be interpreted as reflecting change in the use of the site. Taken in the context of contemporary settlement, it might be seen as reflecting continuity. The contrast itself is a common one. It is matched closely at Tattershall Thorpe, Lincolnshire, where the Earlier Neolithic was represented by a rectangular structure and by subsoil features rich in pottery and lithic material (Chowne 1982), and the Later Neolithic and Bronze Age by a few subsoil features containing little or no lithic material, although one contained substantial fragments of a single Grooved Ware pot, and by predominantly unstratified sherds and lithic material. Here, as on Spong Hill, lithic material collected from the surface was overwhelmingly Later Neolithic to Bronze Age in character, and gave little indication that fourth millennium BC features survived in the subsoil (Chowne and Healy 1984-85; Healy 1983).

Similar situations seem to have obtained where no surface collections were made before topsoil stripping. On Eaton Heath, Norwich (Sites 9544, 9549), the Earlier Neolithic was represented by artefact-rich subsoil features and perhaps by post-built structures, the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age by an arguably formal deposit of a whole Beaker, by a few sherds of Peterborough Ware, Beaker and Food Vessel, by two oblique arrowheads, and by four nearby barrows, one of which covered a burial accompanied by a Beaker and incorporated fine and rusticated Beaker sherds at the interface of its primary and secondary mounds (Wainwright 1973; Healy 1986b). On Broome Heath, numerous Earlier Neolithic subsoil features were likewise succeeded by earthworks, in the

form of round barrows and a C-shaped enclosure, while perhaps more mundane activity was represented by artefacts alone: sherds of Peterborough Ware, Beaker and Bronze Age pottery were recovered from the interior where, of three concentrations of lithic material and pottery recognised during topsoil stripping and excavated by hand, one was of Earlier Neolithic date, and two Later Neolithic or Early Bronze Age (Wainwright 1972, 20, 61-2, 46). The situation is matched in other regions. At Bishopstone, Sussex, for example, the pits of the third millennium BC gave way to round barrows and 'a few residual artefacts and scattered features' in the second (Bell 1977, 45-8).

These repeated observations suggest behavioural changes and consequent changes in the nature of surviving archaeological evidence. Subsoil features, whatever their functions, seem to have been dug habitually from the late fourth to the later third millennium BC, and much more selectively in the following centuries. Within Norfolk, this is illustrated by the characteristics of sites plotted on respective distribution maps of Neolithic Bowl and of Beaker pottery (Healy 1984b, figs 5.1, 5.11). When causewayed enclosures, henges, barrows and stray finds are excluded, and the remaining sites, apparently settlements, compared, there is a striking difference between the two groups. Nine of the ten Earlier Neolithic sites consisted mainly of pits, but only ten of the thirty-one Beaker sites did. The majority consisted primarily of spreads of debris, sometimes including the occasional hearth or pit. They occurred where old land surfaces had been preserved, generally under earthworks or Fen peat, without which they would have been reduced to artefact concentrations like those excavated on Spong Hill. The total numbers are small, but the impression they convey is reinforced by the national picture. If the same exclusions are made from Gibson's (1982, 93-263) catalogue of finds of Beaker pottery, then only approximately a third of the English sites listed had pits. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, while a wide range of subsoil features substantial enough to survive to the present were cut on some late third and second millennium BC sites, on many others debris of the kind which would have found its way into pits a few centuries before was discarded onto the then surface.

The preservation of such deposits under barrows has often prompted the conclusion that the mounds were built over abandoned settlements, perhaps on exhausted land, away from current occupation. In Norfolk, this impression is reinforced by the coincidence of large groupings of barrows with what are now the locally poorest soils (Lawson 1981, 49-62). In Wessex, dense concentrations of barrows have been seen as marking the seasonal grazing grounds and territorial foci of pastoral communities whose members were dispersed over a wider area through much of the year (Fleming 1971).

The cases made by both Fleming and Lawson apply to particularly large, dense, barrow concentrations, often including elaborate forms of mound. It is possible that many simple bowl barrows, isolated or in small groups, were built and used within, rather than on the edge of, occupied and cultivated landscapes. When the areas around such barrows are excavated, they often produce evidence of contemporary or later activity. On Spong Hill, both apparently domestic artefact scatters and possibly formal deposits within the excavated area attest occupation into the second half of the second millennium BC, and lithic material from the surface suggests that this extended

up to and over the barrows sited farther up the slope. On Broome Heath, two Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age lithic concentrations, and sherds of Beaker and Bronze Age pottery could well be contemporary with the building of round barrows. On Eaton Heath, scattered finds of Early Bronze Age material and the sealing of fine and rusticated Beaker sherds between two phases of a barrow mound may be viewed in the same way. At Storey's Bar Road, Fengate, Cambridgeshire, a system of ditched stock enclosures remained in use through the first half of the second millennium BC, in the course of which a later Neolithic ring-ditched settlement within it was converted into a round barrow (Pryor 1978, 64-8). Second millennium BC communities often seem to have lived and farmed among their family monuments, although with frequent shifts in the precise location of occupation sites.

The significance of deposits under barrows is easily exaggerated because they are relatively well-preserved, while originally equally substantial debris dating from after a mound's construction survives, if at all, in a far more degraded state. Evidence for occupation and other activity contemporary with or post-dating barrow construction is widespread, if under-emphasised, in the literature. At Bowthorpe, Norwich (Site 11431), there was a spread of debris including sherds of Middle Beaker in uncertain stratigraphic relation to a double ring-ditch, while contexts dating from during and after the use of the barrow, notably the fills of both ditches, yielded much struck flint, most of it irregular flakes and shatter-pieces, apparently resulting from the on-site working of locallycollected cobbles (Lawson 1986, 33, 45). Several similar instances are recorded from Wessex. The flint cairn and capping of an early second millennium BC barrow in Micheldever Wood, Hampshire, provided raw material which was knapped on the berm and over the ditch of the barrow during the second half of the millennium (Fasham and Ross 1978). A Bronze Age flint industry was recovered from the middle and upper ditch silts of the Hemp Knoll barrow, Avebury, Wiltshire (Robertson-Mackay 1980, 152-9). Saville's analysis of lithic material from four further Wiltshire barrows showed that all had produced large quantities of material of Bronze Age character from construction and post-construction contexts, and prompted the tentative conclusion that 'these assemblages bear no functional relationship to the barrows from which they derive, and that they are simply the domestic refuse of persons knapping or living in the vicinity' (1980, 22). Similarly, Woodward's fieldwork in the Great Ouse valley in Bedfordshire prompted the conclusion that 'when considered with the flint distribution evidence it is perhaps more likely that ring-ditches were an intrinsic part of a settled and complex habitation focus' (1978, 50). Excavation of a group of ring-ditches at Roxton in the same area correspondingly produced a substantial volume of Bronze Age lithic material from secondary contexts, interpreted as resulting from in situ knapping and the colluvial deposition of material from nearby settlement foci (Gardiner 1985, 139; Taylor and Woodward 1985, 109-110).

To sum up, it is suggested:

- that extensive, superficially village-sized, sites of the fourth and third millennia BC may have resulted from repeated, short-lived, episodes of occupation by family-sized groups,
- 2. that such occupation continued well into the second millennium BC, although less often marked by the

- cutting of pits and other subsoil features, and
- 3. that barrow-building and use took place within the settled and cultivated lands of small communities.

The first and third propositions match conclusions already reached for the Deverel-Rimbury complex of the late second and early first millennia BC. Here, archaeologically substantial settlements and cemeteries have provided structural, stratigraphic and spatial evidence for successive short-lived occupation by family-sized units (Ellison 1978, 36; Ellison 1981, 432) and for the proximity and relationship of cemeteries to settlements (Bradley 1981). The second proposition heightens the possibility that there may have been continuity of settlement mode and community size over such a long period. A Grooved Ware ancestry for Deverel-Rimbury pottery itself (Barrett 1976, 295; Burgess 1980, 136) would accord with the persistence of ultimately Neolithic modes of behaviour.

#### Fieldwork

Excavation

If an extensive area of features may have been built up over many centuries, then to gain an accurate impression of its chronology and of its extent at any one time it is necessary to obtain as many radiocarbon determinations as possible. Neolithic and Bronze Age pottery styles are too long-lived and generally too uncertainly-dated to be of more than crude chronological value. The stylistic and technological distinctions drawn between assemblages from Earlier Neolithic feature groups here are tentative and capable of several interpretations.

If subsoil features were indeed less frequently cut in the late third and the second millennium BC than in preceding centuries, and if the picture represented by Figure 87 is a common one, then Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age occupation is likely to be betterrepresented on the surface and in the topsoil than in the subsoil. In these circumstances, arable farming is particularly destructive of the archaeology of this period, while topsoil-stripping in advance of archaeological excavation is even more so. It would seldom be feasible to excavate the entire topsoil cover of a site by hand, yet some means must be found to investigate or assess material which may be contained in it. A realistic compromise could be achieved by preliminary fieldwalking and geophysical survey followed by sampling or, where appropriate, more extensive investigation of artefact concentrations or anomalies. In this way, a better impression would be obtained of the frequency and composition of material surviving primarily in the topsoil. Blind sampling of topsoil, an obvious and in many ways desirable alternative, would often have to be expensively intensive to pick up any but the largest concentrations. Inspection of Figure 31 suggests that, on Spong Hill, excavation of the topsoil of every sixth 5m square (approximately 17% of the excavated area, or 2380 sq. m) would have located and provided at least a 5m square sample of each of the major topsoil concentrations (6, 7, 8, and 9). A wider interval would not have done so. Assuming that all four would have been been locatable on the ploughed, weathered surface of the field, as Figure 32 suggests, then the excavation of 5m square in each (0.7% of the excavated area or 100 sq. m) would have been a more efficient alternative.

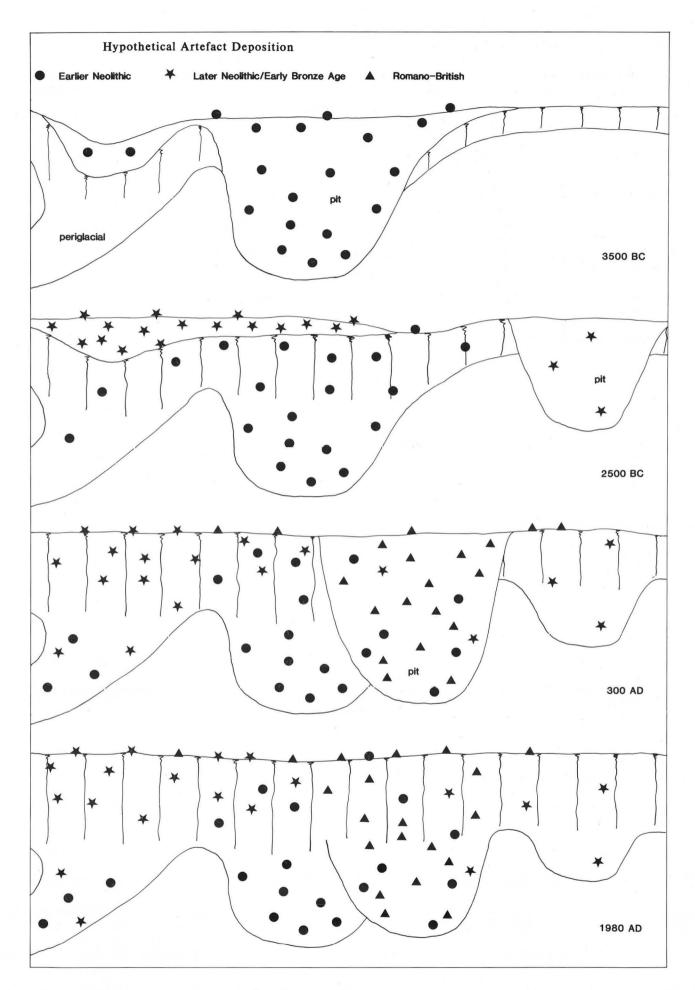


Figure 87 Diagramatic reconstruction of artefact deposition at the end of three successive episodes of occupation

Field survey and its interpretation

Discrepancies between surface collections and the archaeology of the underlying subsoil are often recognised. They have generally been interpreted in terms of variations in human behaviour: it is, for example, pointed out by Haselgrove (1985, 14-17) and by Crowther and Pryor (1985, 46-53) that, in any period, many activities will have involved the discard of artefacts without the excavation of subsoil features, and that, even where subsoil features are present, many artefacts in or on the ploughsoil have derived from sometimes unrelated accumulations on or in former ground surfaces. A predominantly Bronze Age flint scatter over the Mid-to-Neolithic ceremonial complex at Maxey, Cambridgeshire, has been interpreted as resulting from activities, notably manuring, carried out centuries after the disuse of the henge and other monuments in which few artefacts had been deposited or discarded (Pryor 1985, 304-5).

Bell (1983, 147) and R.W. Smith (1984, 106) highlight the further complication of natural deposits, especially colluvium, blanketing-out material discarded prior to their deposition. Buffers between subsoil and surface may also be directly man-made, as in the case of a medieval plough headland and underlying earlier dump or bank in Barnack/Bainton, Cambridgeshire, which sealed an old land surface containing struck flint, Peterborough Ware sherds, and a pit full of Beaker pottery. Here again, lithic material from the surface was largely Bronze Age, although including some earlier forms (Pryor and French 1985, 270-90).

The same effect may occur even without the intervention of any distinct deposit. If subsoil features were more commonly cut in the Earlier Neolithic than the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age then, to the extent that topsoil protects features from being cut into by the plough, it too acts as a buffer between material of the two periods, restricting the movement of Earlier Neolithic material into the ploughsoil and onto the surface.

The evidence of the excavations discussed above suggests that the situation portrayed in Figure 87 is a common one. The impression is confirmed by the results of casual collection and systematic survey. Both return an almost monotonous predominance of Later Neolithic and Bronze Age lithic material. Recent examples include the East Hampshire Survey (Gardiner and Shennan 1985, 68, fig. 5.11). The effect is unlikely to be due entirely to

intensified activity or increased population, since it occurs even where earlier monuments are present. In Cranborne Chase, Dorset, the massive monumentality of the Dorset Cursus and numerous long barrows contrasts with a sparse distribution of Earlier Neolithic flintwork which is in turn swamped by abundant Later Neolithic scatters (Bradley et al. 1984). These monuments may well have been located away from major settlements, but the thousands of manhours needed for the construction of any one of them (Ashbee 1966, 34-6; Startin and Bradley 1981, 292) make it unlikely that their builders left no more mundane trace of their presence. It seems more plausible that here, too, much contemporary material remains in subsoil features. Earlier Neolithic material is also scarce on the surface in the neighbouring area of Hambledon Hill, where collections made during field survey are predominantly Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (Alan Saville, pers. comm.), although the area is dominated by a massive complex of third millennium BC causewayed enclosures. Mercer (1980, 59-61) estimates that the entire complex could have been built by a labour force of fifty over a period of almost a year. It is unlikely to have been constructed in a single operation, and its immediate area may have been clear of settlement, but the surrounding landscape surely provided both the labour force which built the complex and the large quantities of meat and grain consumed within it, not to mention the very considerable numbers of corpses exposed there. The debris of contemporary occupation must be present, but largely preserved in subsoil features.

Earlier Neolithic material does, of course, reach the surface, especially where a light, thin topsoil coincides with the presence of substantial amounts of artefacts outside subsoil features. A classic published example is Hurst Fen, Mildenhall, Suffolk, where, even when the site was uncultivated, rabbits had brought up material from a 'culture layer' which underlay 23cm of turf and topsoil (Clark 1960, 203). Contemporary material, comparable with that from Hurst Fen or from the Earlier Neolithic feature groups on Spong Hill, is similarly being collected by Bob Silvester, in the course of the Fenland Project Survey, from the denuded, sometimes completely soil-less, surfaces of sandhills exposed by peat wastage in the Norfolk Fens. In more usual agricultural landscapes, however, it is probably under-represented in surface collections, and that this possibility should be born in mind when these are assessed.

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